BS
1692
1913
vol 2
copy 2

THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT

IN ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS

EDITED IN CONJUNCTION WITH MANY SCHOLARS BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

VOLUME II

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY NAIROBI IBADAN ACCRA
KUALA LUMPUR HONG KONG

FIRST PUBLISHED 1913
REPRINTED LITHOGRAPHICALLY IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
FROM SHEETS OF THE FIRST EDITION
1963, 1964

PREFACE

For students both of the Old and New Testaments the value of the non-Canonical Jewish literature from 200 B. C. to A. D. 100 is practically recognized on every side alike by Jewish and Christian scholars. But hitherto no attempt has been made to issue an edition of this literature as a whole in English.[1] Indeed, such an undertaking would have been all but impossible at an earlier date, seeing that critical editions of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have not been published till within the last few years.

The method observed in this work.

In all the contributions one and the same method has been observed. Each contribution consists of an introduction, an English translation from the best critical text—in a few cases the Revised Version has been adopted and emendations suggested in the notes—and of a critical and exegetical commentary.[2] As regards the introductions, the subjects dealt with in them have, so far as possible, been treated in the same order to facilitate the use of the work. Though a large discretion has naturally been given to the various editors, the following order has more or less been observed as a guide or been actually carried out.

§ 1. Short account of the book, embodying its leading features and the editor's chief conclusions.
§ 2. Title of the book.
§ 3. The MSS.
§ 4. The Ancient Versions.
§ 5. Date of (*a*) the original text, (*b*) of the Ancient Versions.
§ 6. Integrity or composite nature of the text.
§ 7. Authorship.
§ 8. Influence of the book on later literature—(*a*) Jewish; (*b*) Christian.
§ 9. Theology of the book.
§ 10. Bibliography—
(*a*) Chief editions of the text (and of the Ancient Versions).
(*b*) Chief critical inquiries.
(*c*) Chief editions of the book.

[1] Kautzsch published an edition in German in 1900, but on a smaller scale than the present work and embracing fewer books of this literature (vol. i. 1–507; vol. ii. 1–540).

[2] In the case of Sirach and Tobit the editors have been allowed much beyond the normal number of pages for their critical apparatus, which they have used to good purpose.

The extent of the present work.

The first volume contains what is generally known as the Apocrypha Proper, which constitutes the excess of the Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, which excess was in turn borrowed from the LXX. But this volume differs from the Apocrypha Proper at once in the way of excess and in the way of defect. 3 Maccabees has been added after 2 Maccabees, since it is contained in many MSS. of the LXX, and 4 Ezra has been transferred to Volume ii since it is essentially a Pseudepigraph.

Volume ii contains all the remaining extant non-Canonical Jewish books written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 with possibly one or two exceptions. The greater part of these books have hitherto been accessible only in expensive editions—such as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Psalms of Solomon, Pirkē Aboth, the Story of Aḥiḳar, &c. As regards the last two, it is not necessary to make any apology for their introduction into the present work, although they do not properly fall within the true limits above defined, but they were used, at all events partially, by Jewish readers within this period, nor can they be rightly designated Pseudepigraphs. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work are of an historical character, and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise apocalyptic material of an interesting nature.

The General Editor, in conclusion, wishes to express his thanks to the Delegates of the Press for undertaking this work, and to the Officers of the Press, whose help and counsel were always ready to meet each difficulty as it arose. The Editor is also under deep obligations to the many scholars who, notwithstanding the pressure of other duties, have yet given themselves so unsparingly to the tasks they had undertaken, that in every instance most valuable service has been rendered to the student and the scholar, while in not a few instances their contributions form actual monographs within the limits assigned. His thanks are due to Messrs. A. and C. Black, the publishers of his editions of Jubilees, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Testament of the XII Patriarchs, Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, for permission to reprint the translation and make use of the introduction and notes contained in those editions. Finally, he would acknowledge his indebtedness to the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, who has acted throughout as his secretary and also made the General Index.

R. H. CHARLES.

24 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
March, 1913.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

PAGES

CONTRIBUTORS vi

THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

GENERAL INTRODUCTION (Charles) vii

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA xii

PRIMITIVE HISTORY REWRITTEN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE LAW—

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES (Charles) 1–82

SACRED LEGENDS—

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS (Andrews) 83–122

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE (Wells) 123–154

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH (Charles) 155–162

APOCALYPSES—

1 ENOCH (Charles) 163–281

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS (Charles) 282–367

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (Lanchester) 368–406

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES (Charles) 407–424

2 ENOCH, OR THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH (Forbes and Charles) . 425–469

2 BARUCH, OR THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH (Charles) . . . 470–526

3 BARUCH, OR THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH (Hughes) . . . 527–541

4 EZRA (Box) 542–624

PSALMS—

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON (Gray) 625–652

ETHICS AND WISDOM LITERATURE—

4 MACCABEES (Townshend) 653–685

PIRKĒ ABOTH (Herford) 686–714

THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR (Harris, Lewis, Conybeare) 715–784

HISTORY—

THE FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK (Charles) 785–834

GENERAL INDEX 835–871

CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME II

ANDREWS, HERBERT T., B.A. (Oxford), D.D. (Aberdeen), Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Hackney and New College, London: *The Letter of Aristeas.*

BOX, G. H. (see list of Contributors to Vol. I): 4 *Ezra.*

CHARLES, R. H.: 2 *Baruch*, 1 *Enoch*, 2 *Enoch*, *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, *Book of Jubilees*, *Assumption of Moses*, *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work.*

CONYBEARE, F. C., M.A., D.D. (Giessen), formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy; Officier d'Académie: *Story of Aḥiḳar* (Armenian Version).

DAVIES, A. Ll., M.A., formerly Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford: *The General Index.*

FORBES, NEVILL, M.A., Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages: 2 *Enoch* (translation).

GRAY, G. BUCHANAN, D.D., D.Litt., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Mansfield College, Oxford: *The Psalms of Solomon.*

HARRIS, J. RENDEL, Litt.D., LL.D., Director of Studies at the Friends' Settlement, Woodbrooke: *The Story of Aḥiḳar* (Syriac, Aramaic, and Greek Versions).

HERFORD, R. TRAVERS, B.A.: *Pirkē Aboth: The Sayings of the Fathers.*

HUGHES, H. MALDWYN, D.D. (London); 3 *Baruch.*

LANCHESTER, H. C. O., M.A., formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge: *The Sibylline Oracles.*

LEWIS, AGNES SMITH, Hon. Phil. Doc. (Halle, Wittenberg), LL.D. (St. Andrews), D.D. (Heidelberg): *The Story of Aḥiḳar* (the Arabic Version).

TOWNSHEND, R. B., M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge: 4 *Maccabees.*

WELLS, L. S. A., M.A., formerly Tutor in Ripon Theological College; *The Books of Adam and Eve.*

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

§ 1. *The apocalyptic and legalistic sides of pre-Christian Pharisaism—starting originally from the same source—developed ultimately into Christianity and Talmudic Judaism.*

APOCALYPTIC Judaism and legalistic Judaism were not in pre-Christian times essentially antagonistic. Fundamentally their origin was the same. Both started with the unreserved recognition of the supremacy of the Law. This is to be expected in regard to legalistic Pharisaism, which was therein only adopting the teaching of the priesthood.[1] But it is enforced also in apocalyptic Pharisaism. Thus the most universalistic and ethical of all the apocalyptic writings, i.e. the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, declares that this Law is 'the light that lighteth every man'. To all Jewish apocalyptic writers the Law was of eternal validity, but they also clung fast to the validity of the prophetic teaching as the source of new truth and the right of apocalyptic as its successor in this respect. We have early evidence of this conjunction of legalism and apocalyptic in the Book of Joel. The Law is there recognized as authoritative, its ritual as of the highest import, while at the same time the impending advent of the kingdom of God is depicted in highly apocalyptic colouring. In the Book of Jubilees, the narrowest book that ever emanated from legalistic Judaism, the same conjunction is manifest, though naturally the theology is of a much more advanced type.

Thus devotion to the Law is the note that characterizes apocalyptic from its earliest beginnings. It appears in the declaration of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees; it was voiced by the Jews in their uprising against Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, and it is stereotyped in words placed in the mouth of the Quietist saint in the Assumption of Moses: 'Let us die rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers' (ix. 6).

This original and fundamental identity of apocalyptic and legalistic Pharisaism in respect to devotion to the Law needs to be emphasized, because Jewish scholars in the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, have denied to apocalyptic its place in the faith of pre-Christian orthodox Judaism. This action on their part is unintelligible, seeing that Talmudic Judaism, no less than Christianity, owes its spiritual conceptions of the future to apocalyptic.

The affinity then between Jewish apocalyptic and legalism is essential, since the Law was for both valid eternally, but when apocalyptic passed over into Christianity and therein naturally abandoned this view of the Law, it became in a measure anti-legalistic.[2] Even before the Christian era each of these two sides of Pharisaism necessarily tended to lay more and more emphasis on the chief factor in its belief and study to the almost complete exclusion of the other, and thus legalistic Pharisaism in time drove out almost wholly the apocalyptic element as an active factor (though it accepted some of its developments) and became the parent of Talmudic Judaism, whereas apocalyptic Judaism developed more and more the apocalyptic, i.e. prophetic, element, and in the process came to recognize, as in 4 Ezra, the inadequacy of the Law for salvation. From this it follows that the Judaism that survived the destruction of the Temple, being almost wholly bereft of the apocalyptic wing which had passed over into Christianity, was not the same as the Judaism of an earlier date. Before A.D. 70 Judaism was a Church with many parties: after A.D. 70 the legalistic party succeeded in suppressing its rivals, and so Judaism became in its essentials a Sect. In modern times Judaism is striving to recover the liberty of prophesying.

[1] One of the elements that contributed to this recognition was the identification of the Law and Wisdom. This is already an accomplished fact in Sirach, though it had probably been long a current belief: cp. xix. 10, xxiv. 23: see vol. i. 305 sq. But the most absolute assertion of the supremacy and everlastingness of the Law in pre-Christian Judaism is to be found in Jubilees. See this vol., 1 sq.

[2] The Law is not mentioned even once in the great New Testament Apocalypse.

§ 2. *Jewish apocalyptic has been always pseudonymous from the third century* B.C. *onwards. This pseudonymity due to the absolute supremacy of the Law, which left no room for prophecy. The prophetic spirit cannot openly declare itself in Judaism save by a breach with Talmudic Judaism.*

Apocalyptic works written before the third century B.C. were not pseudonymous. Joel is perhaps the latest apocalyptist in the Old Testament whose work was not pseudonymous. But Zech. ix–xiv and Isaiah xxiv–xxvii—not to speak of other later additions to the earlier prophets—were in all probability pseudonymous. At all events, from the third century B.C. onwards apocalyptic has always been pseudonymous in Judaism. On the other hand in Christianity, for the first century at any rate, apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous, and the seer came forward in his own person. Of these strange and conflicting phenomena explanations have been advanced by various scholars, and the latest by Gunkel, but they are all partial or inadequate. The present writer is of opinion that he has arrived at an hypothesis which will satisfy all the conditions of the problem.

We have already adverted to the fact that in the third century B.C. the Law had come to be conceived as the final and supreme revelation of God. When once this idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—had become an accepted dogma of Judaism, as it became in the post-Exilic period, there was no longer room for independent representatives of God appearing before men, such as the pre-Exilic prophets. God had, according to the official teachers of the Church, spoken His last and final word through the Law; and when the hope was expressed that in the coming age a prophet will arise, he was only conceived as one whose task was to decide questions of ritual or priestly succession, or legal interpretation in accordance with the Law. Thus in 1 Macc. iv. 46 the stones of the defiled altar of burnt-offering were to be put aside till a prophet arose, and similarly in xiv. 41 (cf. ix. 27) the high-priesthood of Simon was to be provisionally acknowledged till a prophet arose, who could decide on the validity of his high-priesthood. Accordingly the first fact we are to recognize is, that from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah *the Law has not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-Exilic prophets, but it has also, so far as it lay in its power, made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility*. The prophet who issued a prophecy under his own name after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah could not expect a hearing unless his prophecy had the imprimatur of the Law.[1]

This is exactly the view of the Rabbinic scholars. Thus they taught that whereas the Prophets and Hagiographa will in the future cease to be, for there is nothing in them which is not suggested in the Law (Jer. Meg. 70*d*), the Law itself would endure for ever (Taanit 9*a*); and that 'Any prophet who attempted to annul one of its laws would be punished by death' (Toseph. xiv. 13), and that 'though all mankind should combine, they could not abolish one yod of it' (Cant. R. v. 11; Lev. R. xix; Num. R. xvii, &c.). (See *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 197.)

It is now clear, I think, that from Nehemiah's time onward prophecy could not gain a hearing, whether the prophecy was genuine—that is, appeared under the name of its actual author—or was anonymous, unless it was acceptable in the eyes of the Law. From the class of genuine and anonymous works we pass on to the third division, the pseudonymous. There are at all events two of them in the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. With the former we have here no concern. But how are we to explain the pseudonymity of Daniel and the other apocalyptic works of the second century B.C., such as Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs? This pseudonymity has already in part been explained. These apocalyptists do not merely repeat the old truths, which in so many cases had become the mere shibboleths of a petrified orthodoxy, they not only challenged many of the orthodox views of the time and condemned them, but they also carried

[1] Nay more, according to Zech. xiii. 1–5 (a late work written from the priestly standpoint), if a man declared himself to be a prophet his father and his mother were to put him to death. By such drastic measures prophecy was driven forth from the bosom of Judaism, and has never since been suffered to return. The task of leading the people into more spiritual conceptions, alike as regards the present life and that which is to come, devolved henceforth on apocalyptic, and that a pseudonymous apocalyptic.

forward the revelation of God in the provinces of religion, ethics, and eschatology. Against the reception of such fresh faith and truth the Law stood in the way, unless the books containing them came under the aegis of certain great names in the past. Against the claims and authority of such names the official representatives of the Law were in part reduced to silence, at all events in the case of the Book of Daniel. But there is another ground for the adoption of pseudonymity, and when we combine it with the autocracy claimed and exercised by the Law we have the grounds for which we are in search. This second ground is the formation of the threefold Canon of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Before the formation of the prophetic Canon anonymous prophetic writings could gain currency and acceptance on the ground of their inherent worth, but when once the prophetic Canon was closed, no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such. Now the collection of the Prophets existed pretty much in its present form about 200 B.C., though additions may have been made to Hosea, Isaiah, and Zechariah, &c., subsequently to that date. Into the Hagiographa were received all books of a religious character, of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the time of Ezra. To this third division of the Canon books were admitted down to A.D. 100, and the last were Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Daniel was admitted to this third Canon at some period in the second century B.C.

Daniel was admitted into the Canon in the belief that it was written by the ancient worthy of that name; but not among the Prophets, for the prophetic Canon was closed, but among the Hagiographa. The example of Daniel was followed by Jewish apocalyptic down to the thirteenth century A.D. It was pseudonymous and remained pseudonymous; for the Law was supreme, inspiration was officially held to be dead, and the Canon was closed. Moreover, all the great Jewish apocalypses which were written before A.D. 10, and which carried on the mystical and spiritual side of religion as opposed to the legalistic, Judaism dropped and banned after its breach with Christianity, just as it dropped and banned the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Thereupon Legalism became absolute, and determined henceforth the character of Judaism. Apocalyptic, which had exercised a determining influence in many of the great crises of the nation, and had given birth to and shaped the higher theology of Judaism, was driven from its position of secondary authority, and either banished absolutely or relegated wholly into the background. Owing to this fact Jewish scholars like Jost and Graetz have denied the great significance of apocalyptic in Judaism. But this blunder is every day becoming more impossible, and now we find that Jewish scholars like Buttenwieser (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 676) maintain that the courage and persistency of the Jews in their faith, their indomitable hope under persecution, their scorn of death, were all nourished by apocalyptic from the times of the Maccabees down to the thirteenth century A.D. 'The darker the present grew . . . the more eagerly did their minds turn to the comfort offered by apocalyptic promises, which predicted the end of their suffering and the dawn of their delivery.'

All Jewish apocalypses, therefore, from 200 B.C. onwards were of necessity pseudonymous if they sought to exercise any real influence on the nation; for the Law was everything, belief in inspiration was dead amongst them, and their Canon was closed.[1]

§ 3. *The ethical advance in Judaism.*

Prophecy has always been recognized as the greatest ethical force in the ancient world. Such also was apocalyptic in its time, and yet an attempt has recently been made by advanced liberals to differentiate prophecy and apocalyptic on the ground that apocalyptic and ethics are distinct, and that ethics are the kernel and apocalyptic the husk which Christianity shed when it ceased to need it. How any scholar who was really acquainted with the texts could make such a statement I cannot understand. Apocalyptic was essentially ethical. To use the mixed metaphor of St. Paul, it was rooted and grounded in ethics, and that an ethics based on the essential righteousness of God.

[1] See my *Eschatology*[2], pp. 193–205.

In every crisis of the world's history, when the good cause was overthrown and the bad triumphant, its insistent demand was ever: 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' and its uncompromising optimism, its unconquerable faith under the most overwhelming disasters, was: 'God reigns, and righteousness shall ultimately prevail'.

The ethical element is the fundamental element in the chief books of this literature. What else but an inexpugnable sense of truth and duty to truth inspire the refusal of the three children in Daniel to fall down and worship the image that the king had set up? When the king demands: 'Who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?' mark the splendid heroism of their reply: 'There is a God whom we serve who is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (iii. 17 sqq.).

Now let us turn to the apocalyptic books outside the Canon.

What an expressive ethical statement is that in Jubilees (xxi. 22) addressed to Israel!

'Beware lest thou walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death against the Most High God,
And so He deliver thee back again into the grip of thy transgression.'

Or, turning to a different theme, let us hear what the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs say of the faithful doer of the word of God:

'Every man that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth . . .
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise can nought take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness,
Or the callousness (that comes) of sin. . . .
Even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.'

(T. Levi, xiii. 3, 7–8.)

Or again, in 2 Enoch (xliii. 2–3): 'As one year is more honourable than another, so is one man more honourable than another. This man on account of having possessions, that man on account of the wisdom of the heart, another on account of understanding, another on account of purity, another on account of strength . . . but let it be heard everywhere; there is none greater than he that feareth God.'

Or again, when the apocalyptist says of the unceasing service of an order of heavenly beings: 'They rest not day nor night; for unto them thanksgiving is rest.'

There are numberless other passages showing the moral depth and inwardness of this literature. What nobler advice could the best ethical Christian teacher give to a defeated rival than this: 'If a man is prospered beyond you, do not be vexed, but even have recourse unto prayer on his behalf, that he may be prospered to the full' (T. Gad vii. 1)? Or again: 'If any man seeketh to do evil unto you, do him a good turn, and pray for him, and so from all evil ye shall be redeemed of the Lord' (T. Jos. xviii. 2). Or again: 'The holy man is merciful to him that revileth him, and holdeth his peace' (T. Benj. v. 4).

Now it would be possible to fill many pages in setting forth the teaching of apocalyptic on such ethical subjects as conscience, courage, endurance, longsuffering, justice, truthfulness, temperance, singleness of heart, deceit, calumny, folly; on religious themes of an ethical character as love, faith, works, forgiveness, compassion, humility, reverence, covetousness, lust; or on metaphysical themes influencing ethics, as foreknowledge, freedom, determinism, heredity, individualism, universalism; but we have established our thesis sufficiently for our present purpose.[1]

[1] Reprinted from my *Eschatology* (2nd ed.), 190 sqq., where the renderings differ slightly in diction from those given in this volume.

The ethical teaching on these subjects in apocalyptic is a vast advance on that of the O.T., and forms the indispensable link which in this respect connects the O.T. with the N.T.

This ethical element is present also in Talmudic literature, but somehow it lacks the fire and inspiration that distinguish it in the Pseudepigrapha. It is more nearly related to the average morality and practical wisdom of the Proverbs of the Old Testament. The chief work on Ethics in the Talmud, which is reproduced in the Jewish Book of Common Prayer, i.e. *The Sayings of the Fathers*, has been translated and added to this volume, in order that the student might have before him the best that Later Judaism produced in the domain of Ethics. It will be obvious even to the most cursory reader that a great gulf divides the Ethics of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and even those of 2 Enoch, from these excellent but very uninspiring sayings of Jewish sages belonging to the legalistic wing of Judaism. It is quite true that many a fine saying is found in the other tractates of the Talmud and other Rabbinic writings, but the harvest that rewards the diligent reaper is slight in comparison of the toil, and the number of really fine sayings that were uttered before A.D. 100 is far from great.[1]

[1] For a very favourable account of this side of Rabbinic Judaism see Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909. The chapter on the 'Joy of the Law' (pp. 148–69) is well worth study. It shows that in all ages in Judaism the joy that the Psalmists felt in the service of God was experienced likewise by many a Jew in the fulfilment of the innumerable later requirements of the Law—requirements which to the non-Jew could only prove an intolerable and unspiritual burden, and which were felt even by many spiritually-minded Jews to be a yoke that neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear (Acts xv. 10). But this type of mind which reaches its fullest satisfaction in unquestioning submission to an external commandment is, of course, to be found in all religions. It is not progressive or prophetic in character, but it helps to preserve some of the best elements in the past. See also Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and the Worship of the Synagogue*, chap. vii.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II

P. 386 (The Sibylline Books).

Sibyll. III. 396–397. Instead of the rendering in the text, which is right indeed grammatically, we should unquestionably render as follows: —

'Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off
From among ten horns, he shall put forth a side shoot.'

The 'one root' was Antiochus V, Eupator, who was murdered by Demetrius I, son of Seleucus IV. He was the last of ten horns, i.e. ten kings. We appear here to have an almost contemporary interpretation of the ten horns in Daniel vii. 7–8, for the latest date of this section is 140 B.C. The above rendering has the support of Rzach, Geffcken, and Schürer.—GEN. EDITOR.

P. 473 (2 Baruch). l. 23 from bottom *read* 'Sukka' *for* 'Sakka'.

P. 474 seq. On these pages I have given an analysis of the various elements of 2 Baruch, with their approximate dates from A.D. 60 to 100. But owing to the fact that Mr. Box, in his admirable Commentary on 4 Ezra, has accepted Rosenthal's view that 2 Baruch was derived from the school of R. Aqiba and written in the year A.D. 115, it is necessary to consider the grounds from which Rosenthal draws this conclusion. Mr. Box's Commentary was not published when the edition of 2 Baruch for the present work was prepared. We shall now deal with Rosenthal's thesis.

Rosenthal (*Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, Berlin, 1885) sought to prove that the Assumption of Moses, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Book of Tobit were written by members of the school of R. Aqiba.

As regards the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Tobit no scholar would now agree with Rosenthal. But for the learned and admirable Commentary of Mr. Box on 4 Ezra it would not be necessary to reconsider Rosenthal's views on 2 Baruch. Mr. Box (*The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. lxv sq.), however, writes: 'We may therefore conclude that our book (4 Ezra) emanates from a school of apocalyptic writers who reflect the school of Shammai; just as the companion Apocalypse of Baruch (i.e. 2 Baruch) represents an apocalyptic school under the influence of Aqiba. This important distinction has been well brought out by Rosenthal.'

With this statement I must join issue. On pp. 95–100 Rosenthal gives five grounds from which he concludes the influence of R. Aqiba in 2 Baruch. The fifth is so beside the mark and irrelevant—being commonplaces about the last plagues—that I will take no account of it here. The rest, indeed, are not much better, but need to be considered owing to Mr. Box's acceptance of Rosenthal's conclusion. These are as follows:

(1) 2 Baruch (xi, 1 sq.) and Aqiba (*Sifre* on Deut. § 43) alike complain of the prosperity of Rome and the desolation of Zion, and both alike comfort their readers with the promised restoration of Zion. This would naturally be a commonplace with most Jewish writers after A.D. 70, just as corresponding complaints and hopes appear in the post-Exilic prophets respectively with regard to the successive oppressors of Judah and the coming restoration of Jerusalem. But the same actual combination of complaint and comfort with regard to Rome and Jerusalem respectively is found in the Psalms of Solomon ii. 1 sqq., 30–41, and the Assumption of Moses vi. 8–9, x. 8–10. Hence no dependence of 2 Baruch on Aqiba can be deduced from this fact.

(2) Both believed strongly in the freedom of the will. But this does not prove anything. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 9) the Sadducees believed in the complete freedom of the will, while the Pharisees believed alike in the freedom of the will and in Providence. Now according to this view the teaching of our book is that of ordinary Pharisaism. Thus in A^3 (i.e. liv–lxxiv) we find the vigorous assertion of free-will: 'each of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19). And yet throughout the section the supremacy of Providence is acknowledged; cf. lxix. 2; lxx. 2. Exactly the same teaching is found in the Psalms of Solomon. Thus in ix. 7 we have:

'Our works are subject to our own choice and power
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.'

See also v. 4–6. Philo also (*Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 10) speaks in the strongest terms of man's God-given freedom.

(3) The next ground adduced by Rosenthal is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba alike bring forward the chastening effects of adversity. But this teaching is found in Deut. viii. 5; Ps. xxxii. 1, 5, lxxiii. 14, lxxxix. 30–34, cxix. 71, 75; Prov. iii. 12, xiii. 24; frequently in the Prophets and the Pseudepigrapha. For the latter cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 16, vii. 3, viii. 7, 27, &c.

(4) The fourth ground is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba held that none who denied the resurrection would share in it. According to *Sanh.* 90*a* R. Aqiba made this statement, but nowhere in 2 Baruch is such an

affirmation made, though no doubt its various writers believed in the resurrection. Yet Rosenthal thinks he finds it there, and cites two passages, i.e. xxx. 1, which in the present form of the text speaks, however, not of belief in the resurrection of the dead, but in the hope of the Messiah. The second passage betrays an extraordinary misunderstanding of Ceriani's Latin rendering of 2 Baruch lxv. 1, i.e. 'Manasses . . . cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista.' This of course means: 'Manasses . . . thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things.' But Rosenthal took it as meaning: 'Manasses thought in his time that there would be no future life!'

Thus the doctrines, which 2 Baruch and Aqiba hold in common, are commonplaces even of pre-Christian Pharisaism, and furnish no evidence for Rosenthal's hypothesis, while all the internal evidence of 2 Baruch postulates various dates for its several constituents from A.D. 60 to 100. Moreover, whereas Aqiba declared that the Ten Tribes would never return, 2 Baruch emphasizes this hope repeatedly; cf. lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 5, 6, 7, lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10, i. 4.

From the above it is clear that there are no grounds of evidence for Rosenthal's contention. 2 Baruch, if it belongs to any school, belongs to that of Hillel, who was the great rival of Shammai. Its main theses are certainly in accord with much that is known of Hillel. Even its latest sections are too early to be the products of R. Aqiba's school, as is clear from the following dates. At the earliest Aqiba was born about A.D. 40–50. As he did not attend the Rabbinic schools till he was forty, and did not become himself a teacher till he had studied for thirteen years (see Aboth R. N. vi. 29, ed. Schechter), it follows that his school was founded about the beginning of the second century A.D. Now, according to lxviii. 5–6, the Temple was standing when A^3 was written (and also A^1 and A^2), while as regards the other elements of 2 Baruch the evidence is against any later date than A.D. 90–100.—GEN. EDITOR.[1]

P. 528 (3 Baruch). l. 29 from bottom *read* 'Apoc.' *for* 'apoc.'

P. 625 (Psalms of Solomon). l. 11 from top *for* '(H)' *read* '(V)'.

l. 6 from bottom *for* 'H' *read* 'V'

P. 738 (Story of Aḥiḳar). col. 3, l. 6 from top *for* 'get thy boon fragrant' *read* 'get a good name', the former reading being due to a corruption in the MSS.—CONYBEARE.

P. 809 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In line 2 *for* 'make atonement for' *read* 'pardon'.

P. 814 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In the first note on this page the statement regarding Simon ben Shetach is wholly wrong, and is to be deleted. This Pharisee did not appropriate the sacrifices of the Nazirites, but by means of a gross lie to the king enabled them to offer their sacrifices at half the cost. By falsely stating that he would bear half the expenses of the sacrifices, if King Jannaeus would bear the other half, he prevailed on the king by this mendacious assertion to do so. The most remarkable point about the incident, if it is wholly authentic, is that Simon ben Shetach appears to have been wholly unconscious of having done any wrong.—GEN. EDITOR.

[1] Mr. Box has recently in a letter informed me that he is willing to accept the earlier dates I have assigned to certain of the sections of 2 Baruch, but that he regards them as redacted by an editor or editors of the school of Aqiba. This hypothesis, however, is quite different from that of Rosenthal.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN INTRODUCTIONS, TEXT AND NOTES

See special lists as under :—

1 Esdras	vol. I. 19, 20.
Tobit	,, I. 201.
Sirach	vol. I. 315.
Prayer of Manasses	,, I. 620.
1 Enoch	,, II. 187.
Test. XII Patr.	vol. II. 295.
2 Baruch	,, II. 475.
4 Ezra	,, II. 560.

See also under Versions and MSS. in the different books.

A^1 &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7
A.J.Th.	*American Journal of Theology*
Aboth	Pirkē Aboth
Ab. R. Nathan	= Aboth Rabbi Nathan
ἀπ. λεγ. or εἰρ. ἅπαξ λεγόμενον or εἰρημένον	
Apoc. Abrah.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. of Baruch	= 2 Baruch
Apoc. Zeph.	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
Aq.	Aquila
Ar.	Arabic
Aram. Frag.	Aramaic Fragment. See Test. *App.* II
Arm.	Armenian
Asc. Is.	Ascension of Isaiah
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
Aug.	Augustine
B^1 &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7
B.D.	*Bible Dictionary*
B.S.	Deissmann, *Biblical Studies*
1 Bar.	Apocryphal Book of Baruch
2 Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Bar.	Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
Ber. Rabb.	Bereshith rabba
Berach. or Berakh.	= Berachoth
Beresh.	Bereshith
C.I.G.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
C.O.T.	*Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* See K.A.T.
Cat. Niceph.	Catalogue of Nicephorus
Chag.	Chagigah (Talmud)
Chron. Pasch.	= *Chronicon Paschale*
Clem. Alex.	Clement of Alexandria
Clem. Recog.	*Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions*
Cod.	Codex
D.B.	*Dictionary of the Bible*
Dan.	Daniel
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
E.A.	See 4 Ezra, § 7, and ii. 560
E.B. or Bi.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*
Edd.	Editions
1 En.	1 Enoch or Ethiopian Enoch
2 En.	2 Enoch or Slavonic Enoch
Encyc. Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
Ep. Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy
Epiph.	Epiphanius
Eth.	Ethiopic
Eus.	Eusebius
Ev. Nicod.	*Evangelium Nicodemi*
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra
Fayum P.	Fayum Papyri
Fr. or Frag.	Fragment
G	Greek Version
G. d. Jud.	*Geschichte des Judenthums*
G.J.V.	Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*
G.V.I.	*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*
Gen. rabb.	Genesis rabba
Gk.	Greek
Gk. Frag.	Greek Fragment. See Test. *App.* II
Gr.	Grimm
Gr. of O.T.	*Greek Grammar of Old Testament Greek* (Thackeray)
H.D.B.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*
H.J.P.	*History of the Jewish People*
Heb. Gr.	Hebrew Grammar
Herm.	Hermas, *Pastor*
Hes.	Hesiod
Hiph.	Hiphil
Hom.	Homer
Il.	Iliad
Int. Crit. Comm.	= *International Critical Commentary*
Intr.	Introduction
J.E.	*Jewish Encyclopaedia*
J.Q.R.	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
J.T.S.	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Jalkut Schim.	= Jalkut Shimeoni
Jashar	Book of Jashar
Jer. Joma &c.	= Joma in Jerusalem Talmud
Jerus. Targ.	Jerusalem Targum
Jos. *Ant.* &c.	Josephus, *Antiquities*, &c.
Jub.	Book of Jubilees
Jüd. Theol.[2]	*Jüdische Theologie*[2] (Weber)
K.	Kautzsch
K.A.T.	Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*
Kit.	Kittel
L.A.E.	Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*
L.d.T.	Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmuds*
L. & S.	Liddell and Scott
LXX.	Septuagint Version
Lact.	Lactantius
Lib. V.T.	*Libri Veteris Testamenti*
Luc.	Lucian
Lucr.	Lucretius
MS.	Manuscript
MT.	Massoretic Text
1 Macc. &c.	First, &c., Book of Maccabees
Macrob.	Macrobius
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Mass.	Massoretic
Megill.	Megilla
Menach.	Menachoth (Talmud)
Mg.	Margin
Midr.	Midrash
N.H.W.	*Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*
N.T.	New Testament
O.T.	Old Testament
Onk.	Onkelos, Targum of
Onom. Sacr.	*Onomasticon Sacrum*
Or. Sibyll.	Sibylline Oracles
Orph. Frag.	Orphic Fragment
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund
P.P.	Petrie Papyri
P.R. Eliezer	Pirke Rabbi Eliezer
P.R.E.	*Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*
P.S.B.A.	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
Pesikt.	Pesikta
Ps. Clem. Recog.	= Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions
Ps. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Ps. of Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
R.	Rabbi
R.E.	*Real-Encyklopädie*
R.E.J.	*Revue des Études juives*
Rel. des Jud.	*Religion des Judenthums*
Sam.	Samaritan
Sam. Chron.	Samaritan Chronology
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Schürer, E.T.	Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*, English Translation
Sept.	Septuagint
Shabb.	Shabbath
Sir.	Sirach
Slav. Bar.	See vol. ii. 131
Slav. Vit.	Slavonic *Vita Adae et Evae.* See Books of Adam and Eve
Soph.	Sophocles
Stob.	Stobaeus
Symm.	Symmachus
Syncell.	Syncellus
Syr.	Syriac
Syr. H.	Hexaplaric Syriac
Syr. W.	Syriac Version in Walton's Polyglot
Sok.	Sokolov's Text of 2 Enoch
T.A. &c.	See under 'Testaments' in list of symbols prefixed to Index.
T.b.	Babylonian Talmud
Targ. Jer.	Jerusalem Targum
Targ. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Th. *Gram.*	Thackeray, *Grammar of Old Testament Greek*
Theod.	Theodotion
Theoph.	Theophilus
Tebt. P.	Tebtuneh Papyrus
Tert.	Tertullian
Test.	Testament
Test. Sim.	See vol. ii. 153
Test. XII Patr.	= Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
Tisch.	Tischendorf
Tob.	Tobit
V.L. or Vet. Lat.	= Versio Vetus Latina, Old Latin Version
Vit. Ad.	Vita Adae
Vulg.	Vulgate
W.P.	Walton's Polyglot
Wellh.	Wellhausen
Wisd.	Book of Wisdom
Z.A.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
Z.N.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*
Z.W.T. or Z.f.W.T.	= *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*

[ ]	indicate an intrusion into the original text
† †	indicate that the word or passage so enclosed is corrupt
( ) or italics	indicate that the word or words so enclosed or printed are supplied for the sake of clearness.
+	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted insert the word or words following this mark.
>	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted omit the word or words following this mark.
⟨ ⟩	indicate a restoration in the text.
Thick type	indicates an emendation in the text.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Book of Jubilees is in certain limited aspects the most important book in this volume for the student of religion. Without it we could of course have inferred from Ezra and Nehemiah, the Priests' Code, and the later chapters of Zechariah the supreme position that the law had achieved in Judaism, but without Jubilees we could hardly have imagined such an absolute supremacy of the law as finds expression in this book. This absolute supremacy of the law carried with it, as we have seen in the General Introduction, the suppression of prophecy—at all events of the open exercise of the prophetic gifts. And yet these gifts persisted during all the so-called centuries of silence—from Malachi down to N.T. times, but owing to the fatal incubus of the law these gifts could not find expression save in pseudepigraphic literature. Thus Jubilees represents the triumph of the movement, which had been at work for the past three centuries or more.

And yet this most triumphant manifesto of legalism contained within its pages the element that was destined to dispute its supremacy and finally to reduce the law to the wholly secondary position that alone it could rightly claim. This element of course is apocalyptic, which was the source of the higher theology in Judaism, and subsequently was the parent of Christianity, wherein apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous and became one with prophecy.

The Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which has already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity. From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, in the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realized on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1,000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.[1]

[1] Three-fourths of this section is reprinted from the present writer's Introduction to his Commentary on the Book of Jubilees.

§ 2. Various Titles of the Book.

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew.

(*a*) Jubilees = τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = היובלים.

(*b*) The Little Genesis = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = בראשית זוסא.

(*c*) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of the book.

(*a*) *Jubilees.* This appears from Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6) to have been its usual designation. It is found also in the Syriac Fragment entitled 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book of Jubilees,' first published by Ceriani, *Mon. sacra et profana*, ii. 1. 9–10, and reprinted by the present writer in his edition of *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, p. 183. This name admirably describes the book, as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. The writer pursues a perfectly symmetrical development of the heptadic system. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, i. e. 2450.

(*b*) *The Little Genesis.* The epithet 'little' does not refer to the extent of the book, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but to its character. It deals more fully with details than the biblical work. The Hebrew title was variously rendered in Greek. 1° ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις) as in Epiphanius, Syncellus, Zonaras, Glycas. 2° ἡ Λεπτογένεσις in Didymus of Alexandria and in Latin writers, as we may infer from the Decree of Gelasius. 3° τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως in Syncellus. 4° ἡ Μικρογένεσις in Jerome, who was acquainted with the Hebrew original.

(*c*) 1° The Apocalypse of Moses.

2° The Testament of Moses.

3° The Book of Adam's Daughters.

4° The Life of Adam.

1° *The Apocalypse of Moses.* This title had some currency in the time of Syncellus (see i. 5, 49). It forms an appropriate designation since it makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in the book. 2° *The Testament of Moses.* This title is found in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175, where it precedes a quotation from x. 21 of our book. It has, however, nothing to do with the Testament of Moses, which has become universally known under the wrong title—the Assumption of Moses. Rönsch and other scholars formerly sought to identify Jubilees with this second Testament of Moses, but this identification is shown to be impossible by the fact that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus 4,300 stichoi are assigned to Jubilees and only 1100 to this Testament of Moses. On the probability of a Testament of Moses having been in circulation—which was in reality an expansion of Jubilees ii–iii see my edition of Jubilees, p. xviii. 3° *The Book of Adam's Daughters.* This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius, but it probably consisted merely of certain excerpts from Jubilees dealing with the names and histories of the women mentioned in it. Such a collection, as we have already seen, exists in Syriac, and its Greek prototype was used by the scribe of the LXX MS. no. 135 in Holmes and Parsons' edition. 4° *The Life of Adam.* This title is found in Syncellus i. 7–9. It seems to have been an enlarged edition of the portion of Jubilees, which dealt with the life of Adam.

§ 3. The Ethiopic MSS.

There are four Ethiopic MSS., *a b c d*, the first and fourth of which belong to the National Library in Paris, the second to the British Museum, and the third to the University Library at Tübingen. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively) are the most trustworthy, though they cannot be followed exclusively. In *a*, furthermore, the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original against *b c d* in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29; iv. 4, 8, &c. For a full description of these MSS. the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii seqq.

§ 4. The Ancient Versions—Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, Syriac.

(*a*) *The Greek Version* is lost save for some fragments which survive in Epiphanius περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν xxii (ed. Dindorf, vol. iv. 27–8). This fragment, which consists of ii. 2–21, is published with critical notes in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text. Other fragments of this version are preserved in Justin Martyr, Origen, Diodorus of Antioch, Isidore of Alexandria, Isidore of Seville, Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, John of Malala, Syncellus, Cedrenus. Syncellus attributes to the Canonical Genesis statements derived from our text. This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.

(*b*) *The Ethiopic Version.* This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule

servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence, but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: 'my wife' in iii. 6 instead of 'wife'; xv. 12; xvii. 12 ('her bottle' instead of 'the bottle'); xxiv. 19 (where the words 'a well' are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS. *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, &c., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* there appears to be only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see Charles's Text, pp. xii seqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see Charles on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

(*c*) *The Latin Version.* This version, of which about one-fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15–62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b–21; xv. 20^b–31^a; xvi. 5^b–xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b–xix. 25; xx. 5^b–xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2–19^a; xxiii. 8^b–23^a; xxiv. 13–xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b–23^a; xxvii. 11^b–24^a; xxviii. 16^b–27^a; xxix. 8^b–xxxi. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b–18, 29^b–32; xxxii. 1–8^a, 18^b–xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b–xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b–12^a; xxxvi. 20^b–xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b–16^a; xxxix. 9–xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b–18; xlii. 2^b–14^a; xlv. 8–xlvi. 1, 12–xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b–22. This version was next edited by Rönsch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente.* This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgement and critical acumen. Rönsch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth century (pp. 459–60). In 1895 Charles edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rönsch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlvi. 14, where it adds 'et Oon' against all other authorities. The Ethiopic version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text, but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13. xlii. 11 (*canos meos* where our Ethiopic text = μου τὸ γῆρας as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12, where it reads 'in tota terra' for 'in terra'. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version 'et creverunt et iuvenes facti sunt' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause 'eorum quae fiebant in carcere' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, &c. (see my Text, p. xvi).

(*d*) *The Syriac Version.* The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS. (Add. 12154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9–10, and reprinted by Charles as Appendix III to his Text of Jubilees (p. 183).[1]

§ 5. The Ethiopic and Latin Versions—Translations from the Greek.

Like all the biblical literature in Ethiopic, Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from the Greek. Greek words such as δρῦς, βάλανος, λίψ, σχῖνος, φάραγξ, &c., are transliterated into Ethiopic. Secondly, many passages must be retranslated into Greek before we can discover the source of their corruptions. And finally, many names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew.

[1] (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) reprinted from the present writer's Commentary.

That the Latin is derived directly from the Greek is no less obvious. Thus in xxxix. 12 *timoris* = δειλίας, a corruption of δουλείας; in xxxviii. 13 *honorem* = τιμήν, which should have been rendered by *tributum*. Another class of mistranslations may be seen in passages where the Greek article is rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in *huius Abrahae* xxix. 16, *huic Istrael* xxxi. 15. Other evidence pointing in the same direction is to be found in the Greek constructions which have been reproduced in the Latin; such as xvii. 3 'memor fuit sermones' = ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους: in xv. 22 'consummavit loquens' = συνετέλεσε λαλῶν: in xxii. 8 'in omnibus *quibus* dedisti' = ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔδωκας.

§ 6. The Greek—A Translation from the Hebrew.

The early date of our book—the second century B.C.—and the fact that it was written in Palestine speak for a Semitic original, and the evidence for such an original is conclusive. But the question at once arises, was the original written in Hebrew or Aramaic? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic original, as Cettin xxiv. 28; Adurin xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin xxiv. 14–16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Again, in the list of the twelve trees suitable for burning on the altar some are transliterations of Aramaic names. But in a late Hebrew work—written at the close of the second century B.C.—the popular names of such objects would naturally be used. Moreover, in certain cases the Hebrew may have already been forgotten, or, when the tree had been lately introduced, been non-existent.

But the arguments for a Hebrew original are many and weighty. (1) A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew; for Hebrew, according to our author, was the sacred and national language, xii. 25–6; xliii. 15. (2) The revival of the national spirit is, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language. (3) The existing text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text. Thus lâʿĕlêja in xliii. 11 = ἐν ἐμοί, which is a mistranslation in this context of בְּ; for בי here = δέομαι, 'pray,' as in Gen. xliv. 18. In xlvii. 9 the text = 'domum (= בית) Faraonis', but the context demands 'filiam (=בת) Faraonis', though here the argument is not conclusive, since בית might have been corruptly written for ברת, which in Aramaic = 'daughter'. Again in xxxvi. 10 (cp. also xxxix. 6) the text = οὐκ ἀναβήσεται (= jaʿarg) εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς. But jaʿarg must = 'will be recorded'. Now this meaning is unattested elsewhere in Ethiopic, but the difficulty is solved when we find that it is a Hebrew idiom: see 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34. (4) Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew, as in iv. 9 there is a play on the name Enoch, in iv. 15 on Jared, in viii. 8 on Peleg, &c. (5) Many passages are preserved in Rabbinic writings, and the book has much matter in common with the Testaments xii Patriarchs, which was written about the same date in Hebrew. Both books, in fact, use a chronology peculiar to themselves. (6) Fragments of the original Hebrew text or of the sources used by its author are to be found in the Book of Noah and the Midrasch Wajjisau in Jellinek's *Beth-ha-Midrasch*, iii. 155–6, 3–5, reprinted in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text on pp. 179–81.

§ 7. Textual Affinities.

A minute study of the text shows that it attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus. Thus it agrees with individual authorities such as the Samaritan or the LXX, or the Syriac, or the Vulgate, or the Targum of Onkelos against all the rest. Or again it agrees with two or more of these authorities in opposition to the rest, as for instance with the Massoretic and Samaritan against the LXX, Syriac and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic and Onkelos against the Samaritan, LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic, Samaritan and Syriac against the LXX or Vulgate. But the reader must here be referred to Charles's Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii–xxxix) for a full classification of these instances. A study of these phenomena proves that our book represents some form of the Hebrew text midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac; for it agrees more frequently with the LXX, or with combinations into which the LXX enters, than with any other single authority. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac or with combinations into which the Syriac enters. On the other hand, its independence of the LXX is shown by a large array of readings, where it has the support of the Samaritan and Massoretic, or of these with various combinations of the Syriac, Vulgate and Onkelos. From these and like considerations we may conclude that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. and 100 A.D. and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

§ 8. The Value of the Book of Jubilees in the Criticism of the Massoretic Text of the Book of Genesis.

From a study of the facts which are referred to in the preceding Section it will be clear that both before and after the Christian era the Hebrew text did not possess any hard and fast tradition. It will further be obvious that the Massoretic form of this text, which has so long been generally assumed as conservative of the most ancient tradition and as therefore final, is after all only one of the many phases through which the text passed in the process of over 1,000 years, i. e. 400 B. C. till A. D. 600, or thereabouts.

As we pursue the examination of the materials just mentioned we shall see grounds for regarding the Massoretic text as the result partly of conscious recension and partly of unconscious change extending over many centuries. How this process affected the text in the centuries immediately preceding and subsequent to the Christian era, we have some means of determining in the Hebrew-Samaritan text which, however much it may have been tampered with on religious or polemical grounds, still preserves in many cases the older reading, even as it preserves the older form of the alphabet. Next we have the LXX of the Pentateuch, to which we may assign the date 200 B. C.; next the Book of Jubilees just before the Christian era; the Syriac Pentateuch before A. D. 100; the Vulgate of the fourth century; the Targums of Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. in their present form A. D. 300–600.

We have above remarked that the evidence of § 6 shows that the Massoretic text is only one of the phases through which the Hebrew text has passed; and if we consider afresh the materials of evidence suggested in that Section in connexion with their dates, and given in some fullness in the Introductions to Charles's Text and Commentary, we shall discover that in some respects it is one of the latest phases of the Hebrew Pentateuch that has been stereotyped by Jewish scholars in the Massoretic text.

This conclusion will tally perfectly with the tradition that all existing Massoretic MSS. are derived in the main from one archetype, i. e. the Hebrew Codex left behind him by Ben Asher, who lived in the tenth century, and whose family had lived at Tiberias in the eighth.

We shall now proceed to give a list of readings in the Massoretic text which should be corrected into accord with the readings attested by such great authorities as the Sam., LXX, Jub., Syr., Vulg.

The following list was published in Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* in 1895. More than two-thirds of the emendations of the Book of Genesis here suggested were subsequently accepted independently, on the evidence of the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., without a knowledge of Jubilees, by C. J. Ball in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1896, by Kittel in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1905, and more than half in the recent Commentary of Gunkel.

In Gen. viii. 19 for כָּל־הַחַיָּה כָּל־הָרֶמֶשׂ וְכָל־הָעוֹף כֹּל רוֹמֵשׂ we should read כָּל־הַחַיָּה וְכָל־הָעוֹף וְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרוֹמֵשׂ with the Sam., Sam. Vers., Jub. (v. 32), Vulg. ('omnia animantia iumenta et reptilia quae reptant super terram'), and Arabic. The LXX and Syr. confirm our emendation (see my Ethiopic text, p. 21, note 29). Here Onk. only supports the Massoretic. The restoration is confirmed by Gen. i. 26 where the very combination הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרוֹמֵשׂ is actually found.

In xi. 8 after הָעִיר add וַיִּבְנוּ with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (x. 24), against Mass. and Vulg.

In xi. 31 וַיֵּצְאוּ אִתָּם we have a reading that should be emended into וַיֵּצֵא אִתָּם with Jub. (xii. 15) and Syr., or into יֹוצֵא אִתָּם with the Sam., LXX, Itala, and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Massoretic.

In xii. 3 for וּמְקַלֶּלְךָ read וּמְקַלְלֶיךָ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xii. 23), Syr., Vulg. The reading of the Mass. is the first movement in the change of plurals into singulars, which is completed in Onk. and Ps.-Jon., where both the participles are in the singular. A few Hebrew MSS., however, preserve the original reading.

In xv. 21 after וְאֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי add וְאֶת־הַחִוִּי with the Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xiv. 18), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 14 after עָרְלָתוֹ add בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xv. 14), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 16 for וּבֵרַכְתִּיהָ read וּבֵרַכְתִּיו with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Mass. For וְהָיְתָה of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read וְהָיָה with LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. For מִמֶּנָּה of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read מִמֶּנּוּ with LXX, Jub., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 19 add וּ before לְזַרְעוֹ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 19), Syr., Vulg., and Arab. Only Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxi. 8 after אֶת־יִצְחָק add בְּנוֹ with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 1), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after הָאָמָה add הַזֹּאת with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 6), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after לְגוֹי read גָּדוֹל with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xvii. 6), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Only such late authorities as Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. omit on religious and polemical grounds, the last giving quite a different turn in expression of national hatred, עם ליסטים, 'nation of robbers.'

In xxii. 13 for אַחַר read אֶחָד with some Hebrew MSS., Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 12), Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven., against Mass. and Vulg. Onk. combines both readings.

In xxii. 16 after אֶת־יְחִידֶךָ add מִמֶּנִּי with Sam., LXX (δι' ἐμέ), Jub. (xviii. 15), Syr., Vulg. (*propter me*). Only the Targums support the Mass.

In xxv. 8 for וְשָׂבֵע read וישבע יָמִים, as in Gen. xxxv. 29, with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiii. 8, cf. xxi. 1; xxii. 7), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxvi. 18 for בִּימֵי of Mass. and Onk. read עַבְדֵי with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiv. 18), Vulg. Syr. combines both readings.

In xxvii. 27 after שָׂדֶה add מָלֵא with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxvi. 22, Lat.), Syr. Vet. (*teste Diodoro*), Vulg. Onk. supports Mass. in omitting.

In xxviii. 4 after אַבְרָהָם add אָבִיךָ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (= אָבִי xxvii. 11). Mass., Syr., and Vulg. omit.

In xxix. 27 for וְנִתְּנָה of Mass. and Onk. read וְאֶתְּנָה with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 8), Syr., Vulg., and Arab.

In xli. 56 for אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם read אוֹצְרוֹת אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם בַּר with Jub. (xlii. 3), LXX τοὺς σιτοβολῶνας and Onk. אוצריא דיר־בהון עבורא, also Targ., Jer., and Ps.-Jon., Syr., and Vulg., support אוֹצְרוֹת, while בַּר is actually found in the Sam., which reads אשר בהם בר.

In xliv. 31 after הַנַּעַר add אִתָּנוּ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xliii. 12), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Mass. and Onk. stand here alone.

In xlv. 28 after רַב read לִי with LXX, Jub. (xliii. 24), Syr., Vulg., and Onk. against Mass. and Sam.

In xlvi. 13 for פָּוָה read פּוּאָה with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xliv. 17), Syr., Vulg., Onk. 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlvi. 13 for יוֹב of Mass., Vulg., and Onk. read יָשׁוּב with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xliv. 17). 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlvi. 24 for שָׁלֻם read שַׁלּוּם with Sam., Jub. (xliv. 30), and 1 Chron. vii. 13. The Syr. ܫܠܡ and LXX Σελλήμ support the former.

In xlvi. 28 for לְהוֹרַת read לְהֶרָאוֹת with Sam., Syr., or לְרָאוֹת with Jub. (xliv. 9) and Onk. or לְהַקְרוֹת with LXX.

§ 9. Date of (*a*) the Original Text and (*b*) of the Versions.

(*a*) Jubilees was written between 153 B.C. and the year of Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees. (1) It was written during the pontificate of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 155 B.C., when this office was assumed by Jonathan the Maccabee. For in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a 'priest of the Most High God.' Now the only Jewish high-priests who bore this title were the Maccabean, who appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Despite the objections of the Pharisees, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to Hyrcanus II (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2). (2) It was written before 96 B.C.; for since our author was of the strictest sect a Pharisee and at the same time an upholder of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96, when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus were openly engaged in mortal strife. (3) It was written before the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees when Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party. As Hyrcanus died in 105, our book was written between 153 and 105.

But it is possible to define these limits more closely. The book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony—such as that under Simon and Hyrcanus. The conquest of Edom, which was achieved by the latter, is referred to in xxxviii. 14. Again our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second century B.C. It declares that they will fall into the hands of the righteous nation, and we learn from 1 Macc. and Josephus that Ashdod and Gaza were destroyed by Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus respectively. But it is in the destruction of Samaria, which is adumbrated in the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 4–6, that we are to look for the true *terminus a quo*. Now all accounts agree in representing the destruction of Samaria as effected by Hyrcanus about four years before his death. Hence we conclude that *Jubilees was written between* 109 *and* 105 B.C.

Many other phenomena point to the second-century origin of our book, which are given in Charles's edition, pp. lviii–lxvi. Amongst these we might mention the currency of older and severer forms of the halacha than prevailed in the rabbinical schools, or were registered in the Mishnah. The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second century B.C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishnah and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second century B.C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishnah. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly

probable that such a halacha did exist in the second century B. C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8–14 notes and xx. 4 note.

Other cases of strict rules afterwards relaxed are the limitation of trees for use with burnt-offerings (see xxi. 12–15 notes), the restriction of the eating of the passover to the court of the Lord's house (see xlix. 20 note), the close adherence to the exacting demand of Lev. xix. 24 that the fourth year's fruit should be holy (see vii. 36 notes), though here we have a variant reading. Note that the rest of the firstfruits belong to the priests, who are to eat them 'before the altar.' On the other hand, the thank-offerings in xxi. 8–10 do not belong to the priest. The computation of the Feast of Weeks is different from the later prevalent Pharisaic reckoning (see xv. 1 note; xvi. 13; xliv. 4–5), while the account of the Feast of Tabernacles in xvi. 21–31 is peculiar to Jubilees.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44 *a*) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former. Attention might also be drawn to the fact that the Priests and Levites still numbered in their ranks, as in the days of the author of Chronicles, the masters of the schools and the men of learning, and that these positions were not filled as in the days of Shammai and Hillel by men drawn from the laity. This inference is to be deduced from the fact that the Levites are represented as the guardians of the sacred books and of the secret lore transmitted from the worthies of old time (x. 4, xlv. 16).

(*b*) *Date of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.* There is no evidence for determining the exact date of the Ethiopic version, but since it was practically regarded as a canonical book it was probably made in the sixth century. Rönsch, as we have already pointed out in § 4, gives some evidence for regarding the Latin version as made in the fifth century.

§ 10. Jubilees from One Author but based on Eastern Books and Traditions.

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms of course the bulk of the book, but much that is characteristic in it is due to his use of many pseudepigraphic and ancient traditions. Amongst the former might be mentioned the Book of Noah, from which in a modified form he borrows vii. 20–39, x. 1–15. In vii. 26–39 he reproduces his source so faithfully that he leaves the persons unchanged, and forgets to adapt this fragment to its new context. Similarly our author lays the Book of Enoch under contribution, and is of great value in this respect in determining the dates of the various sections of this book. See Introd. to 1 Book of Enoch, *in loc.* For other authorities and traditions used by our author see Charles's edition, § 13.

§ 11. Jubilees is a Product of the Midrashic Tendency which had been already at work in the O.T. Books of Chronicles.

The Chronicler rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. His object was to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. In the course of this process all facts that did not square with the Chronicler's presuppositions were either omitted or transformed. Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings, and so he rewrote it in such a way as to show that the law was rigorously observed even by the Patriarchs. The author represents his book to be as a whole a revelation of God to Moses, forming a supplement to and an interpretation of the Pentateuch, which he designates 'the first law' (vi. 22). This revelation was in part a secret republication of the traditions handed down from father to son in antediluvian and subsequent times. From the time of Moses onwards it was preserved in the hands of the priesthood, till the time came for its being made known.

Our author's procedure is of course in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis, for according to this code 'Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready' (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124). This fact seems to emphasize in the strongest manner how freely our author reinterpreted his authorities for the past. But he was only using to the full a right that had been exercised for nearly four centuries already in regard to Prophecy and for four or thereabouts in regard to the law.

§ 12. Object of Jubilees—the Defence and Exposition of Judaism from the Pharisaic standpoint of the Second Century B.C.

The object of our author was to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism, and this he did (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles and particularly Israel's national enemies. In this last respect Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was a reflection of the divine.

But on (*a*) it is to be observed further that to our author the law, as a whole, was the realization in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. It was observed not only on earth by Israel but in heaven. Parts of the law might have only a time reference, to Israel on earth, but in the privileges of circumcision and the Sabbath, as its highest and everlasting expression, the highest orders of archangels in heaven shared with Israel (ii. 18, 19, 21; xv. 26–28). The law, therefore, was supreme, and could admit of no assessor in the form of Prophecy. There was no longer any prophet because the law had made the free exercise of his gift an offence against itself and God. So far, therefore, as Prophecy existed, it could exist only under the guise of pseudonymity. The seer, who had like Daniel and others a message for his time, could only gain a hearing by issuing it under the name of some ancient worthy.

§ 13. The Author—A Pharisee who recognized the Maccabean Pontificate and was probably a Priest.

Since our author was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, and held the strictest views on circumcision, the Sabbath, and the duty of complete separation from the Gentiles, since he believed in angels and demons and a blessed immortality, he was unquestionably a Pharisee of the strictest sect. In the next place, he was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers, and applies to them the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thoroughgoing an admirer of this dynasty as the authors of Test. Lev. xviii. or Ps. cx, who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family. Finally, that our author was a priest might reasonably be inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxxi–xxxii), and from the statement in xlv. 16 that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 14. Influence on later Literature.

On the influence of Jubilees on 1 Enoch i–v, xci–civ, Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerachmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jasher, the Samaritan Chronicle, on Patristic and other writings, and on the New Testament writers, see Charles's edition, pp. lxxiii–lxxxvi.

§ 15. Theology. Some of our Author's Views.

Freedom and determinism. The author of Jubilees is a true Pharisee in that he combines belief in Divine omnipotence and providence with the belief in human freedom and responsibility. He would have adopted heartily the statement of the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 (written some sixty years or more later) τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν: v. 6 ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἐν σταθμῷ, οὐ προσθήσει τοῦ πλεονάσαι παρὰ τὸ κρίμα σου, ὁ θεός. Thus the path in which a man should walk is ordained for him and the judgement of all men predetermined on the heavenly tablets: 'And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even the judgment of all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in' (v. 13). This idea of an absolute determinism underlies many conceptions of the heavenly tablets (see Charles's edition, iii. 10 note). On the other hand, man's freedom and responsibility are fully recognized: 'If they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature' (v. 13): 'Beware lest thou walk in their ways, And tread in their paths, And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God. Else He will give thee back into the hand of thy transgression.' Even when a man has sinned deeply he can repent and be forgiven (xli. 24 seq.), but the human will needs the strengthening of a moral dynamic: 'May the Most High God . . . strengthen thee to do His will' (xxi. 25, xxii. 10).

The Fall. The effects of the Fall were limited to Adam and the animal creation. Adam was

driven from the garden (iii. 17 seqq.) and the animal creation was robbed of the power of speech (iii. 28). But the subsequent depravity of the human race is not traced to the Fall but to the seduction of the daughters of men by the angels, who had been sent down to instruct men (v. 1–4), and to the solicitations of demonic spirits (vii. 27). The evil engendered by the former was brought to an end by the destruction of all the descendants of the angels and of their victims by the Deluge, but the incitement to sin on the part of the demons was to last to the final judgement (vii. 27, x. 1–15, xi. 4 seq., xii. 20). This last view appears in 1 Enoch and the N.T.

The Law. The law was of eternal validity. It was not the expression of the religious consciousness of one or of several ages, but the revelation in time of what was valid from the beginning and unto all eternity. The various enactments of the law, moral and ritual, were written on the heavenly tablets (iii. 31, vi. 17, &c.) and revealed to man through the mediation of angels (i. 27). This conception of the law, as I have already pointed out, made prophecy impossible unless under the guise of pseudonymity. Since the law was the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth, there was no room for any further revelation: much less could any such revelation, were it conceivable, supersede a single jot or tittle of the law as already revealed. The ideal of the faithful Jew was to be realized in the fulfilment of the moral and ritual precepts of this law: the latter were of no less importance than the former. Though this view of morality tends to be mainly external, our author strikes a deeper note when he declares that, when Israel turned to God with their whole heart, He would circumcise the foreskin of their heart and create a right spirit within them and cleanse them, so that they would not turn away from Him for ever (i. 23). Our author specially emphasizes certain elements of the law such as circumcision (xvi. 14, xv. 26, 29), the Sabbath (ii. 18 seq., 31 seq.), eating of blood (vi. 14), tithing of the tithe (xxxii. 10), Feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 29), Feast of Weeks (vi. 17), the absolute prohibition of mixed marriages (xx. 4, xxii. 20, xxv. 1–10). In connexion with many of these he enunciates halacha which belong to an earlier date than those in the Mishnah, but which were either modified or abrogated by later authorities.

The Messiah. Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii–xc to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see Charles's edition, xxxi. 18 n.). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic kingdom. According to our author (i. 29, xxiii. 30) this kingdom was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1,000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgement was apparently to take place at its close (xxiii. 30). This view was possibly derived from Mazdeism.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii–xc in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed, his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx, or Hyrcanus in the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8–15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C. and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realize the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (xxxi. 15), while according to the Test. Reuben 6 he was to 'die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen'. In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author, as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.

Priesthood of Melchizedek. That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note on xiii. 25, and, that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv, we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii as applied to our Lord.

The Future Life. In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest

attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in 1 Enoch xci–civ.

The Jewish Calendar. For our author's peculiar views see Charles's edition § 18 and the notes on vi. 29–30, 32, xv. 1.

Angelology. We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see Charles's edition.

Demonology. The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(*a*) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1–9.

(*b*) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince Mastêmâ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgement of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43–5; Luke xi. 24–6). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgement (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2–3).

Judgement. The doctrine of retribution is strongly enforced by our author. It is to be individual and national in this world and in the next. As regards the individual the law of exact retribution is according to our author not merely an enactment of human justice—the ancient *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; it is observed by God in His government of the world. The penalty follows in the line of the sin. This view is enforced in 2 Macc. v. 10, where it is said of Jason, that, as he robbed multitudes of the rites of sepulture, so he himself was deprived of them in turn, and in xv. 32 seq. it is recounted of Nicanor that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. So also in our text in reference to Cain iv. 31 seq. and the Egyptians xlviii. 14. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation, but spiritually conceived it represented the profound truth of the kinship of the penalty to the sin enunciated repeatedly in the New Testament: 'Whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap' (Gal. vi. 7); 'he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done' (Col. iii. 25, &c.). Again in certain cases the punishment was to follow instantaneously on the transgression (xxxvii. 17).

The final judgement was to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom (xxiii. 30). This judgement embraces the human and superhuman worlds (v. 10 seq., 14). At this judgement there will be no respect of persons, but all will be judged according to their opportunities and abilities (v. 15 seq.). From the standpoint of our author there could be no hope for the Gentiles.

§ 16. Bibliography.

(*a*) Greek Version: see above, § 4 (*a*). Ethiopic Version: this text was first edited by Dillmann from two MSS. *cd* in 1859, and by R. H. Charles from four MSS. *abcd*. *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees . . . with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin Fragments*, Oxford, 1895. Latin Version: see above, § 4 (*a*).

(*b*) Translations. Dillmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissensch., 1850–1, ii. 230–56; iii. 1–96). This translation is based on only one MS. Schodde, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* ('Bibliotheca Sacra,' 1885–7): Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS.* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, v. 703–8; 1894, vi. 184–217, 710–45; 1895, vii. 297–328): Littmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, 1900, ii. 31–119). This translation is based on Charles's text.

(*c*) Commentaries. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1902. Rönsch published a Commentary on the Latin Version. See above, § 4.

(*d*) *Critical Inquiries.* Dillmann, 'Pseudepigraphen des A. T.,' Herzog's *R. E.*², xii. 364–5; 'Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes' (*Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akad.*, 1883); Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1856; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1898; Bohn, 'Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen' (*Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1900, 167–84). For a full bibliography see Charles's Commentary or Schürer.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1–4. *Apostasy of Israel*, 5–9. *Captivity of Israel and Judah*, 10–13. *Return of Judah and rebuilding of the temple*, 15–18.. *Moses' prayer for Israel*, 19–21. *God's promise to redeem and dwell with them*, 22–5, 28. *Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?)*, 26. *And an angel to write down the law*, 27. *This angel takes the heavenly chronological tablets to dictate therefrom to Moses*, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their Jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as he said unto him, 'Go up to the top of the Mount.'

1 1 And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying: 'Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which 2 I have written, that thou mayst teach them.' And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the 3 glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. And He called to Moses on the seventh day **out of** the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the 4 Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days 5 of the law and of the testimony. And He said: 'Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in **transgressing** the covenant 6 which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that 7 I have been truly with them. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I sware to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: 'Unto your seed 8 will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their 9 tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness, and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will 10 prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. And many will perish

2450 Anno Mundi.

Prologue gives admirable account of contents of the book. At once a history and a chronological system dominated by sacred number 7. History extends from creation to legislation on Sinai. Thus it embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. All is re-written from standpoint of *strictest Judaism*.

throughout all the years of the world. These words imply intention of the author to write history up to time of Messianic kingdom. Cf. i. 26.

1. **third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.** Completes imperfect date of Exod. xix. 1. (Same day as God appears to Jacob on way to Egypt, xliv. 5.) For the rest of the verse cf. Exod. xxiv. 12.

2–4 *a*. Exod. xxiv. 15–18.

3. **out of.** Emended in accordance with Exod. xxiv. 26, מתוך by a change of one letter.

flaming. Change of one vowel would give 'devouring' as in Exod. xxiv. 17.

4. **God taught him the earlier and the later history.** Cf. i. 26; also Megilla 19 *b* 'The Holy One, blessed be his name, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times'; so also Shem. Rabb. 40 (Wünsche, 282), Menachoth 29 *b*, Wajikra Rabb. 26 (Beer).

5–10. Ezra ix. 9, 10, 11; Exod. xxiii. 33, xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxx. 1–20, xxxi. 19, 20, 24–6, 27; 2 Kings xvii. 7–17.

5. **write them,** &c. Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

how I, &c. Cf. Ezra ix. 9.

transgressing. An emendation, *sĕḥĕtô* from *'asḥĕtô* of *bcd*.

6. Deut. xxx. 1.

7. **write.** See i. 27 (note). On verse cf. Deut. xxxi. 27; Exod. xxxiii. 3.

10. Captivity of Israel who had forsaken 'my sanctuary', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 15–68, and Lev. xxvi. 14–39.

and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set my name
11 upon it, and that it should dwell (there). And they will make to themselves high places and groves. and graven images. and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they
12 will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. And I will send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change
13 everything so as to work evil before My eyes. And I will hide My face from them, and I will deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I will remove them from the midst of the land, and I will scatter them amongst the Gentiles.
14 And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go
15 astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I will gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek me, so
16 that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul. And I will disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I will †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they shall be for a blessing and not for
17 a curse. and they shall be the head and not the tail. And I will build My sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be their God and they shall be My people in truth and
18, 19 righteousness. And I will not forsake them nor fail them ; for I am the Lord their God.' And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, ' O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against
20 Thee. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them
21 from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered with thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in
22 their sins from henceforth until eternity.' And the Lord said unto Moses: ' I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess
23 their own sin and the sin of their fathers. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day. unto eternity.
24 And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My
25 commandments, and I will be their Father and they shall be My children. And they all shall be

11–13. Idolatry and captivity of Judah. Cf. Ezek. xx. 28, 31 ; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, xxviii. 3 ; 1 En. xcix. 7.

12. **I will send witnesses . . . but they will not hear.** Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 19, xxxvi. 15–16 ; Jer. xxv. 4 ; Matt. xxiii. 34 ; Luke xi. 49.

but . . . will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26.

work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. Cf. xxi. 22 ; Isa. i. 15 ; 2 Kings xxi. 14.

for a prey = *laḥabl* emended from *laḥebl*.

14. Captive Judah forgets service of God. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15–17. Repentance of Judah will bring return and rebuilding of the Temple. 15. Deut. iv. 30, 29 ; Jer. xxix. 13, 14.

16. **†remove them the plant of uprightness†.** The expression 'Plant of uprightness' = Israel from the outset. Original perhaps is Jer. xxxii. 41. Cf. 1 En. x. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Not improbably 'in this land' was lost after the verb. We might read ונטעתים for והסיעתים = 'I will plant them in this land.' Cf. Jer. xxxii. 41. Reversal of the judgement in 13 is required here.

they shall be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13 ; 1 En. ciii. 11.

17. The second Temple. *a b* >'their' before God. Cf. Exod. xxv. 8, xxix. 45 ; Lev. xxvi. 12 ; Ezek. xiv. 11 ; Jer xxiv. 7, xxx. 22.

18. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. **do not forsake . . . rule over them.** 2 Kings xxi. 14 ; Deut. ix. 26 ; Ps. cvi. 41.

20. Ps. li. 10. **Beliar,** see note on xv. 33.

21. Deut. ix. 26, 29. **a holy spirit.** Cf. i. 23 and xv. 14 (note).

22. Deut. xxxi. 27. **confess,** &c. Lev. xxvi. 40 ; Neh. ix. 2.

23. **turn,** &c. 2 Chron. vi. 38. **circumcise.** Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6. **I will cleanse them . . . eternity.** Implies no more exile for Israel.

24. **I will be their Father,** &c. From 2 Sam. vii. 14 ; used in 2 Cor. vi. 18 of all Christians. In 2 Sam. vii. 14 these words refer to Solomon. God is the Father of the nation in Deut. xxxii. 6 ; Isa. lxiii. 16 ; Jer. xxxi. 9 ;

called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit shall know, yea, they shall know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that
26 I love them. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell
27 with them throughout eternity.' And He said to the angel of the presence: 'Write for Moses from
28 the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall
29 be holy.' And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1–16. *Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated*, 17–32. (Cf. Gen. i.–ii. 3.)

2 1 And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and
2 appointed it as a sign for all His works. For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him—the angels of the

Cf. also Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Isa. xliii. 6; Judges ix. 4. In Sir. xxiii. 1; Wisd. ii. 16, &c., it is used of the righteous individual, elsewhere of righteous Israel. In Jubilees Israelites are God's children in virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 13. Also *Sayings of the Fathers*, iii. 22 (Taylor's ed.).

25. **children of the living God.** Hosea i. 10.

26. Moses receives 'Jubilees' as a secret revelation. Cf. esp. 4 Ezra xiv. 6, also Exod. xxxiv. 27–28; Deut. x. 2–4. Conclusion of this verse implies that history of 'Jubilees' is to be brought down to author's own time—that of the early Maccabees. Like 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1; Ass. Mos. x; 1 En. xci–civ, he expected God would dwell with man. He lived in hourly expectation of the 'end of the times'. Like author of 'Beast Visions', 1 En. lxxxvii–xc, he believed this would be accomplished by a Messiah, but his Messiah was to spring from Judah, cf. xxxi. 18 n.

27. Angels only accompany Jahweh in Deut. xxxiii. 2, they mediate indirectly in Ezek. xl. 3. Zechariah and Daniel assign even a larger rôle to the angels. Test. Dan. vi further develops the idea. In N.T. times the ministry of angels has become the universal means of approaching or hearing from God. Expressly affirmed by Philo, *De Somniis*, i. 22, Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5. 3; Paul (Gal. iii. 19), Stephen (Acts vii. 53), and author of 'Hebrews' ii. 2, also Samaritans (Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* 15), De Sacy, xii. 16. Hostility to Christians caused Rabbis to revert to older view in Shabb. 88 *b*, Shem. Rabb. 28. The angel here writes, not the Pentateuch, but a history up to the Messianic kingdom, but Deut. xxviii–xxx may be meant.

28. Read this verse after 25. **eyes of all.** Cf. Rev. i. 7.
King on Mount Zion. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 23.

29. **angel of the presence,** derived from Isa. lxiii. 9. Cf. Test. Judah xxv.; 1 En. xl. 2; probably Michael, Israel's guardian angel; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*,[2] 168; Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6.
went before, &c. Exod. xiv. 19.
from the day of the [new] creation > 'new', inserted wrongly.
†when† > *b*. Possibly an interpolation, or a mistake of ὡς for ἕως; translate 'until'.
Author as Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Test. Levi xviii, believed in a *gradual* transformation of the world, moral and physical. Perhaps borrowed from Mazdeism (cf. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, 254). From 100 B.C. this view was supplanted by the belief in a violent and sudden revolution of things (1 En. xci. 16, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The author divides this process of renewal into three periods: 1st, Deluge, v. 12, 13; 2nd, choice of Israel, i.e. foundation of Hebrew nation, xix. 25, cf. ii. 22; 3rd, establishment of Messianic kingdom, cf. i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. This division is *unique*.
renewed for healing, as Rev. xxii. 2.

II. Cf. Epiphanius, περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν, xxii; Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 4); Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, 7); Midrash Tadshe, vi. 11–16, all based on Jubilees, though the last, like other Jewish writings, postpones creation of angels to second day (so Ber. Rabb., others fifth, Philo seventh) in order to show gulf between them and God. For full notes see Charles' Commentary, pp. 10–12.

2. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4; Epiph. *Haer.* lxv. 4: Rufinus, *Expos. in Symb.* 21.
the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. These two superior classes of angels (i. 19, ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14) alone are superior to righteous Israelites. Cf. Sanh. 93 *a*; Tanchuma 13; Ber. Rabb. 8. Epiph. reads 'glory' for 'sanctification'. But the Lat. xv. 27 has 'sanctificationis'.
The inferior angels are over natural phenomena. Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; 1 En. lx. 12–21, lxxv, lxxx; 2 En. xix. 1–4; Rev. xiv. 18, iv. 5, vi. 1, vii. 1, &c.

presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide ⟨and night⟩, and the light, dawn and day, which He hath
3 prepared in the knowledge of his heart. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day.
4 And on the second day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created
5 on the second day. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of
6 the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament,
7 and the dry land appeared. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden,
8 and all ⟨plants after their kind⟩. These four great works God created on the third day. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the
9 light from the darkness. And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and
10 for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all
11 things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by his hands, the fish and everything that moves in the
12 waters, and everything that flies, the birds and all their kind. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all
13 fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. And on the sixth day
14 He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave
15 him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. And there were altogether
16 two and twenty kinds. And He finished all his work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in
17 everything. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but
18 keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him
19 in heaven and on earth. And He said unto us: 'Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these shall keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto
20 Myself, even so will I bless them, and they shall be My people and I will be their God. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as

[of . . . angels] *b c d*. > *a*, Epiph.
of snow. So Epiph. *ab* read 'of all' > *cd*.
the. Eth. reads 'all', *kuellú* for *cllu* = 'these' = *τάς* simply.
and night, added from Epiph.

4. Cf. Gen. i. 6–7; 2 En. xxvi–xxvii.

5–14. Cf. Gen. i. 9–28; 2 En. xxx. 1–8.

5. **third day** + 'He made as' MSS.

7. **in Eden**, or 'for pleasure': dittography. Eden created on third day as in 'Conflict of Adam and Eve,' i. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxx. 1; Ber. rabb. 15.

4 Ezra iii. 6 taught it was 'pre-existent'; this became the prevailing view among Jews and Christians. Cf. Weber, *J. T.* 198; Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8.

plants after their kind. So Epiph.

9. Author avoids the moon, because it upsets his calendar.

16. **on the sixth day**. So Gen. ii. 2ª (Sam., LXX, Syr. against Mass.).

17–21. The two chief orders of angels like Israel observe the Sabbath: apparently the third order, like the Gentiles, do not, as they are inferior to Israel.

20. Cf. Isa. xli. 8, xliv. 1, 2. **I have chosen**. 'I will choose', Epiph.

My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the
21 Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.' And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself
22 a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . .
23 There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and
24 holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony
25 and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon
26 shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to
27 defile it, as it is holier than all other days. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed
28 day. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and
29 blessed throughout all days like unto us. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is **unseemly**, to do thereon their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, †and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,†
30 which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees; on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made
31 known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator of all things blessed it, but he did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them
32 alone he permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for blessing and holiness and glory above all
33 days. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.

My first-born son. Cf. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. **a peculiar people.** Cf. Deut. vii. 6; Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 12. **peculiar.** So Eth. easily emended.

22. **commands** † †

sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Ezek. xx. 41; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

acceptable before Him. Rom. xii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. Agreement of all authorities proves a lacuna here. Restored text='as there were twenty-two letters and twenty-two sacred books and twenty-two heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made twenty-two kinds of work.' Combine twelve minor prophets, Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, taking Kings, Chronicles, and Samuel as three books, hence twenty-two.

Jacob and the Sabbath are parallel in their exaltation.

25. Cf. Exod. xxxi. 14, 15, xxxv. 2; Numb. xv. 32–6.

27. **rooted out.** Cf. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. Cf. Isa. lvi. 2, 4; lviii. 13; Neh. xiii. 15–22. **Which is unseemly.** Like Littmann, I take za'ijerkawen za'ijâstar'î as = יִהְיֶה רָאוּי שֶׁלֹּא. See also on iii. 15. Or we may connect 'unseemly' with the following infinitive, 'unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure', as this is the usual construction after רָאוּי. Cf. Esther ii. 9; Chull. 83 *b*; Nid. vi. 4.

Law against preparing food deduced from Exod. xvi. 23, xxxv. 3. The order is dislocated here. Either we have a dittography of 30 or else the law concerning burdens should precede law about preparing food. Latter law in Ber. 2 *b*, former in Jer. xvii. 21–7; Neh. xiii. 19; Shabb. vii. 2; esp. John v. 10.

30. Chief Jewish festivals observed in heaven. Cf. vi. 18.

31. **the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples . . . to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone.** The words or rather the thought of them recurs in the Jewish Prayer Book (ed. Singer), p. 124, 'O Lord our God . . . who hast sanctified us . . . and . . . hast given us this holy Sabbath;' 139, 'Thou didst not give it unto the nations of other lands,' &c.

31. **it.** Restored by a change of punctuation in one letter.

Israel alone privileged and for ever. Cf. Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14; Ex. xxvii. 21.

32. **He had created for blessing and holiness and glory.** Cf. Jewish Prayer Book, p. 150. 'This Sabbath day which Thou hast given us for holiness . . . for honour and for glory.'

Adam names all creatures, 1–3. *Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification*, 4–14. *Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion*, 15–29. *Law of covering one's shame enacted*, 30–2. *Adam and Eve live in Êldâ*, 32–5. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18–25, iii.)

3 1 And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day.
2 And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name.
3 And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on
4 the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. And the Lord said unto us: 'It is not
5 good that the man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him.' And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst
6 his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called
7 [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband.' Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be
8 one flesh. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their defilement,
9 for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered into the garden
10 of Eden. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tablets in regard to her that gives birth: 'if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these
11 days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days
12 in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days.' And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides,
13 and every tree that is planted in it is holy. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor
14 enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the
15 days. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for 1–7 A.M.
seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything
16 that is **suitable** for tillage. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was
17 being kept]. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven 8 A.M.
years exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, 'Hath God commanded you,

111. 1–16. Gen. ii. 19–25.

3. **found**, Mass., Sam.; against LXX, Syr., Vulg. of Gen. ii. 20, 'was found'.

4. **Let us make.** So Gen. ii. 18 (LXX, Vulg.). Mass., Sam., Syr., 'I will make'.

5, 6. Cf. Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21, 'thirteenth rib.'

6. [my] interpolated from Eth. version, where alone it is found; Mass., Syr., Vulg. > 'her'.

7. Omits 'twain' as Mass., Onk.

8–14. Adopts ancient or invents new legend to explain origin of law of purification after child-birth in Lev. xii. 2–5. Cf. *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 74; Anastasius Sinaita; Glycas, *Chron.* 392; Syncell. i. 8–9; Midrash Tadshe xv; Eppstein, *R. E. J.* (1890), xxxi. 92. For quotations see Charles' Commentary, 22–4.

10. **heavenly tablets.** Cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3, lxxxi. 1, xciii. 2, ciii. 2; Test. Levi v; Test. Asher ii, vii. In En. and Test. the idea wavers between absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple.

In Jubilees they are at times a record even for contemporary events (xiv. 9, xxx. 20, xxxi. 32), or a heavenly copy of levitical laws (iii. 8, 31, iv. 32, v. 13, vi. 17, xv. 25, xvi. 29, xxiv. 33, xxviii. 6, xxxii. 15, &c.).

15. Adam seven years in paradise. Sanh. 38 *b*, *Die Schatzhöhle* (trans. Bezold), p. 7, says six hours.

God instructs him. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 26–9; later assigned to Michael (Vit. Ad. xxii) or angels (Ber. Rabb. 24[1]).

suitable. With Littmann I take zajâstar'î as = ראוי. See on ii. 9. But the ord. sense 'revealed' may be right here.

17–22. Gen. iii. 1–7.

18 saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' And she said to it, 'Of all the fruit of the
trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of
the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'
19 And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day
ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and
20 evil.' And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit
21 was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. And when she had first covered her shame with
figleaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was
22 naked. And he took figleaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and
3, 24 covered his shame. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . And He was
wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He
said unto her: 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth
25 children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee.' And to Adam also
he said, 'Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which
I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns
and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till
thou returnest to the earth from whence thou **wast taken**; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt
26 thou return.' And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from
27 the Garden of Eden. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as
a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the
28 rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. And on that day was closed the mouth
of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they
could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue.
29 And He sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was
scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created
30 for them. And to Adam alone did He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and
31 cattle. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tablets as touching all those who know the
judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the
32 Gentiles uncover themselves. And on the new moon of the fourth month, Adam and his wife went 8 A.M.
33 forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of Êldâ in the land of their creation. And
34 Adam called the name of his wife Eve. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he
35 knew her. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1–12. *Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared*, 13–15. *Enoch and his history*, 16–25. *Four sacred places*, 26. *Methusclah, Lamech, Noah*, 27, 28. *Death of Adam and Cain*, 29–32. *Shem, Ham, and Japhet*, 32. (Cf. Gen. iv–v.)

4 1 And in the third week in the second jubilee[a] she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth[b] she 64–70 A.M.
2 gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth[c] she gave birth to her daughter Âwân. And in the first (year) of 71–77 A.M.
the third jubilee,[d] Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept 78–84 A.M.
3 the offering of Cain. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, 99–105 A.M.

23. Lacuna: supply from Syncell. i. 14; Targ., Ps.-Jon. on Gen. iii. 14, Midrash Koheleth some statement to the effect that the serpent's feet were cut off. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

24. Follows Gen. iii. 16 (LXX).

25–6. Gen. iii. 17–19, 21, 24.

25. **thy bread.** So LXX. Mass., Sam. > 'thy'.
wast taken, *tanshâ'ĕka* corrupt, as often, for *tanashâ'ĕka*.

27. Adam's incense-offering antedates Exod. xxx. 34.
day . . . he covered his shame. Cf. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42. Beer 41 suggests he was thinking of priests at the altar.

28. A common Jewish belief. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4; *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 18; Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32. Our text is quoted by Syncell. i. 14; Cedren. i. 9, 10; Zonaras, i. 23. Original language was said to be Hebrew (xii. 25; cf. Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xi. 1; Ber. rabb. 18; Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11); or Syriac (*Die Schatzhöhle*, Theodoret, Ephraem); or Greek (Eutychius; 2 En. xxx. 13; Or. Sibyll. iii. 24–6); or Aramaic, since Adam wrote Ps. cxxxix (Sanh. 38 *b*; but Shabb. 12 *b* says angels do not understand Aramaic).

31. Good indication of date. Author protests against following Greeks in stripping for the games. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 12–14; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1.

32. **'Eldâ**, corrupt for מולדה, 'land of nativity,' as Onk. and Ps.-Jon. in Gen. iii. 23. So 'creation' is a rendering of 'Êldâ.

34. No marriage in Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7.

IV. 1. No two early authorities agree in the names of Adam's daughters.
Syncell. i. 14 dates Cain's birth in 70 A.M., Abel's in 77, 'Asouam's' (= Âwân's) in 85, and puts Abel's sacrifice at 22 years of age, i.e. 99 A.M.

2–3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

4 complaining because he had slain him. And the Lord reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him, and he made him a **fugitive** on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he
5 cursed him upon the earth. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, 'Cursed is he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and
6 the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other.' And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and
7 on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. And Adam and his wife mourned for 99-1
Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week they became joyful, and Adam 130 A
knew his wife again, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said 'GOD has
8 raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him.' And in the sixth
9 week he begat his daughter Azûrâ. And Cain took Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare 134-
him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth 190-
jubilee, houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of 197 A
10, 11 his son Enoch. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. And in the fifth week 225-
of the fifth jubilee Seth took Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth 235 A
12, 13 week) she bare him Enos. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth. And in the seventh jubilee in the third week Enos took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son 309-
14 in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan. And at the close of the eighth 325,
jubilee Kenan took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, 392 A
15 in the first week in the third year of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. And in the 395 A
second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl 449-
the daughter of his **father's brother**, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and 461 A
he called his name Jared: for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do
16 judgment and uprightness on the earth. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, 512-
and her name was Bârakâ, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and 522 A
17 he called his name Enoch. (And he was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of
18 their separate months. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years
19 as we made (them), known to him.) (And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all
20 the children of men and for their generations. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week 582-8

3. **complaining.** Cf. Gen. iv. 10; 1 En. xxii. 5, 6.

4. Eth. *nuḳ*, a bad transliteration of Hebrew נָע, 'fugitive,' Gen. iv. 12.

6. Cf. Intr. to 2 Enoch xxxiv, Charles' edition.

7-8. Usually the mother names the child in Genesis, father in 'Jubilees', as Sam. in Gen. iv. 25. Exceptions are Gen. iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26, Exod. ii. 22.

9. **Enoch.** Cf. Gen. iv. 17; Syncell. i. 16; Jashar, 96.

10. **nine sons**, quoted by Epiph. *Haer.* xxxix. 6. Jashar speaks of three; Syncell. i. 18 and Vit. Ad. of thirty-three.

11. ( ) supplied acc. to Syncell. i. 17.

12. Gen. iv. 26. Originally as here הוחל was taken in a good sense. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3. 1, LXX, Syr., but Jerome, and later Rabbis, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 23, Jashar ii. 1090, 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20, Shabb. 118 *b*, and Onk. take as implying ceasing from prayer or beginning idolatry.

15. Read 'father's brother' for 'father's sister' with Greek MS. *r* on Gen. v. 15 and Syriac Fragment.

Jared . . . descended, play on words in Hebrew.

angels of the Lord descended on the earth. Gen. vi. 1-4; Is. xxiv. 21. True interpretation here as in 1 Enoch vi. 2 (Greek), Test. of XII Patr., Philo, Jude, 2 Peter, and Epiphanius. Subsequently to Christians, 'sons of God' become 'children of Seth;' first in Julius Africanus, emphatically in Chrysostom, *Homilies*, Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv, Jerome, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii, Eutychius, Syncellus, *Die Schatzhöhle*, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, esp. bk. iii, iv, Zonaras, Glycas. Later Jewish authors (Onkelos, Symmachus, Ps.-Jon., Ber. rabb., Jashar, &c.) made them into 'mighty men', 'judges', &c. By this means Enoch's greatness was transferred to Seth by Christians, just as to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, by Jews.

Watchers, as in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23; 1 En. i. 5, xx. 1; 2 En. vii, xviii.

17-23. Shows the parts of Enoch books which were known to our author. Cf. 1 En. vi-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi, lxxii-xc.

17. For 'Enoch the scribe' see 1 En. xii. 3, 4. Contrast 1 En. lxix. 8.

18. Enoch does not deal with 'weeks of jubilees', &c. See Jub. vii. 37, xxi. 10 (note).

19. This vision is that in 1 En. lxxxiii-xc. Name of his wife and nature of his dream are the same in both, also ascetic tone (vision seen before marriage).

thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of Dânêl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name 587 A.M.
21 Methuselah. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down
22 everything. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch
23 testified against (them) all. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the con-
24 demnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the
25 deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary,
26 (even) **sweet spices** acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. For the Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness through-
27 out the generations of the world. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself 652 A.M.
a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzrîâl, the daughter of his **father's brother**, in the third week, in the
28 first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech. And in the fifteenth 701–7 A.M.
jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâkî'îl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, 'This one will comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground
29 which the Lord hath cursed.' And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in 930 A.M.
the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he
30 was the first to be buried in the earth. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: 'On the day that ye eat thereof ye shall die.' For this reason he
31 did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in
32 righteous judgment. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tablets: 'With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that
33 he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him.' And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah 1205 A.M.
took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ĕmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year thereof she bare him 1207 A.M.
Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare 1209 A.M.
him Japheth. 1212 A.M.

21, 22. Refer to 1 En. xii–xvi, xxiii–xxxvi.

23. Points to tradition like that at base of 1 En. lxx. Enoch is heavenly scribe here as in 2 En. xxiii. 1–3. Cf. also 1 En. xii. 3; 2 En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5.

Garden of Eden, as in 1 En. lxx. 1–3; 2 En. lxvii. 2.

24. Cf. 2 En. xxxiv. 3; Test. Naph. 4.

25. *quatr* corrupt for *quĕtarê*, 'sweet spices.' Cf. Exod. xxx. 7.

26. Four abodes of God on earth. 'Mountain of the East', uncertain; either Mount Ephraim (Rapoport, *ZDMG*, xi. 730–33, implying Samaritan authorship) or Lubar on Ararat (Rönsch, pp. 505–6); or mount above Eden where Sethites live (in *Die Schatzhöhle*, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, &c.); or 'throne of God' in 1 En. xviii. 6, xxiii. 1, xxxii. 1.

27. **father's brother.** Emended as in iv. 15.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. ? Noah born in 707 as Sam. Chron. The explanation of Noah's name is much elaborated in Jashar 13 *b*; Ber. Rabb. 25.

29. Cf. iii. 32.

30. **one thousand years . . . one day.** 2 Pet. iii. 8; Ep. Barn. xv; 2 En. xxxiii; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* lxxxi, and Lactant. *Institution.* vii. 14.

On the day, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 17.

31–2. Two legends exist of Cain's death. This is the earlier, quoted in Syncell. i. 19; Cedren. i. 16. Law of exact retribution enforced by Cain's fate; cf. Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19. Beer says this law was unknown to traditional Judaism in cases of murder; but cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32. It reaches the ideal in Gal. vi. 7; Col. iii. 25 and Gospel parables of 'Dives and Lazarus' and 'Unforgiving Debtor'. The later legend makes Lamech slay Cain.

33. Shem really oldest in Gen. x. 21: so Vulg., Sanh. 69 *b*.

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. *Corruption of all creation*, 2–3. *Punishment of the fallen angels and their children*, 4–9 *a*. *Final judgment announced*, 9 *b*–16. *Day of Atonement*, 17–18. *The deluge foretold. Noah builds the ark, the deluge*, 19–32. (Cf. Gen. vi–viii. 19.)

5 1 And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they 2 chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men 3 (was) thus evil continually. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had **wrought all manner of evil** 4 before His eyes. And He said that He would destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the earth 5, 6 which He had created. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and 7 behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed 8 from under heaven. And He said 'My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh 9 and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years'. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword 10 and were destroyed from the earth. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before 11 the Lord. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom 12 He judged not according to all their wickedness. And he †made† for all his works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all 13 righteous each in his kind alway. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and 14 for every kind. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are 15 ordained and written and engraved. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his 16 greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the 17 gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in righteousness, 18 He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. It is written and ordained that 19 He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; (for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was com- 20 manded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him.) And the Lord said that he would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and 21 beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. And He commanded Noah to 22 make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. And Noah made the ark in all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-**seventh** jubilee of years, in the fifth week 1307

V. Parallel to Gen. vi–viii. 19. Cf. 1 En. vi. 1, 2, vii. 5, x. 12, lxxxix. 3.
3. **wrought all manner of evil.** See Ethiopic text.
4. **that He would**, &c. So MSS. *b c*.
11–12. Corruption of tense probable in Hebrew; the 'new creation' is still in the future.
16. Cf. Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.
17–18. Interpolated, or transposed from xxxiv. 18–19.
18. The Day of Atonement blots out all sins for the truly penitent (contrary to Lev. xvi. 21; Yoma viii. 9).
19. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23–32.
22. Read 'twenty-seventh' for 'twenty-second'.

23 in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, 1308 A.M.
in the second month, on the new moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and
all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth
evening.
24 And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number.
25 And the flood-gates began to pour down water from the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water.
26 And the waters increased upon the earth:
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.
27 And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five months—one hundred and fifty days.
28, 29 And the ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat. And (on the
new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of
heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses
30 of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. And on the new
moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first 1309 A.M.
31 month the earth became visible. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth
week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.
32 And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and
birds, and every moving thing.

Sacrifice of Noah, 1–3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20–2). *God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden*, 4–10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1–17). *Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood*, 11–14. *Bow set in the clouds for a sign*, 15–16. *Feast of weeks instituted, history of its observance*, 17–22. *Feasts of the new moons*, 23–8. *Division of the year into* 364 *days*, 29–38.

6 1 And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on
2 that mountain. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its
blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save
3 those that were in the ark with Noah. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an
ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and
placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled
wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, **acceptable** before
4 the Lord. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there
should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and
harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not
5 change their order, nor cease for ever. 'And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and
become many upon it, and be a blessing **upon** it. The fear of you and the dread of you I will
6 inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. And behold I have given unto you all beasts,
and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all
7 things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. But flesh, with the life
thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of
your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every ⟨beast⟩ will I require the
8 blood of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of
9, 10 God made He man. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth.' And Noah and his sons

28. **Lûbâr**, in Armenia (Sayce); the Babylonian Noah rested on Mount Nizir, in the Lulubi of the Assyrian inscriptions.
29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 7.
30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.
31. The earth became dry exactly one year after Noah entered the ark. In Gen. viii. 14 this is on the twenty-seventh, not the seventeenth day. Lagarde's LXX MS. *z* on Gen. viii. 14 quotes part of 31 and 32; also the date in vi. 1.

VI. 1. Cf. xiv. 1, xliv. 1 (events on same date). Ber. Rabb. 34 placed Noah's altar at Jerusalem.
2. Cf. Lev. xviii. 26; Num. xxxv. 33, but they give no exact parallels.
3. Gen. viii. 20, expanded by Lev. ii. 2, 5; Exod. xxix. 40.
acceptable, *jâshamer* for text *jěshamer*.
4–7. God's covenant with Noah, as Gen. viii, ix.
5. **be a blessing** for 'multiply' in Gen. ix. 7.
upon. Text *mâ'ekala* corrupt for *lâ'elêhâ*.
10–14. Noah's covenant is completed and confirmed by the Mosaic one in same month. Cf. Exod. xix. 1.

swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the
11 Lord God for ever throughout all the generations of the earth in this month. On this account He
spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the
mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words
12 of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. And this testimony is written concerning
you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts
or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of
cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land.
13 And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed
14 may be before the Lord our God continually. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is
for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar: every day and at the time of morning and
evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep
15 it and not be rooted out. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again
16 be a flood on the earth. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there
17 should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. For this reason it
is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this
18 month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. And this whole festival was celebrated in
heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years:
and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's 1309
death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and 1659
19 they eat blood. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to
thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain.
20 And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a
21 commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. For
it is the feast of weeks and the feast of first fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature:
22 according to what is written and engraven concerning it, **celebrate** it. For I have written in the
book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its
season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should
remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year.
23 And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the
new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained
24 as a testimony for ever. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever,
25 so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. And on the new moon of the first month
he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened
26 (the ark) and saw the earth. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths
of the abyss beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of
27 the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. And on the new
28 moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. And on this
account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained.
29 And they placed them on the heavenly tablets, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another
(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the
30 third to the fourth. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and
(these will make) the entire year complete. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly
31 tablets. And there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year.

11, 14. Proper use of blood in daily sacrifice. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3–8.

17–18. **the feast of weeks** is connected with Noah's covenant here only. Later it is ascribed to Moses. The name 'Pentecost' (2 Macc. xii. 32; Tobit ii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 8) is not yet in use.

21. Cf. Num. xxviii. 26.

celebrate, *gĕbarâ*, emended from *gĕbrâ*, 'its celebration.'

22. **one day** = first day (Eppstein), i. e. of the week. Pentecost was to be on a Sunday every year. Cf. xlix. 7, 8.

23. The four great days of the year have a religious significance here, but an astronomical one in 1 En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 (intercalary days). Cf. Ezek. xlvi. 6; Rosh ha-Shanah, i. 1. They are associated here with patriarchal events. Cf. iii. 32, v. 29, vi. 26, xvi. 1, xxviii. 24, xlv. 1, xii. 16, xiii. 8, xxviii. 14, &c.

26–7. Gen. viii. 2, 5; 1 En. lxxxix. 7, 8.

29–30. Solar year of 364 days (cf. iv. 17, v. 27, xii. 16) = 12 months of 30 days and 4 intercalary days. Eppstein, on vi. 32 (*Revue des Études Juives* xxii. 10–13), suggests that Jubilees uses two calendars—the second being a parallel ecclesiastical year, a multiple of 7; i. e. 13 months of 28 days. Cf. vi. 22, 28. On the great difficulties connected with the calendar of our author and of pre-Christian Judaism see my Commentary *in loc.*

32 And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—
three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not
disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to
33 their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect
and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons,
and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years
34 will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. And all the children of Israel will forget,
and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths,
35 and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I
declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and
on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant
36 and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For
there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—how (it) disturbs the
37 seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come
upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony,
and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and
the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and
38 jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after
thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and
sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and
sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1–5. *Becomes drunk and exposes his person*, 6–9. *The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth*, 10–12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20–8). *Noah's sons and grandsons and their cities*, 13–19. *Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed*, 20–39.

7 1 And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on 1317 A.M.
the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they
produced fruit in the fourth year, and he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the 1320 A.M.
2 seventh month. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth 1321 A.M.
3 year, until the first day, on the new moon of the first month. And he celebrated with joy the day
of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven
sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself
4 and his sons. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on
the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice,
5 and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. And he placed
all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he
had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to
6 ascend **acceptable** before the Lord his God. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his
7 children with joy. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down
8 and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and
9 went forth and told his two brethren without. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and
Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and **went backward** and covered the shame
10 of their father, and their faces were backward. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that
his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: 'Cursed be Canaan; an
11 enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren.' And he blessed Shem, and said: 'Blessed be the

32. The impossible number 364 as in 1 En. lxxiv. 10, lxxv. 2; 2 En. xlviii, is probably due to dogmatic considerations; to make the festivals fall on the same day of the week from year to year. Contrast 2 En. xiv. 1 ('365¼ days').
Bacon, *Hebraica*, viii. 79–88, 124–39 (1891–2), shows that the same causes operated on the authors of the Deluge story in P. The flood lasted *one year* in the Chaldaean account—this was a lunar year of 354 days but P makes it last *one year and ten days*; i.e. a year of 364 days.
34. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 4–6.
35. **not of my own devising.** Cf. Num. xvi. 8; Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.
36. Cf. ii. 9, iv. 21. Contrast 1 En. lxxiv. 12; Sam. Chronicle (Neubauer, *Journal Asiatique* (1869), xiv, no. lv. 421, seq.).

VII. 3. Cf. ritual of Num. xxix. 2, 5.
5. **acceptable.** Emended as in vi. 3.
6–12. Gen. ix. 21–7 (LXX).
9. Text restored by emending *gatsômû* into *gabî'ômû*.

12 Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall
13 dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.' And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from
14 his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. And he built for
15 himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after
16 the name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlĕbâb.
17 And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlĕbâb fronting the mountain on its
18 east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) **was born** two years after the flood—and
19 **Lud, and Aram.** The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and
20 Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to 1324-
enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, 1372
and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls
21 from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely, owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they
22 chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. And they begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the
23 Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. And every one sold himself
24 to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. And after this **they sinned against** the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil
25 continually. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth
26 He destroyed everything. 'And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness: for in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother.
27 For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth,
28 and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth.

29 And there shall not be left any man that eateth blood,
Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor shall there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven;

For into Sheol shall they go,
And into the place of condemnation shall they descend,
And into the darkness of the deep shall they all be removed by a violent death.

30 There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your
31 souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may eat blood before you: cover the blood,
32 for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required
33 at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. For the earth will not be clean from the blood

13. Gen. x. 6.
16. Shem is the good son.
18. Unintelligible text restored by a few slight changes.
20-39. Fragment of lost 'Book of Noah'. Cf. Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii.
Our author has left unchanged the 1st persons of the verbs in verses 26-39.
21. **These three things.** Almost the three cardinal sins. Cf. Gen. vi. 2; 1 En. vii. 1; Ber. Rabb. 31.
22. Three classes of giants. Cf. 1 En. vii. 1 (Greek), lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2.
were unlike, perhaps better 'plundered' or 'strove' (by slight emendations).
23. 1 Kings xxi. 20; 1 En. ix. 1–9, vii. 5, lxxxvii. 1.
24. **they sinned against.** Cf. 1 En. vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.
29. Used by 1 En. ciii. 7-8.

which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be
34 purified throughout all its generations. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and
righteousness that ye **may be planted** in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your
35 glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. And behold, ye will go
and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover
36 all fruit-bearing trees. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered:
and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable
before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things. Let them offer in
abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and
37 what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). And
in the fifth year

. . . . . .

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous,
38 and all that you plant shall prosper. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command
Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things
39 which his fathers commanded him. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch
commanded his son in the first jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his son's sons until the day of his death.'

Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1–4. *His sons*, 5–8. *Noah's sons and Noah divide the earth*, 10–11. *Shem's inheritance*, 12–21: *Ham's*, 22–4: *Japheth's*, 25–30. (Cf. Gen. x.)

8 1 In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to 1373 A.M.
himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ĕjâ, the daughter of Sûsân, the daughter of Elam, and she
2 bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. And the son grew, 1375 A.M.
and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for
3 himself a city. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he
read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching
of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and
4 stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was
5 afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. And in the
thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name 1429 A.M.
was Mêlkâ, the daughter of **Madai**, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and 1432 A.M.
6 called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' [And in the fourth year he was
born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of
Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year 1499 A.M.
7 thereof. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he 1503 A.M.
took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second
8 jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. And in the sixth year thereof, she bare him 1564 A.M.
a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began 1567 A.M.
9 to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. And they
10 divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. And it came to pass in the
beginning of the thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham 1569 A.M.
and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us,
11 who had been sent, was with them. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and
their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession,
and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father.

34. **who saved me**, &c. Probably read by 2 Peter ii. 5.
may be planted. Emended by Dillmann by a change of one vowel.
36. Beer says this was the view of Ibn Ezra, Caraites, and Samaritans, concerning the fruit of the fourth year. The law in Lev. xix. 23–4 seems rather exacting. Our translation agrees with it in reading 'will be accounted holy' (*b c*; 'will be gathered' *a d*), but this interpretation is contrary to the ordinary view of Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19, &c.
37. Lacuna here. Laws about fruit should be continued.
39. **the seventh.** Cf. 1 En. lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14. See on xxi. 10 for the attribution of halachoth to Enoch.

VIII. 5. Madai emended with Syr. Frag. and Lagarde's Greek MS. *r*: μελχα θυγατηρ μαδαι. Text here corrupt. Play on words Shelah, 'sent'. Cf. 'Peleg' in 8.
9–10. The secret division of the earth is followed by an authoritative compact. The object here is to vindicate the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, as the rightful inheritance of sons of Shem. Cf. similar accounts in Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii; *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544; Chron. Paschale i. 53; Jerahmeel xxxi. 2; Syncell. i. 82; Cedren. i. 23.

12 And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as
an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the
mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river Tînâ, and his portion goes
towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the
abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mê'at, and this river
flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the
13 south belongs to Shem. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue
14 which looks towards the south. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a
straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is
15 named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. And it turns from here towards the south towards the
mouth of the great sea on the shore of (its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it
extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the
16 banks of this river. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the
south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it
turns to the †east† and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends
17 to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons,
18 that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. And Noah rejoiced that this
portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his
mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.'

19 And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount
Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three
20 were created as holy places facing each other. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the
21 word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. And he knew that a blessed portion
and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of
Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red
Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the
islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the
north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'ĕdâi, and all the mountains
of Ararat. and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the
22 north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good. And for Ham came forth the
second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends
towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the
sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which
23 †everything which is not destroyed descends†. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of
Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it
draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden
24 of Eden. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy
25 for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. And for Japheth came forth the
third portion beyond the river Tînâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-
26 easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. And it extends northerly
to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of
27 Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. And it
extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly
28 to the waters of the sea of Mê'at. And it extends to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly
direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns
29 round towards the north. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion
of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever;

12. Palestine, **middle of the earth**, as Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1; Sanh. 37 *a*.
Râfâ = Ural Mountains. **Tînâ** = Tanais or Don. **Mê'at** = Maeotis or Sea of Azov.
13. **Kârâsô** = Chersonese (Dillmann), or Rhinocorura on Egyptian border, perhaps more likely.
15. **'Afrâ** = Africa in early limited sense. **Gihon** = the Nile, as Jer. ii. 18, Shihor; Sir. xxiv. 27.
16. Read 'north' for 'south'.
18-19. The three 'Abodes of God' are in Shem's portion. Cf. iv. 26.
21. **Kaftûr** or Kamâtûri, either Crete or Cyprus or Cilicia or Cappadocia (Amos ix. 7, LXX) or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid. **Sanîr** or Senir (Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5) is Hermon. **'Amânâ** is Antilibanus or Mt. Amanus. **Mâ'ĕdâi** is Media.
22-24. Ham's portion: vague limits in Asia. **'Atêl** = Atlantic? **Mâ'ûk** = Oceanus. **Gâdîr** = Cadiz.
25-29. Japheth's portion. **Gog** = Scythians (Josephus). **Qêlt** = Celts. **'Afêrâg**? = Phrygia.

30 five great islands, and a great land in the north. But it is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: *Shem's* 2–6: *Japheth's,* 7–13. *Oath taken by Noah's sons,* 14–15.

9 1 And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him
2 [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk
3 to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of
4 Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends **and skirts** the river. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the
5 Euphrates. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains
6 of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of
7, 8 Asshur his brother. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of
9 Mê'at. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two
10 brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. And for Javan came forth the fourth
11 portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue.
12 And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it
13 approaches the east of Gâdîr. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî
14 came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. And thus the sons of Noah divided unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating
15 a curse on every one that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. And they all said, 'So be it; so be it,' for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1–2. *Noah's prayer,* 3–6. *Mastêmâ allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits,* 7–11. *Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons,* 12–14. *Noah dies,* 15–17. *Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues,* 18–27. *Canaan seizes on Palestine,* 29–34. *Madai receives Media,* 35–6.

10 1 And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of†
2 the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and
3 slaying his sons' sons. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

29. **five islands**, as 1 En. lxxvii. 8.
30. Epiphanius makes this heat of his country Canaan's reason for seizing Palestine.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6. **Cush** = Ethiopia. **Mizraim** = Egypt. **Put** = Libya.
2. **Elam**, from Red Sea to Pontus, includes India.
3. **skirts.** Text corrupt, but easily emended.
9. Madai's lot embraces Britain (Epiph., Syncell., Jerahmeel).
10. **Javan** = Ionia, here all islands of Aegean.
12. 'Three tongues.' Probably Italy, Greece, Thrace.
13. **Tiras** = Aegean sea-coast, or Thracians (Josephus). [ ] interpolated from ix. 4.

X. Another fragment of 'Apocalypse of Noah', part of Hebrew original in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch,* iv. 155.
1. **unclean demons**: cf. 1 En. xv–xvi; souls of children of disobedient 'watchers'.

'God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4 But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth.
5 And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and
6 created in order to destroy. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous
7. 8 from henceforth and for evermore.' And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: 'Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men.'
9 And He said: 'Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the
10 place of condemnation.' And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their
11 medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemna-
12 tion, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he
13 might heal them with herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from
14 (hurting) the sons of Noah. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he
15 loved him exceedingly above all his sons. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on
16 Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen 1659 A
17 jubilees and two weeks and five years. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation
18 unto generation, till the day of judgment. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômnâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: 'Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves
19 a city and a tower in the land of Shinar.' For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, 'Go to, let us ascend thereby into
20 heaven.' And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which
21 comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. And they built it: 1645–
forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick) 1688 A
was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall
22 was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). And the Lord our God said unto us: 'Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with

3. **God of the spirits of all flesh.** Cf. Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. **sons of perdition**: 2 Thess. ii. 3.
6. **canst . . . them**: *kuânnenô lômû* emended from *kuennanêhômû*.
8. **Mastêmâ** (Hos. ix. 7, 8) = 'enmity' = Mastiphat (-m) (Syncell., Cedren.), Mansemat (Acts of Philip, ed. Tisch. p. 98). The demons, as in 1 Enoch, are accusers, seducers, and destroyers. In xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28, Israel is declared free from them; here he falls from this hope to talk of spells, charms, &c. Shem, as priest, receives these from Noah; cf. xlv. 16.
9. The **tenth** here is a modification of 1 En. xv–xvi ('all').
18. **Reu . . . evil.** A play on words in the Hebrew.
19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 5.
20, 21. Text without emendations unintelligible.
21. Quoted by Eutychius 51, Glycas 240, Nicephorus i. 175, &c. For the emendations see my text, pp. 36–7.
22. Gen. xi. 6.

23 them till the day of judgment.' And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the
24 city and the tower which the children of men had built. And he confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the
25 tower. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their
26 cities, each according to his language and his nation. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the
27 land of Shinar, and they called its name 'Overthrow'. In the fourth week in the first year in the 1688 A.M.
beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar.
28 And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion
29 in the land of the south. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt, that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border
30 of the sea. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers said unto him: 'Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition
31 ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. Dwell
32 not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound our-
33 selves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father.' But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of
34, 35 Egypt, he and his sons until this day. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until
36 this day. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). *Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry*, 2–7. *Nachor and Terah*, 8–14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22–30). *Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds*, 15–24.

11 1 And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself 1681 A.M.
a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and
2 he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. And the sons of Noah 1687 A.M.
began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell
3 male and female slaves. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and
4 called its name after his own name and the name of his father. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits
5 assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy,
6 and to shed blood upon the earth. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one
7 turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter 1744 A.M.
8 of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the
9 Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee 1800 A.M.

25. Gen. xi. 9.
26. This story occurs also in Orac. Sibyl. iii. 98–103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3, &c.; Syncell. i. 77; Cedren. i. 22.
29. This story comes only here and in dependent authorities; e.g. Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.

XI. 1. **Sêrôh.** Heb. סוּר, 'turn aside'.
2–6. Cf. Book of Adam and Eve iii. 24 for corruption of mankind.

in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the
10 daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. And she bare him Terah in the seventh year of this week. 1806
11 And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in
order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough
12 in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. And for this reason he called
his name Terah because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their
13 seed. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the
trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the
14 earth in their days. And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah 1870
took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ednâ, the daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's
15 sister. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, and he called his name Abram, 1876
by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son.
16 And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images
and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he 1890
17 separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. And he began to pray
to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that
18 his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. And the seed time came for
the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the
19 ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. And
a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the
ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, 'Descend
20 not: return to the place whence ye came,' and they proceeded to turn back. And he **caused** the
clouds of ravens **to turn back** that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land
21 where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. And all who were with him throughout
all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the
22 land of the Chaldees. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went
with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought
23 enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. And in the first year of the fifth week Abram taught 1891
those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the
ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down
therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the
24 ravens. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the
ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they
no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1–8. *Marries Sarai*, 9. *Haran and Nachor*, 9–11. *Abram burns the idols: death of Haran*, 12–14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). *Terah and his family go to Haran*, 15. *Abram observes the stars and prays*, 16–21. *Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed*, 22–4. *Power of speaking Hebrew given to him*, 25–7. *Leaves Harân for Canaan*, 28–31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31–xii. 3.)

12 1 And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his 1904 A
2 father, saying, 'Father!' And he said, 'Behold, here am I, my son.' And he said,

'What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,
And before which thou dost bow thyself?

3 For there is no spirit in them,
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
Worship them not:

10. Gen. xi. 25.
11–20. Legends of Abram's boyhood, quoted by Jerome, *Epist.* lxxviii, *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24.
12. **reduced . . . to destitution** i.e. תרע, 'lay waste'—a play on Terah (תרח).
16–17. Cf. Beer, *Leben Abrahams* 102–4; Fabricius, i. 422.
20. **caused.** The causal form is needed.

XII. 1–14. The extravagant legend of Abram in fiery furnace, common in the later Rabbis, is apparently unknown to our author; Haran's fate in 14 is a relic of this idea based on Gen. xv. 7; Exod. xx. 2; Isa. xxix. 22.
2. Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 38, makes Terah inventor of image-worship. For **help and profit** cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21.
3. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 17.

4 Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth
And does everything upon the earth,

And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.

5 Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,

And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,

But they are a great cause of shame to those who make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship them:
Worship them not.'

6 And his father said unto him, 'I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have
7 made me to serve before them? And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul
8 cleaves to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee.' And
9 these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent. And
in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, 1925 A.M.
10 and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife. And Haran, his
brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the 1928 A.M.
11 seventh year of this week, and he called his name Lot. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself 1932 A.M.
12 a wife. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year 1936 A.M.
thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the
13 house, and no man knew it. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the
14 midst of the fire. And Haran hasted to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt
in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father, and they buried him in Ur of
15 the Chaldees. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land
of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with
16 Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, 1951 A.M.
Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars
from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard
17 to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. And a word came into his heart and he said:
'All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord.
Why do I search (them) out?

18 If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in his hand.'

19 And he prayed that night and said,
'My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of thy hands.

20 Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts,
And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.

And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore.'

21 And he said, 'Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them,
or am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy
servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God.'

4. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22; Matt. v. 45; Acts xiv. 17.
5. Jer. x. 3, 9; Am. v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Ass. Mos. viii. 4; Ep. Jer. 4, 26.
9. Follows Gen. xx. 12. Abram's action is contrary to law of Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17; evasions of later writers unknown apparently to our author; e.g. Josephus i. 6. 5, 7. 1 turns Sarah into Abraham's niece.
16–18. Abram is rebuked for star-gazing. Cf. Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* xxxii; Ber. rabb. 44 and later authors.
21. **he**; MSS. read 'I'.

22 And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: 'Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land which I will show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.
23 And I will bless thee
And I will make thy name great,
And thou shalt be blessed in the earth,
And in Thee shall all families of the earth be blessed,
And I will bless them that bless thee,
And curse them that curse thee.
24 And I will be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from
25 henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God.' And the Lord God said: 'Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed'; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the
26 overthrow (of Babel). And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak
27 with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six
28 rainy months. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his 1953 B.C.
father and informed him, that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and
29 return to him. And Terah his father said unto him; 'Go in peace:
May the eternal God make thy path straight,
And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from all evil,
And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee,
And may none of the children of men have power over thee to harm thee;
Go in peace.
30 And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take
31 Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother as thine own son: the Lord be with thee. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together.'

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1–14*a*. *Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron*, 14*b*–21. *Chedorlaomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah: Lot taken captive.* 22–4. *Law of tithes enacted*, 25–9. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4–10, 15–17, 19–20; xiii. 11–18; xiv. 8–14; 21–4.)

13 1 And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near
2 a lofty oak. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to
3 the lofty oak. And the Lord said to him: 'To thee and to thy seed will I give this land.' And
4 he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to
5 him. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the
6 east, and pitched his tent there. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and **date** trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the
7 mountains. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought
8 him to this land. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of 1954 B.C.
the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: 'Thou,
9 the eternal God, art my God.' And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He
10 should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine

25–26. Abram at 75 taught the sacred language (Hebrew), quoted by Syncell, i. 185; Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.
27. **six rainy months** = winter; as Talmud (Taan. 3 *b*, Erub. 56 *a*).
29. This blessing protects Abram from the reproach of leaving his aged father. (Singer, *Jubiläen*, 170; Ber. Rabb. 39).

XIII. 2. **the lofty oak.** So LXX. Gen. xii. 6 (Mass. = 'oak of Moreh').
3–10. Gen. xii. 7–10.
6. **date trees**: *bîlanôs* for *bîbanôs* (*a*).
10. **Bealoth** = Josh. xv. 24.

11 in the land. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt
12 five years before his wife was torn away from him. Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built—
13 seven years after Hebron. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife.
14 And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also,
15 his brother's son, was wealthy. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the
16 Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, 1963 A.M. and called on the name of the Lord, and said: 'Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever
17 and ever.' And in the fourth year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and 1964 A.M.
18 the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's
19 son had parted from him; for he had no children. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: 'Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and
20 eastward. For all the land which thou seest I will give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I will make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet
21 thy seed shall not be numbered. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all; for to thy seed will I give it.' And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there.
22 And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom
23 fled, and many fell through wounds in the **vale of Siddim**, by the Salt Sea. And they took captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and
24 all his possessions, and they went to Dan. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that
25 his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. . . . . for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the first fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests
26 who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep.
7, 28 And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: 'Our Lord Abram, give unto us the
29 souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine.' And Abram said unto him: 'I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These shall take their portion.'

Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1–7. *Offers a sacrifice and is told of his seed being in Egypt*, 8–17. *God's covenant with Abram*, 18–20. *Hagar bears Ishmael*, 21–4. (Cf. Gen. xv.; xvi. 1–4, 11.)

14 1 After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: 'Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and
2 thy reward will be exceeding great.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he
3 will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed.' And he said unto him: 'This (man) will not
4 be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir.' And He

12. **Tanais** = Zoan (Num. xiii. 22).
13–15. Gen. xii. 15–20; but 18 and Abraham's deception are cut out.
17. Gen. xiii. 11.
19–21. Gen. xiii. 14–18.
22. Names as LXX.
22. **vale of Siddim**: an easy emendation.
25. This lacuna told of the pursuit, and the meeting with Melchizedek. Our author would naturally be interested in the first man who bore the title assumed by his heroes, the Maccabees.
26. He finds precedent in Gen. xiv. 20 for law of universal tithing.
28–9. Gen. xiv. 21–4.

XIV. 1–16. Gen. xv. 1–16.

brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: 'Look toward heaven and number the stars if thou
5 art able to number them.' And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said
6 unto him: 'So shall thy seed be.' And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for
7 righteousness. And He said unto him: 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I will be God unto thee and to
8 thy seed after thee.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?'
9 And He said unto him: 'Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep
10 of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon.' And he took all these in the middle of the month;
11 and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and
12 laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. And birds came down upon the
13 pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they shall bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred
14 years. And the nation also to whom they will be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall
15 come forth thence with much substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried
16 in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither; for the iniquity of the
17 Amorites is not yet full.' And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the
18 pieces. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the
19 Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit offerings, and their drink offerings, and
20 the fire devoured them. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself
21 for ever. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed
22 that he would have seed, but she did not bear. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him: 'Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee
23 by her.' And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, 'Do (so).' And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his
24 wife. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth year in the life of Abram. 1965

Abram celebrates the feast of first fruits, 1–2: *his name changed and circumcision instituted*, 3–14. *Sarai's name changed and Isaak promised*, 15–21. *Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised*, 22–4. *Circumcision an eternal ordination*, 25, 26. *Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised*, 27–9. *Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels*, 30–2. *Future faithlessness of Israel*, 33–4. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

15 1 And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the 1979
2 month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain harvest. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep

12, 17, 19. Text = *ταθέντα* corrupt for *τμηθέντα* = **the pieces**: or corrupt for *κταθέντα* = פגרים as in Mass. = 'carcases'.
12. **and . . . away** as Mass. Aquila.
13. **four hundred years**: Gen. xv. 13; contradicts (*a*) Exod. xii. 40 (430 years); (*b*) Period calculated from Exod. vi. 18, 20 and vii. 7 (ages of Kohath, Amram, and Moses at Exodus). Author like Philo and Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell.* v. 9. 4) avoids later attempts to reconcile them, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 39. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 118–20.
16. Cf. Gen. xxi. 5. A generation was one hundred years.
18. **Hivites**: Gen. xv. 20, Sam. LXX.
20. **that day** = Sivan 15; day of Noah's covenant.
21–4. Gen. xvi. 1–4, 11.

XV. 1. †**Fourth**† (*a c d*). *b* reads 'seventh'. It should be 'third', here and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognized. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xliv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17–18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

First of all it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word 'Sabbath' in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the

on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he
3 offered upon the altar with frankincense. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him:
4 'I am God Almighty; approve thyself before me and be thou perfect. And I will make My
5 covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly.' And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6 'Behold my ordinance is with thee,
And thou shalt be the father of many nations.

7 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram,
But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.
For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8 And I will make thee very great,
And I will make thee into nations,
And kings shall come forth from thee.

9 And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.
10 ⟨And I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee⟩ the land where thou hast been a sojourner,
11 the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I will be their God.' And the Lord said unto Abraham: 'And as for thee, do thou keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it shall be a token of
12 an eternal covenant between Me and you. And the child on the eighth day ye shall circumcise,

Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved 'on the morrow after the Sabbath' (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, ממחרת השב). In what sense, then, are we to take the word 'Sabbath'? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

First the word 'Sabbath' is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day. (i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης* (here *ἡ πρώτη* = חשבת), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, מבתר יומא טבא קמאה; in the Targum of Onkelos (מבתר יומא טבא) where 'the Sabbath' is simply rendered the 'feast day': in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, *τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ*: in Philo, *de Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: *Ἑορτὴ δὲ ἔστιν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα.* The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1–3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (*a*) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (*b*) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A. D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase ממחרת השבת = حلاف معدا لسبت 'after the second (feast) day', that is Nisan 21. (*c*) But the usage is as early as the second century B. C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term 'Sabbath' stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 *a*) took 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. Pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136–7) holds that the *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης* of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribe de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connexion. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos. Recht*,[2] 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*; Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon.*

1–27. Gen. xvii. 1–27.
2. Not as Lev. xxiii. 18–20.
10. Words restored from Gen. xvii. 8 were lost through hmt.

every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought
13 with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. He that is born in
thy house shall surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money shall be circum-
14 cised, and My covenant shall be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. And the uncircumcised male
who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off from
15 his people, for he has broken My covenant.' And God said unto Abraham: 'As for Sarai thy wife,
16 her name shall no more be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. And I will bless her, and give
thee a son by her, and I will bless him, and he shall become a nation, and kings of nations shall
17 proceed from him.' And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: 'Shall a son
be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?'
18, 19 And Abraham said unto God: 'O that Ishmael might live before thee!' And God said: 'Yea,
and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My
20 covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after him. And as for Ishmael also
have I heard thee, and behold I will bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly,
21 and he shall beget twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation. But My covenant will
22 I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee, in these days, in the next year.' And He left
23 off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. And Abraham did according as God had
said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had
24 bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. And
on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, ⟨and those born in the
house⟩, and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were
25 circumcised with him. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of
the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained
26 and written on the heavenly tablets. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not
circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made
with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he
is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of

14. **on the eighth day**. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary *in Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123–4): Incircumcisus masculus, qui non fuerit circumcisus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa: and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV, many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenizing attitude towards circumcision our author emphasizes what was apparently the current view of his time, i. e., that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: 'A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well.' But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (Eichhorn's *Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: 'We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לא נאחרו יום אחד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more.' That the severer form of the halachah prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second century A. D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial c. Tryph.* 27): 'Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (*τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως κἂν ᾖ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων*;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?' This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (Midrash Tillin 10 *b*, Soteh 10 *b*, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פריעה, 'or the laying bare'. This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

17. **rejoiced**. Nestle has pointed out that Jub. here as Targ. Onk. on Gen. xvii. 17 read וְהַדִי, while Targ. Jon. has ותמה. Hence he explains John viii. 56.

24. **and those . . . house**: restored with Lat.

26. **on**: MSS. and Lat. wrongly 'till'.

27 the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should
28 be with Him and with His holy angels. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be
29 rooted out of the land. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it
30 for ever among all the children of Israel. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of
31 Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him.
32 But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He
33 may be theirs from henceforth for ever. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them,
34 sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron and Isaac again promised, 1–4. *Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance*, 5–9. *Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God*, 10–19. *Institution of the feast of Tabernacles*, 20–31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12; xix. 24, 29, 33–7; xx. 1, 4, 8; xxi. 1–4.)

16 1 And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife.
2 And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished
3 her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets (i. e.) Isaac,
4, 5 And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth.
6 And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to
7 the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. But Lot we saved; for God
8 remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his
9 time; for the man lay with his daughters. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tablets, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day
10 of condemnation. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between
11 Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from
12 thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited
13 Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken and she conceived. And she bare a son in the third

27. Latin wrongly makes four orders of angels—really two, as in ii. 18. Cf. Weber, *J. T.* 25.

31–2. Dependent on Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (LXX). Cf. Sir. xvii. 17; Dan. x. 13, 20, 21; 1 En. lxxxix.; cf. also 1 Cor. x. 19; Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

lead them astray. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21, 22; 1 En. xc. 22. Ultimate result treated as immediate purpose of God's action, but cf. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, i. 805–20.

33. Shows great strength of Hellenist movement in second century B.C. **Sons of Beliar** cf. Test. Dan. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

34. Our prophet has here become a mere writer of annals.

XVI. Cf. Gen. xviii, xix. The story of the angels' visit is curtailed (perhaps their eating shocked him) and Abram's unseemly conduct to Abimelech is passed over.

12–14. Gen. xxi. 1–4. Isaac born on Sivan 15, but according to Rosh ha-Shanah 10*b* on the Passover Feast, and according to Midrash Tanchuma on Nisan.

month, and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on
14 the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. And Abraham circumcised his son on
the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained
15 for ever. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath,
and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have
16 conceived a son. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and
we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him,
that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but
17 (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: And (that) all the seed of his sons should be
Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy
18 seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. For he should become the portion of the
Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord
a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and
19 a holy nation. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and
20 they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had
delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated
a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath.
21 And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate
22 the feast of tabernacles on the earth. And during these seven days he brought each day to the
altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin offering,
23 that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven
kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings; and he
burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour.
24 And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte,
and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in
25 equal parts (and) pure. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart
and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house, and there was no stranger with him,
26 nor any that was uncircumcised. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation,
for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him
would arise the plant of righteousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it
27 should become like Him who had made all things. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the
28 name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. And we
blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because
29 he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tablets. For this
reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of
tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for
30 ever throughout their generations every year. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained

15. †fourth†. Read 'third'. [ ] a gloss.

16. **him** = Lat., Eth. = 'her'; **six sons more**: cf. Gen. xxv. 2.

17. Cf. Sanh. 59 *b*.

18. Read *terît* ('possession') for *tersît* ('magnificence') (*a b c*); cf. Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6; *d* has *rest* ('inheritance'); cf. Deut. iv. 20. Latin, *populum sanctificatum*.

a kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = *βασιλεία καὶ ἱερεῖς*, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = *βασιλεία ἱερατική* = מנולכת כהנים. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have *βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 *βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς*. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in giving practically the same rendering of ממלכת כהנים in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as מלכין כהנים (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. מלכין קטירי כלילא וכהנין משמשי (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. מלכין וכהנים; and the Syr. version ; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

19. **rejoiced**: cf. xv. 17.

20-31. Contrast Num. xxix. 12-40. This peculiar account of the Feast of 'Tabernacles' is quoted by Cedrenus, i. 50.

24. Uses Exod. xxx. 34; cf. Sir. xxiv. 15. These seven *spices* are as Jer. Joma iv. 5; Kerithoth 6 *a b*; Nowack, *Hebr. Archaologie*, ii. 248.

26. **plant of righteousness**, cf. 1 En. x. 16, lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10.

29, 30. Cf. Lev. xxiii, 40-1.

for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon
31 their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. And Abraham took **branches** of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1–14. *Mastêmâ proposes that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials*, 15–18. (Cf. Gen. xxi. 8–21.)

17 1 And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made 1982 A.M.
2 a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced
3 and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. And he remembered the words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his
4 mouth the Creator of all things. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing †and dancing,† and Abraham rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, 'Cast out this
5 bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac.' And the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son,
6 that he should drive them from him. And God said to Abraham 'Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee,
7 hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. But as for
8 the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed.' And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and placed them on the shoulders
9 of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on,
10 and fell down. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, 'Let me not see the death of my
11 child,' and as she sat she wept. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, 'Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy
12 voice, and hath seen the child.' And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards
13 the wilderness of Paran. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him, and his
14 mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. And she bare him a son, and he called
15 his name Nebaioth; for she said, 'The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him.' And it came 2003 A.M.
to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He
16 told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. And the prince Mastêmâ came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him.
17 And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through
18 Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

Sacrifice of Isaac: Mastêmâ put to shame, 1–13. *Abraham again blessed: returns to Beersheba* 14–19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1–19.)

18 1, 2 And God said to him, 'Abraham, Abraham'; and he said, Behold, (here) am I.' And he said,

30. Wreaths only here in connexion with this Feast; but cf. Wisd. ii. 7: Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1; and Gittin 7 *a*; Sota 49 *b*, a practice at weddings.

31. **branches.** MSS. and Lat. 'heart'. לולב was taken as לבב.

XVII. 1–13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8–21.

1. †**fifth**†. Read 'fourth'.

4. **and dancing** (wa-yezafen): ? corrupt for 'with Isaac' (ba-yeshaq) (LXX, Vulg.).

7. **a great nation**: as Sam., Syr., LXX, Vulg.; Ps.-Jon. 'a nation of robbers'. Mass., Onk. > 'great'.

11. An angel takes the place of God here: as Mastêmâ does in 16. In both cases, due to reverence.

17. Abraham's ten trials. The number nearly always the same; the contents different. Here concludes with Sarah's burial, xix. 3–8; usually with sacrifice of Isaac. See my Comm., 121, 122.

XVIII. 1–17. Gen. xxii. 1–19.

'Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him
3 on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee.' And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the
4 burnt offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, 'Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the
5 lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you.' And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the
6 knife, and they went both of them together to that place. And Isaac said to his father, 'Father;' and he said, 'Here am I, my son.' And he said unto him, 'Behold the fire, and the knife, and the
7 wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?' And he said, 'God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son.' And he drew near to the place of the mount of
8 God. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife
9 to slay Isaac his son. And I stood before him, and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, 'Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears
10 the Lord.' And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: 'Abraham, Abraham;' and he
11 was terrified and said: 'Behold, (here) am I.' And I said unto him: 'Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast
12 not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me.' And the prince Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold a ram caught ... by his horns, and Abraham
13 went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called that place 'The Lord hath seen', so that it is said ⟨in the mount⟩ the Lord hath seen: that is
14 Mount Sion. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused
15 us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. And he said: 'By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord,

Because thou hast done this thing,
And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,
That in blessing I will bless thee,

And in multiplying I will multiply thy seed
As the stars of heaven,
And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed shall inherit the cities of its enemies,
16 And in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me in all that I have said unto thee:
Go in peace.'

17 And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham 2010 A.
18 dwelt by the Well of the Oath. And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and
19 returned in peace. And accordingly has it been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah, 1–9. *Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham. Birth of Esau and Jacob*, 10–14. *Abraham commends Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him*, 15–31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1–4, 11–16; xxiv. 15; xxv. 1–2, 25–7; xiii. 16.)

19 1 And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt
2 opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. And in the first year of the †third† week

2. **thy beloved son.** As in LXX.

11. **I have shown** = Lat. version *manifestavi*. The Eth. could also be rendered 'I have known', as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יָרֵאתָ, but 'shown' is supported by both Lat. and Eth. in ver. 16. Cf. also Syr. of Gen. *l. c.*

13. **in the mount**: added from Latin = Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass.-LXX).

15. **thy beloved son** (*a d*) = τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου = יחידך. Lat. has, however, *tuo unigenito* = τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου = יחיד. For similar divergences perhaps due to a dittography in the Hebrew cf. LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὕτη μονογενὴς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16. But here *c d* have 'thy first-born son' (ver. 11), and add (like Lat. *quem dilexisti*) 'whom thou hast loved', which addition may go back to Gen. xxii. 2, or to יחיד (the variant or dittograph of יחידך) in Gen. xxii. 16.

cities. So Onk., Sam. Vers., LXX in Gen. xxii. 17, where Mass. and Sam. have 'gate'.

16. **Go in peace**: 1 Sam. i. 17.

XIX. 2. Read 'second' for 'third'. This chapter uses much of Gen. xxiii, xxv.

3 of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. And
Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient
and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not
4 disturbed. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they
5 should give him a place in which to bury his dead. And the Lord gave him grace before all who
saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double
6 cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. And they besought him,
saying, We shall give it to thee for nothing; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing,
for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice, and after
7 this he buried his dead in the double cave. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred
and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the
8 years of the life of Sarah. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found
9 faithful, patient in spirit. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that
God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to
bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of
10 God. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca 2020 A.M.
[the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and **daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel** was the son of Mêlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham.
11 And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the **daughters**
of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. And she bare him six sons, Zimram,
12 and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. And in
13 the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and 2046 A.M.
Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob
14 dwelt in tents. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn, for he
15 was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. And Abraham
16 loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in
Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding
17 Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. And he said unto her:

My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,
For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18 For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people **for possession** unto Himself, above all
19 peoples that are upon the face of the earth. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob,
but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20 Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he shall be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21 Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.

He shall be blessed for ever,
And his seed shall fill the whole earth.

22 If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also shall be numbered.

23 And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and
24 his seed alway. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and

5. **double-cave**: as LXX.
four hundred: as Latin; Eth. gives 40.
9. **friend of God**: cf. xxx. 20 and xxiv. 15; Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chr. xx. 7; Dan. iii. 35 (LXX); James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ.-Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17 and Philo, *De Sobrietate* 11.
10. **daughter . . . Bethuel**, emended with help of Latin.
11. **daughters**: Lat.; Eth. has 'sons'. Author explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later view identified Hagar and Keturah. Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* in Gen. xxv. 1; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 83–198.
16. According to later Jewish tradition Abraham did not live to see Esau's sin; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63.
18. **possession**. See xvi. 18; Deut. vii. 6.
peoples restored from Latin.

25 Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. And these shall serve
To lay the foundations of the heaven,
And to strengthen the earth,
And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.
26 And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and
27 said: 'Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may he cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the
28 earth. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the
29 Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and
30 thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son.' And they both went forth
31 together from Abraham. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1–10. *Dismisses them with gifts*, 11. *Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah*, 12–13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5–6.)

20 1 And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, 2052
2 and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. And he (? 204
commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteous- A.M.
ness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each
3 so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and
4 uncleanness]. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of
5 the land. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6 'And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,
And from all pollution of sin,

Lest ye make our name a curse,
And your whole life a hissing,

And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,
And ye become accursed like Sodom,
And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7 I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
And cleave ye to all His commandments.

And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,
8 And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods;

For they are vanity,
And there is no spirit in them;

For they are work of (men's) hands,
And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

24. List of 'righteous patriarchs'. Why is Methuselah omitted and Adam and Mahalalel inserted? Opinion about Adam varied. Erubin 18 *b* held him a saint. Sanh. 38 *b* an atheist!
25. Cf. Isa. li. 16.
28. Cf. xv. 31–2.

XX. 1. Read 'sixth' for 'seventh'.
twelve sons: Gen. xxv. 13–15.
2. *śab'ĕ* ('war') emended to *sab'ĕ* ('men').
4. Cf. xli. 25. This punishment was restricted to priests' daughters in Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 33; Ezek. xvi. 40.
6. **make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing**: based on Isa. lxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18; 1 En. v. 6.
8. Deut. xxvii. 15; Exod. xx. 5.

9 Serve them not, nor worship them,
But serve ye the most high God, and worship Him continually:

And hope for His countenance always,
And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,

That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy,
And send rain upon you morning and evening,

And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth,
And bless thy bread and thy water,

And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.

10 And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
And all nations of the earth will desire you,

And bless your sons in my name,
That they may be blessed as I am.'

11 And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away
12 from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. And Ishmael and his sons, and the
sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in
13 all the land which is towards the East facing the desert. And these mingled with each other, and
their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of salt, 1–11. *Also regarding the woods to be used in sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc.*, 12–25.

21 1 And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and 2057
commanded him: saying, 'I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my (? 2050)
2 days. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my A.M.
life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly
3 in all His ways. My soul has hated idols, ⟨and I have despised those that served them, and I have
4 given my heart and spirit⟩ that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. For He is
the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him
no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judg-
5 ment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. And do thou, my
son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the
6 abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. And eat no blood at all of
7 animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. And if thou dost slay a victim as an
acceptable peace offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the
offering offer on the altar with fine flour and the meat offering mingled with oil, with its drink
offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord.
8 And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and
the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that

9. **have pleasure in.** Read *diligat* for *dirigat* in Latin. The blessings are those of Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 8, Exod. xxiii. 25.
10. Cf. Gen. xii. 2.
13. Latin 'clave to the Arabs, and (they are) Ishmaelites, to this day'.

XXI. These dying commands of Abraham about the ritual of sacrifice occur also in Test. Levi. ix, where, however, they are put into the mouth of Isaac. Both accounts come from a common source, as has been made clear from the recent discovery of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments relating to Levi. These deal with, among other things, the avoidance of fornication (Frag., verses 16, 17 = T. Levi ix. 9, not explicitly in Jub.), ablutions of the sacrificing priest (19–21, 26. 53–4 = T. L. ix. 11, Jub. xxi. 16), words to be used in sacrifice (23–4 = T. L. ix. 12, Jub. xxi. 12) and salting the sacrifice (26, 29, 37–40 = T. L. ix. 14, Jub. xxi. 11). There is a reference back to Abraham in T. Levi. ix. 12 and Frag. 22, 50, 57.
1. For 'seventh' read 'sixth', i. e. 2050 A. M.
I am . . . death. Isaac's words to Esau in Gen. xxvii. 2.
3. ⟨ ⟩ added from the Latin; lost in Eth. through hmt.
4. Deut. x. 17.
6. Lev. vii. 26.
7. Cf. 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15; Lev. iii. 7–10.
and the meat offering. Omitted in Latin. Cf. also Lev. ii. 4.

9 is upon them, and upon the loins and liver **thou shalt remove**, together with the kidneys. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-
10 offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.
11 And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the **salt of the covenant** be lacking in all
12 thy oblations before the Lord. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these: cypress, bay, almond, fir, pine, cedar, savin, fig, olive,
13 myrrh, laurel, aspalathus. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its
14 fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its
15 fragrance goes not up to heaven. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst
16 be upright in all thy deeds. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest
17 near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy
18 guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood
19 whatever. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and **the earth** cannot be cleansed from the
20 blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that **thou mayest be accepted** before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21 I see, my son,
That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,
And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,
And there is no righteousness with them.

22 Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.

Else He will [hide His face from thee,
And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,
And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,
And thy name and thy seed shall perish from the whole earth.

23 Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,
And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,
And do His will and be upright in all things.

24 And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,
And will raise up from thee a plant of righteousness through all the earth, throughout all generations of the earth,
And my name and thy name shall not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

8. **shalt remove**: emended with Latin, *tĕblĕl* for *ṭeblûl*.
9. **the bread**, &c. Lev. iii. 11.
10. [ ] dittography. **the books of my forefathers**, handed by Shem to Abraham according to Pirke R. Eliezer viii.
11. **salt of the covenant**. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS. read 'covenant of salt'.
12. Explains Exod. xxv. 5, 10. Cf. Greek Fragment 23–4 for a full discussion of this list of trees in my edition of the Test. XII Patr., pp. 248–9.
13. Stricter than any known halachah; Tamid. ii. 3 allows all but vine and olive.
14. **goes not up**: negative inserted (Littmann).
16. Exod. xxx. 19–21.
17, 18. Lev. xvii. 13, 14; Deut. xii. 23.
19. Cf. Num. xxxv. 33.
the earth: emended by Dillmann from 'its blood'.
20. **thou mayest be accepted**: MSS. vary. See Eth. Text.
21–4. Written originally in Hebrew verse.
22. **sin unto death**: Num. xviii. 22; 1 John v. 16. Cf. xxvi. 34.
[ ] omitted as it spoils the parallelism.

25 Go, my son, in peace.
May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will,
And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous blessings,
That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth.'

26 And he went out from him rejoicing.

Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first fruits at Beersheba with Abraham, 1–5. *Prayer of Abraham*, 6–9. *Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob*, 10–30.

22 1 And it came to pass in the †first† week in the †forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks—that is, the feast of the first fruits of the harvest—to Abraham, their 2 father, and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had come. For Isaac had many possessions in 3 Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions and to return to his father. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice 4 for a burnt offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. And he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5 And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank offering, that he might eat and 6 drink. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,

Who hath created heaven and earth,
Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,
And given them to the children of men
That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7 'And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day: behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have 8 been unto me peace. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given 9 me and my children all the days of my life until this day. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the 10 generations of the earth, unto all the ages.' And he called Jacob and said: 'My son Jacob, may the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will 11 alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me.' And he drew near and kissed him, and he said:

'Blessed be my son Jacob
And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages:

May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;
And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth;

May nations serve thee,
And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12 Be strong in the presence of men,
And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.

Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,
So that they shall become a holy nation.

13 May the Most High God give thee all the blessings
Wherewith He has blessed me

XXII. 1. All dates wrong. Read 'sixth week, forty-second jubilee, seventh year', i.e. 2051 A.M.
3. '**both**' = Lat. *utrique* easily emended from Eth. Cf. xxxi. 11.
4. **Creator of all things**: Sir. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24, vii. 23.
6–9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.
8. **sword of the adversary**: Jer. vi. 25; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).
11. **may nations**, &c. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.
12. **seed of Seth**: mankind. But in Num. xxiv. 17, 'children of Sheth' = 'children of confusion'.

And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam;
May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.

14 And may He cleanse thee from all **unrighteousness** and impurity,
That thou mayest be forgiven all the transgressions; which thou hast committed ignorantly.

And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.
And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15 And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the days of the earth.

16 And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father:

Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them:

And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate;

For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.

17 They offer their sacrifices to the dead
And they worship evil spirits,

And they eat over the graves,
And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18 They have no heart to understand
And their eyes do not see what their works are,

And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou art my God,'
And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my deliverer.'
[And they have no heart.]

19 And as for thee, my son Jacob,
May the Most High God help thee
And the God of heaven bless thee
And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all their error.

20 Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any seed of the daughters of Canaan;
For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21 For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
And all his seed shall be destroyed from off the earth and all the residue thereof,
And none springing from him shall be saved on the day of judgment.

22 And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane,
(*b*) There shall be no hope for them in the land of the living;
(*c*) And there shall be no remembrance of them on the earth;

13. **rest on the sacred head.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 26 (Syr.). It implies נָזִר for נזיר.

14. **unrighteousness**: emended with Latin where Eth. reads 'defilement'.

16. Jewish exclusiveness here traced to Abraham; needed in second century B.C. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile, because of (1) Law of 'unclean meats'; cf. Deut. xii. 23; Lev. xi. 4, 7, 10–12, 13–20. (2) Idol sacrifices; cf. 1 Cor. x. 20–9. See also Dan. i. 8–10; 1 Macc. i. 47, 62; 2 Macc. vi. 18–21. Cf. Mark ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

16. **a pollution.** An outstanding feature of Antiochus' persecution; 1 Macc. i. 46, 48, 63, iv. 43–8, iii. 51; 2 Macc. v. 27, xiv. 3, vi. 2, 19, 25.

17. **sacrifices to the dead**: cf. Deut. xxvi. 14; Ps. cvi. 28; Sir. vii. 33; Tobit, iv. 17. They are attacked in Sir. xxx. 18; Wisd. xiv. 15, xix. 3; *Or. Sibyl.* viii. 382–4; Ep. Jer. 31, 32.
evil spirits: idols, as Deut. xxxii. 17; Lev. xvii. 7; Ps. cvi. 37; 1 En. xix. 1; 1 Macc. i. 43; Baruch, iv. 7.
eat over the graves: cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21–4.

18. Cf. Jer. ii. 27.
[ ] Dittography spoils parallelism.

20. Gen. xxviii. 1; Test. Lev. ix; Jub. xxv. 5, xxviii. 10, xxx. 7.

21. **the day of judgment.** Cf. xxiii. 11, xxxvi. 10.

22. **the profane** or 'the adversaries'. Both are easy emendations from the reading of *a b d*.

(*c*) For they shall descend into Sheol,
(*d*) And into the place of condemnation shall they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23 Fear not, my son Jacob,
And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham:

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may he deliver thee.

24 This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth: [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever: thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth.'

25, 26 And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his 27 affection and his heart rejoiced over him. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: 'The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed 28 be the Most High for ever.' And he blessed Jacob and said: 'My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed 29 alway. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and 30 bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth.'

Abraham's death and burial, 1–8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7–10). *Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind: Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners of the Gentiles*, 11–25. *Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous*, 26–31.

23 1 And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. 2 And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's 3 father, was dead. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he 4 said: 'Father, father'; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and 5 when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, 6 and wept and kissed him. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house 7 of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and **the days of 8 weeping** for Abraham were ended. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred 9 and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. For the days

25. **commanding**: from Hebrew צוה, used technically of a man's last will and testament (2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Isa. xxxviii. 1; Test. Reub. 1; Baba Bathra, 147 *a*, 151 *b*).
27. Probably an interpolation—Jacob is not mentioned till the next verse.
28. **I rejoice**: *c d*; 'rejoices', *a b*.
be lift up upon him: from Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.
29. **eyes be opened**: Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18; 1 Kings viii. 29, 52.

XXIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 4. Closing the eyes strictly forbidden till death had ensued in Shabb. 151 *b*.
stretched out: as Gen. xlix. 33 Eth. and Syr., but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = gathered up.
slept the sleep of eternity: as Jer. li. 39, 57.
5. Gen. l. 1.
7. **days of** inserted. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8. MSS. vary. *b* = 'the lamentation of'; *d* = 'lamentation and'; *a c* omit.
8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.
9. Men grow old quicker owing to the increasing degeneration.

of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of
10 Abraham. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, **when** he had
11 grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. And all the generations which shall arise from this time until the day of the great judgment shall grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge shall forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their know-
12 ledge shall vanish away]. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they shall say regarding him: 'He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and
13 tribulation, and there is no peace: For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and
14 pains.' And all these shall come on an evil generation, which transgresses **on the earth**: their works
15 are **uncleanness** and fornication, and pollution and abominations. Then they shall say: 'The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years,
16 and **those** evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation.' And in that generation the sons shall convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left.
17 For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and
18 an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. Behold the earth shall be destroyed on account of all their works, and there shall be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they shall all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and
19 all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. And they shall strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments.
20 And they shall stand ⟨with bows and⟩ swords and war to turn them back into the way; but they shall
21 not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. And those who have escaped shall not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they shall all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they **shall name** the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they shall defile the holy of
22 holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. And a great punishment shall befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to
23 judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who shall respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they shall use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,
And much blood shall be shed upon the earth,
And there shall be none to gather and none to bury.

10. **when**: 'until', text.
11. Here the Messianic kingdom seems to follow the judgment. But see ver. 30.
12. **the greater part . . . sorrow.** Ps. xc. 10 (LXX, Syr., Vulg.).
13–14. Melancholy account of Judah's plight in his own day, i.e. early decades of second century B.C.
14. **on the earth**, &c. Emended with Lat.
15. **those** Eth. reads *kuĕllû* corrupt for *'ĕllû*.
16. An account of the rise of the Chasids exactly parallel with 1 En. xc. 6, 7. 'Lambs' there are 'sons' here.
forsaking the covenant: cf. Hellenizers in Dan. xi. 30; 1 Macc. i. 15. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, p. 199.
17. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, ii. 6.
18–24. The woes before the Messianic Age are a feature of all Apocalypse. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Hos. iv. 3; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7, *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 796; Apoc. Bar. xxvii, xlviii. 31–7, lxx. 2–10; 4 Ezra vi. 14–18, 21–4; Matth. xxiv. 6–29; Sota ix. 15.
20. ⟨ ⟩ supplied from Lat.
the way: cf. Isa. xxx. 21; Acts ix. 2, xiv. 9, xxiv. 22.
21. **shall name**: So Lat. Eth. is easily emended.
23. Describes religious wars of Judas Maccabaeus. The Syrian invasion is described in the language of Jer. vi. 23. After 162 B.C. there was civil war in Judah, and peace with Syria. Thus this passage cannot be later than that date.

24 In those days they shall cry aloud,
And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles;
But none shall be saved.

25 And the heads of the children shall be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks shall appear old like a man of one hundred years,
And their stature shall be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26 And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws,
And to seek the commandments,
And to return to the path of righteousness.

27 And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men
Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.

28 And there shall be no old man
Nor one who is ⟨not⟩ satisfied with his days,
For all shall be (as) children and youths.

29 And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and in joy,
And there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
For all their days shall be days of blessing and healing.

30 And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they shall rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.

And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.

31 And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy,
And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him

32 And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly tablets for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2–7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29–34). *Isaac goes down to Gerar*, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9–27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28–32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1–6, 11, 13–25, 32, 33.)

24 1 And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week 2073 A.M.
2 of this jubilee, seven years. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, 2080 A.M.
3 besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: 'Give me of this **red pottage.**' And Jacob said to him: '**Sell** to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give
4 thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage.' And Esau said in his heart: 'I shall die; of
5 what profit to me is this birthright?' And he said to Jacob: 'I give it to thee.' And Jacob said:
6 'Swear to me, this day,' and he sware unto him. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name
7 called Edom, on account of the **red pottage** which Jacob gave him for his birthright. And Jacob became

24. **sinners** and **gentiles** practically synonymous. Cf. Gal. ii. 15.
26. Renewed study of the law brings spiritual transformation.
27. **nigh to one thousand years**: cf. iv. 30. As in Test. Levi. xviii all change is gradual.
28. Cf. Isa. lxv. 20, whence 'not' is inserted here.
29. **no Satan**: cf. Ass. Mos. x. 1, Jub. xl. 9, xlvi. 1, 2, 5.
30. Probably does not refer to a Resurrection to the Messianic kingdom. Our author's eschatology is that of 1 En. xci-civ. Judgement will be at the end of the Messianic kingdom, and precedes the spiritual bliss of the righteous.
31. Cf. 1 En. xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4. The bodies rest, but the spirits rise.

XXIV. Cf. Gen. xxv. 11, 29–34, xxvi. 1–6, 13–25, 32, 33. No reference is made in 13 to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca. For derivation of name of Edom in 6 cf. Gen. xxv. 29.
3. **red pottage.** Text = 'wheaten pottage', i.e. πυροῦ for πυρροῦ. **Sell** = ἀπόδου, which here means 'sell' 'agbe'.

8 the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philis-
9 tines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: 'Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I will
10 be with thee and bless thee. For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land, and I will establish My oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father, and I will multiply thy seed as the
11 stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all this land. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in
12, 13 this land.' And he dwelt in Gerar three weeks of years. And Abimelech charged concerning him, 20– and concerning all that was his, saying: 'Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall 21 A.
14 surely die.' And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen
15 and sheep and camels and asses and a great **household**. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him.
16 Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines
17 had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: 'Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we'; and Isaac departed thence in
18 the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the valleys of Gerar. And they digged again 21C A. the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father
19 had named them. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: '**The** water is ours'; and Isaac
20 called the name of the well 'Perversity', because they had been perverse with us. And they dug a second well, and they strove for that also, and he called its name '**Enmity**'. And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it '**Room**', and Isaac said: 'Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the
21 land.' And he went up from thence to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the 21C A.
22 forty-fourth jubilee. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: 'I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my
23 servant.' And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon
24 the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. And they digged
25 a well and they found living water. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: 'I have sworn
26 this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us.' And he called the name of that place the Well of the Oath; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and
27 Phicol **the prefect of his host**. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them
28 to make peace with them. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines and said: 'Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the
29 Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they shall be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their **generations** upon the earth.

30 And no remnant shall be left to them,
Nor one that shall be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;
For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),
And there shall no longer be left for **these** Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

14. **household**: *ministerium* Lat. = עֲבֹדָה. Eth. has 'possession'.
19. **The**: 'this' in Eth. = def. article.
20. **Enmity** = *šĕl'ĕ* emended from *ṣabâb* = 'narrow'. Lat. has *inimicitias*. An Ethiopic scribe has introduced the antithesis of 'narrow' as opposed to 'room'.
Room = *sefh* emended from *sefûh*; so Lat. *capacitas*.
26. **the prefect of his host**. So Lat. Eth. has only 'his prefect'.
28–32. Only intelligible during Maccabean wars; fierce hatred of Philistines; cf. 1 Macc. x. 89, v. 68, x. 84, xvi. 10, xi. 62; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1890, 200.
28. Cf. Hdt. i. 205, ii. 157–9 for the Philistines' suffering at the hands of the Egyptians.
Kittim = Macedonians. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4.
29. **righteous nation**: Judah under Maccabees.
generations: Lat.; 'days', Eth.
30. **these** = *'ĕllû* emended from *kuĕllû* = 'all'. Lat. = 'these'.
Caphtorim = Philistines; cf. Amos. ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4.

31 For though he ascend unto heaven,
Thence shall he be brought down,

†And though he make himself strong on earth,†
Thence shall he be dragged forth,

And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
Even from thence shall he be rooted out;

And though he descend into Sheol,
There also shall his condemnation be great,
And there also he shall have no peace.
32 And if he go into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life shall they slay him on the way,
And neither name nor seed shall be left to him on all the earth;
For into eternal malediction shall he depart.'

33 And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets, to do unto him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman, 1–3. *Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry a Canaanitish woman*, 4–10. *Rebecca blesses Jacob*, 11–23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1–4.)

25 1 And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto 2109 A.M.
him, saying: 'My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them,
2 for (their deeds) are evil. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection
3 bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou shalt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children shall be a righteous generation and
4 a holy seed.' And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: 'Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed
5 myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters
6 of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them
7 to take a wife from amongst them. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust
8 and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done.
9 I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters
10 of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. Fear not, mother; be
11 assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever.' And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him
12 thanks and praise. And she said: 'Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine
13 shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. Bless him, O Lord,
14 and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him.' And at that hour, when

31. †† Lat. = *ubi fugiens erit*. Corruption originated in Hebrew apparently.

XXV. Gen. xxvii is put after Gen. xxviii. 1–4 to give more blame to Esau and to excuse Jacob.
4. Jacob is sixty-three when he receives the blessing, as in Ber. Rabb. 68; Seder Olam, 2.
neither, &c.: Syncell. i. 197 wrongly attributes this to Josephus.

the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

15 'Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages;
And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.

May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16 And may He make thy sons many during thy life,
And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.
And may their sons become many and great beyond the stars of heaven,
And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17 And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him alway—
And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18 And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children during my life,
And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19 And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during †her† life,
The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee thus,

[My affection] and my breasts bless thee
And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20 Increase and spread over the earth,
And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever;

And may thy seed rejoice,
And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21 And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,

And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,
And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

22 Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely, may it be cursed.'

23 And she kissed him, and said to him;
'May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee.'
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1–4. *Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing*, 5–9. *Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it*, 10–24. *Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing*, 25–34. *Threatens Jacob*, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

26 1 And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him: 'I am 2114
2 old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may
3 eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die.' But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau.
4, 5 And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him: 'Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying: "Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that
6 I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die." And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee: Go to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he
7 may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed.' And Jacob

14. **spirit of righteousness** (*a b d*): cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 3. For 'Holy Spirit' (*c*) cf. Isa. lxiii. 10, 11.
17. **as He said . . . alway.** Cf. Luke i. 55.
19. †her†. Read 'thy'. [ ] out of place, or a dittography of רַחֲם.
23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41, often loosely rendered.

said to Rebecca his mother: 'Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch
8 me. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be
9 wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing.' And Rebecca, his
10 mother, said unto him: 'Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice.' And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and
11 brought them to his mother, and his mother made them ⟨savoury meat⟩ such as he loved. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on
12 the exposed parts of his neck. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into
13 the hand of her son Jacob. And Jacob went in to his father and said: 'I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul
14, 15 may bless me.' And Isaac said to his son: 'How hast thou found so quickly, my son?' And Jacob
16 said: 'Because ⟨the Lord⟩ thy God caused me to find.' And Isaac said unto him: 'Come near, that
17 I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not.' And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father,
18 and he felt him and said: 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau,' and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and
19 Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as ⟨his brother⟩ Esau's, so that he blessed him. And he said: 'Art thou my son Esau?' and he said: 'I am thy son': and he said, 'Bring near to me that
20 I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee.' And he brought
21 near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. And Isaac, his father, said unto
22 him: 'Come near and kiss me, my son. And he came near and kissed him. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: 'Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a ⟨full⟩ field which the Lord hath blessed.

23 And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven
And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:

Let nations serve thee,
And peoples bow down to thee.

24 Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;

And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:

Cursed be he that curseth thee,
And blessed be he that blesseth thee.'

25 And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone
26 forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: 'Let my father
27 arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me.' And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Who art thou?' And he said unto him: 'I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast
28 commanded me.' And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: 'Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him:
29 (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever.' And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father:
30 'Bless me, (even) me also, father.' And he said unto him: 'Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing.' And he said: 'Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away

7 *a*. Added by author in favour of Jacob.
10. ⟨ ⟩. Added from Latin.
15. ⟨**The Lord**⟩. Supplied from Latin. **caused me to find** (*b c*): Latin *direxit*.
18. A dispensation to assist the deceit! Clause borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15, 'a thing brought about of the Lord'. ⟨ ⟩ supplied from Lat.
19. **I am thy son.** An evasion—not so bad as Ber. Rabb. 65.
22. ⟨**full**⟩ added from Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg., cf. Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.
23. **dew of the earth.** So Gen. xxvii. 28 in Eth. version.
give thee: *b c d* add 'and multiply thee', while *a* transposes it before 'give thee'.
and plenty: MSS. add before 'plenty' the words 'may He give plentifully to thee', against the parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28.
25. **he hid himself and.** This seems an addition. Read 'that'.
30. **I know why** = οἶδα ὡς perhaps corrupt for δικαίως. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 36.

31 my blessing.' And he said: 'Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me, father?' and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:

'Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him:
And what now shall I do for thee, my son?'

32 And Esau said to Isaac, his father:

'Hast thou but one blessing, O father?
Bless me, (even) me also, father:'

33 And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said unto him:

'Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34 And by thy sword wilt thou live,
And thou wilt serve thy brother.

And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,
And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,
Thou shalt sin a complete sin unto death,
And thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven.'

35 And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his heart: 'May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob.'

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1–12. *Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob*, 13–18. *Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel*, 19–27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

27 1 And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and
2 called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 'Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on
3 thee so as to kill thee. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from
4, 5 thence.' And Jacob said: 'I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him.' But she said
6 unto him: 'Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day.' And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: 'Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go; when he sends me, then only will I go.'
7, 8 And Rebecca said to Jacob: 'I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away.' And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: 'I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such
9 as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil.' And Isaac called
10 Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 'Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father,
11 and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my
12 son, in peace.' And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of
13 Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. And it came to pass after Jacob had
14 arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. And

34. **becomest great** = '*abaika* (*b*). *a c* = 'refusest' = '*abaika*, a corruption of *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאדר, Gen. xxvii. 40. The Mass. = תריד, which the versions variously translate. The LXX gives *καθέλῃς*, i.e. תוריד from ירד.

sin a complete sin unto death, &c.: changed contrary to all tradition. This version is adopted by Syncell. i. 202 and Glycas. 263 (who, however, attributes it to Josephus). For 'sin unto death' cf. xxi. 22.

35. Note malicious turn here given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1–5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42–5. **in a dream**: Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 'by the Holy Spirit'.

6. Cf. xii. 31. Defends Jacob from the reproach of leaving his old father (Singer).

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9–12. Gen. xxviii. 1–5.

Isaac said to Rebecca: 'My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and
15 in peace will he return. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil, and will be with him;
16 for He will not forsake him all his days; For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things
17 wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish.
18, 19 Weep not.' And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first 2115 A.M. month of this week, and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the
20 road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. And he took one of the stones of that
21 place and laid ⟨it at his head⟩ under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it.
22 And he spake to Jacob and said: 'I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of
23 Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt increase to the west and to the east, to the
24 north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the nations be blessed. And behold, I will be with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I will bring thee again into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.'
25 And Jacob **awoke from his sleep**, and said, 'Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not.' And he was afraid and said: 'Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of
26 God, and this is the gate of heaven.' And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first.
27 And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: 'If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God.'

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1–10. *His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids*, 11–24. *Jacob seeks to leave Laban*, 25: *but stays on at a certain wage*, 26–8. *Jacob becomes rich*, 29–30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21–35; xxx. 1–13, 17–22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43; xxxi. 1, 2.)

28 1 And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca,
2 and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one week. And in the first year of 2122 A.M. the third week he said unto him: 'Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years'; and
3 Laban said unto Jacob: 'I will give thee thy wife.' And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an hand-
4 maid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: 'Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me?
5 Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me.' For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful
6 eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. And Laban said to Jacob: 'It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder.' And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—but the elder, one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the

14. **My sister**: affectionate term for wife; cf. Tobit v. 21, vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. Compare Isaac's answer to Abimelech's men in Gen. xxvi. 7.
16. **will be prospered**: so Lat.; 'he will prosper', Eth.
17. **on the upright path**: Lat. So *b*, or perhaps 'upright in his way'.
19–27. Gen. xxviii. 10–22.
20. Add with Latin 'at his head'. Genesis has not 'under the tree'. This was probably an asherah.
25 *a*. MSS. corrupt; 'slept a sleep' emended to 'awoke from his sleep'.

XXVIII. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21–29, xxx. 2, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.
6. No hint of this ordinance in tradition (Singer, Beer). Lev. xviii. 18 expressly forbade Jacob's conduct in marrying both sisters. Cf. Justin, *Dial. Trypho*. 134.

7 Lord. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take
8 nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. And Laban said to
Jacob: 'Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou
mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former
9 week.' And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel
to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of
10 Zilpah, as a handmaid. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given
11 to him for nothing. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob
a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of 2122
12 the third week. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and
13 Rachel loved. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second son,
and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this 2124
14 week. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he
15 called his name Levi, in the new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. And again 2127
Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
16 on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. And on account of all 2129
this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: 'Give me children'; and Jacob
17 said: 'Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?' And when Rachel
saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto
18 him: 'Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will conceive, and bear a son unto me.' ⟨And she
gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife⟩. And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare
him a son, and he called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the 2127
19 †third† week. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived. and bare
Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Napthali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the 2130
20 second year of the fourth week. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear,
she envied Rachel, and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and
bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of 2131
21 the fourth week. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and
Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the †fifth† year of the fourth 2133
22 week. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name
Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him 2133
23 to a nurse. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son
and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zabulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, 2134
24 in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. And the Lord was
gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his 2134
25 name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. And
in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give me my wives and sons, and let me
go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I
26 have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father.' And Laban said
to Jacob: '†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages.'
27 And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids
28 which were born **black** and spotted and †white†, (these) were to be his wages. And all the sheep
brought forth spotted and **speckled and black, variously marked,** and they brought forth again
lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were
29 Laban's. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and
30 asses and camels, and menservants and maid-servants. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and
Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

8. Rachel given to Jacob as soon as Leah's wedding feast (seven days) was over.

9. **Zilpah** and **Bilhah**: sisters, as in Test. Naph. i.

11–24. Twelve sons of Jacob, as in Gen. xxix. 32–4, xxx. 1–24, xxxv. 17–18. In date of birth, all lists differ. Various explanations are given. Cf. also Syncell. i. 198; Fabric. i. 749–54; Rönsch, 327–9. See Test. XII Patriarchs passim; Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21. See my Comm. 170–2.

18. ⟨ ⟩ added from Lat. and Gen. xxx. 4.

26. **tarry with me for thy wages**: 'expecta me in mercede', Lat. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has 'Appoint (נקבה) me thy wages'.

27–28. See my Eth. text for emendations.

27. Read 'speckled' for 'white'.

29. **and sheep**: only in LXX of Gen. xxx. 43.

Jacob departs secretly, 1–4. *Laban pursues after him*, 5–6. *Covenant of Jacob and Laban*, 7–8. *Abodes of the Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer*, 9–11. *Laban departs*, 12. *Jacob is reconciled to Esau*, 13. *Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron*, 14–17, 19–20. *Esau marries again*, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 46, 47; xxxii. 22; xxxiii. 10, 16.)

29 1 And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they
2 were distant from him a three days' journey. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with
3 him to the land of Canaan. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: 'To every place
4 whither thou goest we will go with thee.' And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention
5 from Laban and told him not. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) 2135 A.M.
toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and
6 overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for he appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban
7 spake to Jacob. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should
8 cross the mountain of Gilead **to the other** with evil purpose. And he made there a heap for
9 a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: 'The Heap of Witness,' after this heap. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to
10 seven cubits. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon,
11 and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Misûr, and Beon. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought
12 to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of
13 Gilead. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and **he was reconciled** to him, and departed from him unto
14 the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he 2136 A.M.
crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the
15 heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and
16 cheese, and some dates of the valley, And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months, between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season)
17 and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son
18 Esau. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went
19 up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains
20 of Hebron, And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

XXIX. 1–6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 20, 21, 24.
4. **hid.** As LXX and Onk. Mass., Sam., Syr. = 'stole'.
7–8. Gen. xxxi. 46, 47.
7. **to the other.** See Eth. text.
9 foll. Places mentioned are scenes of great Maccabean victories. Cf. 1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26.
Rephaim (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 11); **Edrei**: Og's capital (Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31); **Misûr** (Deut. iii. 10; Joshua xv. 8); **Beon** (Num. xxxii. 3, destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 4, 5); **Bethshan** (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = 'Scythopolis' (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29), friendly to the Maccabees; **Dothan** (Gen. xxxvii. 17; Judith iv. 6, vii. 3); **the forest of Akrabbim.**—Read 'the ascent' of Akrabbim (Numb. xxxiv. 4; Joshua xv. 3).
13. **passed . . . Jabbok.** Gen. xxxii. 22. **on the eleventh thereof.** Lat. has 'et undecim filii ipsius'.
he was reconciled. So Lat. Eth. easily emended.
15–16. Another proof of Jacob's filial piety.
16. **rain** is 'former rain'; falls from middle of October to middle of December.
between winter and spring = the latter rain in March and April.
18. Put in to show Esau's selfishness.

Dinah ravished, 1–3. *Slaughter of the Shechemites*, 4–6. *Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen*, 7–17. *Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites*, 18–23. *Dinah recovered*, 24. *Jacob's reproof*, 25–6. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13–14, 25–30, xxxv. 5.)

30 1 And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in 214
2 the fourth month. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her,
3 and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt
4 deceitfully with them and beguiled them. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured
5 their sister Dinah. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword
6 all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of
7 Israel should be defiled. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because
8 she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die:
9 they shall stone him with stones. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tablets regarding all the seed of Israel: he who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with
10 stones. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given
11 of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for
12 **their sons** any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: 'We will not give our daughter
13 to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us.' And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those that take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and

XXX. 1. **to Salem . . . in peace** combines interpretations of all versions of Gen. xxxiii. 18 where Sam. reads שלום. 1-3. Gen. xxiv. 2–13.

2. **child of twelve.** Cf. Test. Levi xii. 5 and Jub. xxviii. 14, 23, which together make her eleven.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connexion with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand, this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi vi: *καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον.* Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5–7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi v, where the angel bids Levi *ποίησον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχὲμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, κἀγὼ ἔσομαι μετά σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἐμμώρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν*: and in the Test. Levi vi-vii, where Levi says that he saw that 'the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem', and still more strongly: *ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος.* Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: *κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου Συμεών, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἳ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίασμα καὶ ἐγύμνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην, κτλ.* Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called *οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι* for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166–8). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

7. Cf. xli. 17. To our author, marriage with a Gentile was no better than fornication. To give your daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her 'to Moloch', and merited the same penalty, i.e. death by stoning. Cf. Lev. xx. 2. A woman was to be treated as Tamar was threatened in Gen. xxxviii or a priest's daughter commanded in Lev. xxi. 9.

10. **given . . . to Moloch.** Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xviii. 21; Sanh. 82 *a*; Megill. 25 *a*. Perhaps this dates from Maccabean Age, when extreme measures were needed. Contrast Megill. iv. 9.

11. **for their sons.** So Latin. > *b c d*. *a* = αὐτοί, i.e. *lalîhômû*, corrupt for *lawĕlûdômû*, = 'for their sons'.

12. **we will not.** Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14 abominable to Israel. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles.
15 For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come ⟨upon him⟩: if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the
16 whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation **of this man**. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and
17 so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: 'Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it
18 was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous
19 to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tablets blessing and righteousness before
20 the God of all: And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a righteous
21 man. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which
22 has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tablets as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of
23 those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing.
24 And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their
25 flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. And he **reproached them** because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites.
26 And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1–3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2–4, 7, 14). *Isaac blesses Levi*, 4–17, *and Judah*, 18–22. *Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him*, 24. *Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah*, 26–30. *Jacob blesses the God of his fathers*, 31–2.

31 1 And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: 'Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because he has been with me and
2 brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among you.' And they **gave up** the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her father she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt

14. Based on Lev. xx. 2–4.
15. ⟨**upon him**⟩ from Latin.
whole nation: an extension of the area of guilt to justify the massacre; cf. charges in Test. Levi vi against the Shechemites in general.
profanation of this man = Lat. Eth. = 'this profanation'.
16. [ ] dittography; Latin omits.
18. **for he was zealous**, &c. Contrast xxxii. 3 (Levi became priest as the tenth son); Test. Levi iv (in answer to his prayer); Shem. Rabb. 19 (the Levites' constancy in Egypt in retaining circumcision). Cf. Weber, *J. T.*² 309, Singer (115 note) for different motives for God's choice of Levi.
22. **transgress**: Latin + *testamentum*. **book of life**: cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3. Latin has 'of destructions' instead of 'of those who will be destroyed'.
24. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.
25. **reproached**: needed by sense of context for 'spake to them' (Eth. and Latin); cf. Test. Levi vi. 6.
26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1, 2. Gen. xxxv. 2–4.
2. **gave up** (*maṭawĕwômû*) emended from *masawĕwômû*, 'melted'.
on their necks. Read perhaps 'in their hands'. If so, take 'which were in their hands' after 'gods'.
her father (*'abûhâ*): for 'her brother' (*'ĕḫûhâ*).

and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of
3 Shechem. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an
altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father
4 Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. And Isaac said: 'Let my son
5 Jacob come, and let me see him before I die.' And Jacob went to his father Isaac and
to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons
with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca.
6 And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace
him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: 'Behold Jacob thy son has come'; and she kissed
7 him. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: 'Are these thy sons,
my son?' and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: 'In you shall the
8 seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye shall prove a blessing on the earth.' And Jacob went in
to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the
hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son,
9 and wept upon his neck. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob,
10 Levi, and Judah, and he said: 'Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee.' And he said
unto him that they were truly his sons: 'And thou hast truly seen that they are †truly† my sons'.
11 And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them **both** together.
12 And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and
13 Judah by his left. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him:
'May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the
14 ages. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee
and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the
presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, shall the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness
15 and holiness, and may He make them great unto all the ages. And they shall be judges and princes,
and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They shall speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they shall judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they shall declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16 Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name;

Thou shalt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;

Let His table be thine,
And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;

And may thy table be full unto all generations,
And thy food fail not unto all the ages.

17 And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;

3, 4. Cf. Test. Levi ix.
5. Last meeting with Isaac and Rebecca, unknown to later Haggada.
10. **truly**: Lat. has 'father'. So read *'abbâ* in Eth. for *'amân*.
11. **both**: Lat. *utrosque*. Eth. *kuĕllômû* corrupt for *kĕl 'êhômu*. Cf. xxii. 3.
13. Cf. Test. Levi ix.
14. † † Lat. = 'great seed to understand His glory.'
holy ones here = 'angels of sanctification'; cf. ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Cf. Test. Levi iii (Arm.) for one or two orders of ministering angels.
may He make them great: Latin *sanctificabit*.
15. Describes early Maccabean princes (kings as well as priests); cf. Test. Levi viii. The latter passage refers to John Hyrcanus. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, 165; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7.
the blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths: cf. Sir. l. 20, Test. Reub. vi.
16. Cf. Gen. xxix. 34; Numb. xviii. 2–4, play on words. The Lat. has instead of 'joined to the Lord' *ad decorem Dei* = לויה 'a crown'.
Let His table be thine: cf. Test. Judah xxi; Test. Levi viii.

And blessed be he that blesses thee,
And cursed be every nation that curses thee.'

18 And to Judah he said:
'May the Lord give thee strength and power

To tread down all that hate thee;
A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob;

May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region.
Then shall the Gentiles fear before thy face,

And all the nations shall quake
[And all the peoples shall quake].

19 In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20 And when thou sittest on the throne of honour of thy righteousness
There shall be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved;

Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and be accursed.'

21 And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the
22 sons of Jacob his son in very truth. And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and bowed down to him, and he blessed them and rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they
23 eat and drank with joy. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the
24 other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness. And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how he had prospered (him in) all
25 his ways, and protected him from all evil. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who
26 had not withdrawn his mercy and his righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac. And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be
27 made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: 'I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to
28 journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have
29 seen thee, my son. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou shalt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow.'
30 And he said to Rebecca: 'Go with Jacob thy son'; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and
31 Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his
32 fathers, Abraham and Isaac. And he said: 'Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all'; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tablets how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. *Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son*, 2–3. *Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe*, 4–9. *Law of tithes ordained*, 10–15. *Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tablets his own future and that of his descendants*, 16–26. *Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles*, 27–9. *Death of Deborah*, 30. *Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel*, 33–4. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16–20.)

32 1 And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed

18–19. Cf. Test. Levi xviii; Reub. vi: Signs of Messiah's coming. As in 1 En. xc He has no active part to play, but springs from Judah ('one of thy sons'). This seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a temporary Messianic kingdom; cf. xxiii. 30.

18. **thy name**: i.e. that of the Jewish people. [ ] bracketed as dittography.

20. **honour . . . peace.** So *d b*. But *c* reads 'honour; thy righteousness shall be great peace'.

XXXII. Cf. Test. Levi v, viii, ix.

1. **priest of the Most High God**: title assumed by the Maccabean priest-kings; cf. Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Ps. cx. 1–4 (acrostic on Simon as Bickell has shown); Rosh-ha-Shanah 18 *b*. See Test. Levi viii. 14.

2 the Lord. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a
tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment,
3 yea, he gave tithes of all. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin.
And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord, and his
4 father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. And on the fifteenth of
this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams,
and forty-nine sheep, and **seven** lambs, and twenty-**one** kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the
5 **altar of sacrifice,** well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. This was his offering, in consequence
of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-
6 offerings. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a
thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old,
7 and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. And he and all his sons and his
men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who
8 had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had given him his vow. And he tithed all the clean
animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he
9 gave him all the souls of the men. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob
his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus
10 he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. And for this
reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the
Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law
11 there is no limit of days for ever. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to
year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing
12 shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. For in its year shall the seed be
eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine,
13 and the oil till the days of its season. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded
14 as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. And thus let them eat it together in the
15 sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall
be holy unto the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, which they will eat before Him from year to
16 year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tablets. And on the
following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to
surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children
17 after him. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name
18 shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' And He said unto him again: 'I
am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I will increase thee and multiply thee
exceedingly, and kings shall come forth from thee, and they shall judge everywhere wherever the foot
19 of the sons of men has trodden. And I will give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven,
and they shall judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they shall get possession
20 of the whole earth and inherit it for ever.' And He finished speaking with him, and He went up
21 from him. and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. And he saw in a vision of the night,
and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to
Jacob, and he read them and **knew** all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons
22 throughout all the ages. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him:
'Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is
not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day
23 of the death of thy father. For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried
24 with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. Fear not, for as thou hast
seen and read it, thus shall it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read.'

3. Known to Syncell. i. 200; probably to Cedren. i. 60; new version in P. R. Eliezer, xxxvii.
filled his hands: a technical expression, as Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.
4. Celebration of Feast of 'Tabernacles' differs from Lev. xxiii. 34–44 and Numb. xxix. 12–40.
seven lambs: Lat. *septem*; Eth. = sixty, but the heptadic system is here followed.
twenty-one: Lat.; Eth. = twenty-nine (ἐννέα for ἕνα).
altar of sacrifice: i.e. *meshwâ'ă querbân* emended according to Lat. *altarium fructuum* from *meshwâ'ă querbâna* (*a*).
8. Corrects Test. Levi ix. Unclean animals are excepted.
9 **tithed**, &c.: Numb. xviii. 26.
10. **eat before the Lord**: cf. Deut. xiv. 22; Tobit i. 7.
15. **tithes of the oxen and sheep**: cf. Lev. xxvii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. These tithes were unknown to Nehemiah, Neh. x. 37–9; xii. 44–7, xiii. 5, 12, and were limited to yearly increase by later Rabbis. Cf. Rosh-ha-Shanah, 1.
17–20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10–13. 19 is a great exaggeration of Gen. xxxv. 12.
21. **tablets**: cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.
knew: emended with Latin. Text = 'read.' Both words may be dittographic renderings of ἀνέγνω.

25 And Jacob said: 'Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?' And he said unto
26 him: 'I will bring all things to thy remembrance.' And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the
27 words which he had read and seen. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †'Addition,'† for
28 †this day was added,† and the former days he called 'The Feast'. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tablets: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should
29 celebrate it, and add it to the seven days of the feast. And its name was called †'Addition,'† †because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of
30 the days of the year. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this
31 place, 'The river of Deborah,' and the oak, 'The oak of the mourning of Deborah.' And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and
32 he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. And he went after his
33 mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name 'Son of my sorrow'; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this
34 jubilee. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, 2143 A.M. and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1–9 (cf. Gen xxxv. 21, 22). *Laws regarding incest*, 10–20. *Jacob's children*, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23–7.)

33 1 And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he
2 and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid,
3 the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in
4 her house. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered
5 that it was Reuben. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he
6, 7 fled. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto him: 'I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was
8 asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me.' And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his
9 father's skirt. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before
10 the Lord. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tablets that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have
11 wrought uncleanness on the earth. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation
12 which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. And again, it is written a second time: 'Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame'; and all the
13 holy ones of the Lord said 'So be it; so be it.' And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God.
14 For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he

25. Cf. John xiv. 26.

27. †**Addition**†. Perhaps *ἐπίσχεσις* in Greek was misread *ἐπίθεσις*, as Rönsch suggests. Latin has *retentatio*, 'a keeping back'. Cf. Chagiga, 18 *a*. The Hebrew is עֲצֶרֶת, really = 'sacred assembly'; cf. 2 Chron. vii. 9.

The Feast: as in Sukk. 42 *b*, 48 *a*, for 'the Feast of Tabernacles'.

29. **because that** = *διότι* = כִּי = 'when'.

amongst the days: emended with Latin *in dies*. **according to**; בְּ for בְּ = 'in'.

30. Gen. xxxv. 8.

32–4. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18–20.

32. **Kabrâtân** = כברת הארץ = 'some distance'. Cf. LXX, *χαβραθά*, i.e. כברת taken as a proper name.

34. Gen. xxxv. 19; Jashar ii. 1172 adds that she was forty-five at her death.

XXXIII. 1. **Magdalâdrâ'êf**, 'tower of Eder of Ephrath' (Gen. xxxv. 21) compressed.

2. Cf. Test. Reub. iii. 11–14; Shabb. 55 *b*. Later Rabbis wholly denied Reuben's guilt.

8–10. Phrases from Deut. xxii. 30; Lev. xx. 11.

15 is abominable and unclean. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after
he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband
16 Jacob, his father, was still alive. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and
judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of
17 seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. And for this law there
is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst
18 of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. And do thou, Moses,
write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit
a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts.
19 And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard
with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an
abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before
20 our God. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel
is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation
and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy
21 nation. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house 2
22 of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. And these were the names of the sons
of Jacob: the first-born Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the
sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of
Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. And they
23 came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and
all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he
blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1–9. *Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren*, 10. *Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt*, 11–12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32–6). *Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah*, 15. *Jacob mourns for Joseph*, 13, 14, 17. *Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived*, 18–19. *Wives of Jacob's sons*, 20–1.

34 1 And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their 2
2 sheep, and his servants with them to the pastures of Shechem. And the seven kings of the Amorites
assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and
3 to take their cattle as a prey. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with
Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was
4 the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû,
and the king[s] of †'Arêsa†, and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of
Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr†, and all those who dwell in these
5 mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. And they announced this to Jacob
saying: 'Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds.'
6 And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of his father, and his own
7 servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. And he
slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with
the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânî-
8 sakîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. And he prevailed over them, and imposed
tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl

16. Theory of Romans iv. 15, that where there is no law there is no transgression.
and = *wa* emended from *ba*.
22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-7.

XXXIV. 2-8. Short outline of ancient legend of Jacob's wars, suggested, perhaps, by Maccabean victories. The germ is seen in Gen. xlviii. 22, developed in Targ. Jerusalem, Gen. rabb. 97, Baba Bathra 123 *a*. These changed 'sword and bow' into 'merits and good deeds'. Cf. Test. Jud. iii–vii, Midr. Wajjissau in 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' (Gaster) 80–7, Jashar 1173–84. Proper names, whether of kings or of places, differ in all accounts; but there are almost invariably links of connexion, though place and personal names are hopelessly confused.

4. **Tâphû** = Tephon (1 Macc. ix. 50), Tappuah (Joshua xv. 53). **'Arêsa** = Aser (Tobit i. 2) = Hazor (cf. 1 Macc. xi. 67), **Sêlô** = Shiloh. Gâ'as = Gaash (Joshua xxiv. 30). **Bêthôrôn** = Beth-Horon (1 Macc. iii. 13–24, vii. 39–47). **Ma'anîsâkîr** = not 'Shakir of Mahanaim' (so Midrash Wajjissau and Jashar probably read) but Mahanisakir, i. e. the Camps of Shakir—See Test. Jud. vi. 3 (note).

7. **Shechem**: Cf. Test. Jud. iv. 1.

8-9. Test. Jud. vii. has different version of the sequel. **Rôbêl** = Arbela in Jashar 1184 (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) Rabael in Test. Jud. vii. 9.

9 and Tamnâtârês. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his
10 servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. And in the seventh year of this 2149 A.M.
week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem,
11 and he found them in the land of Dothan. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the
12 †chief of the cooks†, priest of the city of 'Êlêw. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month.
13 And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: 'An evil beast hath devoured Joseph'; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with
14 him all that day. And his sons and his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be
15 comforted for his son. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had
16 perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. And they buried
17 Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said 'Let me go down to the grave mourning
18 for my son'. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the
19 affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they
20 might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the name of Levi's wife is Mêlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zabulon's wife, †Nî'îmân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Êglâ; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name
21 of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1–8. *Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob*, 9–12. *Isaac consents*, 13–17. *Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob*, 18–26. *Death of Rebecca*, 27.

35 1 And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and 2157 A.M.
commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the
2 days of his life. And Jacob said: 'I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them.
3 And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in
4 my heart, that I always think good concerning all. And how should I not do this thing which thou
5 hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! Tell me, mother, what
6 perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me.' And she said unto him: 'My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I will tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to
7 live.' And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that

8. **Tamnâtârês** = 'Timnah' (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50).
10. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17–20, 28–36.
11. **†chief of the cooks†**: so LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36, wrongly, for שר־הטבחים = 'the captain of the bodyguard'.
12–14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31–5.
15. Ps.-Philo *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51 says Dinah married Job; Gen. rabb. 80 says Simeon.
17. Gen. xxxvii. 35.
18. **afflict themselves** : = fasting in Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 27–32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12.
20. **'Adîbâ'-a, a Canaanite**. Cf. Shaul—'son of a Canaánitish woman', Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15. It is to our author's credit that he does not seek to explain this away, as was done by later Rabbis. Cf. Beer, *Jubiläen*, 51. **Bêtasû'êl** cf. Bathshua in Test. Jud. viii, xiii, xvi.
Asenath: from Gen. xli. 45. Other names obscure. **Nî'îmân**: ? invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Syr. Frag. gives 'Adni', Jasher 'Marusa', *a b d* >.

XXXV. 5. **mercy**: Latin *misericordia domini*.

she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment
8 had touched her all the days of her life. And Jacob said unto her: 'Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou
9 wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death.' And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: 'One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth,
10 and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off
11 all thy possessions from before thy face. And when we implored and besought him for what was
12 our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually
13 at home honouring us.' And Isaac said unto her: 'I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the firstborn; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and
14 there is no righteousness around him.] And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone
15 after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide
16 by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his
17 hands.] And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful
18 and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau.' And Rebecca sent and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: 'I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do
19 thou promise to do it, my son.' And he said: 'I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and
20 I will not refuse thy petition.' And she said unto him: 'I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be
21 a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you.' And he said: 'I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as
22 thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came
23 we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me
24 the lower. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the
25 days of my life but good only.' And he sware unto her regarding all this matter. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which
26 she had spoken to Esau. And he said: 'I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only.'
27 And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

9. Referred to by Syncell. i. 202.
13. [**and there . . .**]. A dittography.
16. [**for he . . .**]. A gloss from xxxvi. 9.
17. **guardian of Jacob.** Earliest reference to belief in guardian angels; cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Hebrews i. 14. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1–11. *Divides his possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies*, 12–18. *Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him*, 21–4.

36 1 And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to 2162 A.M.
him, and he said unto them: 'My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house
2 where my fathers are. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field
of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which
3 I digged for myself, there bury me. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteous-
ness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that
4 he would do to Abraham and to his seed. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man
who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on
5 the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. And concerning the question of idols,
I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full
6 of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. Remember ye, my
sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in
righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven
in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted
7 out unto all the generations for ever. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is
no oath which is greater than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and
wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will
8 fear Him and worship Him. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness,
and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life,
9 so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. And if either of you devises evil
against his brother, know that from henceforth everyone that devises evil against his brother shall fall
into his hand, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from
10 under heaven. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming
devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is
his, and he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be
recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he shall depart into
eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration
11 and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. I say and
testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which shall come upon the man who wishes to
12 injure his brother.' And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave
the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that
13 Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. And he said: 'This larger portion I will give to the
14 firstborn.' And Esau said, 'I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be
15 given, and I have not a single word to say regarding it, for it is his.' And Isaac said, 'May a blessing
rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not
16 pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. May the
17 Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever.' And he ended
commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced
because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and
18 slept. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one
hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons
19 Esau and Jacob buried him. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and
20 dwelt there. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings
of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible
21 commands according as He had divided the days of his generations. And Leah his wife died in 2167 A.M.
the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave

XXXVI. 1. **eternal house**: cf. Eccles. xii. 5.
6. **how** = *kama* emended for *emze*, 'after this'.
10. **turbulence and execration and indignation and anger**: cf. 1 En. xxxix. 2.
13. **give** (*'ĕhûb*) for 'make great' (*'a'âbî*).
16. **Most High God**: twenty-five times in this book, thirteen in Daniel, forty-eight times in Sir., twenty-one in Pss., nine times in N.T., three times in Tobit, not at all in Pss.-Solomon, nine times in 1 En. xci-civ, six times in Test. Levi, twenty-three times in Apoc. Bar., frequent in 4 Ezra, twice in Ass. Mos., four times in 1 En. xxxvii-lxx, once in Judith, twice in Pentateuch outside Gen. xiv, and only once in the prophets. It was most used in early part of Maccabean age, though rare in 1 En. i-xxxvi, lxxii-xc and absent from 1 Macc.
18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.
20. **generations**. So Lat. Eth. = *lĕdatû* corrupt for *tĕwlădû*.

22 near Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother. And all her sons
and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him regarding her, for he
23 was lamenting her. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was perfect
and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob, and all the days that she lived with him he did not
hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable.
24 And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he lamented her exceed-
ingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and constrain him to war with the assistance of 4,000 mercenaries against Jacob, 1–15. *Jacob reproves Esau*, 16–17. *Esau's reply*, 18–25.

37 1 And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac 216
2 had given the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. And they
strove with their father, saying: 'Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed
3 over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?' And he said unto them 'Because
I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt
and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought
4 my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. And now our
father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his
brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways
5 corrupt.' And they said unto him, 'We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for
our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against
him and slay him, and destroy **him and his sons.** And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt
6 to thee also. And now hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and
Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against
him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong.'
7 And their father said unto them, 'Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him.'
8 And they said unto him, 'This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and
9 thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words.' And they sent to
Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand
10 fighting men, chosen men of war. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of
Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen
men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the
11 Kittim mighty men of war. And they said unto their father: 'Go forth with them and lead them,
12 else we shall slay thee.' And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were
forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. But afterward he remem-
13 bered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not
the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days
14 against Jacob his brother. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming
against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the
15 tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. And the men of Hebron sent to him
saying, 'Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword,
and they carry shields and weapons'; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for
16 Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. But Jacob would not believe until they came
17 very near to the tower. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and
spake to his brother Esau and said, 'Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me
for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy
mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to
18 thy father wast thou condemned.' And then Esau answered and said unto him, 'Neither the chil-
dren of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have
sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each
19 may slay his adversary and foe. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is
20 no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

XXXVII. Wars of Jacob and Esau. Cf. Test. Judah ix; Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132; Chronicles of Jerahmeel 80–7. Latter two adapt the legend to the Herodian situation, and turn Adora into 'Arodin' (= Herodion). Jashar ii. 1236–8 adapts it further.

1–12. Differs from later accounts in putting more of the blame on the sons of Esau. Cf. Chron. Jerahmeel xxxvii. 1.

5. **him and his sons**: so Lat. 'him his sons' *a*; 'his sons' *b c d*.

9–10. Enumerates peoples actually allied against Judah under the Maccabees: Ammonites (1 Macc. v. 6–8). Philistines (cf. xxiv. 28), Syrians (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3, 65).

If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles as soft as wool,
Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,
Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.
†And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother, for thou hast not been a brother to me†.
21 And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not to devour or do them violence,
And if their hearts are towards them for good,
Then there shall be peace in my heart towards thee.

22 And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him.
And if he is bound under one yoke with him and ploughs with him,
Then will I make peace with thee.
23 And when the raven becomes white as the râzâ,
Then know that I have loved thee
And shall make peace with thee.
Thou shalt be rooted out,
And thy sons shall be rooted out,
And there shall be no peace for thee.'
24 And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon
25 the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1–10. *Edom reduced to servitude · till this day'*, 11–14. *Kings of Edom*, 15–24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31–9.)

38 1 And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: 'Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: **let us give him**
2 (this) honour.' Then Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother ⟨on
3 his right breast⟩ and slew him. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean,
4 on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. And then went forth the sons of Jacob,
5 they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. And Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped.
6 And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them,
7 and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the
8 Philistines. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father
9 lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and
10 he returned to his house. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the moun-
11 tains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. And they
12 sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the
13 yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. And they
14 continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. And the sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on
15 them until this day. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king

20. **boar**: symbol for *Edom* in 1 En. lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 69. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. † † Out of place; possibly also corrupt; read after 19 *a* ('for ever') these two clauses in reverse order and substitute 'since' for 'and if' and 'twins' for 'breasts'.

23. **râzâ**: 'a large white bird that eats grasshoppers' (Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, cf. Mandean Adam-Book).

XXXVIII. 1. **let us give him** Lat. Eth. 'with us', i.e. *baḥabêna* for *naḥabô*.

2–3. Others attributed Esau's death to Chushim, son of Dan. Cf. Sotah 13 *a*; Jashar 1235; Pirke R. Eliezer 39; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 13. Our author agrees with Test. Judah ix, but expands.

2. **⟨on his right breast⟩**. Supplied from Latin and Jalkut.

8–9. **'Adûrâm** = 'Adora' (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4; *Bell.* i. 2. 6; 1 Macc. xiii. 20). **Horites**: cf. xxxvii. 10.

14. **until this day**: Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by John Hyrcanus.

15–24. Gen. xxxvi. 31–9.

16 over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned
17 in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of
18 Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead.
19 And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his
20 stead, and the name of his city was Avith. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned
21, 22 in his stead. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. And Saul
23 died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maiṭabîth, the daughter of
24 Mâtarat, the daughter of Mêtabêdzâ'ab. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1–4. *His purity and imprisonment*, 5–13. *Imprisonment of Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets*, 14–18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2; xxxix. 3–8, 12–15, 17–23; xl. 1–5, 21–3; xli. 1.)

39 1, 2 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into
3 the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. And he set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on
4 account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. And the Egyptian committed everything **into the hands** of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the
5 Lord prospered him in all that he did. And Joseph's appearance was comely [and very beautiful was his appearance], and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him,
6 and besought him to lie with her. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham, that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin
7 will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. And Joseph
8 remembered these words and refused to lie with her. And she besought him for a year, but he
9 refused and would not listen. But she embraced him and held him fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left
10 his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying: 'Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in
11 my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door.' And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into
12 prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord
13 made all that he did to prosper. And he committed all things **into his hands**, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the
14 Lord perfected it. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler, and against the chief baker, and he put
15 them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. And the chief of
16 the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. And they both
17 dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. And as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the
18 (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

XXXIX. 2. **seventeen years old**: cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.
chief cook. See xxxiv. 11, xxxix. 14.
2–5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3–7.
4 **into the hands**: emended with Latin in ver. 13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 6. Eth. = 'before him'.
6. Cf. xx. 4, xxv. 7; Test. Jos. iii. 3; Soteh 36*b*.
9–13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12–15, 17–23.
13. **into his hands**. See ver. 4; Eth. 'before him'.
14–18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1–5, 21–3.
14. **two years**: Gen. xli. 1.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1–4. *Elevation and marriage of Joseph*, 5–13. (Cf. Gen. xli. 1–5, 7–9, 14 seqq., 25, 29–30, 34, 36, 38–43, 45–6, 49.)

40 1 And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them).
2 And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him
3 forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: 'Seven years shall come (in which there shall be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all
4 the land. And now let Pharaoh appoint **overseers** in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven
5 years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.' And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: 'We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with
6 him.' And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all
7 Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him ''Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrĕr,' and placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and
8 said unto him: 'Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.' And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land.
9 And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil
10 person (therein). And the king called Joseph's name Sephânṭîphâns, and gave Joseph to wife the
11 daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. And on the day that
12 Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the
13 land of Egypt abundantly produced, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1–7. *Judah's incest with Tamar* 8–18. *Tamar bears twins*, 21–2. *Judah forgiven, because he sinned ignorantly, and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not been consummated*, 23–8. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6–18, 20 6, 29–30; xli. 13.)

41 1 And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his 2165 A.M.
2 first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the
3 kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. And this Er, the first-born of Judah,
4 was wicked, and the Lord slew him. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: 'Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother.' And
5 Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew

XL. Cf. Gen. xli.

4. **overseers**: Latin *speculatores*; *cd* read 'threshing floors'. Possibly corrupt in Gk. σιταρχίας for σιτάρχας (Rönsch).

7. (**herald**): plural *praeconaverunt*, only in Latin.

'Êl 'Êl wa'Abîrĕr: 'God, God, the Mighty One of God', the title of a great magician. Cf. Acts viii. 10 (Simon Magus); Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepig. Vet. Test.* i. 774–84; ii. 85 (Joseph); cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 336 note.

9. **no Satan**. Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. **Sĕphânṭîphâns** = Zaphnath-paaneah, Gen. xli. 45 = 'Revealer of secrets' acc. to later Judaism.

priest of Heliopolis. Origen, *Cat. Niceph.* i. 463, refers to this function of Potiphar. Later Rabbis, e.g. Pirke R. Eliezer 36, &c., tried to explain this marriage with a heathen priest's daughter. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 makes her Dinah's daughter.

XLI. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-7, 9-18, 20-6; Test. Judah x, xii, xiv; also xix (Judah saved by prayers).

4. Cf. Deut. xxv. 5.

him. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: 'Remain in thy father's house as a widow till
Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife.' And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the
wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died 2168.M
in the fifth year of this week. And in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. 2169.M
And they told Tamar: 'Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep.' And she
put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the
way to Timnah. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot,
and he said unto her: 'Let me come in unto thee'; and she said unto him: 'Come in,' and he went
in. And she said unto him: 'Give me my hire'; and he said unto her: 'I have nothing in my
hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand.' And
she said unto him: 'Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire'; and he said unto her:
'I will send unto thee a kid of the goats'; and he gave them to her, ⟨and he went in unto her⟩, and
she conceived by him. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. And
Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not;
and he asked the people of the place, saying: 'Where is the harlot who was here?' And they said
unto him; 'There is no harlot here with us.' And he returned and informed him, and said unto
him that he had not found her; 'I asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: "There
is no harlot here."' And he said: '**Let her keep** (them) lest we become a cause of derision.' And
when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah,
saying: 'Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.' And Judah went to the
house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: 'Bring her forth, and let them burn
her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.' And it came to pass when they brought her forth
to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying:
'Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.' And Judah acknowledged, and said: 'Tamar
is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not.' And for that reason she was
not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. And after that she bare two sons, Perez 2170.M
and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness
were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. And Judah acknowledged that the deed
which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in
his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray, for he had uncovered the
skirt of his son, and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression.
And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented,
and did not again commit it. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from
his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one
who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is
uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. And do thou command the
children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his
daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the
man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment
from Israel. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason
his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. For in singleness of
eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham,
which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1–4. *Joseph recognizes them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned*, 5–12. *Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph*, 13–25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56; xlii. 7–9, 13, 17, 20, 24–5, 29–30, 34–8; xliii. 1–2, 4–5, 8–9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34; xliv. 1–2.)

42 And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the 2171.M
land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. And the earth grew

12. ⟨ ⟩ Restored from Lat.
15. **keep** Lat. Eth. 'arise', one letter different.
17. Cf. xxx. 7 note.
22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.
25. **because he turned . . . ignorance**: best to transpose these two clauses and read 'because of his ignorance and because . . . sin'.
25, 26. Enforce laws of Lev. xx. 14; xviii. 15; xx. 12.
28. Judah commended for his severity.
singleness of eye: favourite expression in Test. XII Patriarchs.

XLII. Cf. Gen. xli. 54-xliv. 2.

barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the
3 seven years of plenty and had preserved it. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give
them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to
4 the people of the land for gold. ⟨Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan⟩, and Jacob
heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him
in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and ⟨the ten sons of Jacob⟩ arrived ⟨in Egypt⟩ among those
5 that went (there). And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto
them and questioned them, and he said unto them; 'Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to
6 explore the approaches of the land?' And he put them in ward. And after that he set them free
7 again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. And he filled their sacks with corn,
8 and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. And he commanded them to bring
9 their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. And
they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their
father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and
10 had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. And Jacob said: 'Me have ye bereaved of my
children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your
11 wickedness come.' And he said: 'My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick;
for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me.
If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death.'
12 For he saw that their money had been returned **to every man** in his sack, and for this reason he
13 feared to send him. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all
lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed
for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses
14 and preserving it for the years of famine. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during
15 the first year of their famine. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and
that there was no deliverance, he said unto his sons: 'Go again, and procure food for us that we die
16 not.' And they said: 'We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go.'
17 And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine.
18 And Reuben said: 'Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two
19 sons instead of his soul.' And he said unto him: 'He shall not go with thee.' And Judah came near
and said: 'Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before
20 thee all the days of my life.' And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the 2172 A.M.
first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had)
21 presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. And they went and
stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: 'Is
this your youngest brother?' And they said unto him: 'It is he.' And he said: 'The Lord be
22 gracious to thee, my son!' And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them
and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their
23 hands. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was
24 seven times larger than that of any of theirs. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with
25 their asses. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts
of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: 'Fill all their
sacks with food, and return their money unto them into their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out
of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away.'

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1–10. *Judah's supplication*, 11–13. *Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father*, 14–24. (Cf. Gen. xliv. 3–10, 12–18, 27–8, 30–2; xlv. 1–2, 5–9, 12, 18, 20–1, 23, 25–8.)

43 1 And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their
2 money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. And early in the morning they departed,
and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his
house: 'Pursue them, run and **seize** them, saying, "For good ye have requited me with evil; you
have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks." And bring back to me their

4. ⟨ ⟩ supplied from Latin, with Gen. xlii. 5.
5. **questioned them**: Latin has 'appellavit eos dure'.
6. Latin varies: 'et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum'.
12. **to every man**: emended by prefixing *la* to *kuĕllû*.

XLIII. Cf. Gen. xliv. 3–xlv. 28.
2. **seize** = *ta'aḫazômû* emended with Gen. xliv. 4 from *tagâ'azômû* = 'upbraid'.

youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment.' And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words. And they said unto him: 'God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord.' And he said unto them: 'Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye shall return in peace unto your house.' And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. And Joseph said unto them: 'Ye have done evil.' And they said: 'What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also.' And Joseph said unto them: 'I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me.' And Judah said: 'O my lord, let thy servant, **I pray thee**, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad). And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever.' And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. And he said unto them: 'Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and **ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh. and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see.** For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me.' And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt. And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: 'It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die.'

Jacob celebrates the feast of firstfruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1–10. *Names of his descendants*, 11–34. (Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1-28.)

44 And Israel took his journey from †Haran† from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if

5. **thy**: for 'my' (Gen. xliv. 9).
10. **delights in his cup**: a change of *jâsta'adĕm* into *jâstaqasĕm* ('divines') would bring text into line with Gen. xliv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.
11. **I pray thee**: MSS. 'on me', mistranslation of בִּי in Gen. xliv. 18.
15. **Hebrew tongue**: so Ber. rabb. 93.
16. **ye see . . . Benjamin see**, emended in text. See my Eth. text, p. 157.

XLIV. 1. †**Haran**† for 'Hebron' (cp. Gen. xxxvii. 14).

4 perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed [in the land], for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and
5 birds, and also over man. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Jacob, Jacob'; and he said, 'Here am I.' And He said unto him: 'I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee
6 a great nation. I will go down with thee, and I will bring thee up (again), and in this land shalt thou be buried, and Joseph shall put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt.'
7 And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon
8 wagons. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he
9 went to the land of Egypt. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they
10 might be near him. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all
11 (of them) and also for the cattle. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into
12 Egypt with Jacob their father. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his
13 sons: Enoch, and Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son
14 of the Zephathite woman—seven. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons:
15 Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons:
16 Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons:
17 Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of
18 his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their
19 father being with them, they were thirty. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of
20 Jacob, who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: The sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, ⟨and Eri⟩, and Areli,
21 and Arodî—eight. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, ⟨and Ishvi⟩, and Beriah, and Serah,
22, 23 their one sister—six. All the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. And the
24 sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis
25 bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven.
26, 27 And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the
28 wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. And these are the names of their

4–8. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1–6. Jacob's vision is on the day after the Feast of 'Weeks'.

4. **[in the land]**: a dittography.

9. Gen. xlvi. 28. For readings see p. 6.

12–33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlvi. 27. On the other hand in Gen. xlvi. 15, 18, 22, 25 and Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlvi. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah, against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	Reuben and 4 sons	5		Rachel's children	Joseph and 2 sons	3
	Simeon and 6 sons	7			Benjamin and 10 sons	11
	Levi and 3 sons	4				14
	Judah, 1 son, 2 grandsons	4				
	Issachar and 4 sons	5		Bilhah's ,,	Dan and 5 sons	6
	Zebulon and 3 sons	4			Naphtali and 5 sons	6
		29				12
Zilpah's ,,	Gad and 7 sons	8				
	Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter	6				
		14				

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlvi. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS. give 70, but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

13. **Zephathite**, i.e. of Zephath, a Canaanite city (Judges. i. 17).

20, 21. ⟨ ⟩ names required to complete numbers 'eight' and 'six'.

28. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 23 which gives Hushim only.

sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî,
29 and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there
30 was left to Dan Hushim alone. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni,
31 and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt.
32, 33 And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt
were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died
34 in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died,
Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel buried those who perished, and
they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1–7. *Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh*, 8–12. *Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron*, 13–15. *His books given to Levi*, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlvi. 28–30; xlvii. 11–13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28; l. 13.)

45 1 And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth 2172 A.M.
2 month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph went to meet his
3 father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. And Israel said unto
Joseph: 'Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed,
the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from
4 His servant Jacob. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true
is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be
5 His name.' And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob
rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before
him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his
6 twelve sons. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling
in the land of Goshen and in Rameses and all the region round about, which he ruled over before
Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt;
7 and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. And Joseph nourished
his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the
8 seven years of the famine. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph
acquired all the land of Egypt **for** Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people
9 and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and
Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow ⟨the land⟩ in the eighth
10 year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. For in the seven years of the famine it had
⟨not⟩ overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed
11 and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. And this was the first year of 2178 A.M.
12 the fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part
for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for
13 the land of Egypt until this day. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the
days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died in the fourth 2188 A.M.
14 year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told
them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what
would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in
15 the land. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of
Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in
16 the land of Hebron. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son
that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

33. **before Joseph** (*b c*); 'before they married' (*a*); 'who did not marry' (*d*).

XLV. 1–4 *a*. Gen. xlvi. 28–30.
4. **whilst †I am† yet alive**: change *ana* to *anta* = 'thou' and read 'that' for 'whilst', then = Gen. xlvi. 30.
6. Gen. xlvii. 11.
one hundred and thirty years: from Gen. xlvii. 9.
7. **as much as sufficed**: emend *ya'aklômû* to *'akâlômû* = 'according to their persons', as LXX, Gen. xlvii. 12.
8. **for Pharaoh**: with Latin *b* reads 'and Pharaoh'.
9, 10. Gen. xlvii. 23. Restore **⟨the land⟩** and **⟨not⟩** from Latin and emend 'it bore' to 'they harvested' (Latin *collegerunt*).
12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.
the corn of. Read with Lat. 'all the'.
13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28. Date conflicts with that in xix. 13. See xxv. 4.
14. **told them**, &c. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Jub. xxx. 21.
15. Cf. Gen. l. 13.
16. Cf. x. 14. Our author, who published these traditions, was probably himself a priest.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1–2. *Death of Joseph*, 3–5. *War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron*, 6–11. *Egypt oppresses Israel*, 12–16. (Cf. Gen. l. 22, 25-6; Exod. i. 6–14.)

46 1 And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and multiplied exceedingly, ten 2242 A.M.
2 weeks of years, all the days of the life of Joseph. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children
3 of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in
4 prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. And he died and all
5 his brethren and all that generation. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that
6 they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the
7 Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of
8 Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and 2242 A.M.
9 all his brethren died after him. And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of Canaan 2263 A.M.
in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the
10 field in the double cave in the mountain. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of
11 them remained in the mountains of Hebrôn, and Amram thy father remained with them. And the
12 king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them and he said unto the people of
13 Egypt: 'Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

3. Cf. Gen. l. 22, 26 (Joseph's death at 110).

6–9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the T. Sim. viii. 2 and T. Benj. xii. 3 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. viii. 2 *ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσήπτων τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ*: and Benj. xii. 2, 3 *καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν* (Arm. = *ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναναῖοι*). If we could trust the date in T. Gad viii. 5 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: *ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών*, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (T. Gad I. 1; Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt (see note on xxviii. 11–24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. xii. 3 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS.) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. xix. 5; Zeb. x. 7; Dan vii. 2) add that 'afterwards' (*ὕστερον*) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: 'His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (*κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον*) and buried them in Hebron.' St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii and *Bible Dictionary* i. 662, 665. But our text, which emphasizes the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend having many details in common with that in Josephus is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate and still more grotesque edition is found in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244–53). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes nearest to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. **'Êrmôn** = Heroônpolis, near the desert on the canal of Ramses.

10. No other mention of this stay of Amram in Palestine; but cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2.

13–15. Cf. Exod. i. 10–12, 14.

unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land
14 of Canaan.' And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong
cities for Pharaoh, Pithom, and Raamses and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which
15 had fallen in the cities of Egypt. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt
16 evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. And the people of Egypt abominated the
children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1–4. *Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter*, 5–9. *Slays an Egyptian and flees* (*into Midian*), 10–12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22; ii. 2–15.)

47 1 And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth 2303
from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year thereof, in the 2330
2 forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. And Pharaoh, king
of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were
3 born into the river. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born.
4 And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. And she made an ark for
thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and
she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day
5 Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of
Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her **maidens** to
6 bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had
7 compassion on thee. And thy sister said unto her: 'Shall I go and call unto thee one of the
8 Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?' And she said ⟨unto her⟩: 'Go.' And she
went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. And afterwards,
9 when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the **daughter** of Pharaoh, and thou didst become
her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks
10 they brought thee into the royal court. And thou wast three weeks of years at court until the time 2351
when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was 2372
11 of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. And on the second day
thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was
doing the wrong: 'Why dost thou smite thy brother?' And he was angry and indignant, and said:
12 'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the
Egyptian yesterday?' And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1–3. *The ten plagues*, 4–11. *Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea*, 12–19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15; iv. 19, 24; vii. seqq.)

48 1 And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell ⟨in 2372
the land of Midian⟩ five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week
in the second year in the fiftieth jubilee. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on 2410
2 Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt

13. **our enemies**: so Lat.; Eth. 'the enemy'.
their hearts, &c. Rönsch compares Ezek. xxi. 2.
14. **strong cities**: with LXX. Heb. = ערי מסכנות.
Raamses: Latin adds 'et Oon' from LXX, Exod. i. 11.

XLVII. 2–4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2–4.
3. **seven months**: Cedren. i. 85, quotes it as 'ten months'.
5. Greek form 'Thermuthis' in Syr. Frag.; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5; Syncell. i. 227.
her maidens: plural only in Syr. of Exod. ii. 5.
7. ⟨**unto her**⟩ restored from Latin and Exod. ii. 8.
8. **Jochebed**: Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.
9–12. Exod. ii. 10–14.
9. **daughter** = Exod. i. 10. Eth. and Lat. = 'house'.
'**Amram . . . taught thee writing**: not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vit. Mosis*, ii. 83.
three weeks: cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 6.

XLVIII. 1. **in the land of Midian**: restored from Latin with Exod. ii. 15.
one year: read 'three years'.
return into Egypt, as Exod. iv. 19.
2. Author avoids offence by ascribing God's deed to Mastêmâ. Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Jubilees xvii. 16. ⟨ ⟩ Eth. text corrupt; emended from Latin.

3 ⟨on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place⟩. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute
4 judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and
5 against all his house, and against his servants and his people. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and ⟨by the death⟩ of the first-born of
6 men and animals, and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people.
7 And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the
8 land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He
9 would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. And the prince Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped
10 the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. The evils indeed we permitted
11 them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that
12 they could not perform a single sign. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince Mastêmâ was not put to shame **because** he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the
13 hosts of the peoples of Egypt. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the
14 midst of the sea as if it were dry land. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on
15 account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he
16 might not accuse them. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the
17 Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and
18 cast them into the sea. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in
19 which they had forced them to serve. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22–3, 30, 46; xv. 22.)

49 1 Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill

3. Author explains away meaning of Exod. iv. 24, unlike Jerahmeel xlvii. 1, 2, where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son.
5. **⟨by the death⟩**: Lat. and Eth. omit.
6. **declare** (*tenger*) emended from 'shouldest do' (*tegbar*).
8. Gen. xv. 13, 14.
9. **prince Mastêmâ**: *a b* here and in verses 12 and 15, and xviii. 9, 12 read 'prince of the Mastêmâ'.
11. Exod. ix. 11.
12. Exod. xiv. 8, 9. **because**. So I read for 'until'.
took courage: *a* has 'took thought'.
13. *a b* read 'between thee and' before 'between'; *c d* add these words after 'Egyptians and'.
14. *Lex talionis*: cf. iv. 31; Wisd. xi. 1, 7, 8, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 45; Philo, *adv. Flacc.* xx; Joseph. *contra Ap.* ii. 13; Exod. xviii. 11; Gen. ix. 6.
17. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.
18. **fourteenth**: with *b* and Cedren. i. 87; *a d* read 'seventeenth'.

XLIX. 1–21. Exod. xii. 6, 13, 22, 23, 28.

it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the
2 time of the setting of the sun. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning
of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let
loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born
3 of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. And this is the sign which the Lord gave
them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into
(that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that
4 were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. And the powers of the Lord did
everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel,
and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or
5 man, or dog. And the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt
6 where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. And all Israel was eating the flesh
of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to
the Lord God of their fathers. and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from
7 the evil bondage. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to
year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not
8 adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven
on the heavenly tablets **regarding all** the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on
its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained
9 for ever. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion
of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the
Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand shall be cut off: because
he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he shall take the guilt upon himself.
10 Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth
day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of
11 the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening. This
12 is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. And
it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the
evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and
whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards. let them burn
13 it with fire. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the
fire. **they shall eat it** with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast
with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†.
14 For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its
fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded,
and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its
15 festival let it be observed. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover

2. See notes on xlviii. 17, x. 8, &c.
5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.
6. **drinking the wine**: first mention of this practice at the Passover.
7-8. Cf. vi. 20, 22.
8. **regarding all** = *lakuĕllômû* emended with Lat. from *la'ĕla*.
9. Cf. Numb. ix. 13. Explained in Pesach. ix. 4.
10. Exod. xii. 6.
12. **slay it . . . during the period** (or '**time**') **bordering on the evening.** According to our text the Passover victim might be slain 'during the period bordering on the evening'. This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase 'between the evenings' (בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover 'at even, at the going down of the sun'. But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—'from the third part of the day to the third part of the night.'—The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase 'between the evenings'. The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, i.e. from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, i.e. 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (*θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης*). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during 'the third part of the day' before sunset; and this harmonizes on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts: 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. **they shall eat it**: emended with Lat.
†**of the children . . .** †. The Latin seems better: 'non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac.'
15. No evil will come in the year of a Passover rightly performed.

throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it shall come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague shall come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His
16 command. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season.
17 And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it
18 in the sanctuary of the Lord. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it
19 before the Lord from year to year. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at
20 sunset, at the third part of the day. And they shall offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted
21 with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they shall not go astray from the Lord.
22 And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and† the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of
23 joy before the Lord on the altar of your God. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, and the Sabbath, 6–13.

50 1 And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which
2 is between Elim and Sinai. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye
3 enter the land which ye are to possess. And the land also shall keep its sabbaths while they dwell
4 upon it, and they shall know the jubilee year. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, 2410 A.M. and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. 'distant') for learning the 2450 A.M. commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the
5 west. And the jubilees shall pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there shall be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land shall be clean from that time for evermore.
6 And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—
7 and all the judgments of its laws. Six days shalt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-
8 servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his)

17. **from twenty years old** (Exod. xxx. 14, Numb. i. 32). Rabbis said fourteen.
20. **Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house**, &c. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose". But the Mishnah extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).
21. Based on Deut. xvi. 5 (LXX).
nor. Eth. reads 'and' but Latin omits.
go astray from the Lord: Zeph. i. 6.
22. †**and the day of its days, and**†—Latin *in tempore dierum suorum*, 'during its days.'
23. Cf. Exod. xii. 11.
Shur: from Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. **Sinai**, corrupt for Sin.
2. Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.
3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34.
4. 'Jubilees' are periods of forty-nine years in our author's opinion; of fifty in most Jewish writers.
5. Cf. xxiii. 26–8.
7. Exod. xx. 9, 10.
8. **The man that does any work on it shall die.** This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.
Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprang probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46 *a*.

wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house
9 shall die. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival and a holy day: and
10 a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for
11 Sabbaths. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou
12 hast been commanded. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or
13 whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tablets, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38*a*. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishnah on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82*a* it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should 'eat garlic' (i.e. cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.* 1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198–9 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 seq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (*b d*). *a c* omit 'thereon'. This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden to 'abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day' and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2,000 cubits (Eruhin iv. 3, 1, v. 7), which was called the 'Sabbath limit' (תחום השבת) or simply 'limit' (תחום), or Sabbath-day's journey (σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitations on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's Lexicons on תחום; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, ii. 2. 102–3. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν οὔτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν.

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS. prefix 'and'. The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against 'eating or drinking anything' may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

takes up any burden to carry it, &c. See note on ii. 29. This is the thirty-ninth form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a 'burden'. Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,[2] ii. 782, 784).

12. **tills (his) farm**: cf. Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

lights a fire: forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Numb. xv. 32, 33.

rides on any beast: cf. Sanh. 46*a*; Beza v. 2.

strikes or kills anything: cf. Shabb. vii. 2.

fasts: cf. Judith, viii. 6.

makes war: cf. Shabb. vi. 2, 4; 1 Macc. ii. 31–8; 2 Macc. vi. 11, xv. 1; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xiv. 4. 2. Partially superseded in 1 Macc. ii. 41. It was a constant hindrance to the Jews, especially at Pompey's siege of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but was once abandoned with success in the final war (Joseph. *Bell.* ii. 19. 2).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Character of the Epistle.

The Epistle claims to be a contemporary record, written with the personal knowledge of an eye-witness, by Aristeas, an officer at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), to his brother Philocrates, giving an account of the circumstances which led up to the composition of the LXX version of the Jewish law. The events with which it deals are supposed to take place during the lifetime of Queen Arsinoe (§ 41). As Arsinoe became Queen about 278 B.C. and died in 270 B.C., these dates provide us with the time limits within which the story must be placed. If the allusion to the royal children in § 41 is not an anachronism, but contains a reference to the fact that Arsinoe, finding herself childless, adopted the offspring of her predecessor, the date must be fixed towards the end of this period.[1] The writer strives to give us the impression that the Epistle was composed almost immediately after the occurrence of the events which it records.

This claim, however, cannot be sustained. There are many reasons which make it quite certain that the Epistle could not have been written by a Greek Court-official in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

1. On two occasions the writer makes statements which betray the fact that he belongs to a later age. In § 28 he speaks of the manner in which 'the affairs of state *used to be carried out* by these Egyptian kings' and in § 182, after referring to the arrangement which was made for the entertainment of guests at court in the time of Philadelphus, he adds the significant words, 'it is an arrangement which is still maintained to-day'.

2. The writer is guilty of several serious historical anachronisms.

(*a*) He represents Demetrius of Phalerum as head of the library of Alexandria and ascribes the translation of the law to his influence and initiative (§§ 9–11 *et passim*). The evidence, however, proves quite conclusively that Demetrius was banished by Philadelphus at the commencement of his reign (*c.* 283 B.C.) for supporting the claim of Keraunos to the throne, and died shortly afterwards (see note on § 9).

(*b*) In § 180 Aristeas makes Philadelphus allude to a 'naval victory over Antigonus'. If the reference is to the battle of Kos (258 B.C.), he is guilty not only of turning a defeat into a victory, but also of antedating the event by some twenty years or so. If, as many scholars suppose, the reference is to the battle of Andros, the former objection is removed (for Egypt was victorious at Andros) but the latter difficulty is intensified, for the battle was not fought till at any rate the last year of the reign of Philadelphus (247 B.C.) and possibly not till the beginning of the reign of his successor.

(*c*) In § 201 Menedemus the philosopher is represented as being present at the banquet and taking part in the discussion. Menedemus lived at Eretria and we have no evidence that he ever visited Alexandria. Moreover, he probably died in 277 B.C., a year or two before the time when Aristeas introduces him into the narrative. The references to Theopompus (§ 314) and Theodektes (§ 316) seem to be equally impossible, and the stories which are told about them must be regarded as purely fictitious.

(*d*) At times the Epistle assumes the existence of the LXX before the translation was made. In §§ 57–8 the specifications of the table which Philadelphus sent as a present to Eleazar are taken from the LXX, which differs very considerably from the Hebrew. In § 228 a phrase from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 is put into the mouth of one of the Jewish envoys. In the description of the dress of the High Priest (§§ 96–9) many terms are used from the LXX of Exodus xxviii and xxix.

[1] Epiphanius gives the date as the 7th year of Philadelphus 'more or less'; other ecclesiastical writers give the 2nd 17th, 19th, or 20th year.

In § 155 there is a conflate quotation made up of phrases taken from the LXX of two different passages in Deuteronomy. And—most important of all—the law is spoken of as Scripture (§§ 155 and 168).

3. The writer of the Epistle could not have been a Greek courtier, as he claims to be in § 16. To write under a Greek mask was a favourite literary device of Jewish apologists. We have examples of it in the Sibylline books, in pseudo-Hecataeus, and in the forged additions which were made to the Greek poets (Schürer, *ET* ii. 3, p. 294 ff.). The whole tone of the letter from beginning to end proves conclusively that its author was a Jew and that the Greek rôle was assumed to strengthen the force of the argument and commend it to non-Jewish readers.

The Epistle of Aristeas therefore must not, in spite of its author's asseverations, be regarded as a historical document. It is really a piece of apologetic—'a panegyric' as Schürer describes it—'upon Jewish law, Jewish wisdom, and the Jewish name in general'. We may compare it to a modern historical novel written with a purpose. It is only valuable because it indicates the views which were held at the time when it was written with regard to the origin of the LXX.

It may be added that the genuineness and authenticity of the letter were first questioned by Ludovicus de Vives in his commentary on Aug. *de Civ. Dei* xviii. 4 (1522), and subsequently by Scaliger. Ussher and Voss defended the letter, but its claim to belong to the period of Philadelphus was finally destroyed by Humphry Hody (1684–1705), though unsuccessful attempts were made later on by Grinfield in his *Apology for the LXX* (1850) and by Oeconomus in his *περὶ τῶν ο΄ ἑρμηνευτῶν* (Athens, 1844–9) to resuscitate its reputation.

§ 2. The Contents and Purpose of the Epistle.

The contents of the Epistle may be analysed as follows:—

I. Introduction, dedicating the book to Philocrates, §§ 1–8.

II. Preliminary proceedings, §§ 9–51.
- (*a*) The proposal of Demetrius, §§ 9–12.
- (*b*) The emancipation of the Jewish captives, §§ 13–28.
- (*c*) The letter of Philadelphus to Eleazar, §§ 29–40.
- (*d*) The reply of Eleazar, §§ 41–6.
- (*e*) The names of the translators, §§ 47–50.

III. The description of the royal presents to Eleazar, §§ 52–82.
- (*a*) The sacred table, §§ 52–72.
- (*b*) The other presents, §§ 73–82.

IV. The description of Jerusalem, §§ 83–120.
- (*a*) The temple, including the arrangements for the water supply, §§ 83–91.
- (*b*) The ministration of the priests and of Eleazar in particular, §§ 92–9.
- (*c*) The Akra or citadel, §§ 100–4.
- (*d*) A brief description of the city itself, §§ 105–6.
- (*e*) A description of the country districts of Palestine, §§ 107–20.

V. Eleazar's farewell to the translators, §§ 120–7.

VI. Eleazar's defence of the Jewish law, §§ 128–71.

VII. The reception of the translators at Alexandria, §§ 172–86.

VIII. The banquet, and the table-talk of the translators. The 72 questions and answers, §§ 187–300.

IX. The translation and reception of the law, §§ 301–22.

The apologetic interest of the Epistle reveals itself in the following directions:—

1. The account of the liberation of the Jewish captives by Ptolemy Philadelphus indicates that one of the aims of the author was to vindicate the right of the Jewish people to political liberty. The writer holds up the magnanimity of the king as a mirror to his own age and cites it as an illustration of the attitude which ought to be adopted by rulers towards the Jewish race. The appeal of Aristeas and Sosibius to Philadelphus is really directed to the authorities of the writer's own day.

2. The vindication of the purpose and function of the Jewish law forms the theme of one of the most important sections of the book (§§ 128–71). The writer admits that there were many enact-

ments in the Mosaic code which seemed incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, e.g. the distinction between clean and unclean meats. The method by which he justifies these injunctions is ingenious and interesting. For the first time in the history of Jewish apologetic he resorts to the allegorical method for which Alexandria in later times became so famous. He rejects 'the degrading notion' that the regulations were made in the interests of the animals themselves (§ 144) and insists that they are merely 'symbols', drawn up to teach men lessons of righteousness (§ 151).

3. The long section, which relates the table-talk between Philadelphus and his guests, is introduced to exemplify the wisdom, moral insight, intellectual ability, and philosophical acumen of the leaders of the Jewish people. The high commendation which is given to the answers by the philosophers at the court and especially by Menedemus (§§ 200, 201) serves to exalt the endowments of the Jewish translators at the expense of other teachers. The writer, however, is aware that he has overdone the encomium on Jewish wisdom, for he adds: 'I suppose it will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative', § 296. The writer's argument is in line with the theory commonly adopted by Jewish apologists, that the philosophers of Greece derived their wisdom from the teaching of Moses.

4. There are other signs, too, that the Epistle was intended by its author to advocate the Jewish propaganda:—

(*a*) In § 16 an attempt is made to show that the God of the Jews is to be identified with the being 'whom all men worship', though they call him by other names.

(*b*) The idealized picture of Eleazar and the Jewish priests in §§ 92–9 is obviously intended to affect the mind of the reader. 'I am convinced', writes Aristeas, 'that any man who takes part in the spectacle . . . will be filled with indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind', § 99.

(*c*) The stamp of approval which is given to the LXX in § 310 is intended to vindicate it against the attacks of critics and secure appreciation for it in the minds of Greek readers.

It is not too much to say that the writer's one object is to demonstrate the supremacy of the Jewish people—the Jewish priesthood, the Jewish law, the Jewish philosophy, and the Jewish Bible.

§ 3. The Date of the Epistle.

The date of the Epistle constitutes an almost insoluble problem. There are three main theories—(1) Schürer holds that it was written about 200 B.C.; (2) Wendland places it between 96–93 B.C.; (3) Graetz and Willrich assign it to the age of Caligula (later than 33 A.D.).

The arguments upon which Schürer relies are as follows:—(1) The reference to the translation of the LXX in Aristobulus (170–150 B.C.). The words of Aristobulus as reported by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 2) are as follows:—ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως. . . . Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. 'The complete translation of the whole of the Jewish law *was made* in the time of the king who was surnamed Philadelphus, and was due to the efforts of Demetrius of Phalerum.' Schürer argues that the introduction of the anachronism with regard to Demetrius makes it certain that Aristobulus is dependent upon Aristeas, and as Aristobulus is dated about 170–150 B.C., Aristeas must be written some years earlier. The argument of Schürer is corroborated to some extent by the interesting parallel between Aristeas § 306 and a passage of Aristobulus quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 10. 377 a.

Aristeas.	Aristobulus.
πᾶσα γὰρ ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται.	ὥστε . . . τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

Unfortunately for Schürer, however, the genuineness of these quotations, and indeed of the whole work attributed to Aristobulus, has been seriously questioned by some modern scholars, e.g. Kuenen, Graetz, Joel, L. Cohn, and Wendland. And even if their authenticity be admitted, there is nothing to prove that Aristeas must be the earlier of the two writers. It is quite possible that, instead of Aristobulus using Aristeas as Schürer supposes, it may have been Aristeas who used Aristobulus.

(2) Schürer lays great stress on the political condition of Palestine as described in the Epistle: 'A period when the Jewish people were leading a peaceful and prosperous existence under the conduct of their high priest and in a relation of very slight dependence upon Egypt, i.e. the *period before the conquest of Palestine by the Seleucidae*, evidently from the background of the book. There is nowhere any allusion to the complications which begin with the Seleucidian conquest. The

Jewish people and their high priest appear as almost politically independent. Especially is it worthy of remark that the fortress of Jerusalem is in the possession of the Jews' (*ET* ii. 3. 309 f.). There would be additional force in Schürer's argument if we could rely upon the statement of Josephus that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the Akra to the ground (see note on § 100). In view of the fact, however, that Josephus is in conflict with 1 Maccabees and the possibility, which G. A. Smith suggests, that Aristeas may not be referring to the original Akra but to the later Baris, the point cannot be pressed.

The argument would possess considerable weight if it could be proved that the section which deals with Palestine was written from the author's own observations. But if, as Wendland has made extremely probable, Aristeas obtained his information second-hand from the writings of Hecataeus, the data cannot be used as Schürer uses them and the ground is cut from underneath his position.

It is extremely difficult to maintain so early a date as 200 B.C. in view of the internal evidence supplied by the Epistle itself. There are a number of points—none of them conclusive in itself, but possessing cumulative effect when they are taken together—which seem to render it extremely probable that the document belongs to the post-Maccabean period:—

1. In the list of the seventy-two translators, which is due to the writer's imagination, there are many names which are particularly associated with the Maccabean age, e.g. Mattathias, Judas (three times), Simon (three times), Jonathan (three times). Moreover, the high priest in Aristeas bears the same name as the famous Eleazar who is the hero of 2 Maccabees. The unusual names Chelchias (among the 72), Sosibius, and Dositheus are found among the courtiers of the later Ptolemies, and possibly the author himself, as Wendland suggests, assumes the name of the later historian Aristeas (see note on § 6).

2. The evidence of the Papyri affords a clear presumption in favour of the later date. Three points seem to have been made out:—

(*a*) The omission of the pronoun in the formula *ἐὰν φαίνηται* does not occur on the Papyri till 163 B.C. (see note on § 32).

(*b*) Strack has proved that while the title *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* is often found in the singular in the Papyri of the third cent. B.C., the plural form which is used in § 40 of Aristeas does not occur till about 145 B.C.

(*c*) The use of the word 'friends' as a court title is not found till the Papyri of the period of Ptolemy V (205–182 B.C.), see note on § 45.[1]

3. Certain statements of the Epistle seem to bear out the same point. To quote Thackeray: 'The alleged widespread interest in the Jewish law (§ 128) and the false views which were in circulation about it (§ 144), the pointed reference to a difference between the Greek text and the Hebrew in a passage of Exodus (§ 57), and the probable allusion to attempts which had been made to improve on the rendering of the translators—all these appear to indicate a date further removed from the age of Philadelphus than that which Schürer would adopt.

If Schürer's view is too early, the date assigned to the Epistle by[2] Graetz and Willrich is too late. It is difficult to see how the document could have sufficiently established its reputation to be used by Philo and Josephus, if it had been composed as late as 33 B.C. Moreover, the description of Palestine, even though it is borrowed from Hecataeus, could scarcely have been written in its present form after the Roman occupation of Palestine. The island of Pharos, too, is described as inhabited. The conquest of Egypt by Julius Caesar rendered it desolate (Strabo xvii. 6).

The evidence seems to suggest a date between 130 and 70 B.C. May we go further with Wendland and fix upon a definite point within this period? The grounds upon which Wendland decides for 96–93 B.C. are as follows:—In § 115 the ports of Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais are said to be in possession of the Jews. Joppa was conquered about 146 B.C., but Gaza was not captured till 96 B.C., and Ascalon and Ptolemais never became Jewish territory. It is of course the capture of Gaza which is the determining point with Wendland. It is quite conceivable, however, that the author, writing at an earlier time, may have made the same mistake about Gaza as he did about Ptolemais and Ascalon.

There are one or two facts, however, which it seems difficult to reconcile with a date within the period 130–70 B.C. Twice in the Epistle the law is spoken of as Scripture. There seems to be no trace of the application of the term Scripture to the Old Testament before the commencement of the Christian era. We have no other instance either of the application of the allegorical method in the manner in which it is used in Aristeas before that date.

[1] Too much stress should not perhaps be laid on this point as the term may possibly be used in the technical sense in 1 Kings iv. 5.

[2] For the arguments of Graetz see notes on §§ 28, 167. Drummond, *Philo*, 233 ff.

We seem to have therefore one set of facts, e.g. the Ptolemaic background and the absence of any reference to the Roman occupation of Palestine, which compel us to date the Epistle before 70 B.C., and another set of facts which suggest that it could not have originated till the Christian era.

The solution of the problem will probably be found in some such hypothesis as the following. The Epistle was issued in its present form at the commencement of the Christian era, possibly as late as the date suggested by Graetz and Willrich—but a large part of it—possibly the whole except the law section, §§ 128–71—was in existence before and belongs to the period 130–70 B.C. The law section is quite separate from the rest of the book and might easily have been inserted. It may also be found, when a detailed comparison has been made between Aristeas and 2 and 3 Maccabees, that other sections or at any rate sentences are the work of the later editor. Nothing except some form of the partition theory seems likely to provide the key for the riddle.

§ 4. The Author.

Nothing is known with regard to the author of the Epistle. We may, however, draw some inferences from the book with regard to his personality. We may conclude that (1) *he was a Jew*. This is obvious from the tone and purpose of the book; (2) *he belonged to Alexandria*. Lumbroso has proved that the acquaintance which the book shows with the technicalities of the Court life of the later Ptolemies clearly indicates that it was of Alexandrian origin. The employment of the allegorical method of interpreting the law points to the same conclusion. (3) *He was a propagandist*, as is evidenced by the apologetic interest of the book. (4) He belonged to what may be termed 'the common sense school of philosophy'. There are no flights of speculation in the book. No problems trouble the mind of the author, who is simple and conventional in his treatment of the ethical and religious questions which emerge. (5) His attachment and devotion to the Jewish law indicate that the *author had leanings towards Pharisaism*, though it must be admitted that his Pharisaism is not of a pronounced type, except in the section dealing with the Jewish law. (6) He was interested (*a*) in psychology (§§ 155–6) and especially in the psychology of sleep (§§ 160, 213–16); (*b*) in political and social problems (*passim*, see Introduction, § 6). (7) Swete has an interesting suggestion that he was a native of Cyprus, based on the fact that his brother came from that island, and that the name Aristeas frequently occurs on the Inscriptions found in the islands of the Aegean (*Introd. to LXX.* 10).

§ 5. Sources.

The author claims to write as an eyewitness and consequently gives little indication of the sources from which his information was derived. The only indications which he affords us of having used other authorities are (1) the quotation from Hecataeus in § 31; (2) his reference to the Minutes of Court Proceedings in § 298. We may dismiss the latter at once as an attempt on the part of the author to secure credence for his narrative. The allusion to Hecataeus, however, is more important, and if Wendland is right, reveals the real source which lies behind the Epistle. The quotations which Josephus gives from Hecataeus, though they may be coloured by later tradition or even by Josephus himself, indicate that he covered pretty much the same ground as Aristeas in his description of Palestine. Similar resemblances are pointed out between Diodorus Siculus, who embodied a great deal of Hecataeus in his writings, and our Epistle. Among the points of similarity between the statements of Aristeas and what may be assumed to have been said by Hecataeus, Wendland mentions the following—(*a*) the account of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt, §§ 12, 13; (*b*) the comparison between the God of the Jews and Zeus (§ 16); (*c*) the high praise which is bestowed upon agriculture (§ 107 ff.); (*d*) the description of the Temple and the priesthood at Jerusalem (§§ 83 f., 92 f.); (*e*) the description of the produce and agriculture of Palestine (§§ 107–20).

There are, however, some points of discrepancy between Hecataeus and Aristeas which weaken the force of Wendland's argument; (*a*) in § 105 Aristeas describes the extent of the city as 40 furlongs, while Hecataeus says 50; (*b*) in § 95 Aristeas estimates the number of Jewish priests at 700, while Hecataeus puts the figure at 1,500. We may conclude therefore that while it is certain that Aristeas made use of Hecataeus, very possibly Wendland has exaggerated the extent of his indebtedness.

For the table-talk section it is possible that Aristeas made use of a collection of 'Moral Sayings', though whether they were Jewish or Greek cannot be determined. The theological conclusion, which the writer adds, is sometimes forced and fails to fit on to the previous statement.

§ 6. Theology and Ethical Teaching.

The Epistle is not directly interested in theological problems. The most interesting features are its doctrine of God and its view with regard to the significance of the Jewish law.

1. The conception of God is in many ways quite modern. The most noteworthy point is the identification of the God of the Hebrews with Zeus (§ 16). Stress is laid upon Monotheism (§§ 132, 139). It is through God that 'all things are endowed with life and come into being' (§ 16). 'His power is manifested throughout the Universe and every place is filled with His sovereignty' (§ 132). He is the source of all the endowments and blessings of life (§ 190). Evil as well as good comes from His hand (§ 197). We are dependent upon him for success (§ 196) and for virtue (§ 226 *et passim*). He is the 'ruler and lord of the Universe' (§§ 16, 201, 210), ὁ κυριεύων ἁπάντων θεός (§§ 18, 45), the most High God (μέγιστος θεός § 19), the great godhead (μεγάλη θειότης § 95), the Almighty (ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός § 185). Nothing can be hid from Him. 'None of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge' (§ 132). He sways the lives of men (§ 17) and grants answers to their prayers (§ 192). The utmost emphasis is laid upon the benignity, the forbearance, and the forgiveness of God, who is described as χωρὶς ὀργῆς ἁπάσης (§ 254). Though there is a general reference to the punishments which He inflicts upon the guilty in § 131, yet it is elsewhere asserted that these punishments are mild and that 'God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and makes merely a display of the greatness of his power' (§ 194). There is a vigorous attack upon idolatry in §§ 134–7 which is remarkable for its Euhemeristic explanation of the origin of idol-worship.

2. The section on the Jewish law is the outstanding feature of the book. The law is described as 'Scripture' (§ 168, cf. § 155) and as the 'Oracles of God' (§§ 158, 177). Its divine origin is continually emphasized (§§ 31, 240, 313). It is entirely free from blemish (§ 31), and the utmost sanctity attaches to it (§§ 31, 171). It is the peculiar protection of Israel, 'It has fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron that we might not mingle with the other nations' (§ 139). It contains the moral ideal. 'The good life consists in keeping the enactments of the law' (§ 127). 'All its ordinances have been drawn up to assist the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character' (§ 144, cf. §§ 168, 169). Some of its regulations may seem trivial but there is a hidden meaning attached to them, and they are all intended to teach a moral lesson (§ 150). By a novel application of the allegorical method, Aristeas endeavours to show the real significance of the law with regard to unclean food, and he is specially ingenious in his interpretation of the 'cloven hoof' and 'chewing the cud' (§§ 150–6).

3. Aristeas has no doctrine of sin. The word only occurs once and then it is used in quite a general sense (§ 192). On more than one occasion, however, he refers to the natural bias toward evil in human nature. 'Every man has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure' (§ 108, cf. §§ 222–3). 'All men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence injustice springs up and a flood of avarice' (§ 277).

4. *Ethical Teaching.* A great part of the book is devoted to ethical teaching but it is very largely conventional and possesses very little originality. The utmost emphasis is laid on the connexion between morality and religion. God is 'the starting point' (καταρχή) of ethics (§§ 189, 200, 235). The moral ideal is embodied in the law (§ 127), and it is through the power of God that its realization becomes possible. The latter point is brought out clearly in § 236, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power alone to receive the good and reject the opposite'; and again, in § 231, 'It is the gift of God to be able to do good actions' (see also §§ 226, 238, 248). Virtue is spoken of as a general principle which is 'the source of good deeds' (§ 272). The Aristotelian virtue of 'the middle course' or moderation comes into prominence on several occasions (§§ 122, 223, 256). A version of 'the Golden Rule' in its negative form appears in § 207. There is no trace of dualism—in fact the divine origin of the body, and the manifestation of the wisdom of God in its various organs and functions are clearly enunciated in §§ 155–6. Stress is sometimes laid on outward observances and etiquette (§ 246). The teaching shows no sign of asceticism though men are constantly warned not to allow themselves to be carried away by passion and impulse and urged to a life of self-discipline and self-control (§§ 209, 216, 221, 238, 248, 256). The other virtues emphasized are justice and righteousness ('injustice is equivalent to the deprivation of life', § 212), sobriety, temperance, kindness, duty to parents and children, truthfulness, forbearance, sympathy, and forgiveness. Among the vices to be avoided are injustice, pride, intemperance, lying, pleasure-seeking, churlishness, anger, and malice. The general teaching of the book may be summed up in the words of § 195: 'The highest good in life is to know that God is the Lord of the Universe and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal'.

5. *Political Philosophy.* Aristeas incidentally draws a picture of the ideal monarch who is portrayed as a benevolent despot and a philosopher-king. No other form of government is discussed at all. The question is indeed raised as to whether a man born to the purple or a private citizen makes the best ruler, but it is left unanswered (§§ 288–90). The absoluteness of the monarchy is taken for granted. He has power of life and death over his subjects (§ 253). But he is urged to remember that only justice and benevolence, and clemency, and a real desire to promote the welfare of his subjects can render his throne secure (§§ 205, 225, and 283). The ideal condition is reached 'when subjects continually dwell in a state of peace and justice is speedily administered' (§ 291). In order to secure this end, the king must study the part he has to play, as actors do (§ 219), and strict rules of etiquette must be maintained at Court (§ 246). He must pay careful attention to the official reports which are sent up from the provinces, with a view to the correction of abuses and the removal of grievances (§ 283). He must take special precautions to see that his subordinates are not guilty of injustice or oppression (§ 271), and he must put down informers with a strong hand (§§ 166, 167). Moreover, he must see to it that his employés are paid a fair wage (§ 258). Above all he must remember that he owes his throne to God and only the power of God can keep it secure (§ 224).

The interest which Aristeas takes *in social problems* is seen in his views on the following points—(*a*) He advocates *mild* forms of punishment for offenders. 'If you exhibit clemency, . . . you will turn men from evil and lead them to repentance' (§ 188, see also § 208). (*b*) He gives an account of the measures which were adopted at Alexandria to prevent the depopulation of the rural districts by influx into the towns (§§ 107–11), and his words seem to suggest that the question was as acute in his day as it is in modern times. (*c*) He is impressed with the difficulties that arise from the mingling of different races in the big centres, and is opposed to 'residence abroad' whether for rich or poor (§ 249). (*d*) He is emphatic in demanding fair wages for artisans (§§ 258–9). (*e*) He holds pronounced views on the inferiority of women, 'Women are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and they are essentially weak' (§ 250).

§ 7. The Manuscripts.

The two chief authorities on the textual criticism of Aristeas are Wendland and Thackeray, both of whom have constructed a modern text of the Epistle. Thackeray's text was published in 1900 as an appendix to Swete's 'Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek', and Wendland's appeared the same year.

The two texts are not made entirely out of the same materials and unfortunately the Editors use a different system of denominating the MSS. in their *apparatus criticus*.

I propose to state first the MSS. which have been used by both Editors, and then those which have been used by one of them, and finally those which do not seem as yet to have been used at all.

I. The MSS. which have been used by both editors. For the purpose of convenience I give both systems of notation.

	Wend.	Thack.
Vaticanus 383	A.	K.
Venice 534	V.	G.
Palat. 203	P.	I.
Flor. Laur. 44	L.	T.
Barberini iv. 56	B.	P.
Vaticanus 747	C.	H.

II. In addition to these Wendland has used

Monacensis 9	M.

III. The additional MSS. used by Thackeray are

Paris 128	A.
Paris 129	B.
Paris 5	C.
Paris 950	Q.
Zürich (Omont 169)	Z.

We may include also three MSS. which are the descendants of Paris 128 (A.)

Paris 130	D.
Brit. Mus. Burney 34	F.
Vatican 746	L.

and one MS. which is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K.)

Basileensis O. iv. 10 . . . . . R.

Partial use has also been made of

Vaticanus 1668 . . . . . S.

Mention is made too in the introduction of a MS. which does not appear to be cited in the *apparatus criticus*.

Ottobonianus 32 . . . . . M.

IV. Certain other MSS. are known to exist but do not appear to have been collated.

Atheniensis 389.
Scorialensis Σ. 1. 6.
Monacensis 82.

V. In addition to the MSS., we have (*a*) the paraphrase of Josephus which covers the ground of §§ 9–81, &c.; (*b*) the citations in Eusebius, of §§ 9–11, §§ 28–46, §§ 88–90, §§ 128–71. Eusebius is the more valuable of the two, because Josephus has taken the trouble to rewrite every sentence, and though he still employs the characteristic words and phrases of Aristeas, it is very often impossible to reconstruct the text which he was using. The citations in Eusebius are on the whole accurate and reliable; he sometimes abbreviates a little and sometimes misquotes, but as Freudenthal says, 'it is only in extremely rare cases that he inserts additions of his own, and the cases in which we meet with fundamental alterations of the text are still more uncommon.' (Quoted by Thackeray, Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 576.)

Classification of MSS. With regard to the classification of the MSS. Wendland and Thackeray are on the whole in agreement, though there is some difference as to details. For the sake of comparison I append a table, giving the two classifications, using the notation of Thackeray in order to make the agreements and differences obvious:

	Thackeray.	Wendland.
Group I	(*a*) T B (*b*) C P S Z	T B P S Z
Group II	(*a*) G I M (*b*) H A (D F L) K (R)	(*a*) G I M C (*b*) H K A D F
Group III	wanting	Cod. Monacensis 9

It will be seen that the only essential differences are (*a*) Thackeray puts C (Paris 5) in group I, Wendland in group II; (*b*) Wendland uses Cod. Monacensis 9 and places it in a group by itself.

But though the two editors are in general agreement with regard to classification, they differ with regard to the comparative value of the groups. Wendland holds that the purest text is found in Cod. Monacensis 9 which Thackeray does not use at all, the next most important MSS. being T, P, and the MSS. of the first group, while the second group is 'minoris pretii'. Thackeray, on the other hand, maintains that the first group 'while presenting a specious text is in reality based upon a recension, though in a few passages it has kept the original readings'. In the second group 'no correction has taken place, and though the text which has been handed down is not altogether free from corruption, yet the true reading is in most cases to be looked for here'.

A full account of the different MSS. will be found in Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, 504–16).

It remains to add the names of scholars who have worked on the emendation of the text.

C. L. Struve, *Opuscula Selecta* II, pp. 195–7, 270, 277, 310, 311, 329. Lipsiae, 1854.
C. G. Cobet, Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, vol. i, pp. 177–81. Leyden, 1866.
Lumbroso, *Dell' uso delle iscrizioni e dei papyri per la critica del libro di Aristea: Atti della R. Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. iv, 1868–9, pp. 229–54.
L. Mendelssohn, *Zum Aristeasbriefe*: Rhein. Mus. xxx. 1875, pp. 631, 632.
Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem Epistulae initium. Jurievi, 1897.
Kuiper, *De Aristeae ad Philocratem fratrem epistola.* Mnemosyne, xx. 1892, pp. 252–72.

§ 8. Editions.

The earliest edition of Aristeas appeared in the form of a Latin translation by Matthias Palmerius which was published at Rome in 1471 in the famous Roman Bible of Sueynheym and Pannartz, reprinted at Nürnberg 1475, and issued separately at Erfurt 1483. The *Editio princeps* in Greek was issued by Simon Schard at Basle in 1561. Upon what MSS. Schard's edition rested, is

a matter of dispute. We know that Codex Basileensis O. iv. 10 (R) was presented to the library at Basle by Schard, but we may be certain that he did not use it as the basis of his text. R is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K), and it is from this MSS. that Schard's *variae lectiones* were taken. Wendland thinks that the text was derived from Codex Monacensis 9.

Up till 1870 all editions were simply reprints of Schard, e. g. the text prefixed by Hody to his *De Bibliorum Textibus* in 1705, or the text in Havercamp's *Josephus*, or in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Patrum* (ii. 773–804).

The modern study of Aristeas began with the publication of Schmidt's new text, which was published in Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des Alten Testamentes*, vol. i (1870), pp. 241–312. Schmidt collated and used the two Paris MSS. known as B and C. In the same year a valuable contribution was made to the subject by Prof. Lumbroso, who examined the text of Aristeas in the light of the Papyri and published his results in his *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Turin, 1870). His critical study and his emendations have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Some twenty-five years later Mendelssohn of Dorpat undertook the task of examining and collating the MSS. with a view to the construction of a scientific text. He only lived, however, to complete the text of §§ 1–51, which was published in 1897 under the title *Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem epistulae initium*. The work which he left unfinished was taken up by Wendland in Germany and Thackeray in England, whose texts were published in 1900 (see Introduction, § 7).

Little has been done at present in the way of commentary. The Epistle is still very largely virgin soil. The absence of a proper text, and the difficulty of looking up references, since the text was not broken up into sections till Wendland's edition, together with the general neglect of the study of non-canonical Jewish literature until the recent revival, have left, what is from many points of view a most valuable document, in obscurity.

The only good translations are Wendland's in German (Kautzsch ii. 1–30) and Thackeray's in English (*J Q R* xv. 337–91). I regret that I did not discover the latter till my own translation was complete, but I have found it extremely helpful in revision, and I have made very considerable use of the footnotes, which are more extensive than those in Kautzsch.

With regard to the general literature on the Epistle, there is not very much to be said. The best account of the book (apart from the introductions in Kautzsch and Thackeray) is in Schürer, *ET* ii. 3. 306–17, where a full account is given of the older literature, and in Drummond, *Philo*, i. pp. 230–42. The only important monographs are Kurz, *Aristeae epistula ad Philocraten*, Bern, 1872; Graetz, *Die Abfassungszeit des Pseudo-Aristeas* (*Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1876, pp. 289 f., 337 f.); Papageorgios, *Ueber den Aristeasbrief*, München, 1880. References are found in many Jewish Histories and Introductions to the Old Testament, e. g. Nöldeke, Freudenthal, Ewald, Hitzig. Amongst the more recent discussions may be mentioned, the articles by L. Cohn on the relation between Aristeas and Philo in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Alterth.* i (1898), 521 ff., and H. Willrich on the date in *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, pp. 111–30, and the references in Nestle's article on the 'Septuagint', *DBH* iv. 438 f., and in Swete's *Introduction to LXX*, pp. 10–20, 500–74, and Nestle's article on Aristeas in *Realencyclopädie*.

§ 9. The Influence of Aristeas on Later Literature.

A complete *catena* of 'Testimonia' is printed in full in Wendland's edition of the text of Aristeas (pp. 87–166), to which some few addenda have been made by Nestle, *DBH* iv. 439. It will only be possible to mention the more important facts here.

A. *Jewish Literature.*

The earliest authority generally cited is Aristobulus. The relevant passages have already been quoted in Introduction § 3. See also note on § 30. The grounds for rejecting the genuineness of the fragments ascribed to Aristobulus by Eusebius are given by L. Cohn (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Alterthum*, i. 8 (1895)) and Wendland (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii (1898), 447–9).

The use of Aristeas by Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, ii. 5–7) seems clearer, though this too has been denied by Cohn (ib. 1898, i. 521). Philo states that Philadelphus, 'the greatest of the Ptolemies,' in his anxiety to obtain a translation of the Jewish law, sent ambassadors to the Jewish High Priest, and requested him to select men to carry out his wish. The High Priest, thinking that Ptolemy's desire was due to divine inspiration, sent some of his most distinguished men to Alexandria. Upon their arrival the king fêted them, and put questions to them to test their wisdom. Owing to the unhealthiness of the town, they were located on the island of Pharos, where the translation was

made. The principle which governed it was that the translators regarded themselves as *μήτ' ἀφελεῖν τι μήτε προσθεῖναι ἢ μεταθεῖναι δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας* (cf. Aristeas, § 311). There is no specific reference to the Epistle, and many of its salient features are omitted, but on the whole it seems probable that it formed the basis of Philo's statement.

With regard to Josephus there is no possibility of doubt. In *Antiq.* xii. 2 he gives us a running paraphrase of (*a*) §§ 9–81, (*b*) §§ 172–87, (*c*) §§ 201, 293, 294, (*d*) §§ 301–21. There is a specific reference to the book itself—*ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀριστaίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα* (§ 100 in the edition of Niese). It should be noted that Josephus always spells the name Ἀριστaῖος, instead of Ἀριστέας. There are further references to the subject matter of the Epistle in *Antiq.* i. 10; *c. Apion.* ii. 44.

B. *Christian.*

There is no clear proof that Aristeas directly influenced the language of the New Testament, though there are a few interesting parallels.

(1)

Aristeas § 177 (cf. § 158).	Romans iii. 2.
εὐχαριστῶ . . . . τῷ θεῷ οὕτινός ἐστι τὰ λόγια ταῦτα.	*ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.*
	Hebrews v. 12.
	τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ.

(2)

§ 280.	2 Tim. iv. 8.
θεοῦ σοὶ στέφανον δικαιοσύνης δεδωκότος.	*ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.*

This phrase also occurs in the Testaments of the Patriarchs (T. Levi viii. 2).

(3)

§§ 140–1.	Matt. vi. 31–3.
. . . ὃ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, . . . ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ σκέπης. . . . τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα λελόγισται, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείας δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν ἡ σκέψις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν.	*μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες Τί φάγωμεν; ἢ Τί πίωμεν; . . . πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν. . . . ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν . . .*

(4) Compare also the argument of

§ 144.

You must not fall into the degrading idea that it was for the sake of mice and weasels that Moses drew up his laws. These ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness.

with

1 Cor. ix. 9.

Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it altogether for our sake? Yea for our sake it was written.

The earliest reference to the translation of the LXX in Patristic literature is found in JUSTIN MARTYR (*Apol.* i. 31), who states that Philadelphus, wishing to obtain a copy of the Hebrew *prophets*, sent to King *Herod* for the Book. When it arrived, it was found to be unintelligible owing to the language, and Philadelphus sent a second request to the King to send translators.

In the anonymous *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 13 we find what is probably the first attempt to embellish the story. The seventy translators were separated, and placed in cells or huts and not allowed to have any communication with each other. Their translations, when compared, were found to be in complete agreement, without the slightest variation even of language. The writer adds that during a visit to Alexandria, he had been shown the tracks (*τὰ ἴχνη*) of the cells in which the translators worked.

The same legendary element is repeated in almost the same form by IRENAEUS (iii. 21, 2, quoted by Eusebius, *HE* v. 8. 11) and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromateis* i. § 148.

TERTULLIAN (*Apolog.* c. 18) is the first writer to mention Aristaeus, as he calls him, by name, and his version is more sober, but he adds 'hodie apud Serapeum Ptolomaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis litteris exhibentur'.

The long quotations from the Epistle in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Aristeas (Ἀριστaῖος) is described as *ἀνὴρ λόγιος μὲν ἄλλως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατυχὼν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον* Πτολεμαῖον (viii. 1. 8), and on one occasion the title of the book is given as *Περὶ τῆς Ἑρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμου* (ix. 38).

EPIPHANIUS (*De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 3, p. 155) has a long account of the translation of the Hebrew Bible. Though he quotes Aristeas as his authority (*ὡς ἐξέδωκεν Ἀριστaῖος ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι*) there are many discrepancies. (1) He gives the number of the books in the Alexandrian

library as 54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω. (2) He says that the 72 translators were placed in 36 cells, and that their translations were found to be in absolute verbal agreement even in their additions and omissions. (3) He inserts two letters from Philadelphus to the teachers in Jerusalem, neither of which agrees with the letter to Eleazar in Aristeas, §§ 35 ff., and the second of which contains a quotation from Sirach xx. 30 = xli. 14 θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου . . . . τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις; (4) He adds the information that it was 'the seventh year of Philadelphus more or less' when the translation was made. Draeseke maintains that Epiphanius drew his information from the lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias.

Jerome (*Praef. in Pentateuch.* xxxviii, p. 181) takes a more sober view and rejects the story of the separate cells as being incompatible with the accounts of Aristeas and Josephus, 'nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo exstruxerit . . . cum Aristeas . . . et multo post tempore Iosephus nihil tale retulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant.'

The embellishments, however, appear again in the account which is given by Augustine of the origin of the LXX, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 42. For other 'Testimonia' see Wendland.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

1 SINCE I have collected *material* for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the High priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up a clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning,
2 *a quality* which is the highest possession of man—to be constantly attempting 'to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements' whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves. It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.

3 It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others both for his virtue and his majesty and who had in his possession *documents of* the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their
4 laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters. This *embassy* then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity *of pleading* with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king's father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt. It is worth while that I should tell
5 you this story, too, since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the
6 island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul. On a former occasion,

1. **Since I have collected.** Ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως . . . συνεσταμένης. Thackeray renders 'As the story of our interview . . . is a remarkable one'—but this does not bring out the full force of συνεσταμένης.

as you lose no opportunity, &c. This translation is based on an emendation of Wendland, who reads παρ' ἕκαστα ὑπομιμνήσκειν for the MSS. παρ' ἕκαστα ὑπομιμνήσκων which is untranslatable.

2. **to add to his stock of knowledge.** As Thackeray points out, 'these words form an iambic line in Greek and are probably a quotation from a lost tragedy.' He quotes two fragments from Sophocles which convey a similar idea: 'And we must ever be daily acquiring knowledge while it is possible to learn better things,' and 'Ever desire to add something useful to thy knowledge'. (*Frag.* 779 and 662 in Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*) *JQR* xv, p. 341.

and so acquires a definite purpose. This rendering follows the text of Thackeray. Wendland connects τὴν προαίρεσιν with the following sentence. The translation in this case would be, 'Having fixed its aim on piety . . . it directs its course by an infallible rule. It was my determination to make a careful study of things divine that led me,' &c.

3. *Documents of* **the highest value.** There is no word for 'documents' in the Greek, which reads κατακεκτημένον μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν. I have adopted the rendering of Wendland and Thackeray though with some hesitation. Possibly we should translate more simply 'who had acquired the power of rendering the greatest benefits to the Jews by his interpretation of the divine law.'

for the interpretation. Thackeray disagreeing with Wendland connects this phrase with the following clause which he translates 'the object of our mission was the translation of the law of God'.

4. **This embassy then I undertook,** ἣν δὴ καὶ ἐποιησάμεθα ἡμεῖς σπουδῇ. Mendelssohn emends by reading σπουδήν on the ground that it is difficult to supply πρεσβείαν as an antecedent, owing to the distance which separates it from the relative, and Thackeray following this suggestion translates 'And the interest which we displayed when an opportunity offered itself, in bringing before the king the case of the men . . . this also is worth while my telling thee'.

transported . . . by the king's father. Ptolemy I (Lagus) 322–285 B.C. 'When Ptolemy had succeeded to the throne of Egypt and had beaten off the attack of Perdikkas, he forthwith made an invasion into Palestine and Syria and annexed all the country. When driven out of it by Antigonus, we hear that he carried off to Egypt a large number of the inhabitants either as slaves or as compulsory settlers. And this happened apparently four times. He always retreated in time to carry his booty with him. But in spite of these repeated raids or temporary occupations and this repeated carrying off of plunder from Palestine, we are persistently informed that the house of Ptolemy was most popular with the Jews.' (Mahaffy, *EP*, p. 87.)

5. **from the island.** This is generally supposed to refer to Pharos, but it is difficult to see how Philocrates could have been in ignorance of the events recorded in the Epistle if he had been living so near to Alexandria as Pharos, especially as the translation of the LXX was made on the island, § 301. Possibly Cyprus is meant; cf. Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, p. 10, footnote), who draws an inference that Aristeas himself may have been a Cypriote.

too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race,—the record
7 which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the † most learned † land of Egypt. As you are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I feel it incumbent upon me to impart to you *all the information in my power. I should feel the same duty* towards all who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character no less than in blood
8 but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness. For neither the pleasure derived from gold nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it. But that I may not weary you by a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.

9 Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sums of money, for the purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king. On one occasion when I was present he was asked, How many thousand books are there *in the library*?
10 and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the immediate future *to gather together* the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in
11 your library.' 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is necessary has been placed at your disposal.' 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius, 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he understood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.

12 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had been transported from Judea by the king's father—for when by a combination of good fortune and courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful

6. **I sent you a record.** This seems to be an attempt on the part of the author to identify himself with the historian Aristeas, the writer of a book called Περὶ Ἰουδαίων referred to in Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* ix. 25. The fragment of this Aristeas quoted by Eusebius is taken from the treatise of Alexander Polyhistor, who is dated *c.* 50 B.C. Aristeas himself belongs probably to the second century B.C. If there is any reference to this Aristeas here, this date would constitute a *terminus a quo* for our Epistle. It is quite possible, however, that the Author of the Epistle is referring to another book written by himself which has been lost.

the most learned land, λογιωτάτην probably a textual corruption accidentally introduced from the following phrase λογιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων.

9. **Demetrius of Phalerum.** The facts known about Demetrius are as follows:—About the year 307 B.C. he was driven out of Athens, where he had ruled for ten years as deputy for Cassander, by Demetrius the Besieger. He was persuaded by Ptolemy I, who happened to be visiting Greece at the time, to migrate to Alexandria, where he was afterwards associated with the Museum. At the end of the reign of Ptolemy I he fell into disfavour because he opposed the king's desire to make his youngest son Philadelphus successor to the throne, and advocated the claims of the eldest son Keraunos, who possessed the right of primogeniture. As a result Demetrius was sent into exile and died soon afterwards from the bite of an asp (*c.* 283 B.C.). The fact and date of the exile seem to be substantiated by the statements of Plutarch (*de Exil.* p. 602), Diogenes Laertius (v. 78), and Cicero (*pro Rabir. Post.* 9), which have behind them the authority of Hermippus Callimachus, who lived under the third and fourth Ptolemies. The statements of Aristeas must therefore be regarded as an anachronism, since Demetrius could not possibly have exercised any influence over Philadelphus. Moreover, we know from the investigations of Busch (*de bibliothecariis Alexandrinis*, p. 1 ff.) that the office of librarian under Philadelphus was held first by Zenodotus of Ephesus and then by Erastosthenes. It is possible, however, as Swete suggests, that the project of translating the Jewish law may have been mooted by Demetrius in the time of Ptolemy I, though it was not carried out till the reign of his successor (see Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 19; *JQR*, Jan. 1902, p. 338, Ostermann, *de Demetrii Ph. vita* (1857), Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* I, p. 6, 138).

10. **above two hundred thousand.** Epiphanius gives the number of the books as 54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω.

11. **speak a peculiar dialect,** i. e. Aramaic.

12. **his attack on Coele-Syria.** The reference is probably to Ptolemy I's second campaign against Syria and Palestine which culminated in the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.). The fragments of Hecataeus in Josephus (*con. Ap.* i. 186), which though disputed are probably genuine, confirm the statements of Aristeas and may have been the source from which they were taken. Hecataeus (see Note on § 31) says, 'Ptolemy got possession of many places in Syria after the battle of Gaza, and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, they went along with him to Egypt and were willing to assist him in his affairs.' The impression given by this fragment is that the action of Ptolemy's army was much less drastic than is represented in Aristeas. The presence of large settlements of Jews in Egypt at this time, though denied by Willrich, seems to be abundantly proved by the Papyri. A village named Samareia in the Fayyum is mentioned more than once in the Petrie collection of Papyri. There was a Jewish colony at Psenuris (cf. *P.P.* 1. 43 παρα των Ιουδαιων και τῶν Ελληνων, in which mention is also made of Jewish slaves). For further evidence see Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 93.

issue, in the process of terrorising the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the
13 Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand. Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this time large numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had been sent *to Egypt* to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)
14 As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war.

Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing their emancipation, I addressed the king with the following arguments. 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow
15 our deeds to give the lie to our words. Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom? In the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage, since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who maintains your kingdom. They worship the same God—the Lord and Creator of the Universe, as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or
16 Dis. This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to signify that He through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily the ruler and lord of the Universe. Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing those who are held in bondage.'

17 After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty—(for the human race, being the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him. Therefore with many divers prayers I called upon Him who ruleth the heart that *the king* might be constrained to grant my request. For I had
18 great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a fulfilment of my prayer. For when men from pure motives plan some action in the interest of righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes to a successful issue)—*the king* raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?' Andreas, who was standing near,
19 replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.' 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that Aristeas asks of us!' Then Sosibius and some others who were present said, 'Yes, but it will be a fit tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion to the supreme God. You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thankoffering in your power.' Extremely pleased *with these arguments* he gave orders that an addition should be
20 made to the wages *of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money*, that twenty drachmae should be paid *to the owners* for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the captives should be attached to it. He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time

13. **The Persian.** The reference seems to be to Cambyses who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Wendland thinks that this statement is due to a misunderstanding of Hecataeus who says, 'the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon as also not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia'.

Psammetichus. We know from Herodotus (II. 151, fol.) that Psammetichus I (*c.* 671–617 B.C.) was the first Egyptian king to employ Greek mercenaries and that Psammetichus II, who became king in 595 B.C., carried on a campaign against the Aethiopians (Her. II. 159-61), but we have no evidence to connect the Jewish people with either. Wendland thinks the allusion a pure fiction.

16. **Zeus or Dis.** The two accusative forms of Ζεύς, viz. Ζῆνα and Δία, are here used, and it is difficult to translate them as the nominative of the second form is obsolete. They are derived by Aristeas, as by the Stoics and Orphic writers, from ζῆν (to live) and διά (through) respectively. Compare the statement of Aristobulus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 7) καθὼς δὲ δεῖ σεσημάγκαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα. For a similar comparison between Jehovah and Zeus see Diodor. Sic. i. 12. 2, who probably derived the idea from Hecataeus.

18. **I had great hopes,** &c. This rendering follows the suggestion of Mendelssohn who supplies τῶν before ἀνθρώπων. Otherwise we must translate with Thackeray, 'I had a good hope in bringing forward a proposal concerning the deliverance of men.' The phrase προτιθέμενος λόγον may mean either 'bringing forward a proposal' or 'giving a reason to oneself'—'assuring oneself'.

or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom. It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents.

21 I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was empowered by God to save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more
22 manifest. The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city *of Alexandria* and the land *of Egypt* or sold them to others—and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards—all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money. The soldiers will receive
23 this money, as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury. We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field *of battle* was all the booty which they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of
24 absolute injustice. Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations. Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists *of slaves* for the officers appointed to carry out our will,
25 and immediately produce the persons *of the captives*. For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the matter should be brought to a conclusion. Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree, on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.'

26 When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards,' and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters of the forces and the royal bankers, and so the matter was decided and the
27 decree ratified within seven days. The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers. When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way.

28 When this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books. For all affairs of state used to be carried out by means of decrees and with the most painstaking accuracy by these *Egyptian* kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion. And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in
29 magnificence and technical skill. The following is a copy of the memorial. *The Memorial* of Demetrius to the great king. 'Since you have given me instructions, O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes,

20. **four hundred talents.** In § 19 the number of captives is given as a 'little more than 100,000'. The redemption money at 20 drachmae a piece comes to 2,000,000 drachmae or $333\frac{1}{3}$ talents. Thus $66\frac{2}{3}$ talents are allowed for the redemption of the captives, whose release was provided for by the additional clause. The number was therefore estimated at 20,000, making a total of 120,000 slaves to be emancipated. This estimate was greatly exceeded, see § 27.

27. **six hundred and sixty talents.** The estimate of 400 talents (§ 20) was found to be considerably below the mark; 660 talents provided ransom for 198,000 captives. It is difficult to account for the additional 78,000. The children could not possibly have reached that number. We must either assume that the mothers had been omitted in the previous estimate or follow Wendland in supposing that Aristeas has grossly exaggerated the total. The estimate of Josephus, i. e. 460 talents, is much more probable. This makes the total number of captives 138,000, and the number of children therefore 18,000, a much more reasonable figure. Possibly, however, the difference between the 460 of Josephus and the 660 of Aristeas is due to a copyist's blunder in the case of the latter.

28. **used to be carried out.** This phrase indicates that the Epistle belongs to a later date than the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Cp. also § 182. Graetz thinks that it proves that the Epistle was written after the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

29. **which are defective.** The Greek words *ἵνα . . . τὰ διαπεπτωκότα τύχῃ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς* might mean 'that those which have been lost shall be duly replaced' (Thackeray). The translation given above is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3.

30 and I now have the following proposal to lay before you. The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent *from the library*. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am
31 informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them. It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, in as much as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish. For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived †and are living† in accordance with them, because their
32 conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says. If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every tribe—men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law—that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose. May continual prosperity be yours!'

33 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the *Jewish* captives. And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and
34 for other needs. I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows:

35 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their
36 power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives—large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be

30. **The books of the law.** There is no article before 'books' in the MSS., though most editors insert or supply it. Thackeray omits and translates 'certain books of the Jewish law'.

carelessly interpreted. The exact force of *σεσήμανται* is uncertain. If we translate 'interpreted' it involves the supposition that an earlier, though imperfect, translation of the law into Greek was in existence. This hypothesis is supported by the statement of Aristobulus, *διηρμήνευται δὲ πρὸ Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἑτέρου [v. l. δι' ἑτέρων] πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἁπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις.* (Swete, Introd. to LXX, 1, 2), cp. also the reference to earlier and unreliable translations in § 314. The term *σεσήμανται* need not, however, imply translation. It may simply mean 'copied' or 'committed to writing' (cp. Plutarch, *Moral.* 204 E *τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν*), or as Diels suggests 'vocalized'.

31. **have lived and †are living†:** *τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἀνδρῶν.* Wendland and Thackeray obelise the words *καὶ πολιτευομένων* as a later addition, since they are omitted in Eusebius and Josephus. The explanation given here of the absence of any reference to the Jewish Scriptures in Greek literature is further elaborated in §§ 312–316.

Hecataeus of Abdera lived in the time of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I, and wrote a history of Egypt, which probably contained many references to Jewish History. He is credited by Josephus (*c. Apion.* 22) with being the author of a special history of the Jews, which most modern authorities regard as a later forgery, worked up from the material obtained from the History of Egypt (see Schürer, ii, 3, p. 302 *ET*). Wendland holds that Aristeas used not the later Pseudo-Hecataeus but the genuine 'History of Egypt'. His conclusion is based on numerous resemblances which he finds between Aristeas and the statements of Didorus Siculus, who used Hecataeus as his main authority in his first book. Whether the quotations in Josephus (*c. Apion.*) came from the genuine or the pseudo-Hecataeus is more difficult to decide.

32. **If it please you:** *ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται*, a later formula as Thackeray has shown by an examination of the Papyri (*JQR* xv, 348). In the early Ptolemaic period we find the classical formula *εἴ σοι δοκεῖ* or *ἐάν σοι δοκῇ* in general use. Between 252 B.C. and 163 B.C. *ἐάν σοι φαίνηται* is generally substituted for the earlier form. From 163 B.C. to 70 B.C. the pronoun is generally omitted and the phrase is used as in Aristeas. There is no instance, however, of the omission of the pronoun in the Papyri before 163 B.C. These facts seem to indicate that our book must be later than this date.

in a conspicuous place. The meaning of the Greek *θῶμεν εὐσήμως* is uncertain. The rendering given above is that of Thackeray and Gifford (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3) and refers of course to the library at Alexandria, though it is difficult to see why the idea is not conveyed in plainer terms. The words might mean 'that we may place it on record in seemly fashion' or 'make the meaning plain'.

continual prosperity, *εὐτύχει*, the regular salutation used by a subordinate to his superior. The formula for addressing an equal or a subordinate is *ἔρρωσο* (see Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri*, 1891, 80), which is the word used by Ptolemy and Eleazar in their correspondence with each other, §§ 40, 46.

36. **when he had proved the loyalty,** &c.: *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προόντας.* This rendering is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3. Thackeray, however, takes *τοὺς προόντας* to mean 'those who were already in the country'—'in like manner from his confidence in those who were already in the country he placed under their charge' [i.e. under the charge of the newly imported Jews], &c.

might be intimidated. The MSS. of Aristeas read *ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχῃ*, 'that native Egyptians might be free from fear.' Both Josephus and Eusebius, however, omit *μή*, and most modern editors follow them.'

intimidated by them. And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all
37 my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours—I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation. The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thankoffering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world. Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the
38 court, I have established in official positions. Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you
39 into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library. It will be a kindness on your part and a reward for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that *in questions of dispute* we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this
40 work. I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard, and Aristeas—men whom I hold in high esteem—to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the firstfruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites. If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a *new* pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell.'
41 To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: 'Eleazar the High priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend. My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoe your sister and your children. I also am well. I have received your letter and am greatly
42 rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel. I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God. I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the
43 temple stands in need. These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristeas, both good men and true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes. These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter.
44 I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very

40. **Andreas chief of the bodyguard.** Ἀνδρέαν τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων. Strack has proved that the plural form of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ does not occur in the Papyri till 145 B.C. Jerome describes Aristeas as Ptolemaei ὑπερασπιστής (*Praef. in Pent.* xxviii, p. 181).

41. **replied appropriately.** There is some question as to the meaning of ἐνδεχομένως which I have rendered 'appropriately' (so too Gifford), cp. αἱ ἐνδεχόμεναι τιμωρίαι, Lycurg. 164. 38. The adverb, however, seems to be generally used as the equivalent of ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, 'as far as possible'. Wendland suggests 'so far as he could write Greek'. Diels would substitute ἐκδεχομένως = straightway. Josephus paraphrases ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως. Thackeray renders 'Eleazar wrote much as follows'.

Queen Arsinoe your sister. On the famous Mendes stele Arsinoe is described as 'the daughter, sister and great wife of a king who loves him, the divine Arsinoe Philadelphos'. Arsinoe was the daughter of Ptolemy I. She was first married about 301 B.C. to Lysimachus King of Thrace to whom she bore at least three children. After the death of Lysimachus, who was killed at the battle of Korupedion 281 B.C., she married Ptolemy Keraunos her half-brother who was endeavouring to secure the throne of Thrace. No sooner, however, had Keraunos got Arsinoe into his power than he inurdered her children whom he regarded as his rivals, and banished her to Samothrace. Arsinoe was not content to remain quietly in exile but made her way to Egypt, where she succeeded in inducing Ptolemy Philadelphus to abandon his wife, her namesake and stepdaughter Arsinoe I, and marry her instead. Arsinoe's third marriage took place about 278 B.C. With regard to this type of Marriage Mahaffy remarks 'It is only in the researches of our own day that the Egyptian dogmas and sentiment in this matter have been duly examined and it is now clear that far from being a licence or an outrage, the marriage of full brother and sister was in the royal family of Egypt, the purest and most excellent of all marriages and the highest security that the sacred blood of kings was not polluted by inferior strains' (*The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 77). Compare the statement of Maspero. 'The marriage of brother and sister was the marriage *par excellence*, and it contracted an unspeakable sanctity when this brother and sister were born of parents who stood in the same relation' (*Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études* for 1896, p. 19, quoted by Mahaffy, p. 77). From the time of her marriage to her death in 270 B.C. Arsinoe held the highest possible place in popular esteem. 'She became a great figure not only in the Egyptian but in the Hellenistic world. Of no other queen do we find so many memorials in various parts of the Greek world.' (Mahaffy, p. 76.)

your children, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II had no children of their own, and this statement is often supposed to be another instance of Aristeas' mistakes. We know, however, that Arsinoe II adopted the children of her predecessor and the reference may be to these. Compare the statement of Theocritus in the scholia on the Encomium of Ptolemy II (Idyll. xviii) καὶ εἰσεποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γεννηθέντας παῖδας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ Ἀρσινόη ἄτεκνος ἀπέθανεν.

unusual. For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many
45 ⟨ways⟩. Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the
46 holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully. In the presence of all the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you with *a copy* of our law. It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the men shall be restored again to us in safety. Farewell.'

47 *The following* are the names *of the elders*: Of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John, Ezekiah, Elisha. Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias. Of
48 the third tribe, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis. Of the fourth tribe, Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias.... Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sab-
49 bataeus, Simon, Levi. Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias. Of the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus. Of the eighth tribe, Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan. Of the ninth tribe, Theophilus, Abraham,
50 Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel. Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas, Elisha, Dathaeus. Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus. Of the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel. They were seventy-two in all. Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter.

51 I will now proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art. They were wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the workmen individually. They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negli-
52 gently. First of all I will give you a description of the table. The king was anxious that this piece of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews
53 in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem. And when they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure. And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him. And he said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless
54 for the temple services. He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple, for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting
55 sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made. He did not suppose that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of this dimension. †For **had the order been given**, there would have been no lack of means†. Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper
56 measure. At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented *by the finished work*. He gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the *Jewish* Scriptures, everything should be made as beautiful as possible. When such instructions were laid down, they were to be carried out to the letter.

57 They made the table two cubits long ⟨one cubit broad⟩ one and a half cubits high, fashioning it of

44. **unusual**, lit. contrary to nature, *παρὰ φύσιν*. The translation of the Jewish law into a foreign language was regarded as contrary to nature.

in many ways. In the MSS. of Aristeas we read simply *κατὰ πολλούς*. Eusebius, however, adds *τρόπους*, which is the justification for the translation given above.

45. **friends**, a special court title, which came into prominence in the time of Ptolemy V. (205–182 B.C.). It occurs frequently on the Papyri of this period but is not found at an earlier date, though Strack thinks it may have occurred in some of the *lacunae* of the Papyri of Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.). We seem to have here another anachronism (Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 161), though as the title is apparently used in the O.T. (1 Kings, iv. 5) too much stress must not be laid upon this point.

48. The fifth and sixth names of the fourth tribe are given by Epiphanius, who uses Aristeas in his *De mens. et pond.* as Zacharias and Chelkias. Probably the Chabrias of Aristeas is a corruption.

50. For Chabu (*Χαβεῦ*) Epiphanius reads Caleb, which seems obviously to be correct.

55. **had the order been given**: the text is corrupt at this point. The MSS. read *ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς οὔσης, οὐθὲν ἂν ἐσπάνιζε*. This is difficult to translate, though it might perhaps be rendered 'Nothing would have been lacking for the present table'. It is better, however, to accept Mendelssohn's brilliant conjecture and substitute *ἐπιταγῆς* for *ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς*.

56. **picture the appearance**, *εἰς τὸ συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν*. This might also mean 'To design the appearance of objects'. The interest which Philadelphus took in art and architecture is well attested.

in the scriptures: the reference is to the instructions laid down in Exodus, xxv. 23, 24. The technical term for Scripture (*ἡ γραφή*) does not occur here—though it is found in §§ 155, 168. The phrases used here are *ὅσα δ' ἂν ᾖ ἄγραφα, . . . ὅσα δὲ διὰ γραπτῶν*, see note on § 168.

57. **one cubit broad**: these words are not in the MSS. of Aristeas but are found in Josephus and in Exodus xxv, 23. Wendland thinks that their omission here is purely accidental.

pure solid gold. What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole
58 structure was of massive gold welded together. And they made a border of a hand's breadth round about it. And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvellously
59 wrought on its three sides. For it was triangular in shape and the style of the work was exactly the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same appearance. †Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the table was a very
60 beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator†. Now the upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, *the rim* was three-sided, †from whatever point of view one approached it†. And there were layers of precious stones on it in the midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic
61 device. For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perfora-
62 tions *in the stones*. At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm. On the part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern of eggs in precious stones, †elaborately engraved† by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely
63 connected together round the whole table. And under the stones which had been arranged to represent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged. These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and
64 they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold. And after the crown *of fruit* had been put on, *underneath* there was inserted another pattern of eggs *in precious stones*, and other fluting and embossed work, that both sides of the table might be used, according to **the wishes** of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended
65 down to the feet of the table. They made and fastened under the whole width of the table a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with linch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people preferred, might be used. Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used

massive gold welded together: lit. the plate of beaten metal was attached to it.

58. **They made a border.** The description of the table is an elaboration of the data in Exod. xxv. 23: 'Thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold and make thereto a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make a border of an handbreadth round about and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about'. In the LXX as in Aristeas there is no mention of the foundation of acacia wood. The whole table is to be made *χρυσῆν χρυσίου καθαροῦ*. The use of the LXX phrase *στρεπτὰ κυμάτια* is also significant. Either we have an anachronism. The table is supposed to be made according to the specifications of the LXX text which did not as yet exist. Or else the LXX translation was influenced by the table of Philadelphus, and the differences between it and the Hebrew were introduced to bring the new table more into accord with Scripture.

There is considerable difficulty with regard to the exact significance of the word translated border (זֵר, *στεφάνη*, *κυμάτια στρεπτά*). AV and RV render by 'crown', RV m. by 'rim or moulding'. The phrase *κυμάτια στρεπτά* suggests a cable moulding—and this is the interpretation which Aristeas puts upon it; (so also Josephus, *τὸ ἔδαφος ἕλικος*, a spiral). On the other hand 'the same phrase is used in architecture to denote an ogee moulding, and this is certainly the nature of the ornament on the table of the Arch of Titus. In any case both the sides and the ends of the massive top were separately decorated by a solid gold moulding which gave them the appearance of four panels sunk into the table', *DBH* iv. 663.

wreath of wavework: the meaning of this phrase, and indeed of the whole sentence, is very dubious. Thackeray translates 'They made . . . its ledges of twisted work' but suggests that the phrase may mean 'its mouldings (or rims) were made so as to revolve'.

59. **It was triangular,** *ἦν γὰρ τριγωνία*. This cannot refer to the table, which had four legs and must have been oblong in shape. If the text is correct, it must refer to the border. Thackeray suggests that we ought to follow Josephus in reading *τρίγωνα* and translate 'the ledges were triangular in shape'.

whichever side they were turned: the meaning is very obscure. The words might be translated 'to whichever side a man turned himself, the same appearance met his eyes' (Wendland).

Of the two sides, &c. The text of this sentence is so corrupt that its meaning cannot be made out. I have followed the conjecture which substitutes *κειμένω*, for the *κειμένου* or *κειμένης* of the MSS. at the commencement of the sentence. Thackeray translates 'and while the ledge rested on the border that side of it which sloped towards the table was beautifully worked although the side which sloped outwards [alone] met the eye of the spectator'. Wendland renders 'Während aber die nach dem Tische gerichtete Seite der auf dem Rand aufliegenden [Leiste] ihre schöne Arbeit dem Anblick entzog, bot sich die äussere Seite den Blicken des Beschauers dar'.

62. **elaborately engraved**: the text *ἐκτύπωσιν ἔχουσα προσοχῆς* is corrupt and we can only conjecture its meaning.

63. **These fruits were wrought,** lit. 'They worked the stones which had the colour of each species of the aforesaid fruits to resemble those fruits'.

with a band of gold, or 'they attached them to the gold all round the table' (Thackeray).

64. **according to the wishes.** We must follow Wendland and read *αἱρῶνται* for *αἴρωνται* here and in the following section.

the wave work, &c. Thackeray translates this sentence 'with such symmetry that the ledges and the border reappeared on the side nearest the feet'.

65. **Thus it became,** &c. The meaning of the Greek is obscure. Thackeray renders 'This metal plate was visible on the surface as the work was constructed so as to be reversible'.

66 either way. On the table itself they engraved a 'maeander', having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel
67 in beauty. And next to the 'maeander' there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called,
68 had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders. They made the feet *of the table* with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the
69 table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright. The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand's breadth *high* all round. It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad. Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.
70 And they made *the foot appear like* ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with akanthus and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top *of the foot*. All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skilfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and
71 everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality *which it represented*. And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered. The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work
72 must have cost many talents. For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table could have been of larger dimensions. And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty.

73 Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought ⟨in gold⟩, and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales precious stones were inserted with
74 great artistic skill. Then there was a 'maeander' a cubit in height, **with its surface** wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty. Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the
75 brim. In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately, and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad, enhanced the beauty of their appearance. On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and intertwining clusters of grapes were
76 engraven all round. Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each. The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more
77 clearly than in mirrors. But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished. For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see
78 them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle. The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind. When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with wonder. Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers. So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.

79 The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths. And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it. The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to
80 complete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king. In a word it may be said that neither in the king's treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equalled these in costliness or in artistic skill. For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the
81 excellence of his *designs*. For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent. So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner
82 worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land. There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size.

69. **the whole expanse of the foot**, lit. 'the whole plate of the foot'. Thackeray renders 'upon this rested the whole plate into which the leg was inserted'.

71. **fitted and dovetailed**, lit. 'being fitted together by dove-tailing which was secured by pegs in the thickness of the structure' (Thackeray).

74. **with its surface**: we must read here with Wendland ἐν ὑπεροχῇ for ἐνυπῆρχε.

The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold.

83 I have given you this description of the presents because I thought it was necessary. The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country. When we arrived **in the land of the Jews** we saw the city situated 84 in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude. On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour. It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice. All the buildings 85 were characterised by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented. It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and 86 the stability of the lintel. The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance. Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant 87 spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away. The construction of the altar **was in keeping** with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale. There was a *gradual* slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their 88 ankles. The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west. The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the 89 blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days. And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area. There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes 90 so that the different streams converge together. And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out. There are many openings for water at the base *of the altar* which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an 91 eye. Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed. They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out.

92 The ministration of the priests is in every way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service. For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him. The service is carried on without interruption—some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others 93 again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful degree of strength. For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place *of the altar* and never miss placing them on the proper spot. In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness. For those, whose business it is, always select *the beasts* which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described,

83. **In the land of the Jews.** Text corrupt.

86. **in proportion to that of the entrance.** Reading *θυρῶσι*. Thackeray prefers the reading *θυρώσει* and translates 'The fashion of the curtain bore a very close resemblance to a door'.

the curtain bulged out. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *κατὰ τὴν κόλπωσιν μέχρι τῆς ἄνω διατάσεως*. Schmidt conjectures *κατατείνειν* for *κατά*. Thackeray renders 'the swell extended to the upper and tauter part of the curtain'.

87. **was in keeping.** Following the conjecture of Mendelssohn *συμμέτρως ἔχουσαν*.

in linen garments. *Βυσσίνοις χιτῶσιν*, quoted from LXX of Ex. xxxvi. 35. See note § 228.

89. **an abundant natural spring.** This statement is supported by Tacitus, who speaks of a 'fons perennis aquae' (*Hist.* v. 12). There are objections, however, to the statement: (*a*) No trace of such a well has been discovered, (*b*) the system of aqueducts which brought water from a distance would have been unnecessary if such a spring had existed. These 'two facts or rather our *present* evidence for them are sufficient to make very doubtful the existence of a fountain within the Temple *enceinte*', G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 85, 86.

wonderful . . . cisterns. Some thirty-six or thirty-seven of these remarkable reservoirs have been discovered and surveyed. Full lists and descriptions are given in *Recovery of Jerus.* 204 ff.; P. E. F. *Mem.* 'Jerus.' 217 ff.; P. E. F. 2. 1880; Schick, *Stiftshütte u. Tempel*, 292 ff. Speaking of their general characteristics, G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 120, says: 'They may be distinguished into the smaller surface pits arched over, and probably not all originally cisterns; and the great deep basins hollowed out of the low-lying *meleki* rock, 30, 40, 50, and 60 feet deep (one of them 'the Great Sea' with a capacity of two million gallons) carefully cemented; their roofs of the harder upper *mizzeh* rock, occasionally supported by heavy piers of masonry; with channels of communication, passages for inspection and conduits for draining the water at different levels.'

90. **fastened with lead**, or 'had their bases and sides of lead'.

94 is carried out. There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit. When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready *to resume their duties* rise up *spontaneously* since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of
95 the sacrifices. The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices. Everything is carried out with
96 reverence and in a way worthy of the great God.

We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the mode of his dress, and the majesty *of his appearance*, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person. There were golden bells *upon the garment* which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates
97 with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue. He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty woven in the most beautiful colours. On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way
98 its own particular colour. On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold . . . having been judged worthy to wear these *emblems* in the
99 ministrations. **Their appearance** created such awe and confusion *of mind* as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world. I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will be filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service.

100 But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of
101 guarding the temple precincts, so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was
102 much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned. The towers were guarded too by most

95. **seven hundred.** This number is at variance with the estimate given in the passage from Hecataeus which is quoted by Josephus *c. Apion.* i. 22: 'All the Jewish priests who are in receipt of the tithe of the produce [of the soil] and administer the public moneys [or affairs] are at the most fifteen hundred'. Josephus states that there were four tribes of priests, each containing more than five thousand (*c. Apion.* ii. 8) but probably he includes the Levites and the servants.

96–9. The description of the dress of the High-priest is based upon Exodus xxviii and xxix. For other accounts of this dress see Charles' *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, ET, p. 42. Many phrases are taken from the LXX, showing that the writer must have been perfectly familiar with the version. For further illustrations of the use of the LXX see §§ 56, 57, 87, 228.

97. **the oracle of God.** Exod. xxviii. 30 reads: 'Thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim'—which the LXX renders *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.* This mistaken rendering (which is followed by Aristeas) is mainly responsible for the view that the Urim and Thummim are to be identified with the jewels in the breastplate, see *DBH*, iv. 839. We have here another proof that the LXX translation had superseded, in the mind of Aristeas, the Hebrew original before our Epistle was written.

98. **sacred letters**—i.e. the older Hebrew characters such as are found on old Hebrew seals, the Moabite Stone, and in Phoenician inscriptions before they had changed into the later square characters. Driver, *Exodus* (*Cam. Bib.*, p. 309).

99. **Their appearance.** Following an emendation of Wendland, who reads *ἐμφάνεια* for *συμφάνεια.*

100. **the summit of the neighbouring citadel.** There are many problems connected with the site and the history of the *ἄκρα.* 'Theories of the position of the Akra are almost as numerous as the writers who have devoted attention to the subject' (for a discussion of the various views see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 444 ff). The earliest reference to the *ἄκρα* is found in Josephus, who says that it was occupied by an Egyptian garrison when in 198 B.C. the Jews welcomed Antiochus the Great to Jerusalem. In 168 B.C. the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes 'fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an *ἄκρα* or citadel' (1 Mac. i. 33–6). 'It became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary and throughout an evil adversary to Israel' (1 Mac. iv. 40). For further references in the Maccabean period see G. Adam Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 157 f. Josephus, however, tells us that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the *ἄκρα* to the ground. (*BJ*, ii. 2, iv. 1, *Ant.* xiii. 6. 7). In the passages in the *Antiquities* he states that Simon, anxious 'that the Akra should no more be a base from which the foe might storm or harass Jerusalem, thought it the best way to cut down also the hill on which the Akra stood, so that the temple should be higher. Having called the people to an assembly, he persuaded them to set themselves to the work, which cost them three whole years, night and day, before they reduced the hill to its base and made it a perfect level. Thereafter the temple overtopped everything, both the Akra and the hill on which it stood being demolished.' This statement, however, is difficult to reconcile with the assertion of 1 Mac. xiv. 37 that 'Simon garrisoned and fortified the Akra.' If the assertion of Josephus could be relied upon, it would suggest a point which would have to be considered in discussing the date of Aristeas. There is a further difficulty, however. Possibly, as G. Adam Smith suggests (ib. ii. 447) Aristeas is referring not to the Akra but to the later Baris. Graetz thinks that the description of the Castle points to the tower of Antonia built by Herod the Great (*op. cit.* 295–6).

trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any
103 stranger to enter it. They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us. They were very reluctant
104 to admit us,—though we were but two unarmed men—to view the offering of the sacrifices. And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and were bound to carry out the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might *efficiently* protect it.

105 The size of the city is of moderate dimensions. It is about forty furlongs in circumference, as far as one could conjecture. It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them† now the cross roads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper
106 towers are more frequented†. For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain. There are steps too which lead up to the cross roads, and †some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road† because of those who
107 are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful. It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight *with regard to what was required*. For the country is extensive and beautiful. Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially ⟨those which are contiguous to the land of Judea⟩. The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops. In this way
108 cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole of the aforesaid land. The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has
109 a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure. The same thing happened in Alexandria, which excels all cities in size and prosperity. Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling
110 in the city brought agriculture into disrepute: and so to prevent them from settling *in the city*, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days. And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one
111 *who lived in the country*, the case must be settled within five days. And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the
112 city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry. I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned. For great is the energy

104. **And were . . . to carry out.** So Thackeray emends.

105. **forty furlongs.** This estimate agrees with the statement of Timochares (quoted by Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 34), but Hecataeus states that the circuit was about 'fifty furlongs' (quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 197).

in the shape of a theatre, 'with the comparison to a theatre,' cf. *Ency. Bib.* ii. 2412. 'There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the west side of its main course—a kind of dell or *theatre-shaped* depression extending westwards, a depression which would face a spectator looking westwards from the temple-mount, where the writer of our letter professes to be standing' (Thackeray, *JQR*, xv. 360).

now the cross roads. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *καὶ φαινομένων διόδων τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν ἠθισμένων*, but it seems impossible to extract any relevant meaning from the words as they stand. In the phrase *τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν εἰθισμένων* Thackeray reads *εἰθισμένως* and translates 'the resemblance extending to the cross streets, which are seen some below, some above, in the usual manner [of a theatre]'. Wendland following a conjecture of Diels substitutes *μή* for *καί* at the commencement of the sentence, and *ἐσχισμένων* for *ἠθισμένων* and renders 'und man sieht zwar nicht die Durchgänge der unteren [Türme], wohl aber die der oberen, die bei den Durchgängen durchbrochen sind.'

106. **the ground ascends,** *ἀνάκλασιν γὰρ τὰ τῶν τόπων.* Thackeray translates 'the ground is irregular' and takes *ἀνάκλασιν* to mean 'a bending back'. He quotes in illustration a statement from Smith's *DB* 1, ii, 1587: 'the northern and southern outliers of the Mount of Olives *bend round slightly towards the city*.'

some . . . are . . . going up. The meaning is obscure. Thackeray translates: 'Some persons take their way along the higher level, and others underneath, the distinction in the means of journeying being chiefly made for the sake of those who are undergoing the usual purifications'. Wendland substitutes *διεστηκυίας* for *διεστηκότες*. 'They ascend by the one, they descend by the other, especially if they have a long journey to make, with a view to observing', &c.

107. **contiguous to the land of Judea.** These words are supplied by conjecture to fill a *lacuna* in the MSS. Wendland's reading, 'namely those which are in the centre', is possibly more correct.

108. **a natural tendency.** For a further explanation of this inherent bias in human nature, see §§ 222–3, and especially 277.

111. **farmers and their advocates.** The meaning of the latter term (*προστάται*) is uncertain. Thackeray translates 'directors or agents', but suggests that we might render 'the agricultural class who are also the protectors (backbone) of the country.' Legislation in the interests of agriculture is illustrated in the Papyri (cf. Paris Papyri, no. 63, *Notices et Extraits*, tom. xviii, Letronne and Brunet, and Thackeray's Note, *JQR*, p. 361).

which they expend on the tillage of the soil. For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey. Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these. There are cattle of all kinds in
113 great quantities and a rich pasturage for them. Wherefore they rightly recognise that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly
114 regulated. A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs. For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the
115 city is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea. It possesses too suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well as at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them. The country produces everything in abundance,
116 since it is well watered in all directions and well protected *from storms*. The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land. Originally ⟨the country⟩ contained not less than 60 million acres—though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it—and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each. The river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land. Near the district belonging to the people of
117 Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea. Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of
118 Ashdod. The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with their overhanging precipices and deep
119 ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land.

We were told that from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained. This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread
120 abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive, in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the *Persian* rule, †since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district†.

I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject
121 in brief form. I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel. The High priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature. but had studied most
122 carefully that of the Greeks as well. They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law. They espoused the middle course—and this is always the best course to pursue. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question. And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in
123 its observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue. And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them. For besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly
124 besought Andreas to work *for the same end* and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability. And

114. **rich in the arts**, πολύτεχνος. The description of Jerusalem as 'a city of many crafts' is an exaggeration even when we admit that the phrase need not necessarily imply technical originality. Apollonius of Rhodes goes to the opposite extremes when he says 'the Jews are the most inept of the Barbarians and the only ones who have not contributed any invention useful to life', Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 15. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 373.

115. **Ptolemais founded by the King.** The reference is to Philadelphus II, who gave his name to the town which was previously called Acco or Akka, though some authorities regard it as the foundation of Ptolemy I (cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 60). The place figures very largely in the relations between Egypt and Palestine, see *Ency. Bib.*, art. 'Ptolemais'. Wendland attaches considerable importance to the data afforded by the mention of these harbours for fixing the date of Aristeas. Joppa did not belong to the Jews till after 146 B.C. (1 Mac. x. 76, xiv. 5, 34) Gaza was not Jewish territory till it was captured by Alexander Jannaeus about 96 B.C. The fact, however, that Ascalon and Ptolemais were never Jewish towns makes it impossible to attach too much importance to this evidence. The writer might obviously have made the same mistake about Joppa and Gaza as about Ascalon and Ptolemais.

116. **made incursions.** Two MSS. read ὑπέβησαν ('retired') for ἐπέβησαν. It is difficult, however, to make this reading fit in with the general sense of the passage.

a hundred acres. The writer may possibly be transferring the land system of the Fayûm to Palestine. We know from the Papyri that cleruchies of 100 arourae were common in this district of Egypt. Cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 90.

122. **They espoused the middle course.** An illustration of the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean on Jewish thought, cp. § 223 πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετριότης καλόν, and also § 256.

although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to
125 summon him to his court. For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice. And the men who were
126 now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities. And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive—but it was for the common advantage of
127 all the citizens that he was sending them. For, *he explained*, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by hearing than by reading. From this and other similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were.

128 It is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions. For **I suppose that most people** feel a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law,
129 especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognised as unclean. When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such
130 matters as these) he began his reply as follows : 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our modes of life and our associations produce upon us ; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life ; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find
131 the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives. Our Lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects *of sin* and the
132 punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty. For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge. For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to
133 Him. Working out these truths carefully and having made them plain, he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil—to say nothing of actually effecting it,—he would not escape
134 detection, for he made it clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of the law. Beginning from this starting point he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom
135 they vainly worship. For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though
136 they have clear proof that they possess no feeling. For it would be utterly **foolish** to suppose that any one **became a god** in virtue of his inventions. For *the inventors* simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility : they
137 did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves. For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days *who have been deified*, and yet they would never come to worship them. The makers and authors of these myths think that they are
138 the wisest of the Greeks. Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead ?'

139 'Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took

124. **to give our best attention.** The MSS. read *ἀφροντίσειν* which is obviously a corruption. Wendland suggests *εὖ φροντίσειν*, which gives the sense required.

127. **The good life consists** : a good statement of the Pharisaic position which is advocated in this section of the Epistle. For the ethical function of the law cp. §§ 144, 168, 169.

128. **I suppose people.** So Euseb.

129. **specially scrupulous.** The reading is uncertain. Some MSS. read *πάνυ δεισιδαιμόνως*. Eusebius has *πάλιν* for *πάνυ*. Other MSS. of Aristeas combine the two. Schmidt suggests *παντάπασι* and Wendland reads *παντελῶς*. The meaning however is clear.

133. **the power of God pervaded,** or 'throughout the whole of the law, he displayed the power of God' (Thackeray).

135. **who have invented something useful.** Aristeas' explanation of the origin of idolatry is Euhemeristic. Euhemerus, who lived at the Court of Cassander in Macedonia about 316 B.C., maintained that the gods were originally men who had distinguished themselves either as warriors or benefactors of mankind, and who after their death received divine worship from the grateful people. Contrast the explanation of the origin of idolatry in the *Book of Wisdom*, where it is derived from Nature-worship (ch. xiii), 'Vain are all men by nature who are ignorant of God . . . and deem either fire or wind or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the turbulent water, or the lights of heaven to be the gods which govern the world.'

136. **it would be . . . foolish,** reading *ἀνόητον* (Eusebius) for the MSS. *ἀνόητοι*.

became a god. So Wendland emends.

a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole
140 creation. Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with (our) affairs, call us "men of God". This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God. The rest are men *not of God* but of meats and drinks and clothing. For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things.
141 Among our people such things are reckoned of no account, but throughout their whole life their
142 main consideration is the sovereignty of God. Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by
143 rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see. For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others. For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two
144 points and explain them to you. For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care. All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and
145 the perfecting of character. For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves,
146 locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class. But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannising over the others by the strength which they possess. and cruelly obtaining food by preying on the tame birds enumerated above. And not only so, but
147 they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive, and so by naming them unclean, he gave a sign by means of them that those, for whom the legislation was ordained, must practise righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannise over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth
148 and do not tyrannise to the destruction of their own kindred. Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannising over others in reliance upon their own
149 strength. For since it is *considered* unseemly even to touch such *unclean* animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution lest our own
150 characters should be destroyed to the same extent? Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these *birds* and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson. For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view
151 to the practice of virtue. For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs. Therefore he compels us to recognise that we must perform all our actions

140. **cognizant with (our) affairs**, *μετεσχηκότες πραγμάτων*, 'conversant with the world' (Thackeray). Diels suggests *γραμμάτων*, for *πραγμάτων*, 'conversant with literature.'

men of meats and drinks, &c. Cp. Matt. vi. 31–2 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.' The word translated 'clothing' (*σκέπη*) also means 'shelter' or 'protection' and this may possibly be the meaning here.

144. **the degrading idea**, *εἰς τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον*, or 'Thou must not be led to follow the rejected view' (Thackeray).

mice. In Eusebius the best attested reading seems to be *μυιῶν*, 'flies'. For the Mosaic prohibition see Lev. xi. 29. For the argument cp. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 'Doth God care for the oxen?'

145. **locusts**, Lev. xi. 22. In both RV and AV the word *ἀττάκης* is translated 'bald locust'. In Eusebius the best attested reading is *ἀτταγαί* a species of moor-fowl. 'There is a full description of this bird in Athen. ix. 387, where it is said to be 'rather bigger than a partridge, striped all over the back and of the colour of clay but rather redder, corresponding perhaps to the "attagen Ionicus" of Hor. *Epod.* ii. 54.' Cp. Gifford's note on Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 372 c.

147. **destruction of their own kindred.** Eusebius (whom Wendland follows here) inserts *οὔτε τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων οὔτε*, before *τῶν συγγενικῶν* 'for the destruction either of those beneath them or of their own kind'.

150. **teaching us a moral lesson.** The allegorical method seems to have been first employed on a large scale by the Stoics, though there are traces of it in Plato and Aristotle. Philo is of course the great exponent of the method, though the fact that he speaks of it as a well-established system and warns men that the allegorical interpretation does not destroy the literal force of the enactments of the law, proves that it had already found its way into Jewish circles—a fact which is further substantiated by the New Testament (Drummond, *Philo*, i. 20). There is a sign of it, too, in the Book of Wisdom (x. 17, xviii. 24). But we have no trace of so elaborate an employment of the method, as we find in Aristeas, amongst the Jews before Philo. It is curious, too, that it is only used in the law section. Aristeas does not take the opportunity of introducing it into his explanation of the High Priest's dress, which was a favourite subject with later allegorists (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 11–14, *De Monarchia*, ii. 225. 7 and Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 7. 7). The best illustration of the method of Aristeas is found in the Epistle of Barnabas.

division of the hoof, cp. Lev. xi. 3 ff., Deut. xiv. 6 ff.

151. **compels us to recognise.** The text is uncertain. There are two readings (1) *ἀναγκάζει τὸ σημειοῦσθαι*,

with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness—more especially because we have
152 been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind. For most other men defile themselves by promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride themselves upon such vices. For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own
153 mothers and even their daughters. But we have been kept separate from such sins. And the people who have been separated in the aforementioned way are also characterised *by the Lawgiver* as possessing the *gift* of memory. For all animals "which are cloven-footed and chew the cud"
154 represent to the initiated the *symbol* of memory. For the act of chewing the cud is nothing else than the reminiscence of life and existence. For life is wont to be sustained by means of food,
155 wherefore he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: "Thou shalt surely remember the Lord that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things". For when they are properly conceived, they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the
156 food and the separation of each individual limb and, far more, the organisation of the senses, the operation and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the
157 arts, display an infinite *resourcefulness*. Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill. For he has marked out every
158 time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves (us). For in the matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith enjoy *our meal*. Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like manner he has ordered us to put the *divine* oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of
159 God. And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering ⟨our own creation⟩, and above all the
160 fear of God. He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising up again, to meditate upon the works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking, how divine and incomprehensible
161 the change from one of these states to the other is. The excellency of the analogy in regard to discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of "the cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud". For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in accordance with the first *casual* thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the
162 indication of right reason. For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything thoughtlessly
163 nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason. In the case of the wild animals, too, the same principle may be discovered. For the character of the weasel and of mice and such
164 animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive. Mice defile and damage everything, not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever
165 it falls in their way to damage. The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it

(2) . . . *τῷ σημειοῦσθαι*. Thackeray conjectures *ὃ σημειοῦται*, and translates 'He constrains us to do everything . . . as he signifies by these symbols'. Gifford in Eusebius rendering (2) translates 'by the signification herein given'.

152. **we have been kept separate**, *διεστάλμεθα* or 'we have received express injunctions', see Lev. xviii. 6 ff. It is significant as Wendland says that there is no reference to the Egyptian practice of marrying a sister.

154. **life is wont to be sustained**, or 'He considers that life exists by taking food' (Thackeray).

155. **in the scripture.** For this remarkable introduction to the quotation, see note on § 168.

Thou shalt remember. A loose quotation of phrases conflated from Deut. vii. 18, 19, and x. 21. 'The great and wonderful things' of Deut. refer to the Divine deliverances of Israel, but here the phrase is applied to the human anatomy. Gifford thinks there is a reminiscence of Job xlii. 3.

156. **display an infinite**, &c., lit. 'contain an infinite manner,' *ἀπέραστον περιέχει τρόπον*. Thackeray renders 'bear the marks of an infinite wisdom'. Gifford, reading *ἐπέραστον*, renders 'have a delightful character'.

157. **kept together . . . with consummate skill.** Thackeray renders 'are both created and preserved'.

158. **enjoy.** So Euseb.

upon our garments, *ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων*. There seems to be an allusion to Num. xv. 38, and Deut. xxii. 12 *ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κρασπέδων τῶν περιβολαίων σου*. The reference is to the *zizith* or *gedilim* fringes or twisted threads at the four corners of the garment, see *DBH* art. 'Fringes'. Schürer, *ET* ii. 2. 112.

the divine oracles, see note on § 177.

upon our gates, cp. Deut. vi. 7 ff., a reference to the *Mesusa*, an oblong box fixed to house and room doors above the right-hand door-post on which was written in twenty-two lines the two paragraphs, Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21. Schürer, *ET*. ii. 2. 112.

159. **upon our hands**, cp. Deut. vi. 8, a reference to the *Tephilla*, a small dice-shaped hollow parchment case on which were written the passages Ex. xiii. 1–10, xiii. 11–16; Deut. vi. 4–9. xi. 13–21. It was fastened by means of a strap drawn through it to the upper part of the left arm, Schürer *ET*, ii. 2. 113.

our own creation. Restored from Euseb.

160. **going to sleep.** Aristeas seems to have been interested in the psychology of sleep. See §§ 213–16, and cp. the discussion in 3 Mac. v. 11.

162. **by the abuse of the power**, &c., or 'and not by availing ourselves of the overbearing power of speech have recourse to unrighteousness' (Thackeray), or 'nor to resort to injustice by employing the mastery of language'.

has a characteristic which is defiling: It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the
166 mouth. And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men. For by embodying in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety. And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.'

167 Then I said 'I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to
168 painful forms of death'. 'Yes,' he replied, 'these are the men I mean; for to watch for men's destruction is an unholy thing. And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed. My brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions
169 to practise righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God. And so concerning meats and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and righteous relationships between man and man.'

170 He seemed to me to have made a good defence on all the points; for in reference also to the calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not be under the influence of an arrogant self-consciousness. For he, who offers a sacrifice, makes an offering also of his own soul in all
171 its moods. I think that these particulars with regard to our discussion are worth narrating, and on account of the sanctity and natural meaning of the law, I have been induced to explain them to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.

172 And Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the
173 king, despatched us on our journey in great security. And when we reached Alexandria, the king was at once informed of our arrival. On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted
174 the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar. The king was very anxious to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys
175 summoned to his presence *at once*. Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission to the Court in thirty days—but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them.
176 When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connexion *between the pages* had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon
177 as he saw them began to ask them about the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance about seven times, he said: 'I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and

165. **through the mouth**, cf. *Ep. Barn.* x. 8. Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, iii. 6. 5, refutes this common belief and explains its origin. 'The weasel has just the same kind of womb as all other quadrupeds. How then can the embryo pass from it into the mouth? But because the weasel, like all other cloven-footed animals . . . brings forth extremely small young and often carries them from place to place in her mouth, she has given rise to this opinion' (quoted by Gifford, *Euseb.* 374 d).

167. **informers**, *ἐμφανισταί—delatores*. Graetz cites this passage as an argument for the late date of the Epistle—and thinks that it refers incontestably to the punishment inflicted on two Roman knights at the instigation of the Emperor for bringing false charges against the Praetor Magius Caecilianus in A.D. 21: cp. the concluding words of § 166, 'Your king as we are informed does quite right in putting such men to death'.

168. **has been enacted in the Scripture**, *οὐδὲν εἰκῇ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς*. Compare § 155. This is probably the first instance where the law is spoken of as Scripture. It is quite a question whether *ἡ γραφή* is used in this sense even in the New Testament (see Lightfoot's note on Gal. iii. 22). We find the phrase *ἐν γραφῇ νόμου Μωυσέως* used in the *Testaments of the Patriarchs* (T. Zab. iii. 4), but there appears to be no instance of *ἡ γραφή* used alone in the pre-Christian era. Deissmann has shown that the phrase [*κατὰ τὴ*]*ν γραφήν* is found on a Fayûm Papyrus of 5-6 A.D.—and argues that in the first instance it was used as the equivalent of *τὸ γεγραμμένον* in legal documents (*Biblical Studies*, p. 250). Compare the use of *ἄγραφα* and *διὰ γραπτῶν* in § 56. Possibly the usage may go back to earlier times.

168. **without due reason**, lit. 'of a legendary character', or 'in a fabulous way', reading *μυθωδῶς* (as in Eusebius) for *θυμωδῶς* as in the MSS.

170. **He seemed to me**. There is some doubt as to whether this rendering of *ἐνόμιζε* is possible. Gifford thinks this usage of the word is peculiar to Aristeas and compares the phrases *νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς* in § 128. Wendland and Thackeray conjecture *ἐνομίζετο*. Otherwise we must translate 'He thought that he had given me a good defence on all the points'.

171. **sanctity and natural meaning**, *διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νόμου*. The meaning of the latter phrase is uncertain. Schürer thinks it refers to the 'naturalness' or 'reasonableness' of the law. Thackeray translates 'the solemnity and inner meaning of the law'.

178 most of all God, whose oracles these are.' And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy. For his exaltation of soul and the *sense of the* overwhelming honour which had been
179 paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune. He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then, when I had done that, to extend the right-hand *of friendship* to you. It was for this reason that I
180 did this first. I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time. It happens also that it is the anniversary of
181 my naval victory over Antigonus. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you to-day.' 'Everything that you may have occasion to use', he said, 'shall be prepared ⟨for you⟩ in a befitting manner and for me also with you.' After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the banquet.
182 And Nicanor summoned **the lord high steward**, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after *the Jews*, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one. For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained to-day. For as many cities ⟨as⟩ have ⟨special⟩ customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed *to look after their requirements*. And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit. The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys. Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after *Jewish* guests was
183 a very conscientious man. All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast. He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions. For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour. When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in
184 accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests. Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead. And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer. 'May Almighty
185 God enrich you, O king, with all the good things which He has made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!'

At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then
186 they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared. All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus. Among the *attendants* were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court.
187 Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause *in the banquet* the king asked the envoy who sat in

177. **whose oracles these are.** Cp. § 158. This is probably the earliest instance of the application of the term τὰ λόγια to the law as a whole, though it is used in Sirach xxxvi. 14 of divine utterances in general. This use of the word is found several times in the New Testament: Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12.

180. **celebrated annually.** Philo asserts that an annual festival was held at Pharos in his day to celebrate the translation of the LXX (*de vita Moysis*, ii. 7. 140 M).

naval victory over Antigonus. Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonus Gonatas at the battle of Kos (*c.* 258). As a result of this battle Egypt lost its supremacy for some years, though it regained its power in the battle of Andros. Wendland thinks that Aristeas has purposely turned a defeat into a victory. Thackeray holds that the reference may be to the victory at Andros. This latter suggestion seems very improbable. According to Droysen the battle of Andros did not take place till 245 B.C.—two years after the death of Philadelphus. And even if with Mahaffy we date it 247 B.C.—in the last year of the reign of Philadelphus—it would be impossible to reconcile the statement here with other historical data in Aristeas. A victory in 247 B.C. could not have been made the subject of an annual celebration before the death of Arsinoe (in 270 B.C.), who is assumed to be alive throughout the Epistle.

181. **that you may have occasion to use.** I adopt the conjecture of Wendland, who reads οἷς συγχρῆσθε for the συγχρήσεσθε or συγχρήσησθε of the MSS. One important MS. reads συγχρῆσθαι, which seems to justify the emendation.

near the citadel. See note on § 41.

182. **the lord high steward.** The MSS. read ἀρχίητρος, the chief physician. This does not seem satisfactory, and Josephus paraphrases ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος . . . Letronne conjectures ἀρχεδέατρος (which is accepted by Wendland). This word is found only on an Inscription (C.I.G. 4678). The term ἐδέατρος originally meant the official who tasted dishes before the king, and was borrowed from Persia by Alexandria. Ἀρχεδέατρος may be translated 'the lord high steward', cp. Thackeray, *JQR*, xv, p. 371. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie polit. de l'Égypte*, 205.

183. **all the stores,** &c. Thackeray translates 'He laid out all the coverings for the couches which were in his keeping and were set apart for receptions of this kind'.

184. **Eleazar.** According to Josephus the man's name was Elisha, and Wendland suggests that this ought to be regarded as the true reading here.

185. **your wife and your children.** See notes on § 41.

your comrades: ὁμονοοῦσι, lit. 'Those who are in harmony with you.' Wendland suggests ὁμογενέσι 'relatives'.

186. **among the attendants,** or 'among the guests were royal children', &c.

the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority), How he could keep his kingdom
188 unimpaired to the end? After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will
189 turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.' The king praised the answer and then asked the next man, How he could do everything for the best in all his actions? And he replied, 'If a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you will never miss the goal.'

190 The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, How he could have friends like-minded with himself? He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the
191 human race, providing for them health and food and all other things in due season.' After expressing his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, How in giving audiences and passing judgments he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit? And he said, 'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of
192 offenders. And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by means of dreams or events of what was harmful *in their requests* and that God does not smite them according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.'

193 The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, How he could be invincible in military affairs? And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises to a successful issue, while
194 he himself discharged all his duties in the spirit of justice.' Welcoming this answer, he asked another how he might become an object of dread to his enemies. And he replied, 'If while maintaining a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve a permanent and conclusive result. For even God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'

195 This man the king praised and then said to the next, What is the highest good in life? And he answered 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us *to the goal.*'

196 The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next How he could keep all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition? And he answered 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy'.

197 The king expressed his agreement with the answer and enquired of the next guest, How he could bear with equanimity whatever befell him? And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God, to whom we ought *always* to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'

198 Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put a question to one other', *he added*, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention
199 to the enjoyment *of the feast* and spend a pleasant time.' Thereupon he asked the man, What is the true aim of courage? And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage, O king, since your purpose is good.'

188. **inflict mild punishments,** *βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους ἐπιεικέστερον καθώς εἰσιν ἄξιοι.* Thackeray, following Schmidt, inserts *ἤ* before *καθώς*, 'punish with greater forbearance than is due to them.' Cp. also § 208.

189. **do everything for the best,** following the emendation of Wendland *πῶς ἂν ἕκαστα ⟨κάλλιστα⟩ πράττοι.*

If a man . . . act rightly. I follow the text of Wendland here: *δίκαιον εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας διατηροῖ ἑαυτόν, καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει.* Thackeray reads *ἑαυτῷ* and connects with the following clause *ἑαυτῷ καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει.* This is very difficult to translate because we cannot render 'he will act rightly by Himself.' Dr. Charles has suggested to me that we might possibly read *ἑαυτόν* (which is found in some MSS.) and translate 'He will do everything best as regards himself so long as he observes what is just towards all'; or else we might suppose that a *καί* has dropped out before *ἑαυτῷ*, and then changing *πράξει* to *πράσσοι* or *πράσσει* we might translate 'If a man maintains righteousness towards all and always acts rightly in himself,' &c.

starting-point. The emphasis on the connexion between morality and religion is one of the characteristics of the Epistle. For the conception of God as the *καταρχή* of Ethics see §§ 200, 235.

194. **Even God instils.** It will be observed that there is no logical parallel here between the human and divine action. Wendland suggests that Aristeas makes use of an older collection of sayings, appending to each of them a not always appropriate theological conclusion.

200 When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess extraordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'

201 And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King—for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows
202 that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.' When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended.

203 On the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements. When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who
204 had given answers on the previous day. He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former occasion. When silence was
205 established, he asked How he could continue to be rich? After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied—'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted licentiously, never lavished expense on empty and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and
206 Him man must needs obey.' The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another How he could maintain the truth? In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.'

207 The king received the answer with great delight and looking *at another* said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?' And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men *to Himself* by his benignity.'

208 The king praised him and asked the next in order How he could be the friend of men? And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much **trouble** and great suffering: wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled with pity, for God also is pitiful.'

209 The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next 'What is the most essential qualification for ruling?' 'To keep oneself', he answered, 'free from bribery and to practise sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour righteousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice.'

210 Having signified his approval, the king said to another 'What is the true mark of piety?' And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence.'

211 The king signified his agreement and said to another 'What is the essence of kingship?' And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, *this is the true way of ruling* if you reason the matter well out. For **all that you really need** is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling.'

201. **Menedemus**, a Greek philosopher who lived at Eretria in Euboea, where he founded a school of thought. Born about 350 and died between 278 and 275 B.C. He was the disciple of Stilpo and the friend of Antigonus Gonatas. Our knowledge of his philosophy is limited and indefinite; it is derived from statements in Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, and Plutarch. We have no knowledge that he ever visited Alexandria, and his death had in all probability occurred before he is introduced into the narrative here. See Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, ii. 205 ff.; H. Mallett, *Histoire de l'école de Mégare et des écoles d'Élis et d'Érétrie* (1845).

206. **in addition to this,** reading προσλαμβάνειν. Wendland prefers προλαμβάνειν, which would be translated 'you must always set before your mind'.

207. **As you wish that no evil.** A similar statement of 'the golden rule' in its negative form is found in Tob. iv. 15 καὶ ὃ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς. Cp. Hillel, 'What is hateful to thyself, do not to thy fellow man.'

208. **with much trouble,** following an emendation of Wendland, who conjectures πόνῳ for χρόνῳ. If we take the MSS. reading we must translate with Thackeray, 'By considering after how long a time and through what great sufferings the human race comes to maturity, aye and to the birth!'

211. **This is the true way.** The text is corrupt and some such words must be supplied to make sense.
All that you really need, following a conjecture of Wendland, who suggests ὅσα δέον, for ὡς οὐδέν. With the

212 The king praised him and asked another man How his deliberations might be for the best? and he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just.'

213 Having praised him, the king asked the next How he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep? And he replied, 'You have asked me a question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours of sleep, but are held fast **in these** 214 by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason. For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness *during sleep*. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or travelling to other regions or anything else of the kind. **And yet we actually do imagine such** 215 **things** to be taking place. So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do 216 despite to righteousness. For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with which it occupies itself when awake. And **he who** has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself *in righteousness* both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore you must be stedfast in the constant discipline of self.'

217 The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another—'Since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.' And then he put the question, 218 How can I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself? And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are 219 consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you. For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the rôle, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.'

220 When the king had applauded loud and long in the most gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.

221 On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over 222 for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government? And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind. 223 It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things. What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.'

224 Pleased with these words, the king asked the next How he could be free from envy? And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God.'

225 The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another How he could despise his enemies? And he replied, 'If you show kindness to all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of **good gifts** to receive from God.'

reading of the MSS. we must translate, 'Everything is at your command, and it is as nothing.' Mendelssohn conjectures *ὡς οὐδενί* 'you, as no one else, possess everything you need.'

214. **And yet we actually**, following the conjecture of Schmidt, *καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ὑπολαμβάνομεν καθεστάναι.* Thackeray connects with the previous sentence and reads *ἃ κατὰ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνομεν. . . .* 'Other such things which we then suppose to be taking place.' Mendelssohn would substitute *σφάλλεται* for *καθεστάναι*, reading *καὶ ὁ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων σφάλλεται*, 'He who makes this supposition is under a delusion.'

216. **he who has all his thoughts.** Reading with Wendland *ὃς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμόν* for the MSS. *ὡς δέ*. Thackeray suggests *θεὸς δέ* (on the ground that the divine name is always used in the concluding sentence of each response), and further *ἐγρηγορότος* for *ἐγρηγορώς*. The translation then runs 'but God directs every thought and action which aims at the highest both in waking hours and in sleep.'

219. **worse than the actors**, lit. 'the least of the actors.'

220. **the guests were urged**, 'they urged the guests to sleep.' The text appears to have suffered dislocation.

when the conversation ceased, *καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἔληξεν*, lit. 'when the turn of these men was ended' (Thackeray), but probably the text is corrupt.

222. **natural bent.** For a further account of this inherent bias in human nature see § 108 and especially 277.

223. **and great renown**, following the emendation of Wendland *καὶ* (for *κατὰ*) *τὸ τῆς δόξης μέγεθος*. If we follow the MSS., the meaning is 'in proportion to the greatness of their renown.'

moderation in all things. See note on § 122, and compare § 156.

224. **by his own power**, following the reading of Wendland, *παρ' ἑαυτόν* for *ἑαυτοῦ*, 'king of himself.'

225. **best of good gifts.** The text is corrupt. For the MSS. *καὶ καλὸν δῶρον εἰληφέναι παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κράτιστο-*—

226 Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, How he could maintain his great renown? and he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.'

227 The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality? And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'

228 Having expressed his agreement with the answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, To whom ought we to exhibit gratitude?· And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul". You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.'

229 The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value? And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.'

230 The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another How, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree? And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill,
231 and this is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security. But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.'

232 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from grief? And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed the pathway of
233 righteousness, for its fruits bring freedom from grief. But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever come upon you.'

234 The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, What is the highest form of glory? And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present.'

235 With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting-point. After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests.

236 On the following day the same arrangements were made for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom capable of being taught?' And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.'

237 The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health? And he said, 'Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'

238 The king spoke kindly to the man and said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?' And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.'

239 The king expressed agreement and asked the next How he could become an eager listener? And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in

Thackeray suggests *καὶ καλῶν δώρων* (as above). Wendland conjectures *καὶ καλὴν δόξαν εἰληφέναι δῶρον*—'To win a fair reputation is the highest gift of God.'

227. **To whom ought a man**, reading with Wendland *πρὸς τίνα* for the MSS. *πῶς τινα*.

228. **most important commandment.** Exod. xx. 12.

a friend . . . as thine own soul, *ἴσον τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν φίλον*, quoted from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 *φίλος ἴσος τῆς ψυχῆς σου* (A *τῇ ψυχῇ*). For the use of the LXX see §§ 56–7, 87, 96–9.

236. **The soul is so constituted**, &c., or 'The soul is through God's power so adapted as to accept all that is good and to reject what is contrary thereto' (Thackeray). For the conception that Divine assistance is needed for the attainment of virtue see §§ 226, 238, 248.

a time of emergency to select some of the things which you have learned and apply them to the crisis which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.'

240 The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law? And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'

241 The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?' And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own—then the strength of kinship is
242 apparent at once, for it is only when such feeling is shown that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. For help, when it is linked with kindliness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.'

243 And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another How he could attain freedom from fear? And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'

244 The king expressed his approval and asked another How he could always maintain a right judgement? And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity *from some* and brings others to great honour and glory.'

245 The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question How he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure? And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be occupied with other things, but he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.'

246 Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth How he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him? And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of
247 propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment. But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.' When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast.

248 And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect? And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that **our children** may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.'

249 The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another How he could be patriotic? 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic.'

250 After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order How he could live amicably with his wife? And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them
251 and not to provoke strife. For the successful conduct of life the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.'

252 The king expressed his agreement and asked the next How he could be free from error? And

239. **apply them to the crisis.** The text is uncertain. The MSS. read *ἀνθυποτιθῆς πρὸς τὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἂν ἀντιπράσσηται*, which is obviously corrupt. Thackeray renders 'that . . . bringing it to bear upon an emergency thou mayest counteract the events of critical times'.

242. **help, when it is linked,** *τὸ γὰρ συνεργὲς εὐνόως γινόμενον*. Some editors prefer *τὸ γὰρ συγγενές*, 'kinship.'

246. **natural,** lit. 'free', *ἐλευθέριον*.

If he observed whether. It is doubtful whether the sentence refers to the conduct of the king or the courtiers. If we read *μηδὲν ὑπερτείνοντας τοῦ δέοντος*, we must adopt the latter alternative. If we read *ὑπερτείνειν*, the former is just possible and we may translate, 'If he maintained a free bearing and constantly observed the proper rule of precedence at receptions, councils, and in his general intercourse with those about him and took care to avoid exceeding the bounds of propriety in his congratulations,' &c. The other reading and rendering, however, provides the best answer to the question.

248. **Our desire,** *τὸ δὲ ἐπιδεῖσθαι παιδία* for the MSS. *παιδείαν*. Wendland also suggests that we should read *ἐπιδέσθαι*, 'But to live to see our children endowed with self-control is a gift,' &c.

he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'

253 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from wrath? And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord,
254 deprived many of life. What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him? It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you,' said he, 'O King, must of necessity copy His example.'

255 The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel? 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing *what is advantageous* to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours will find fulfilment because you practise piety.'

256 The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another What is philosophy? And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practising moderation. But we must pray to God to instil into our mind a regard for these things.'

257 The king signified his consent and asked another How he could meet with recognition when travelling abroad? 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was travelling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.'

258 Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another How he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him? And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his
259 needs without wages. For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and all other gifts, he himself should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually.'

260 The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, What is the fruit of wisdom? And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil
261 and that he should live his life in the truth. Since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and stedfastness of soul and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.' And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths.

262 And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and
263 he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?' And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble.'

264 The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, Whom ought a man to select as his counsellors? and he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.'

265 The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king? 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with *your* wish.'

266 The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To

255. **comparing what is advantageous.** The meaning is not clear. I follow Wendland in supplying the clause in italics. Thackeray translates, 'And while forming our decisions not neglecting to weigh [lit. comparing] the injurious effects of following the opposite view.'

257. **It is a recognized principle,** κοινῶς. Thackeray takes the word with the latter clause only: 'the human race *commonly* loves,' &c.

convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered array *of arguments*. For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'

267 The king said that he had given a good answer, and asked another How he could live amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom? 'By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.'

268 The king was delighted by this reply, and asked another 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?' 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve *over them* because they think only of themselves and their own advantage. It is by the power of God alone that we can escape all evil.'

269 The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, How is reputation lost? And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'

270 The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, To whom ought men to entrust themselves? 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill-will and time-serving. For the man who is always watching for his own gain is a traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'

271 The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, What is it that keeps a kingdom safe? And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement'.

272 The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, What is it that maintains gratitude and honour? And he replied, 'Virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.'

273 The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), How he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul? And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those
274 dependent on them. For you never fail to make reparation to any—such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.' The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests.

275 On the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors). When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned How he could avoid
276 being deceived *by fallacious reasoning*? and he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'

277 The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous? 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to
278 pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice. The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.'

279 The king said that he had answered well, and asked, What ought kings to obey? And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you

266. **by showing him his mistakes**, &c., or 'pointing out his errors by means of the chain of arguments which he has formulated' (Thackeray).

273. **in return for the benefits,** or 'for the glory of rendering thee service' (Thackeray).
for those dependent on them, *τῶν βίων*, or 'for their welfare' (Thackeray).

277. **by nature intemperate.** Aristeas has no developed doctrine of original sin but he lays stress on the natural bias or *yezer* in human nature, cp. § 108, 222 f. His clear enunciation of this view is remarkable, because there is little reference to the *yezer* in Alexandrian literature. Tennant says that he is unable to find 'any certain proof that the *yezer* doctrine was adopted by the Alexandrian' (*The Fall and Original Sin*, p. 138). It is of course common in Sirach and Palestinian literature.

by such conduct in obedience to the Divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.'

280 The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, Whom ought we to appoint as governors? And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'

281 The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said, 'Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?' And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by **risking** their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you in imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.'

282 The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, What man is worthy of admiration? And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.'

283 The king expressed his approval and said to another 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?' And he replied, 'To reading and the *study of* the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the *various* kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'

284 The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another How ought a man to occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation? And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted
285 with dignity and decency is **profitable and appropriate.** For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements, for often some desirable lesson is taught by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by practising the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.'

286 The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, How ought a man to conduct himself at banquets? And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you **useful hints** with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more
287 educative than this) since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes—as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.'

288 Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king **over** them or a member of the royal family? And he
289 replied, '**He** who is best by nature. For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of
290 poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants. But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has endowed you with these qualities.'

291 The king spent some time in praising this man and then asked the last of all, What is the

280. **crown of righteousness**, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8. The phrase is also found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (T.Levi viii. 1) where it is used of the crown of the High Priest.

281. **risking.** MSS. read *περιβάλλοντας*, which Schmidt has emended into *παραβάλλοντας*.

282. **possesses a soul equal to it all**, or 'yet inwardly regards himself as on an equality with all men' (Thackeray).

who makes you care, *διδόντος εἰς ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.* This is the reading of the MSS., but Wendland prefers to emend *ἐπιμέλειαν* into *ἐπιτέλειαν.* 'Who grants you the capacity for attaining these things.'

283. **the records of official journeys.** Illustrations of these travel-diaries or *acta diurna* are to be found in the Papyri as Wendland points out. See Wilcken, article on *ὑπομνηματισμοί* in *Philologus*, liii. 80 ff.

written in reference to the kingdoms. Mendelssohn reads *τοὺς βασιλεῖς* for *τὰς βασιλείας*, 'written for kings.'

284. **is profitable and appropriate**, following the suggestion of Mendelssohn to read *βίῳ σύμφορον καὶ καθῆκον* for the MSS. *βιοῖ (βιοῖς) σωφρονῶν καὶ κατέχων*, which cannot be translated without infringing the canons of Greek syntax.

286. **give you useful hints**, reading with Wendland *χρήσιμα* for *χρήματα.*

more suitable or . . . educative, *ἐμμελέστερον ἢ μουσικώτερον.* Thackeray renders 'No more harmonious or sweeter music could'st thou find'.

288. **king over them**, reading *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (Wendland) for *ὑπ' αὐτῶν* 'appointed by them'.

He who is best, reading *τὸν ἄριστον* (with Schmidt) for *τὸ ἄριστον.*

291. **some time.** Wendland attaches this phrase to the previous clause.

greatest achievement in ruling an empire? And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute.
292 These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.'
293 And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered. Then in conclusion he said, 'I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence.
294 I have profited much by the wise teaching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.' Then he ordered that three talents of silver should be presented to each of them, and *appointed* one of his slaves to deliver over the money. All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity.
295 I have written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates. I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which
296 really needed a long time to devise. For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions *ready at once* and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration. And I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will
297 read my narrative in the future. But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives. And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error. I was so impressed by the force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make
298 a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets. For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings and doings—a most excellent and useful arrangement.
299 For on the following day *the minutes of the* doings and sayings of the previous day are read over before business commences, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right.
300 I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information.
301 Three days later Demetrius took the men and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts *of Pharos*. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the sea-shore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose
302 was placed at their disposal. So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius.
303 And the session lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical
304 needs. Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale. In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself—for thus he had been commanded by the king. In the early morning they appeared daily at the Court, and
305 after saluting the king went back to their own place. And as is the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and
306 translating the particular passage *upon which they were engaged*, and I put the question to them, Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed? And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

295. **I have written at length**, εἶπα πλείονα. Mendelssohn suggests εἰ πεπλεόνακα ('if I have been too prolix') and this emendation is accepted by Wendland and Thackeray.

297. **I was so impressed**, or 'after hearing with approval at their own mouth their powers of speech' (Thackeray). For the allusion to the recorders see Wilcken's article mentioned in § 283.

298. **from the moment.** The MSS. read ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας for which Mendelssohn reads ὥρας. Probably, as Thackeray suggests, the original text ran ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρξηται with an ellipse of ὥρας (cp. Luke vii. 45) and ἡμέρας is an interpolation.

300. **from the public records**, or 'from the keepers of the public records' (Thackeray).

301. **the sea-wall.** The Heptastadion or breakwater which connected Alexandria with the island of Pharos and divided the bay into two main harbours. See the description in Strabo, xvii. 6. 792, and Botti's map of Alexandria in Mahaffy's *Ptolemaic Dynasty*.

302. **making them agree.** Contrast the later traditions which represent the agreement as supernatural. See Introduction ix on Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, Irenaeus, Clement of Alex. and Epiphanius.

304. **Dorotheus** is represented in § 182 as the special officer appointed to look after the needs of Jewish guests.

305. **they washed their hands.** For the Jewish customs of purification see Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 109; the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 591, and the references in the New Test.: Matt. xv. 2, xxiii. 25, 26; Mark vii. 2–5; Luke xi. 38, 39.

306. **every form of activity.** Thackeray compares the statement of Aristobulus (ap. Eusebius, *PE*, viii. 10. 377 a)

307 As I have already said, they met together daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task. And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose.

308 When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had
309 conferred upon them. They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders.

310 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no
311 alteration should be made in it. And when the whole company expressed their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any one who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.

312 When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out. The whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful
313 achievement?' And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention *of dealing with it* have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from
314 their purpose.' He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law. When he had recovered
315 a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him. And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health. I have heard, too, from the lips
316 of Theodektes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes. And when

ὥστε αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ δυνάμεως νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι. Cp. also the reference to the *Tephilla*, § 159.

310. **the Jewish community**, *τῶν ἀπὸ του πολιτεύματος.* Though the Jews enjoyed the rights of citizenship at Alexandria, they nevertheless formed an independent and separate community within the city. This community, as Strabo (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 7. 2) tells us, was presided over by an *ἐθνάρχης*, 'who governs the people and administers justice among them and sees that they fulfil their obligations and obey orders just like the archon of an independent city.' The use of the term *πολίτευμα* for the Jewish community is confirmed by the Berenice inscription quoted by Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 246. It is rather striking that there should be no allusion to the ethnarch in the present passage, and that the term *πρεσβύτεροι* should be used in connexion both with the translators and the community. It almost looks as if the word 'ethnarch' had accidentally dropped out.

311. **They bade them**, so Eusebius. The MSS. of Aristeas read 'He (i. e. Demetrius) gave orders'.

in accordance with their custom, cf. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32 ; Rev. xxii. 18 f. Possibly this statement may point to the fact that at the time when the Epistle was written, the text of the LXX had begun to be tampered with. We know that corruptions had crept into the text as early as the time of Philo, and Justin Martyr charges the Jewish authorities with the deliberate excision of many passages ; see Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 478–9.

314. **Theopompus**, a Greek historian and rhetorician, born *c.* 380 B.C. at Chios. He became the pupil of Isocrates, who advised him to devote himself to writing history. He lived under the protection of Alexander, and after his death was expelled from Chios : he went to Egypt about 305 B.C., but was coldly received by Ptolemy I. Among the writings ascribed to him are *The Hellenica*, *The Epitome of Herodotus*, *The History of Philip*, and several panegyrics and hortatory addresses, the chief of which is *The Letter to Alexander*. The papyrus fragment of a Greek historian discovered by Grenfell and Hunt is regarded by some authorities as an extract from the *Hellenica* (*Oxyrhynchus Pap.* V, 1908). He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (*πολυπράγμων*), which gives point to the *περιεργασάμενος* of § 315. Theopompus' writings seem to have been characterized by a pretentious and turgid rhetoric, and a fondness for sensational stories. The fragments which remain of his works are collected in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i, and in *The Fragments of Theopompus and Cratippus* (Oxford, 1909).

earlier and . . . unreliable translations, *τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκ τοῦ νόμου προσιστορεῖν.* I follow Wendland in taking *ἐπισφαλέστερον* with *προηρμηνευμένων*. Thackeray, however, takes it with *προσιστορεῖν* and translates, 'when he was too rashly intending to introduce into his history some of the incidents from the law which had previously been translated.' For the reference to Greek translations earlier than the LXX, see note on § 30.

316. **Theodektes** (*c.* 380–340 B.C.), Greek rhetorician and tragic poet, pupil of Isocrates and Plato and friend of Aristotle, lived the greater part of his life at Athens. He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in the contest for the oratorical prize arranged by Artemisia, though he won the prize for tragedy. He is said to have been victorious eight times out of thirteen dramatic contests. The fragments of his works are collected in Nauck (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1887). See monograph by C. F. Märker (Breslau, 1835), and article in Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.*

in the book. As Thackeray says, 'This seems to be the earliest use of *ἡ βίβλος* for a collection of sacred writings.'

he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.

317 And after the king, as I have already said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should
318 be sacredly guarded. And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home. But when they came back, he
319 would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him. He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently. He presented each one of them with three robes of the finest sort, two talents of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches.

320 And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God.
321 He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them. For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities.

322 And now Philocrates, you have the complete story in accordance with my promise. I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists. For you are devoted to the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

We have elsewhere *βίβλος* or *βιβλίον διαθήκης* (Ecclus. xxiv. 23; 1 Macc. i. 57), *τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου* (1 Macc. i. 56) *τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια* (1 Macc. xii. 9). It is possible, however, that the reference to the *τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον* in 2 Macc. viii. 23 may be earlier. Cp. also the allusion to the line as Scripture, *διὰ τῆς γραφῆς* in § 168.

318. **they would receive rich presents**, *καὶ πολυδωρίας τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι.* For *πολυδωρίας* (MSS. and Joseph.) Mahaffy (*Class. Rev.* viii. 349) suggests *πολυωρίας*, which is adopted by Wendland and Thackeray, 'They would meet with the utmost consideration at his hands.'

319, 320. **a sideboard.** The MSS. read *κυλίκιον* (in both paragraphs), which generally means goblet or beaker. Wendland suggests *κυλικεῖον*—side-board. 'The form *κυλίκιον*, however, occurs in 1 Macc. xv. 32, where a piece of furniture for supporting vessels is clearly intended, and that is probably the meaning here' (Thackeray).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. A Short Account of the Book.

The Book, or rather Books, which bear the name of Adam belong to a cycle of legendary matter, of which the Jews were fond, and which the Christians took, and developed, from them. It is hard to tell how much belongs to the original Jewish kernel.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 179–81, 'Book of Adam'), in reconstructing this, combines most of the matter to be found in the Greek and Latin versions of the story, even including those parts of the Latin which the editor of the Slavonic saw fit to omit.

The Book opens with the period immediately following the expulsion from paradise, which is treated as a garden of fruit-trees; not in Heaven, but separated only by a low wall from the earth (cf. Apoc. Mos. xvii. 1). If we endeavour to reconstruct the Greek 'Apocalypsis Mosis' by the aid of the Slavonic Life of Adam, we shall be compelled to pass over the opening sections of the Latin 'Vita' and begin with the dream of Eve, which follows immediately on their departure to the west, where they sojourn eighteen years and two months, and where Cain and Abel are born. This dream foreshadows Abel's murder which is then related.[1] The parents are overcome with grief, but comforted by the appearance of Michael, who promises them another son. After this Seth is born.

The story then hastens at once to the death-bed scene where Adam is lying ill, surrounded by his sixty-three children, whom he intends to bless before he dies. Seth is distressed and surprised at his condition, for pain and sickness is to him a thing unknown. Adam tells the story of his fall and God's curse upon him. Adam's cries of woe rouse Seth to action, and at his father's request he undertakes to go with Eve to the gate of paradise, there to pray God to give him oil from the Tree of Life to anoint Adam. On their way they are attacked by a beast (which the Vita wrongly calls a serpent and identifies with the devil); this is merely a sign of the beast's revolt, which followed the Fall (Apoc. Mos. xi). Eve is powerless before it, Seth is bitten, Vit. xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 2 = Apoc. Mos. xii. 1–2 (A) x. 3, but succeeds in escaping by frightening it with God's judgement. Their prayers for mercy are answered by a promise of a pure heart in the future, Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3–5. The Vita turns this into a prophecy of Christ (xlii. 2).

They are told to go back, as Adam will die 'in six days'. On their return Adam abuses Eve, who has brought a curse on all mankind, and asks her to tell their children how she was deceived (the Vita evades this by adding 'after my death'), which she proceeds to do; cf. Apoc. Mos. x, xiv, with Vita xliv. Her fall is told in such a way as to suggest a double element in the source of the narrative. The devil sometimes appears as the inspirer, sometimes rather as the *alias* of the serpent, Apoc. Mos. xvii. The story is brought down to the time of their expulsion from paradise, when they were comforted by a gift of perfumes, seeds for their food, and a promise of future resurrection, Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 4, xxix.

Thereupon Eve witnesses marvellous scenes accompanying Adam's reconciliation, but falls asleep when God comes down to paradise before the burial of Adam.

In answer to the prayer of the angels Adam is pardoned, and his soul given to Michael to be cleansed in the Acherusian stream, Apoc. Mos. xxxvii–xxxix, and kept in paradise till the end of the times, when a resurrection is promised. His body is then buried by the archangels in the neighbourhood of the earthly paradise, Apoc. Mos. xl–xliii = Vita xlviii.

The book ends with a typical Jewish admonition given by Michael, Israel's guardian angel, to Seth not to mourn on the Sabbath day, Vita li, Apoc. Mos. xviii; cf. Jubilees ii. 23, &c.

Chapters xxviii–xl of the Slavonic Vita are in reality a recension of the same subject-matter of the Latin Vita i–x. It deals with the penitence of Adam and Eve and the second temptation of Eve by Satan, and chapters xii–xvii of the Latin Vita explain the envy and fall of Satan.

The Vita also inserts before Eve's death an account of her directions to Seth concerning memorials of her life, which are mentioned by Josephus. Lastly, this version expands in non-

[1] According to the Slavonic, Adam dreams this dream before the birth of his children.

ascetic Jewish tone the story of Cain's birth. Ginzberg (contrary to Israel Levi) seems to have established the Jewish nature of all these pieces. I have given elsewhere my reasons for believing they never formed one book with the rest of the Apoc. Mos.

Two more pieces remain. These are Vit. xxv–xxx—Adam's vision of the future, seen after he 'had eaten of the tree of knowledge', and ending in a specifically Christian prophecy. The other in the Slav. Vit. xxxiii is strongly dualistic in tone, and is taken by Jagić to be a mediaeval interpolation by a writer of the Bogomilian heresy.

For other versions of the story, see 'Ancient Versions,' § 4.

§ 2. Title of the Books.

The title 'Apocalypsis Mosis' (Tischendorf, 1866, Ceriani) is an erroneous one; it perhaps arose through a confusion with the book of 'Jubilees', which was a revelation to Moses through the Angel of the Presence (Jub. i. 29, ii. 1). Cf. heading to Apoc. Mos. (A B C D Arm. slight variations only). See Fuchs in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 507.

Still less can 'Apocalypsis Seth' (Hort) be original. The 'Sethite' character of these books, which is much exaggerated in the case of the Armenian by Preuschen, is reduced to a minimum in the case of the oldest text (cf. Kabisch Liechtenhan in *ZNTW.*, Giessen, 1903, 1906).

It is not the same as the 'Apocalypsis' = 'Testament of Adam' (M. R. James, Renan) in Syriac, Coptic, and Greek Fragment.

Latin and Russian versions simply 'Vita Adae et Evae', to be carefully distinguished from 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' (in Ethiopic), Dillmann and Trumpp's *Adambuch des Morgenlandes.*

According to Ginzberg (*Jew. Encyc.* i. 179), the statement of Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, as to the mention of a Hebrew 'Book of Adam' in the Talmud, from Aboda Zarah 5 a, Gen. R. xxiv. 2, is incorrect, though such a book must have existed whatever its name. Moreover, Zunz mentions also Baba Mezia 86 a—Wajjikra rabb. 181 b, Midrash Koheleth 84 a in support of a book of Adam at the beginning of the third century. Fuchs supposes that the original was the work of a Hellenistic Jew in language influenced by the LXX, Ginzberg would say in Aramaic.

The book in its mediaeval form, and connected with a 'Lignum Crucis' (Holy Rood) legend, had an extensive circulation in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, not only in England, Germany, and Russia, but in Bulgaria, Italy, and Servia, &c., being translated into many languages. The original of these translations is nearly always the Latin, not the Greek form of the story. The exception is the Slavonic version extant in two recensions, which are probably composed out of two or more independent tales. See § 6.

§ 3. The MSS.

1° *Apoc. Mosis.* Six MSS. are at present known of the Apoc. Mosis.

A	Venice.	Thirteenth century.	Tischendorf.
B	Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	Tischendorf.
C	Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	Tischendorf.
D	Milan.	Eleventh century.	Ceriani.
E^1	Paris.	Fifteenth century.	Fuchs.
E^2	Montpellier.		Fuchs.

The names are those of Ceriani, Tischendorf, and Fuchs. I owe my knowledge of the different readings of E^1 and E^2 to the great kindness of Dr. Fuchs, who placed all his notes at my disposal. The knowledge of the other MSS. is derived from Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocryphae*, 1866, and Ceriani, *Monumenta*, v. 1.

It will be observed that all these MSS. are more or less fragmentary with the exception of C. This, however, is often obscure. A, though nearly complete till xxxvi, is rightly regarded by Fuchs as very untrustworthy, and is much spoilt by glosses, Apoc. Mos. xvi. 2, xiv. 2, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 3, xxxii. 4, even while it preserves some good readings, especially xxii. 2 ('judgement'), and retains Apocalypse in xiii, which I believe to be original, and elsewhere lost through influence of Latin version.

D, where it is to be had (i–xvi, xxxvi–xliv) seems the safest to follow; but it appears, especially at the end, to aim too much at clearness and classical Greek, and I have often found myself suspecting that the less easy and more clumsy sentences of C had a closer affinity with the original text; even though conscious that in so doing I have been compelled to depart from the precedent set by Dr. Fuchs, whose work marks an epoch in the study of this literature, and to whom I owe much.

Besides D, like B, though to a less extent, is not above filling up the gaps from the Scriptures (cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, &c.), and altering phrase or word to correspond with a biblical text (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1–2, &c.).

E, like B, is often redundant and diffuse. Its chief interest lies in its very near relationship to the Armenian Version, with which it often agrees against all the others; if not the source of that translation, it is very closely related to it.

In the following translation, I have taken D and C as the chief guides, but, where they are unsatisfactory, have often thought it wiser to follow one of the others. Cf. xxvi. 4 (AB), xxix. 5 (E). I agree with Fuchs that the construction of the true text is 'schwierig' and largely guesswork, but have adopted no reading without comparing all MSS.

2° *Vita Adae et Evae.* Numerous MSS. and versions exist of the Latin Vita, which Meyer has divided into four classes.

Cod. Arund., 326. 10, which I have seen at the British Museum, seems to belong to Class II and contains the additional paragraph describing Solomon's finding of the tables.

To Class III, which contains 'legend of the holy rood' in an expanded form, belong most of the mediaeval versions, e. g. Deutsches Adam-Buch, 'Herlwin', and others.

Meyer's text from which I have translated is based principally on Class I, and omits all the additions in the other classes. Where I have departed from it, I have noted the fact.

Class IV. The text of the Paris MSS. of the eighth or ninth century, often abbreviated and corrupt, is interesting if it is, as Meyer believes, an autograph of the tutor of Charles Martel and shows the early interest taken in the book. It is occasionally used and forms one of the authorities for the text of the long interpolation in Vit. xxix.

§ 4. The Ancient Versions of the Adam Books.

1° *Armenian.* Besides those of the Latin Vita we have two others of the Apoc. Mosis. First, the Armenian (translated by Conybeare in *JQR.*, 1895, vol. vii; Preuschen, *Armen.-Gnostische Adam-Schriften*, 1904) is based on three MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin. This has been published by Mechitarist Fathers at Venice, and contains an edited and expanded version of the tale. Most of the additions and verbal alterations, especially those not already found in E, are in a Gnostic direction, and their presence as well as that of other similar Gnostic works on Seth, &c., has led Preuschen to suggest a Gnostic origin for the whole Adam literature, which is an untenable hypothesis. The present Arm. text is from a Gk. MS. akin to E.

The names of herbs in xxix. 6 are transliterations of the Greek. Sea 'not made with hands' (*ἀχειροποίητον*) is a scribal emendation of (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) *Ἀχερουσίαν*; cf. 'Hojil' for 'Jael' in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 7.

2° *Slavonic.* The Slavonic has been edited with Latin and German translations by Jagić from nine MSS. It presents longer and shorter (South Slav.) recensions of the same book. (*Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. Wissensch.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., xlii, Vienna, 1893). Jagić is convinced that these are from the same original. The present version is closely parallel to the Greek from which, like the Armenian (Kabisch), it is evidently translated; but at xxxvii, Eve goes on to tell a tale of penance in the water on the lines of that described in Vita i–xii, though with many significant variations, e.g. '44' for '37' (Slav. Vit. xxxv. 3). The devil's story of his own Fall, Vit. xii–xviii, is left out, but another incident of the devil claiming rule over man (Slav. Vit. xxxiii–xxxiv), strongly dualistic and perhaps connected with Bogomilian heresy, takes its place. The end of the book is very abbreviated and several passages are rudely Christianized by a phrase, e. g. xlvi. 1 ('Christ'), xlvii. 3 ('Sign of the Cross'), l. 1.

The misunderstanding of the old Hebrew name of Jah-El had led to the creation of a new and imaginary angel named 'Joel' (see notes). While the beast who attacks the penitents is described not as a serpent but a 'cotur', which Vollmer (*Deutsches Adam-Buch*, 1908) would translate as *felis* = 'a cat.'

The old Jewish ending in praise of the Sabbath (Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li) is obscured.

3° *Christian and Gnostic.* Besides these Christian editions of the Jewish original, numerous other versions of the Adam tales exist, to which a Christian or Gnostic author can definitely be assigned.

Such are the Gnostic 'Testament' or 'Apocalypse of Adam'—the two names belong to two recensions—in Syriac and Arabic, rightly mentioned by Renan as the piece referred to in Gelasius' decree, 'Liber qui appellatur Penitentia Adae Apocryphus.' Renan thinks its liturgy of 'the hours' became through Coptic and then Apost. Constitutions, viii–xxiv, a chief source for determining the 'Canonical Hours'.

It is probable that this book (which is mainly concerned with an elaborate breviary and angelology) has borrowed from the Apoc. Mos. xxxvi–xl its account of the gloom of sun and moon after Adam's death and the funeral carried out by the 'virtues' (cf. Vita Ad. xxi). It has been used in turn by the Ethiopic Adam Book, which follows it in bringing the story down to the prophecy of Christ, of whom Seth, not Adam, is regarded as the prototype (cf. Gloss in Slav. Vita, xlvi). This latter has taken largely from a Syriac work, *The Cave of Treasure*, translated by Bezold into German, *Die Schatzhöhle*. Hort supposed this might be derived from the Ethiopic, but this is very unlikely. Both these works are strongly Christian and plainly ascetic. In both, 'sons of God' (Gen. vi. 1) = 'sons of Seth'. Holiness consists in celibacy.

All these later works differ from our books in making Adam's life and death but a starting-point for further chronicles, prophecies, and expectations of later ages. In the last two, the point of Adam's death lies in the history of the fortunes of his corpse in its progress to Mount Calvary. This is embalmed and placed in a cave with the treasures the Magi are to bring to the second Adam (this is the new version of the fragrant herbs for which Adam made request in the Apoc. Mosis xxix).

The *Conflict*[1] is the latest and most elaborate, but this work and the *Schatzhöhle* are entirely Christian, and wholly unlike our works, though they employ very little new material.

§ 5. Date of Original Text.

Terminus ad quem. Frequently the principal means of ascertaining the date of ancient books is the nature of the ideas which appear in their pages. In the case of the Books of Adam as in the 'Odes' of Solomon historical allusions are conspicuously absent. The chief, if not the only criterion of date, is the relation of religious notions to those of other works. Still we are in a position at once to place the composition both of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita Adae before the appearance of the Ethiopic Adambuch (dated to seventh century by Dillmann and Malan; fifth century by Charles, 2 En., Intro. § 5, p. xviii) which borrows largely from both; and also before the Armenian version which dates, perhaps, from a period before 360 (Preuschen). The mention of the Acherusian lake (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) is perhaps the original of the Apoc. Pauli xxii which was 'revealed' in A.D. 380 (Tisch.). Charles (*Encycl. Brit.*, ii. 175) dates it A.D. 388 from internal evidence.

Meyer thinks the Vita Adae xlii (= Ev. Nicodemi xix of A. D. 405–50) was a later interpolation into the text of Vita which existed before. Bousset thinks that the interpolation in Vita xxix, 'maior quam prius,' is part of a Jewish Apocalypse to which a Christian has added a long piece (like a gloss). If so, he thinks it refers to Herod's temple, which was built in the author's lifetime. For another view of this, see my note *in loc.*

Only general considerations remain to fix the date more exactly, but they are the most important. We have ample evidence to prove (1) that the contents are Jewish; (2) that the tone and temper is earlier than the Golden Age of the Rabbis, e.g. it has no polemic against the Christians; (3) that the Theology and Eschatology are that of the later Judaism and akin to that of the 2 Enoch.

There is little doubt that the author of the Apoc. Mos. is indebted to the latter book, or the school where it originated, for some of his most characteristic traits, e.g. its conception of the Tree of Life and of the sacred oil (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3), the sin of Eve, and the lake of purification, the 'seven Heavens', &c. His relation to the older books of Enoch is more remote and his angelology is more developed than even that in the 'Parables' (1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi). The Demonology outside the Vita xiii–xvii is of a pre-Christian type, and Kabisch may be right in claiming that 2 Cor. xi. 14 is quoted from our text or more likely from the source of our text. Of the angelology and the eschatology, especially the doctrine of the Heavens, the same is true. See §§ 7–9.

It is equally certain that the Book (apart from brief interpolations and possibly Vita xxv–xxix) is of purely Jewish origin. As Ginzberg, Kabisch, and Fuchs unanimously declare, there is absolutely nothing specifically Christian in the contents. Many of the cited Christian phrases, e.g. 'son of wrath' (Apoc. Mos. iii. 2), are Hebraisms and in accordance with Rabbinic usage. (Cf. Hort's list with Ginzberg's article, 'Book of Adam,' in *Jew. Encyc.*) The complete absence of references,

[1] In *Conflict*, Bk. i, the following appear to be derived from the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita:—vi, xvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxvii (Acherusian lake); xxviii = Apoc. Mos. vi. 2, xxix. 3; Vita xxxi. 1; v. xx = Apoc. Mos. xlii. 4; vi = Vita xiii, xviii, xv. 3; cf. Koran Sura ii. 30; xviii = Vita xxxvii–xl; ix, xxi = Vita iii. 1; xvii = Apoc. Mos. xvi; xxxii, xxxiii = Vita vi–x; xxxvii = Vita xxxvi. 2; Apoc. Mos. ix. 3; xxxviii. 2 = Vita xlii = Evangel Nicodemi xix. 1; xlv. 9 = Apoc. Mos. x. 1–2, xi. 2; Vita xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 2; xxxix = Vita iv. 2, v. 2.

The 'water of life' in *Conflict* is not referred to in Apoc. Mos. or in Vita (save interpolation in Vita xxix). It is Christian substitute for 'oil of life' (Apoc. Mos. ix, xiii, xxviii; Vita xxxvi, xl–xlii).

direct or indirect, to Christian notions of Incarnation, Redemption, even of Christian higher moral teaching, would make it impossible to assign to most of the work a Christian origin. The startling abruptness of Christian interpolations serves, as in the case of Test. Twelve Patriarchs *passim*, to clinch the argument from silence; which is the stronger, since the doctrine of a future judgement and future resurrection is clearly taught (Apoc. Mos. x, xii, xiii, xxviii, xxxvii, xli, xliii, Vita xxxix, xlvii, li); even though the Messiah plays no part and no judge other than God is mentioned. The Resurrection is rather connected in both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. with the weekly rest of the Sabbath. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii, Vita li with Jub. iii. 17. Nor can Preuschen's theory of a Gnostic (Sethite) origin for these pieces be accepted, even in the case of the Armenian version (though we have sought to show in the notes how this version has been subsequently modified in a Sethite direction on the lines of 'the Gospel of Seth' and other Adam legends preserved only in Armenian, which have so largely modified Preuschen's conclusion); see his Adam Books, ii–vii. See § 9.

Terminus a quo. Hort was ready to admit a date anywhere in the first three centuries for the Apoc. Mos. It seems certain that the whole material contained in our Adam Books belongs to a period not earlier than the first century A.D. or later than the fourth century; but the uniform absence of polemic against the Christians, the wide and tolerant view of the future of the Gentiles, the conception of Adam's or rather Eve's sin (so nearly akin to that in Paul and 4 Ezra), the old simple hopes of the future Resurrection, the glaring dissimilarity of the Christian interpolated passages (Vita xlii, xxix; Apoc. Mos. xliii–end, xxxvi–end, A only) render the earlier date far the more probable for the bulk of the work. The absence of any Messiah in the future prospects (see § 9) is yet another link with the 2 Enoch, and points not obscurely to an author of 'the Dispersion', perhaps in Alexandria. Since it is certain that both the Latin, the Slavonic, and the Armenian, are from a Greek original, though ultimately parts of the book may be based on Hebrew documents (see § 5ª), seeing that the text is strongly coloured by Hebrew words and phrases, a further proof is forthcoming that the author or authors were Jewish Hellenists. For the date of the several parts, or books, included in this material, and especially for the relation of the Greek Apoc. Mos. to the Latin Vita, see § 6.

§ 5ª. Date of Versions of the Adam Books.

Armenian. The MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin were written by Mechitarist fathers in 1539. Preuschen ascribes the earliest translation in Armenian to an Archontic heretic Eutaktus in 360, but this is bound up with his view of the Gnostic character of these works. Conybeare would admit a date in fifth century.

Slavonic. Jagić ascribes the earliest of these MSS. to a date not later than the fourteenth century, but the existence of a second Bulgarian recension probably derived from it renders this date none too early. Both are from the Greek, much modified by similar tales in the Russian 'Palaea', the Bohemian 'Life of Adam' (containing also parts of the Vita absent here), and other Polish and Slavonic Adam tales of the sixteenth century.

Syriac. 'The Cave of Treasure.' Bezold assigns the *Schatzhöhle* to sixth century. Undoubtedly written in Syriac, which language it declares to be 'the queen of tongues', the speech of paradise and of Heaven. Written not by S. Ephraem but by a Christian and one of his disciples. Hort thinks this and 'Conflict' are based on fourth century traditions.

Syriac and Arabic. 'The Apocalypse or Testament of Adam.' Probably not later than fourth century. Decret. Gelasii-Lücke, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, i. 232, referred to by Syncell. *Chron.* xviii, Cedren. I. In Syriac, Arabic and Greek fragment. Renan decides it is early Gnostic. Hort says not Gnostic but 'lies outside Greek and Latin Christianity'.

Ethiopic. 'Conflict of Adam and Eve.' From Ethiopic (Kraft's) MSS. Since the author of the 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' criticises Syrians, Greeks and Hebrews, he was none of these (Hort). Dillmann assigns it to the seventh, Charles to the sixth century. The original was Arabic.

Gospel of Eve. A Gnostic work describing Eve's seduction by Satan and the birth of Cain and Abel, sons of Satan (the Serpent). Epiphanius, *adv. Haereses*, xxvi. Date uncertain. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 95. (1712.)

Armenian Adam Books bound up in MSS. with Armen. Version of the Vita Adae, treated as one, by Preuschen, include 'Gospel of Seth', 'Words of Adam to Seth', 'Tale of the Sons of Adam', 'Tale of the penance of Adam and Eve', 'Death of Adam', 'Tale of the Creation of Adam and Eve', 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve.' Compare Story of Satan's trick in 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve' with Slav. Vita Ad. xxxi, xxxii.

All these are Christian, or Gnostic anti-Jewish pieces (in 'Death of Adam', Jerusalem is called 'place of the fallen angels'), and are far more akin to the 'Conflict', especially in attitude to celibacy, than to the Armenian Version of Apoc. Mos. Probably this latter was modified to agree with them.

Seth is here always the hero. Satan's fall is narrated, and history brought down to Christ as in other Christian books. The Trinity is definitely and crudely taught. Preuschen's derivation from Archontic heretics through Eutaktus A.D. 360 may be right. (Cf. Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* xl–xlvi.) They show a complete knowledge of the contents of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita (except i–xii).

§ 6. Composite nature of the Text.

The Problems. It is plain at first glance, that the three versions with which we are here concerned, though exhibiting a great deal of unity, are also in some respects strikingly divergent. In § 1 we found that to the main narrative in Apoc. Mos. a number of separate pieces are attached both in the Slav. and Latin versions [1] of the legend. Before discussing the nature and origin of these, we must pause to justify the position. 1°. That the Apoc. Mos. and not the Vita is the main narrative. 2°. That this story possesses a unity of its own which is disturbed by the addition of the separate legends referred to.

Both positions have been and will be challenged; and it must be admitted that neither can be proved to demonstration. The defence of the first is based on Dr. Fuchs' masterly essay in his introduction to these books. He seeks to show that (*a*) the material of the Apoc. Mos. was certainly before the editor of the Vita. It may further be urged (*b*) that the Vita was unknown or at least unemployed by the author of the Apoc. Mos.

(*a*) It is hard to see how any careful reader of the books can deny this first proposition. From xxix–li the Vita is little more than a condensed abstract of the picturesque and extravagant descriptions of the Apoc. Mos. To suppose that these represent a working up of the earlier simple language of the Vita seems to be a direct misunderstanding of the methods and style of Jewish Apocalyptic, as they appear in all the mass of literature which still remains. Moreover, if these phantasies are a later production, despite the countless parallels in Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature, some few of which are adduced in our notes, how is it that they have received so faint a colouring from their presumably Christian authors? In § 9 it is intended to illustrate the purely Jewish nature of the theology which these sections exhibit even down to the fact that Jehovah still bears his ancient name; that marriage is still regarded as a holy thing, and not denounced as by the monks who wrote romances for Christians. Besides, the Vita, though it omits Eve's tale (Apoc. Mos. xv–xxx) in its proper place, has incorporated practically the whole of the material therein contained; thus the division of paradise into two parts for Adam and Eve (Vita xxxii. 2) is taken from Apoc. Mos. xv. 2; Vita xi–xvii seems almost like an expansion of Apoc. Mos. xvi. 3; Vita xliv contains preface to Eve's tale, only postponed by three additional words, 'after my death'; but the most striking fact of all is that the account of their attempt to get food in Vita v does not prevent Vita xliii from taking Eve's account in Apoc. Mos. xxix; leaving out the 'seeds for his food' and delaying the events till after their quest for the oil of life, making this a sort of substitute for that which they were 'not to receive now'.

Lastly, the interpolation from Ev. Nicodemi replaces an obviously Jewish, if not original, Apocalypse, in this same section of the Apoc. Mos. Since this interpolation is found in Vit. xiii (eighth century) earliest MS. of Vita, it is of some age, though not, perhaps, in the first text.

(*b*) On the other hand, the present text of the Apoc. Mos. shows no trace of the special matter peculiar to the two other versions, though this matter is of Jewish origin, as Ginzberg has shown that it is *well known in other Jewish works.* The long account of the devil's fall, not in the Slavonic, but closely akin to the legends on which both the Slav. Palaea Historica, the Koran, and the Mandean Book of Adam are based, presupposes a wholly different demonology to that in the Apoc. Mos. The nearest approach is in Apoc. Mos. xxxix. 3, but 'those who have hearkened to him' is most naturally taken of wicked men. The whole piece seems to be introduced through the second failure of Eve, which is omitted even in the Slavonic, and never hinted at in the Apoc. Mos. The elaborate Midrash on Cain's birth (Vita xvii–xxii) has no parallel in the Apoc. Mos., though it is thoroughly Jewish and quite innocent of any doctrinal application, to which the author might have objected. The explanation of the way Adam and Eve obtained food from God (whose object is obscured by the new ending put on the story to find room for Satan's narrative) is not only different from, but inconsistent with, the story that Adam obtained this help from God by the angel's prayers at the time of his expulsion, Apoc. Mos. xxix, a relic of which has, as we have seen, been retained by the Vita in a wrong connexion. The forty days' fast in Jordan is entirely ignored in Apoc. Mos.,

[1] Both these seem plainly translations from the Greek. For Slav. see §§ 4, 5. In the Latin Vita, apart from transliteration of Greek names of herbs (Vita xliii. 3) 'cinnamomum et calaminthen et nardum', there are many Graecisms, e.g. *plagas* = πληγάς (Vita xxxiv. 1); *plasma* = πλάσμα (Vita xlvi. 3, cf. xxvii. 2); *sindones byssinas* (xlviii. 4), σινδόνας βυσσίνας.

nor is fasting mentioned as a means by which Eve and Seth may induce God to grant them the Tree of Life. The fact that this tale is amplified in the Pirke Eliezer, where forty-nine days are assigned to it, does not even prove an early origin, for Israel Levi in *JQR*, 1895, has shown that this work is subsequent to the Mohammedan movement and mentions the Mosque of Omar. Early or not, the story is ignored by the author of the Apoc. Mos., and its inclusion in the Slav. version tends to show rather the acquaintance of the Slav. editor with several Adam books, *of which the original Greek form of the Vita may be one*, for it comes very awkwardly after God has granted to Adam 'the seeds for his food'; it contrasts alike with the heretical interpolation of xxxii–xxxiii, and the bald statement of the Vita xxii. 1 that God gave them 'seeds for their food' after Cain's birth (a new version of the Apoc. Mos. xxix). Lastly, its triumphant conclusion in the Slav. version compels the alteration of Adam's words to Eve at the close of her tale (Slav. Vita xl; Apoc. Mos. xxxi).

The final directions of Eve concerning the tables (though the story is as old as Josephus) are not represented in the Apoc. Mos., even though she tells her story to warn future generations (Apoc. Mos. xxx. 1).

Vita xxv–xxix, quite apart from the markedly Christian ending, which is probably a later gloss, is somewhat removed in tone, temper, and theology, from the rest of the Vita, and the whole of the Apoc. Mos. Adam and Seth are here glorified, despite a possible reference to Apoc. Mos. xxiv. 1. Paradise is treated not as the garden of Eden, but as a celestial realm, the abode of God (Vita xxv. 3, cf. 2 Enoch viii) into which Adam is translated long before 'the end of the times' (Apoc. Mos. xiii) in contradiction to the whole tenor of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mosis.[1]

Still more astonishing is the new attitude towards knowledge and the Tree of Knowledge, the eating of which has brought, not death, but supernatural wisdom (xxix. 2, xxvii. 3).[2]

Besides these facts, the new names for God, 'Light,' 'Life,' 'Almighty,' 'Power,' &c., the new date for the 'translation'[3] immediately after the expulsion, the abrupt entrance of the story into the narrative, no preface or attempt to soften the break, are comparatively insignificant, though sufficiently remarkable features. It seems possible that the author of this piece had both our works before him—e. g. xxv. 3 seems borrowed from the account of God's coming to paradise in Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3, cf. xxxiii. 2—but he used them merely as ornament to his own wholly original vision, of which the ending seems to be lost. I confess it seems strange to me that the separate nature of this piece has not been more remarked.[4] It appears as if the editor of the Latin Vita put this and other pieces together with little regard to order or probability. His object was, perhaps, merely the collection of all the oldest legends relating to our 'first father'.

The Apoc. Mos. is thus in our view the oldest document. This was then combined with other Jewish legends about Adam and Eve and translated into Latin. Possibly the translator incorporated xxv–xxix of the Vita, perhaps also xiii–xvii, from earlier Jewish sources. The addition of Christian touches, e. g. Jordan for Gihon (Vit. vi), &c., and interpolations, such as xlii, may have been made subsequently. Whether the Apoc. Mos. as it stands is a complete unity is a hard question. The text is at any rate much injured and disarranged, and the original hard to find. I have taken the liberty of altering the order in my translation of xxxix and xxxvii in deference to a suggestion in Dr. Fuchs' edition.

§ 7. Authorship.

I have attempted to show, in examining the date of these works, that the author of the original Apocalypsis Mosis, and very probably also the editor, who put together the other legends concerning Adam and Eve contained in the Latin Vita, was a Jew of the Dispersion writing between A. D. 60 and 300, and probably in the earliest years of this period.

The Greek text is full of Hebraic words and phrases, of which Fuchs (in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 511) gives a fairly full list; most of these will be found mentioned in the notes with a few others, such as the constant use of καί, where we should expect ὥστε (Deissmann, *Light from Ancient East*, shows this use of 'and' was common in Greek popular dialect of N.T. times), and a very frequent use of cognates, 'die the death', 'weep with tears', &c., or plays on words, which are so frequent in the Old Testament and later Jewish books (see critical notes).

Perhaps the most striking of Dr. Fuchs' examples, besides Jael (xxix–xxxiii), (Jahwe-Elohim)

[1] Since the Adam literature is dependent on 2 Enoch, the reference to the 'Paradise of Righteousness' in this section is quite consistent with its belonging to this literature. As regards Adam's *temporary* translation see note 3. —[Gen. Editor.]

[2] This idea is Judaistic and pre-Christian: cf. 1 Enoch xxxii. 6.—[Gen. Editor.]

[3] Adam is not here finally translated but only temporarily in order to receive the revelation. The same type of translation is found in the Books of Enoch and other Apocalypses.—[Gen. Editor.]

[4] The Vision in xxv–xxix is already referred to in the Apoc. Mos. iii.—[Gen. Editor.]

are Ἀλληλούια (xliii); λόγοι παρανομίας (xxi) = 'words of Belial' דברי בליעל (cf. Ps. Sol. iv. 11) and the strange names for Cain (Diaphotos or Barekhooh, or Adiaphotos I) and Abel (Amilabes see note on i. 1): σκεῦος ἀχάριστον (xxvi. 1), ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου (I confess I do not understand why Fuchs says 'nicht als ein Wortspiel zu beurteilen'); on the contrary, the parallel in Vita seems to prove this. The curious use of the relative and the article with the infinitive in conjunction with the preposition ἐν may stand for Hebrew ל or even ב, e.g. xvi. 1 ῥῆμα ἐν ᾧ, cf. τρόπον ἐν ᾧ (xxx. i), ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φυλάσσειν· ἡμᾶς (xv. 2), ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ῥέει ἐξ αὐτοῦ (xiii. 2). Other Hebraisms may be exclamations such as Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, ii. 2 cf. 1 Sam. iii. 4–5; ζῇ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι (xviii), cf. 2 Kings xi. 1. The obvious error in A. M. xxv. 1 ἐν ματαίοις (see note) is a strong evidence of a Hebrew source, also οὗ εἶπεν μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (xxi. 3).

On the other hand, most of the quotations are from LXX (Fuchs, 511 f.), and for Hebrew conceptions such as 'Gan Eden', Sheôl, Gehenna; Greek words παράδεισος, Ἀχερουσία (or Ἀχέρουσα) are employed, or phrases, e.g. τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (Apoc. Mos. xxxix).

Dr. Fuchs seems to rest his faith on an Aramaic original from which his Hellenist has translated; or a supposed 'Book of Adam', containing all existing traditions on the subject. If such existed, it was probably not the work of a single author. For any nearer determination of the author's place and time, our only guide is the author's literary connexion with other works whose date is approximately known. Since a fuller treatment of the theology of this work is given in § 9, while its influence on subsequent writings is discussed in § 8, it must suffice here to point out some of the links connecting it with earlier literature. It is, as we have seen, a commentary on the ancient books of the Law written from a didactic standpoint. As such it belongs to a period when reflection on the Old Testament narratives had passed through a considerable process of development and reached some striking conclusions as to the real events connected with 'the Fall' and its consequences upon the race of men. The blessing of deliverance from this curse (not restricted as in the Palestinian 4 Ezra to the Jews, but extended to all men) is taught as a hope in the future, but it is not connected with a Messiah. (This omission is of course soon supplied by Christian interpolators in Slav. and Latin versions.) There is, therefore, no polemic in the book, though it moves in the circle of ideas familiar to readers of Paul and 4 Ezra (cf. 4 Ezra iii. 21, iv. 30, vii. 118), esp. Apoc. Mos. x. 2, xiv. 2 (cf. Rom. v. 12–14); but a 'Christ' as either the Jews or the Christians expected him is wholly ignored (whereas in 4 Ezra vii he is attacked); as he is in the 2 Enoch. As in Paul, the mercy of God (quite unlike 4 Ezra and Apoc. Bar.) is repeatedly dwelt on, but God pities man 'because he made him' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 2), not because 'Christ died for him'; cf. Rom. iv. 25, 30.

(Only in Apoc. Mos. xxviii is a condition attached to the promise of Resurrection, 'if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil,' but this is not to be compared with the doctrine of works of merit as it is taught in Apoc. Baruch; cf. esp. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 12.)

It is perhaps not without significance that sacrifice, though alluded to in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 3, iv. 2, is not treated as a cause of God's pardon to Adam; which is due to God's mercy and the angel's prayers (Apoc. Mos. xxxv–xxxvii; cf. 2 En. lxi. 4).

The resemblance to the Pauline teaching is the more remarkable since Everling (*Paulinische Demonologie*) and Thackeray (*St. Paul and Contemporary Thought*) have shown that the two appear to agree very closely in their estimate of Eve's part in the fall of man. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 10, esp. 1 Tim. ii. 14 and 2 Cor. xi. 3 and 13–15. (See Thackeray's note on pp. 53–4.) Cf. Apoc. Mos. xix. 1, 2, 3 with xvii. 1 = Vita ix and Apoc. Mos. xxv. 3; 2 En. xxxi. 1, Sir. xxv. 23; Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, x. 2 = Vita iii. 2, v. 3. Cf. Philo, Quaestiones, 1–33.

2 Cor. xi. 14 reads almost like a quotation from Apoc. Mos. xvii or its prototype. It is of comparatively minor importance that Everling notices the close resemblance of Paul's early conception of the Parousia in 1 Thess. ii. 14 with that portrayed in Apoc. Mos. xxii; while 'the Paradise in the Third Heaven' of 2 Cor. xii. 2 is identical with that in Apoc. Mos. xl. 1, xxxvii. 5. These are common features in the Rabbinic writings, though Talmud (Ber. Rabb. vi, Chagiga 12 b) changed the order of the Heavens (see Charles, 2 En. xxxviii).

If Kabisch goes too far in identifying our Apoc. Mosis with the source used by St. Paul, it seems at least tenable that S. Paul and the author of the 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of Apoc. Mos. and moved in the same circle of ideas; profoundly modified in St. Paul's case by his Christian convictions; in the case of 2 Enoch by the author's interest in the Philonic and Platonic speculations, e.g. of Pre-Existence; in the case of the author of Apoc. Mos. by his love of the picturesque and extravagant use of Jewish Haggada. In that case, we may assign the original nucleus of the Apoc. Mos., of which our Greek copy is a slightly revised version, to the middle or end of the first century A. D. and picture the author as a religious Jew of Alexandria.[1]

[1] If the author was an Alexandrian Jew, then he must have drawn on Hebrew or Aramaic sources, since the text in certain passages presupposes mistranslations of a Semitic original.—[Gen. Editor.]

§ 8. Influence on Later Literature.

Some traditions included in the Latin version are not without early attestation. In the Vita L., the request of Eve concerning the two 'tables', which are to commemorate her life and Adam's, is probably parallel with, not derived from, the legend in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2. 3, perhaps from a Babylonian original.[1] See note *in loc.*

The way by which Satan secured his bond over man (Slav. Vita xxxiii–iv) appears in a new form in the Arm. 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve', ii, iii, connected with fear of darkness; cf. also Aboda Zara 8 a, Conflict of Adam and Eve, I, xii; both appear to be of later origin. But the devil's claim seems to have appeared in embryo form also in the original 'Assumption of Moses' as reconstructed by Charles from later allusions (Charles, *Ass. Mosis*, p. 106).

The story of the serpent putting the poison of lust on the fruit (connected with Rabbinic teaching of yeṣer hara (יֵצֶר הָרָע) 4 Ezra's 'evil seed' in man) has been frequently dwelt upon in the Rabbis and in the Jewish Apocalypses (now Christianized), Slav. Bar. xcvii, Apoc. Abraham xxiii (cited by Ginzberg).

The glory of Adam and Eve before the Fall, the brightness they lost, the Resurrection that was promised to Adam, the nature of the serpent's temptation, the limbs of the serpent, the kind of the tree of knowledge, the trumpet of Michael the guardian angel of Eve, the judgement of God coming with his angels, the mutilation of the serpent, all are enumerated in Rabbinic literature (see notes on Apoc. Mos. xvii, xviii, xx, xxvi, xxxii–xxxvii, xxix, &c.).

Far from showing no repentance, Adam is regarded already in Jub. xix. 24 as a righteous patriarch, and the nature of his penance is described in Erubin 18 b, Ab. Zara 18 a, Ab. R. Nath. i (cited by Ginzberg). The sacrifice of fragrant herbs offered by Adam (xxix) and the failure of Cain to bury Abel (xl) are both already known to the author of Jubilees. With the seventy-two 'plagues' of God's curse on Adam in Apoc. Mos. viii. 2; cf. Mishna, *Neg.* i. 4 (Ginzberg), as also God's words in Targ. Jer. iii. 9, with Apoc. Mos. viii. 1 (= xxiii. 1). The later scenes in God's care of Adam's soul and body after death are all to be found in the Rabbinic commentaries, very likely derived from this book. The 'Apocalypse' or 'Testament of Abraham', which according to James, *Texts and Studies*, and Kohler (*JQR*, 1895, 581–601), is in the main pre-Christian, Jewish, or Essene, and certainly dates before Origen, i. e. circ. A. D. 200, has taken much from our book for the material on which it is based; concerning the nature of the Fall, the tree of which they ate, even the old Hebrew name of Jael for God, also the seventy-two kinds of death (cf. Apoc. Mos. viii. 2, seventy-two 'plagues' or 'strokes').

With regard to the more general features of belief in angels, seven 'Heavens', two abodes of Paradise, 'chariot of cherubim,' revolt of the beasts, Acherusian lake, &c., see § 9, 'Theology.' These, alike in Christian and Jewish Apocalypse, form a large body of common ground not derived from a single work, but the crystallized conceptions of generations. Cf. art. 'Apocalyptic' in *Jewish Encyc.*

When we come to a consideration of Christian, Gnostic, and Moslem productions, the suspicion of a direct influence becomes more pressing, though it is still hard to decide in individual cases. It has already appeared that both Syriac *Schatzhöhle* and Ethiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, and especially the latter, are full of comments on, and expansions of, the subject-matter of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. A reader of these works and of the Gnostic Armenian Tales of Adam and Seth, and the Syriac 'Testament of Adam', will be struck at once by the contrast of the tone and likeness of the events narrated in the two literary cycles. The most marked characteristic of these Christian and Gnostic books is the new part played by the ascetic life as such. Ascetic touches, e. g. division of paradise for males and females (Vita xxxii = Apoc. Mos. xv), Eve's 'sin of the flesh' (Apoc. Mos. xxv), the fasting in Jordan (Vita i–xii), the birth of Cain after the Expulsion from Eden (Apoc. Mos. i, Vita xix–xxi) are not wanting in our Adam books; but they are far removed from the way of thinking presented by those products of the pious imagination of monks, where it is on account of their fasting and celibacy that the children of Seth are styled 'Sons of God', and live apart on a holy mountain; where the temptation of Adam is an incitement to marry Eve, where long years of separation between husband and wife are only brought to an end by the special command of God (even as Noah is only induced to take a wife against his will by the same command), where fasting is a constant practice, and celibacy a necessary mark of saintliness.

In the 'Testament' yet another feature of our books is taken up and enormously expanded. This is the old Hebrew notion of the sympathy of the elements, conceived almost as angels (so in 1 En. lxxvi, 'those stars', also xxi. 3) in the sorrows of men. The prayers of the sun and moon for Adam (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi–xxxvii, condensed in Vita xlvi) and the darkness of the sun in the presence of God (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi = 2 En. xiv. 2 (Charles' note), cf. Vita viii, Slav. Vit. xxxvii), are the basis of the elaborate poetical description of the combined intercessions of all the powers of

[1] This seems to be a late development of the myth found in Jubilees viii. 3. See my edition *in loc.*—[Gen. Editor.]

Heaven, of which we are told in this work. The arrangement into hours of day and night is perhaps based on Gnostic imaginations of the 'aeons' of the world, but serves to give a grandeur and completeness to the representation. A more direct reference to the words of Apoc. Mos. xxxv is to be found possibly in the Dormitio Mariae xxxviii (Tisch.), a late Christian book, condemned in Decret. Gelasii vi. 28, and perhaps this account is copied from Apoc. Mos. Probably the censing by angels of Mary's corpse in Dorm. Mar. xxvi repeats idea of Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4.

The pleading of Seth and Eve for the oil of mercy is probably taken down by the author of the Ev. Nicodemi xix direct from our text (Apoc. Mos. xiii = Vita xli), though in a later form (but before Ethiopic 'Conflict', sixth century) of the Latin version his own statement of the promise has taken the place of the Jewish 'Apocalypse' in Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3–5; where its presence seems to me (with Fuchs, Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 509) to need no apology.

Similarly the Apoc. Pauli xxii seems to have taken the name 'Acherusian lake', though not the thing, which is very old, from Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3; cf. *Orac. Sibyl.* i. 302, ii. 341. Apoc. Pauli xliv claims for Sunday rest and peace even in Hell, which Jews and Essenes ascribed to the Sabbath, as in Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li.

§ 9. Theology of the Apocalypsis Mosis.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate that the Apocalypsis Mosis originated in a foreign city than the complete absence, outside the manifest insertion in Vita xxix, of any reference to the Jerusalem temple; unless 'the place where he was accustomed to pray', on which the Moslems learnt to build their reverence for the sacred Caaba, may be taken as a distant allusion (Vit. xxx. 1 = Apoc. Mos. v. 1) to some specially holy place. This distinguishes it from the 'Assumptio Mosis', the work of a Palestinian, a Pharisaic Quietist, without a Messiah. Nor, as we have seen, does the author follow his teacher, the author of 2 Enoch (xlii. 6, lix. 1, 2, lxvi. 2), in giving prominence to sacrifice, which is here treated as entirely subsidiary, and plays no part in attaining the desired pardon. Yet the God he pictures, like the future he prophesies, is a naïve and childlike conception only one step removed from the primitive figure in Genesis. Despite occasional higher flights, e.g. xxxvii, Eve's prayers in xxxii. 2 and xlii. 4–8, the studied anthropomorphism is so marked as almost to suggest an antiquarian design. In this respect, he goes far beyond 2 Enoch. God not only speaks to Adam and Eve (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1, xxviii. 1, xxix. 5), comes to the garden in a chariot of his Cherubim (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3), or as Slav. has it, 'on their shoulders', sits on a throne placed at the tree of life (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 4), rebukes the angels for being more merciful than Himself (Apoc. Mos. xxvii. 4; cf. Apoc. Abraham xxviii), puts out his hand and lifts up Adam from the Acherusian lake after handing him over to Michael to be dealt with, comes down to supervise the arrangements for Adam and Abel's burial (xxxviii. 3–5), and holds a conversation first with Adam's soul (xxxix), and then with his corpse (xli. 1, 3). Yet despite this curious humbling of the Almighty, the author shows many traces of the new and transcendent view of His attributes, which was causing men to lift Him ever further and further out of reach. Though God often speaks to Adam, his appearance after the Fall is not described as in Gen. iii. 8, but heralded by the 'trump of the archangel' (xxii. 1, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16 of the 'Parousia'), and neither the expulsion, the funeral, nor the last injunctions are his direct work; they are entrusted to a host of subordinate beings. The two cherubim of Gen. iii. 24 are there (Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3) but their efforts are now supported by a host of other angelic beings. The archangels (four of whom are mentioned by name, xl. 1, cf. Vita xlviii. 6) and the Seraphim, one of whom (xxxvii. 3) is given the task of casting Adam's soul into the Acherusian lake, are the most important. Thus Michael's special concern is with the care of men's bodies (Apoc. Mos. xxxii. 3). This was a well-known conception of later Judaism (see Notes). The other archangels (Uriel, Raphael, Gabriel) who carry out the funeral, are all names well known to readers of 'Enoch' and parallel works of Jewish Apocalyptic. The 'virtues', who support Eve in her hour of trial, Vita xxii. 1, and watched her once in Paradise, Vita xxxiii. 1 (perhaps the latter passage in the Vita borrows them from here, i.e. Apoc. Mos. vii. 2) are the guardian angels of which Our Lord speaks (Matt. xviii. 10) and which are perhaps first mentioned in Jubilees xxxv. 17. In another respect the author follows the practice of the later Jews in ascribing great efficacy to the prayers not only of the righteous but of angels, for the departed (cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi; Vita xxi. 2, ix. 3). In this case he opposes the teaching of 2 Enoch (liii. 1) who, unlike Philo, attacked this practice.

The doctrine of a Future Life corresponds very nearly to the notion entertained by the later Judaism. The teaching of a Resurrection and a Judgement is clear and emphatic, as also is the doctrine concerning the intermediate abode of departed souls in Paradise, the third of the seven Heavens (Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4, (A) Tisch.), (xxxv. 2), (xxxvii. 3, 5, xl. 2) and thus quite distinct from the original Garden of Eden where Adam and Eve dwelt before the Fall. (Apoc. Mos. i, vi, viii, xiii, xvi, xxii, &c.; Vita xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xl, xlviii, &c.; Slav. Vita xxx, xxxi.)

§ 10. Bibliography.

Chief Editions of Text and Versions of the Adam Literature.

Greek.

Tischendorff, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 1866 (based on A, B, C, and beginning and end of D).

Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, v. 21 sqq. (text of D).

Latin.

Meyer, in *Abhandlungen der Münchner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philol. Kl., xiv, 1878.

German.

H. Vollmer, *Deutsches Adambuch*, 1908.

Slavonic.

Jagić, *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-hist., Kl., xlii, 1893.

Armenian.

Conybeare, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1895, vii. 216–35.

Preuschen, Festschrift, 1900, 'Armenische Gnostische Adam-Schriften.'

Syriac.

Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, 1890.

Renan, *Journal Asiatique*, 1853, pp. 427–53.

Ethiopic Adambuch.

Dillmann, *Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, 1850.

Trumpp, *Abhandlungen der Münchner Akademie*, philos.-philol. Kl., xv, 1879 (Eth. text).

Critical Inquiries.

J. H. Hort, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Art. 'Books of Adam.'
Kabisch, Entstehungszeit der Apoc. Mosis, *ZNTW*, 1905, pp. 109–35.
M. R. James, 'Greek Apoc. of Adam,' *Text and Studies*, ii, iii, 1891.
Renan, 'Syr. Test. of Adam,' *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. v, 1853.
Malan, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, London, 1899.
Fuchs, 'Adambuch' in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.*, ii, 506–28.
Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, 1899, pp. 63 sqq.
Dreyfus, *Adam und Eva nach Auffassung der Midrasch*, 1894.
Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Art. 'Book of Adam.'
Preuschen, *Die apokryphen Gnostischen Adamschriften*, 1900.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Vita Adae et Evae.

Penance of Adam and Eve, i–xi.

i. 1 When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.

ii. 1 But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they 2 found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for (something) for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before.'

iii. 1 And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they 2 used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: 'Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence.' 3 Adam answered: 'Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh? Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not.'

iv. 1 And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise, but found only animals' 2 food. And Adam said to Eve: 'This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; 3 but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living.'

Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae.

xxviii And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. 2 And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth thus!'

xxix And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low.' 2 Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee.'

xxx And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and) grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 2 'Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

xxxi And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel 2 praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the 3 Lord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee.'

xxxii The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy 2 wife?' Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame; and to give names to all things. Then indeed 3 he took the oxen and began to plough.

i. 1. **paradise.** Cod. Ar. + 'they went to the West'.

ii. 1. **after seven days.** Cod. Ar. has 'after six days'; cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6.
started to look for = *quaerebant.*

iii. 1. **seven days.** Mishna Taanit i. 6 says he fasted seven days, see Introd. §§ 4, 5.
victual . . . in paradise: eating beasts' food was one of Adam's curses in Ber. rabba xx, Pirke Eliezer. Slav. explains it as 'nettles'.
2. **on my account.** MSS. have doublet 'quoniam propter me iratus est tibi dominus deus vis interficere me ut moriar et forte introducet te dominus deus in paradisum, quia propter meam causam expulsus es inde'.
3. **bring . . . some other curse.** Cod. Ar. 'curse us with some other curse', Hebraism.
my own flesh = Gen. ii. 24.

iv. 2. **angels' food**: cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25 (Fuchs).

---

xxviii. 1. **before the gate of paradise.** Slav. Vita i marks this off from Heavenly 'Paradise'.

xxxi. 2. **Joel.** Confusion with Jah-El. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii. 4 (note).

xxxii. 3. **plough.** No extreme asceticism—corn regarded as a blessing—just as there is no disparagement of marriage; contrast Christian version in Introd. § 5 *a*.

Vita Adae et Evae.

v. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labour on ourselves, which we cannot endure, so that the Lord will 2 not hearken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not 3 fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought (to do) for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?'

vi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree. 2 And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us.'

vii. 1 And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did 2 as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

viii. 1 And Adam said: 'I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming (creatures), which are in thee, and let them sur- 2 round me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I.'

3 Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour, the water of Jordan stood (still) and its current was stayed.'

Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae.

Then the devil approached and stood before xxxiii. 1 the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of 2 earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things 3 of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till xxxiv. 1 the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of 2 the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord 3 would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy 4 bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us xxxv. 1 pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.'

But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of 2 thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord, 3 fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the xxxvi. 1 river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And 2 I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me: 3 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And 4 Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

vi. 1. **as thou hast strength for.** I *et salveris*: II *sed salveris*.
unlawful and forbidden. I *contradicti*: II III *illicito et contradicto*. Cor. Ar. *illicito*.
2. **Jordan.** Probably changed by Christian editor from 'Gihon', where Jews, e.g. Pirke Eliezer, placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.
viii. 3. **stood still.** I *steterunt ex aqua non agentes cursum*†. Meyer gives singular as text. Katona's text says this lasted eighteen days.

---

xxxiii–xxxv. Heretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagić). 'Paradise' here is the *Heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section cf. Pauline phrase 'bond servants of sin'. It occurs in all Slav. MSS. of 'Solfernus' and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.
xxxiv. 3. **But Adam,** &c. A gloss within a gloss.
xxxv. 3. **forty-four.** Eve stronger here. In Latin Vit. vi, I has 'thirty-seven', III 'thirty' days.
xxxvi. 3. **fall . . . snare** = *scandalizeris*.

Vita Adae et Evae.

ix. 1 And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the river 2 Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: 'Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious 3 and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; 4 and he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying 5 out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready.'

x. 1 But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was (trembling) 2 like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. 3 But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: 'O Eve, Eve, where is the labour of thy penitence? 4 How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary, by whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?'

xi. 1 And when she heard this, Eve understood that (it was) the devil (who) had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth and her sorrow and groaning and wailing 2 was redoubled. And she cried out and said: 'Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee? for thou pursuest us with craft? Or why doth thy malice 3 assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honour? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy (and persecute us) to the death in wickedness and envy?'

Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae.

And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam. xxxv

The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big tear-drops, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water, Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.' xxxv. 2

But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam (when) he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he took me and led me out of the water. xxxi 2

Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.' xl. 1

(Passage follows exactly parallel to Apocalypsis Mosis xxxii. seq., but in abbreviated form.)

ix. 1. **was wroth.** III >.
4. **crying out.** II III *plangitis*: I *planxistis*.
xi. 2. **with craft** = *dolose* Fuchs, Meyer, Katona: others *dolore*.

---

xxxvii. 1. **a wall.** Far greater than concise Latin account. Cf. Rom. viii. 22. In Recension ii. Satan appears twice—the first time as Adam. The 'tokens' of xxxvi. 3 are explained there.

xxxix. 1. **answered nothing.** Here only, Eve is not deceived. Contrast 'Conflict' of Adam and Eve, I. xxxiii–xxxv.

xl. 1. **Adam cried out,** &c. Only here. Latin Vita xi perhaps inserted to link on story in xvi–xxiii. Eve deliberately compels Satan to come forward with his tale.

Vita Adae et Evae.

The Fall of the Devil, xii–xvii.

xii. 1 And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: 'O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for
thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens
2 in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth.' Adam answered, 'What dost
3 thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast
received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?'

xiii. 1 The devil replied, 'Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled
2 from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished
from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and
likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the
sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and
likeness.'

xiv. 1 And Michael went out and called all the angels saying:
'Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded.'
2 And Michael himself worshipped first; then he called me and said: 'Worship the image of God
3 the Lord.' And I answered, 'I have no (need) to worship Adam.' And since Michael kept
urging me to worship, I said to him, 'Why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and
younger being (than I). I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made.
It is his duty to worship me.'

. 1, 2 When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael
saith, 'Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord God will be wrath
3 with thee.' And I said, 'If He be wrath with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and
will be like the Highest.'

xvi. 1 And God the Lord was wrath with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on
2 thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And
3 straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we
4 were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and
caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven
out of my glory.'

vii. 1 When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake: 'O Lord my God, my
life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give
2, 3 me his glory which he himself hath lost.' And at that moment, the devil vanished before him.
But Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days (on end) in the water of Jordan.

Birth of Cain and Abel; Death of Abel; Book of Seth, xviii–xxiv.

viii. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'Live thou, my Lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed
neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray for I have not kept the
commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting,
2 and there will I be, until I die.' And she began to walk towards the western parts and to mourn
3 and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb
offspring of three months old.

xii. 1. **expelled** I. III + *et alienatus sum*. Story closely parallel to Al Koran Suras vii–xi, Codex Nazaraeus 67: 'The highest kings of light declared: "Let the kings of fire serve Adam." But one, the author of ill, did not follow the commands of the Lord and was hurled in chains.' Cf. Rabbi Moses-Hadarschan: 'When God made Adam, he said to the higher angels, "Bow yourselves down!"'

3. **no harm.** II III *non nocitus*: III 15 *damnatus*: I *natus*. II 9. 17, III 4 >.

xiii. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxxi. 3.

xiv. 2. **God the Lord** = Jahwe Elohim (יהוה אלוהים).

3. **I have no (need) to** = *non habeo* with infinitive.

xv. 1. **the angels . . . under me.** Sole reference to devils (in plural) in Vita or Apoc. Mos.

3. **like the Highest.** Midrasch on Isa. xiv (LXX). Cf. Dan. xi. 11. **stars** II III. 'throne' I.

xviii. 1. **error** = *praevaricatio*.

2. **western parts** = Apoc. Mos. i. 1.

3. **offspring.** So Meyer III I. Jewish anti-ascetic piece. Contrast 'Conflict' and Magyar 'Vita Adae', where they remain apart one hundred years and are only married at God's express command. Cf. Noah in Arm. 'Gospel of Seth' (Preuschen's translation).

three months old. So III 43; II 3. 9. II 17 + 'Cain'.

xix. 1 And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she
2 cried aloud to the Lord and said: 'Pity me, O Lord, assist me.' And she was not heard and the
3 mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: 'Who shall tell my lord Adam? I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my lord Adam.'

xx. 1 But in that hour, Adam said: 'The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more hath the serpent fought with her.'

2 And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: 'From the moment I saw thee, my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to
3 hearken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains.' And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

xxi. 1 And behold, there came twelve angels and two 'virtues', standing on the right and on the left
2 of Eve; and Michael was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to the breast and said to Eve: 'Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and
3 prepare thee to bear. And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain.

Vita Adae et Evae.

xxii. 1 And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led
2 them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground, that they might have fruit by which they and all their generations might live.

3 For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together.

4 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow.'

5 And Adam said, 'Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually,

Apocalypsis Mosis.

This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had i. 1
gone out of Paradise. And Adam knew his wife 2
Eve and went upwards to the sun-rising and abode there eighteen years and two months. And Eve 3
conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who is called Cain and Amilabes who is called Abel.

And after this, Adam and Eve were with one ii. 1
another and while they were sleeping, Eve said to Adam her lord: 'My lord, Adam, behold, I 2
have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went on drinking it without pity. But he begged him to leave him a little of it. Yet he hearkened 3
not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his

xix. 2. **did not encircle her.** Not a Christian sentiment, but Jewish.
3. **what time . . . to the east.** Cf. Test. Adam, describing the fourth hour of the night.
xx. 1. **the serpent.** Cf. Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv–xxx. Also attack of beast in Vita xxxvii, Apoc. Mos. x–xi.
2. **was refreshed.** *refrigeravit* Meyer: I *infrigeravit.*
xxi. 1. **virtues** (or 'powers' Fuchs). Probably 'guardian angels' (Ginzberg). Cf. Apoc. Mos. vii. Like Pauline 'principalities, thrones, powers', &c. Name agrees in Test. Adam.
and Michael . . . right. II only. So Meyer.
2. **on the face.** I *faciem eius*: II, III *eam a facie.*
3. **shining** (*lucidus*). Cf. Adiaphotos, Apoc. Mos. i. The 'Incunabulum' (see Meyer 215), the Deutsches Adam Buch and III say Eve was frightened and wished to kill Cain. Perhaps alludes to myth that he was Satan's child.
blade of grass . . . Cain. Better 'reed.' Play on words—Hebrew קָנֶה (Kâněh) and קַיִן (Cain). Some Rabbis say Cain slew Abel with a reed.
xxii. 4. **I saw.** In Slav. Adam sees it before Cain's birth.
5. **separate . . . mutually.** Midrasch on Gen. iv. 2, 7–10.

---

i. All MSS. (A B C D and Arm.) give preface describing book as taught to Moses by Michael the archangel. Like the title, this is a later addition. Slav. describes subjection of all animals in first chapter (cf. beasts' words in Apoc. Mos. xi. 1).
2. **knew.** *ἔγνω* (Gen. iv. 1) D E Arm.: A C 'took' (*ἔλαβεν*).
went upwards (*ἀνῆλθεν*) A C: D 'went out' (*ἐξῆλθεν*).
3. **Adiaphotos** D: other MSS†. Arm. 'Anloys' = 'full of light.' Cf. Vita xxi. 3 *lucidus.* The translator in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 1870, suggests *διαφύτωρ* or *διαφυτευτής*, 'a planter,' for Adiaphotos and *μηλοβότης*, 'a keeper of sheep' for Amilabes.
Amilabes A D: C B corrupt. Arm. 'Barekhooh' = 'well-minded' (Conybeare).
ii. 2. **went on drinking** E: A C D has aorist (*ἔπιεν*).

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

and let us make for each of them separate dwellings.'

xiii. 1 And they made Cain an husbandman, (but) Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated.
2 And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years.

3 And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

xiv. 1 And Adam said to Eve, 'Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew.'
2 And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

mouth. And Adam said, 'Let us arise and go 4
and see what has happened to them. (I fear) lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere.'

And they both went and found Abel murdered iii. 1
by the hand of Cain his brother. And God 2
saith to Michael the archangel: 'Say to Adam: "Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve not, for I will give thee another son in his stead; he shall show (to thee) all that thou shalt do. Do thou tell him nothing."' Thus spake the arch- 3
angel to Adam. But he kept the word in his heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved concerning Abel their son.

And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and iv. 1
she conceived and bare Seth.

And Adam said to Eve: 'See! we have be- 2
gotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew, let us give glory and sacrifice to God.'

And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty v. 1
daughters and Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and he fell sick and cried with a loud 2
voice and said, 'Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Vision of Adam, xxv–xxix.

xv. 1 And Adam said to Seth, 'Hear, my son Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and
2 saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there
3 came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind and its wheels were fiery and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness, and I saw the

xxiii. 2. **one hundred and twenty-two.** Cf. Jub. iv. 3 (Charles's note); Abel there is twenty-two.
xxiv. 2. **sixty-three.** Cf. Jub. iv. 10 (Charles' note): Jub. says 'nine'; 'Conflict of A. and E.' says 'five'; Arm. omits 'thirty daughters'.
xxv. 1. **Seth.** Some MSS. have preface explaining choice of Seth. *D. A. B.* says it was told to *all* his sons.
2. **at prayer.** *D. A. B.* says 'where he was standing in Jordan'.
3. **fiery.** Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11; Ezek. i; Apoc. Mos. xxxiii.
Paradise of righteousness. Heavenly Paradise, as in 2 En. and 1 En. (xxxii. 3). Elsewhere in Vita either garden of Eden on *earth* or 'third Heaven' (e.g. Apoc. Mos. xxvii, xl.1), not in presence of God, as here.

---

4. **said** D E: A C +'to Eve'.
Let us arise and go C E: D is better Greek (*ἀναστάντες*), but less original.
what has happened A D: C 'what is this dream about our sons': Arm. 'to see about our sons'.
assailing. C prefixes *ἐλθών* = 'has come and is assailing'.
iii. 2. **archangel** B C E Slav.: A D 'angel'.
the secret. Arm. changes to 'the secret of the vision' (i.e. Vita xxv–xxix).
son of wrath. Eph. ii. 3.
his stead (Gen. iv. 25). Here not in Abel's, but in Cain's stead (Kabisch).
all that thou shalt do. Arm. alters to 'all that I shall do' (for same reason cf. Introd. 3, 4). A +'to him'.
tell him nothing A C Arm. Tisch.
3. **also Eve.** E Slav. expand.
iv. 2. **glory and sacrifice**: So A. C D read 'glorify God and give worship': B 'glory': E Slav. 'praise and sacrifice': Arm. 'praise and glory'. Cf. 'Conflict', I. ii–xi.
v. 1. **And Adam lived . . . years** D B Slav. Arm. A C >.
2. **sick** Arm.: E 'a little sick': C 'a great disease'.
die C +'and he sent off his son Seth to all to tell them'.

Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and the left of that chariot.

xxvi. 1 When I saw this, I was confounded, and terror seized me and I bowed myself down before
2 God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, 'Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst hearken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightst hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words.'

xxvii. 1 And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshipped the Lord and said, 'My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my
2 breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, (me) whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favour him whom Thou didst nourish.'
3 And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me and the Lord said to me, 'Since thy days †were fashioned†, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed for ever the (right) to serve Me.'

xxviii. 1 And when I heard these words, I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God and said, 'Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give thee honour and praise.
2 'Thou art the true Light gleaming above all light(s), the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honour and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy.'
3 After I had worshipped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and
4 cast me out of the **paradise †of 'vision'† and of God's command.** And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.

xxix. 1 And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to
2 the place whence he had caught me up. Hearken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets [and sacraments] that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of the
3 knowledge, and knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; [what God intends to do
4 to his creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire (and) from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes [from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword] and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty.
5 And He will show them the marvellous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land will be deserted and they
6 themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God;
7 and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth [in visible form]; and then, righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honoured in the age and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished

flaming fire. Cf. 1 En. (xiii–xvii) for description of God's dwelling, &c.

xxvi. 2. **rather** II *in primis*; I *prius*. III (Meyer) *plus*. **to thy wife.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxiv.

xxvii. 1. **name.** Hebrew expression = personality. Cf. Kautzsch, Hastings' *B. D.*, art. 'Religion of Israel'.

2. **didst form.** *plasmasti* (Graecism).

favour. II *gratia*: I *gratiae*.

3. **concerning thee** = *tuum* (*verbum*).

came upon me. *incedit* II 5: *incendit*, 'inflamed' II 17.

were fashioned. †*figurantur* (Meyer). All MSS. corrupt.

love of knowledge. See Introd. § 6.

xxviii. 2. **Light . . . Life . . . Power.** Gnostic epithets.

mighty. So Fuchs. MSS. corrupt. II 5, III 2 *magnitudinis*: I *matutine*: II 3 *magna*.

3. **vision and of God's command.** II 3. 17 *visionis*: II 5 and III *visitationis et visionis*: Fuchs with Cod. Wright *visitationis et iussionis*.

4. **a rod.** *virgam* II (and so Fuchs): I †*virtutes*.

froze hard. Sea of ice round Paradise. Cf. 2 En. iii. 3; Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2; Test. Lev. iii. 2; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* iv. 132. Perhaps = 'Acherusian Lake' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii–xxxix).

xxix. 2. **[and sacraments]** II III. Meyer brackets as a gloss. I (and Fuchs) >.

3–10. In II (3, 5, 9, 17), III (18 only), IV. Interpolation. First part (3–6)—'what God . . . than of old'—may be fragment of *Jewish* Apocalypse; last part certainly Christian.

6. **greater than of old** (*maior quam prius*). Bousset refers this to Herod's temple; perhaps more likely the Messianic one. Cf. 1 En. xci. 13.

7. **in visible form,** &c. These phrases are certain marks of Christian origin. [Cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 7, LXX Vulg. T. Zeb. ix. 8 where God is spoken of as being seen by men. There is no good reason for regarding xxix. 3–10 as Christian with the exception of a few words.—Gen. Editor.]

8 by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their
9 works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And
10 in that time, shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be, who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgement shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God the just judge.

Vita Adae et Evae.

xxx. 1 After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: 'Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them.'

2 And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used
3 to worship the Lord God. And they asked him (saying): 'What concerns thee, Father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on
4 thy bed?' Then Adam answered and said: 'My sons, I am sick and in pain.' And all his sons said to him: 'What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?'

xxxi. 1 Then said Seth his son: 'O (my) lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness? Tell me and I will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will hearken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed.'

2 Adam answered and said: 'No, my son, I do not long (for this), but I feel weakness and great
3 pain in my body.' Seth answered, 'What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us (about it).'

xii. 1 And Adam answered and said: 'Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree

Apocalypsis Mosis.

And all assembled, for the earth was divided v. 3
into three parts. And Seth his son said to him: 4
'Father Adam, what is thy complaint?'

And he saith, 'My children, I am crushed by 5
the burden of trouble.' And they say to him,
'What is trouble?'

And Seth answered and said to him: 'Hast vi. 1
thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise
of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been
grieved in yearning for it?'

'If this be so, tell me, (and) I will go and 2
bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set
dung upon my head and will weep and pray that
the Lord will hearken to me and send his angel
(and bring me a plant from paradise), and I will
bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from
thee.'

Adam saith to him: 'Nay, my son Seth, but 3
I have (much) sickness and trouble!' Seth saith
to him: 'And how hath this come upon thee?'

And Adam said to him: 'When God made us, vii. 1
me and your mother, through whom also I die,
He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in

9–10. **purified by water**, i.e. baptism.

xxx. 1. **bless them.** Cf. Gen. xxvii. 14, xlviii. 3, 2 En. lxiv. 4.

2. **in the house of prayer.** So I *coram oratorio*; II III *ante oratorium* Apoc. Mos. v (A C). Meyer and Kabisch find here origin of 'Caaba' legends (cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*). See Introd. §§ 1, 8, 9.

---

3. **parts.** So D B. A + 'they came to the door of the house where he used to enter to pray to God.' So C except that it reads 'before him, where' instead of 'to the door of the house'.

4. **Adam** A B D: C >.

5. **I am crushed**, &c. Lit. 'great disease oppresses me'. A B C D Slav. (*πόνος πολὺς συνέχει με*).
What is trouble? B + 'father': A D + 'and sickness'.

vi. 1. **in yearning for it** (*ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῶν*). Arm. A Tisch. D B C >. ? a gloss.

2. **I will go** (*πορεύσομαι*) C D: A B 'I go': Slav. 'we'.
dung. Arm. 'dust'.
that. Lit. 'and' = vav conversive.
bring me a plant. Inserted for clearness—perhaps in original. B has *ἐνέγκει (sic) μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ ἔλεος.*

3. **how . . . upon thee** (*πῶς σοι*) A C E Arm. Slav.: D 'how much' (*πόσοι*).

vii. 1. **to him.** C only has *πρὸς αὐτόν* as often.
tree (*ξύλου*) C: A B D 'plant' (*φυτοῦ*): Arm. 'fruits'.
I die A C E D: B Arm. 'we die'.

Vita Adae et Evae.

bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; (saying)
2 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and (a part) to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and the north, which is over against Aquilo he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

xxxiii. 1 (Moreover) God the Lord gave us two angels
2 to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary [the devil] found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the
3 unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

xxxiv. 1 And immediately, the Lord God was wrath with us, and the Lord said to me: 'In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body, seventy blows; with divers griefs, shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every
2 separate limb. These hath God †appointed for chastisement†. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.'

xxxv. 1 Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am
2 beset.' And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: 'O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned.'

3 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine.'

xxxvi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Rise up and go with

Apocalypsis Mosis.

paradise, but, concerning that one only, He charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels 2
who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat. 3

'And God was wroth with us, and the Lord viii. 1
came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: "Adam, where art thou? And why hidest thou from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?" And he 2
saith to me: "Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee."'

As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned ix. 1
sore and said: 'What shall I do? I am in great distress.'

And Eve wept and said: 'My lord 2
Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou

xxxii. 2. **your mother.** Incident from Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv.
xxxiv. 1. **was wroth.** Condensed from story in Apoc. Mos. viii, xxi–xxiii.
confirmed. *confortavi* II III. I in margin *mandavi.*
seventy Apoc. Mos. viii. 2 (A B C). The 'Cant' (see Meyer 211) has 'sixty and two'.
2. **†appointed for chastisement†.** MSS. obscure.
all our race. Read *omne genus nostrum* with II III: Meyer 'all our generations' (*omnes nostras generationes*).

---

that one only D B E C.
2. **guarding** A B C: 'watching' D E: Arm. 'looked to your mother for her to render worship'. Cf. Jub. iv. 22, Chagiga 16a, Ber. 60b. Ginzberg calls these angels 'virtues' (cf. Vita xxi).
Lord. C adds 'as their fashion (*τύπος*) was'; a gloss.
and I was far from her. C only.
of which . . . not to eat. C only.
viii. 1. **paradise.** A B + 'when we had eaten and placed His throne'.
Adam . . . thou. D adds gloss from Gen. iii. 12.
builder. This saying occurs in Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 9. > D.
2. **to me.** D B E only.
seventy-two D E, Slav., Mishna *Neg.* i. 4, but 'seventy' A B C, Vita; latter is common symbolic number, probably a correction.
ix. 1. **distress** (*λύπη*) C Arm. Slav.: D 'stress' (*ἀνάγκη*). D has a long gloss from Gen. iii. 19.
2. **thy trouble** D C Arm. A B 'sickness'.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

my son Seth to the neighbourhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of
2 God. Perchance He will have pity (upon you) and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed.'

xvii. 1 Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast
2 [a serpent] and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: 'Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God.'
3 And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: 'Accursed beast! how (is it that) thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it?'

xviii. 1 The beast answered in the language of men: 'Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice (is directed)? Are not ye the objects of our rage?
2 Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it.'

xix. 1 Then said Seth to the beast: 'God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be
2 brought to the ordeal.' And the beast said to

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

art beset with toils and troubles.' But Adam 3
said to Eve, 'Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint.'

Then Seth and Eve went towards paradise, x. 1
and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: 'Woe is me; if 2
I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.' And she 3
spake to the beast: 'Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God.' Then the beast 4
cried out and said:

'It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy xi. 1
wailing, but thine own; for (it is) from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy 2
mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, 3
if I begin to reprove thee.'

Then Seth speaketh to the beast, 'Close thy xii. 1
mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment.' Then saith 2
the beast to Seth: 'Behold, I stand off from the image of God.' And he went to his lair.

xxxvi. 2. **oil of life.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 3 (note).

xxxvii. 1. [**a serpent**]. A gloss to connect with tale of Fall. Originally this passage was midrash to explain beasts' revolt.

bit Seth proves work is not *Sethite*. Seth here is weak and fallible. Arm. version >.

3. **how is it that,** &c. II + (with A D of Apoc. Mos. x) 'how were thy teeth made strong?'

xxxviii. 2. **the fruit.** II + 'which the Lord commanded thee not to eat'.

reprove. *probationem* II III: Meyer *comprobationem* ('ordeal').

begin . . . bear it. Meyer II 3. 9: I >.

xxxix. 1. **confounder and destroyer** (*confusio perditionis*). A Hebraism.

---

and troubles. A omits. D adds gloss from Gen. iii.

3. **earth** A C: Arm. Slav. D 'dust'.

the tree, i.e. the Tree of Life described in 1 En. xxiv. 3, 4; 2 En. viii. 3; Apoc. Paul. xlv; Test. Lev. xviii. 11; Rev. xxii. 2. Naturally conceived as an 'olive'—the great wealth of Mediterranean peoples. See Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, on 'Wild and tame olives'.

oil of pity: Latin Vita xli. 3. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiii. 1. A play on words in Greek—ἔλαιος, ἔλεος. Cf. Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 327; 2 En. xxii. 8, 9; Ps. Clem. *Recognitions* I. 45; 4 Ezra ii. 12.

have rest A D: C 'will be redeemed from (λυτρωθῶ ἐκ) the trouble': A B + 'I will show you the manner in which we were deceived in the former case'—a gloss.

x. 1. **a wild beast.** This passage is a midrash on Gen. iii. 15. Vita xxxix + 'a serpent', and implies it was Satan (xxxix. 1). Slav. calls it 'Cotur' or 'Gorgo', and adds it pursued him 'to devour him'.

Eve saw. C + 'from afar'.

2. **Resurrection** A C D: B 'Judgement': Slav. 'Second Advent'.

xi. 2. **transformed** C D: Arm. Slav. expand. Cf. Sanh. 106 b, Pesikt. 44 b (Ginzberg).

xii. 2. **lair** C (κοίτην): A B D E 'tent' (σκηνήν).

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Seth: 'See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said.' Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

xl. 1 But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, (and) they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth and began to lament and 2 make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the 'tree of His mercy'.

xli. 1 But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael ap- 2 peared to them and said: 'I have been sent to you from the Lord—I am set by God over the 3 bodies of men—I tell thee, Seth, (thou) man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

xlii. 1 'For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days.'

2 [When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive 3 the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God, when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the 4 oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of 5 water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]

xliii. 1 'But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence, his soul shall go off his body and when

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and xiii. 1 they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.

And God 2 sent the archangel Michael and he spake to Seth: 'Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now,

but in the end of the times. 3 Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day,—all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be 4 given to them and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for 5 the evil heart shall be taken from them and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.

But do thou go back to thy father. For the 6 term of his life hath been fulfilled and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But

2. **wounded by his teeth** II 17: I III ††.

xli. 1. **angel Michael.** Originally 'guardian angel of Israel' (Dan. xii). Cf. Midrash Konen. in *Bet ha-Midrasch* ii. 27 (Ginzberg), 2 En. xxii. 6, 1 En. xx. 5. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 168.

3. **man of God** = prophet. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 6, &c. Jewish trait.

xlii. 1. **that.** The MSS. reading *quia* = Greek ὅτι = 'that'.

2. **When five thousand five hundred years . . . tree of mercy.** Christian interpolation from Gospel of Nicodemus, xix (Greek work).

king I. II III >.

---

xiii. 1. **there** A B C: D >.

oil of mercy A C Arm.: Slav. >: E B 'mercy of mercy' (ἔλεος ἐλέου): (ἔλεος ἐλαίου) D 'mercy of oil'; probably not dittography, as Fuchs supposes, but play on words.

2. **floweth with oil** C (Kabisch): 'in which flows the oil' D A B Tisch.: E_2 †.

with prayers and entreaties (εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἱκεσίᾳ): a Hebraism.

it shall not B C + 'for' (γάρ).

3-6. **Then shall . . . God only** A B, Tisch., Fuchs). This short Apocalypse certainly Jewish, perhaps original. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3, 4 and cf. Jubilees xxiii. 26-9; Ezek. xxxvi. 27; 1 En. v. 4; Bamidbar rabba 17; Schem rabba 41; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 381, 400; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 359.

5. **evil heart** (yeṣer hara (יֵצֶר הָרָע)). Prominent feature in later Jewish theology, as in St. Paul and 4 Ezra. See Introd. §§ 1, 5, 6, 9.

6. **will die** C: D†. **three days from to-day.** C only.

it shall have gone out, thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the
2 luminaries of heaven. With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth.
3 And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, i.e. nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.
iv. 1 And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast [the serpent]
2 bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve: 'What hast thou done? A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy
3 children after my death, [for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be
4 wanting and curse us (and) say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the
5 beginning].' When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful (scene of) his passing.'

Thus spake the angel and departed from them. xiv. 1
And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: 'Eve, what 2
hast thou wrought in us? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, [lording it over all our race].' And he saith to her, 'Call all 3
our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Eve's Account of her Fall.

v. 1 Then saith Eve to them: 'Hear all my children and children's children and I will relate to you
2 how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion
3 allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot, the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. [For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father and all the females he gave to me.]
vi. 1 And the devil spake to the serpent saying, "Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word
2 whereby thou mayst have profit." And he arose and came to him. And the devil saith to him:
3 "I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even
4 as we were cast out through him." The serpent saith to him, "I fear lest the Lord be wroth with-
5 me." The devil saith to him: "Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him."

xliii. 1. **luminaries of Heaven.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi.
3. **herbs of fragrance.** From Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xxix = Slav. Vit. xxv—inconsistent with Vita x–xii; Slav. Vita xxviii–xxx. III + Christian gloss from *lignum crucis* legend.
xliv. 2. **tell.** II 9 *refer*: III *referent filiis nostris*: Meyer suggests *refert.*
after my death. Insertion. Contrast Apoc. Mos. xiv. 3. It shows intention of editor to omit Eve's tale (Fuchs).
3. **toil and fail.** Play on words in Latin: *sufficiant . . . deficiant.* Perhaps a gloss.
4. **All.** MS. prefixes *quoniam*; perhaps for ὅτι = 'that'. Cf. xlii. 1 (note).

---

awful scene of his passing (*τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῆς φοβεράν*) A B D: C >.
xiv. 2. **what hast thou wrought.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxii, Vita xviii. 1. With St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 3, 1 Tim. ii. 14) and 2 En. xxx. 18, our author makes Eve primary cause of sin; 4 Ezra iii. 21 lays guilt on Adam.
which is death A B C D $E_{1,2}$: Arm. >. Cf. Rom. v. 14, 4 Ezra iv. 30.
[lording it over all our race] C >. Probably an interpolated gloss.
xv. 1. **Then saith Eve.** In Arm. E, Eve blames herself; in Slav. she is asked to tell her tale by her sons.
2. **the portion allotted.** Cf. Vita xxxii.
3. **where the male creatures.** Both Hebrew (נָחָשׁ) and Greek (*ὄφις*) words for 'serpent' are masculine.
[For God . . . to me.] A D only have this explanation. Cf. B. C is corrupt. Arm. >.
your father A B E: 'our father' C D.
xvi. 1. **to the serpent.** Cf. 'Conflict of A. and E.' i. 17; Ber. rabba, xix; Weber, *JT.* 219–20. Slav. + 'thou art beloved before God, Eve will believe thee'.
mayst have profit A B E (*ὀφελη θῇς*).
2. **I hear** A B D: C 'I learn': Arm. 'I behold'.
counsel thee C: A D 'I consort with thee' (*ὁμιλέω*): Arm. 'unite with': A B + 'yet dost thou worship the less!' Cf. Vita xiv. 3. A gloss from Vita.
3. **out of paradise.** A B + 'through his wife' (a gloss).
5. **deceive him** C: A 'deceive them'.

xvii. 1 And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to
2 worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And
I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel. But he saith to me: "Art thou Eve?" And I said
3 to him, "I am." "What art thou doing in paradise?" And I said to him, "God set us to guard and
4 to eat of it." The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: "Ye do well but ye do not eat
5 of every plant." And I said: "Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the midst of paradise,
concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat
of it, ye shall die the death."

xviii. 1 Then the serpent saith to me, "May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not
have you ignorant. But arise, (come) hither, hearken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree."
2, 3 But I said to him, "I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us." And he saith to me: "Fear
not, for as soon as thou eatest of it, ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil.
4 But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of
5, 6 it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory." Yet I feared to take
of the fruit. And he saith to me: "Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me."

xix. 1 And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: "I have changed my
2 mind and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband." (And) I said,
"What sort of oath shall I swear to thee? Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the
3 Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat." And
when he had received the oath from me, he went and **poured upon** the fruit the poison of his wicked-
ness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took
of the fruit and I ate.

xx. 1 And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the right-
2 cousness with which I had been clothed (upon), and I wept and said to him: "Why hast thou
3 done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?" But
I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished.
4 And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none,
for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-
5 tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same
plant of which I had eaten.

xxi. 1 And I cried out in that very hour, "Adam, Adam, where art thou? Rise up, come to me and
2 I will show thee a great secret." But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression
3 [which have brought us down from our great glory]. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and

xvii. 1. **he hung.** E reads 'the devil inside the serpent hung', as Moslem fable in Weil, *B. L. der M.*
when. A B prefix 'about the ('ninth' B) hour.'
form of an angel. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14. Points to old idea of a literal seduction; cf. Gen. vi. 1–6; 1 En. vi–xii, lxxxviii–xc; Sota ix. 9: Ber. rabba xxiv; Jalk. Schim. Ber. xlii.
2. Slav. reads 'I thought him an angel since he came from Adam's district'—emphasizing this feature throughout; Arm. weakens it.
4. **every plant** B C D. 'all plants' A.
5. **die the death.** A Hebraism; lit. 'die with death' (*θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε*).
xviii. D breaks off here till xxxvi.
1. **I would not have you ignorant.** Arm. 'I desire not your ignorance': A B + 'for ye are as beasts'; a gloss: A B C E Slav. 'since ye understand nothing'.
3. **ye . . . as God** C.
4. **God perceived . . . envied you.** With Tisch. A B: C >.
5. **glory.** Arm. alters this Midrash on Gen. iii. 6 to 'the glory of the Highest' (Gnostic?): A B + long gloss (Gen. iii. 6).
xix. 1. **I opened.** C Arm.: E >: B 'he opened': Arm. + Gnostic gloss to the effect that Eve is without paradise —first brought in by the serpent.
2. **What sort of oath** (*ποῖον ὅρκον*) C: A B E Arm. + 'I know not'.
3. **poured upon.** So Tisch. emends MSS.
the root and beginning of every sin C: A B 'head'. Fuchs thinks this is play on words in Hebrew (*ἰών* = ראש and *κεφαλή* = ראש = 'head'). Idea is common among Rabbis, e.g. Aboda Zara 22 b; 1 En. lxix. 6; Slav. Bar. xc. 7; Apoc. Abraham xxiii; Gen. Rabb. xix. 6; Ab. R. Nathan v. 6. Cf. James i. 15.
he bent E Arm.: A B C 'I bent'.
I ate (Gen. iii. 6) C E Arm. Slav.
xx. 1. **clothed (upon)** (*ἐνδεδυμένη*) A B Tisch. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2; Isa. lxi. 10.
3. **which I had sworn** C E.
4. **my part** A B: C †.
5. **very same plant** A B C Slav. Ber. rabba xv; Schatzhöhle; Test. Adam. agree with our author that this was a fig-tree. Apoc. Abraham xxiii calls it 'a grape'; Beresch. xl. 8 'barley'; Samuel Ben Isaac 'a date'.
xxi. 1. **secret** (*μυστήριον*) C: Arm. Slav. *mirabilia.*
2. **[which have . . . glory].** Only A B Arm. A gloss.

the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, "Come hither, my lord Adam, hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as
4 a God." And your father answered and said, "I fear lest God be wroth with me." And I said to
5 him, "Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil." And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate and straightway his eyes were opened and he too knew his nakedness.
6 And to me he saith, "O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?"

xii. 1 And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to
2 the angels and saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgement with which I shall judge Adam."

3 And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot
4 and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.

iii. 1 And God called Adam saying, "Adam, where art thou? Can the house be hidden from the presence
2 of its builder?" Then your father answered; "It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might,
3 (my) Master." God saith to him, "Who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my
4 commandment, which I delivered thee to keep (it)." Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, (saying) "I will make thee secure before God"; and he turned and said to me: "Why
5 hast thou done this?" And I said, "The serpent deceived me."

iv. 1 God saith to Adam: "Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast hearkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labours.

2 Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. [Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.]

3 Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end.

4 The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment."

xv. 1 And the Lord turned to me and said: "Since thou hast hearkened to the serpent, and turned
2 a deaf ear to my commandment, thou shalt be in **throes of travail** and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much **trembling** and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy
3 life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: 'Lord, Lord, save me, and
4 I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh.' And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee."

vi. 1 But he turned to the serpent [in great wrath] and said: "Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts.

3. **my lord Adam.** Aboth. R. Nathan i. 6 (Ginzberg) says Eve always addressed Adam as 'lord'.
6. **what have I done** C: Arm. A 'what hast thou done?'.
that = *καί*, ? for vav conversive: Slav. reads 'why'. See Introd. § 7.
xxii. 1. [**with his trumpet**] interpolation: in A Arm. only. To soften anthropomorphisms in Genesis. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 52; cf. *Bet ha-Midrasch* ii. 61 (Jellinek).
2. **judgement . . . judge** (*κρίματος κρίνω*) A Arm. (? Hebraism): for *κρίματος* C has 'word' (*ῥήματος*): Slav. *sententiam et quale iudicium.*
3. **and mine.** Slav. contradicts—plants in Eve's part were *withered.*
4. **was fixed** (*ἐστηρίζετο*) C. Cf. Targ. Jer. on Gen. vi. 9. This statement modifies 2 En. viii. 3 'that place on which God rests'. A Arm. E slight variants (e.g. *εὐτρεπίζετο*).
xxiii. 1. '**where art thou**' C. 'where art thou hidden' A.
3. **forsaken** E A Tisch. (*ἐγκατέλειπες*): Arm. 'trangressed.'
4. **secure** A C E Arm. (*ἀκίνδυνον*).
5. **I said** A + 'remembered the word of the serpent and'.
xxiv. 1. **in thy works** E Arm. A: C 'for thy sake'.
2. **Thou shalt be . . . taste** A C; from Gen. iii. 18.
3. Only in A (gloss).
xxv. 1. **throes of travail.** So Fuchs emends from A C 'empty pains' (*ἐν ματαίοις*): E 'empty toils'. In Hebrew הבל was misread for חבל.
2. **trembling** (*τρόμοις*). Tisch. emends from *τρόποις* ('ways') C A: Arm. E 'with great sorrow'.
3. **no more** E (*οὐκέτι*) C 'not'.
sin of the flesh A: B C E 'thy flesh': Arm. 'against my body'!
4. **in thee.** A B + 'And thou shalt turn to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.'
xxvi. 1. **turned . . . and** C. A B >.
a thankless vessel (*σκεῦος ἀχάριστον*) A B E: Arm. 'offspring of wickedness', perhaps = Hebrew כלי בליעל = 'instrument of Belial' (Fuchs). Cf. xvi. 8.
innocent hearts (*παρειμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ*) A C: B *παρισταμένους*: Arm. 'the upright in heart.' E >

2 Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat and shalt feed on dust all the days of
3 thy life; on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk and be robbed of hands and feet. There
shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that with which thou didst ensnare them in
4 thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise; and I will put enmity between thee and
his seed: he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgement."

xxvii. 1, 2 Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise: and as we were being driven out amid our loud lamentations, your father Adam besought the angels and said: "Leave me a little (space) that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only
3 have sinned." And they left off driving him and Adam cried aloud and wept saying: "Pardon me,
4 O Lord, my deed." Then the Lord saith to the angels, "Why have ye ceased from driving Adam from paradise? Why do ye not cast him out? Is it I who have done wrong? Or is my judgement
5 badly judged?" Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshipped the Lord saying, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgement."

xxviii. 1 But the Lord turned to Adam and said: "I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise."
2 And Adam answered and said, "Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before
3 I be cast out." Then the Lord spake to Adam, "Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have commanded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth (every way) to guard it from thee that
4 thou taste not of it; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee; yet when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee the Tree of Life."

xxix. 1, 2 Thus spake the Lord and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept before the angels opposite paradise and the angels say to him: "What wouldst thou have us to do,
3 Adam?" And your father saith to them, "Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out
4 of paradise that he hear me." And the angels approached God and said: "JAEL, Eternal King, command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odour from paradise and seeds
5 for his food." And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise
6 and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go and he took four kinds: crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of
7 paradise. And we were on the earth.

xxx. 1 Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do ye guard yourselves from transgressing against the good.'

xxxi. 1 And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die
2 after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him: 'How is it that
3 thou diest and I live or how long have I to live after thou art dead? Tell me.' And Adam saith to her: 'Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together.

2. **hands and feet** A + 'thy': B + long gloss explaining sin as sensual.
The serpent = (Satan) has limbs in Apoc. Abrah. xxiii; Targ. Jon. on Gen. iii; Ber. Rabb. xix, xx; Jalk. Schim. ix. 11. Cf. Wisd. ii. 26; 2 En. xxxi. 3; and cf. Jubilees iii. 23 (Charles' note).
4. **day of Judgement** A B Arm.: C 'day of thy life' (Gen. iii. 14).
xxvii. 3. **Pardon me** Slav. + 'Allow me food that I may live'. Text of Slav. in disorder; read xxvi after xxvii.
4. **driving Adam** A B: Arm. E + 'why have ye hearkened to him?'
xxviii. 2. **before** = *πρό* with genitive and infinitive.
3. **take of** B Tisch. Arm.: C 'taste of'.
of it A B Arm. + 'and be immortal for ever' (Gen. iii. 22).
4. **about to** (*μέλλων*) C: A B 'willing to' (*βουλόμενος*): Arm. 'thinkest on death'. Ginzberg, with Gen. rabba xx; Apost. Const. vii, xxiv, emends to 'thou wilt die.' Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiv; Haggada on Gen. iii. 17–22. Contrast Vita xxix, xli. (Christian.)
xxix. 3. **Behold** A B: C 'since'.
so that = *ὅπως* with future indicative (C).
Cf. 'Conflict' I. xxiv. Slight variations in A B C Arm. Slav.

4. **Jael** (A B) = 'Jah-El' (יה־אל), Hebrew for 'Lord God': C >. Arm. has 'Hojil': E Slav. 'Joel', confused with angel in xxxii and xliv, Apoc. Abraham x. 20, xvii. 22.
5. **and seeds for his food** E; cf. Slav. Vita xxv. 4, xxviii. Arm. omits the request, but says they were given: A C says God let him take 'fragrant herbs for his food' (cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6): B says 'for sacrifice' only; cf. Jub. iii. 27: E seems to preserve original.
6. **four** Arm. E: Slav. 'three': A B 'both'. Jubilees mentions 'frankincense, galbanum and stacte'. The same four as in our text are mentioned in Arm. A B C.
7. **were** (*ἐγενόμεθα*). C 'were present' (*παραγεγόναμεν*): Arm. 'saw ourselves placed on the earth': Slav. 'sat before gate of paradise'. Passage parallel to Vita i–x follows in Slav.
xxx. 1. **children** C: A Tisch. *τεκνία*; diminutive.
transgressing (*παραβαίνειν*) C. A B 'forsaking.'
xxxi. 2. **have I to live** B: C 'do I desire to live' (*θέλω*): A >.

And †she shall lie† in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the
4 angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek His own creature; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands who gave it me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or be merciful and intend to pity and receive us.'

ii. 1, 2 And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground and began to say: 'I have sinned, O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable Throne. I have sinned before Thee and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation.'
3 Even thus prayed Eve on her knees; (and) behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised
4 her up and said: 'Rise up, Eve, (from thy penitence), for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker.'

xiii. 1 And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, 'Lift up thy-
2 self from the earth.' And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by four bright eagles, (and) it were impossible for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or
3 behold their face—and angels going before the chariot—and when they came to the place where
4 your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the
5 incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshipped God, crying aloud and saying, 'JAEL, Holy One, have pardon, for he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands.'

xiv. 1 And I Eve beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for
2 fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, 'Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam, and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.'

Vita Adae et Evae.

xlv. 1 And just as Michael the archangel had fore-
2 told, after six days came Adam's death. When Adam perceived that the hour of his death was at hand, he said to all his sons: 'Behold, I am nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die,
3 bury me towards the sunrising †in the field of yonder dwelling†.' And it came to pass that when he had finished all his discourse, he gave up the ghost.

Apocalypsis Mosis.

Then Seth arose and came to his mother and xxxv. 1
to her he saith: 'What is thy trouble? Why
weepest thou?' (And) she saith to him: 'Look 2
up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies on its face and all the holy angels are praying on his behalf and saying: "Pardon him, Father of All, for he is Thine image."' Pray, my child 3
Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible Father, even our God? But who are the two 4

3. **she shall lie** A B C: Arm. E 'you shall be laid'—change of person marks confused text. So again in xxxiv. 1.
touch A C: 'see' Arm.
4. **His own creature** C: A B Arm. 'the vessel He hath fashioned': B + gloss from John vi. 37.
our Maker A B Arm.: C 'him' (*αὐτόν*).
pity us C: A >: B Arm. 'turn to pity us' (*ἐπιστρέψῃ τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι ἡμᾶς*).
xxxii. 2. **I have sinned.** Eve's prayer-text. So C. E A B Slav. expand. Cf. Luke xv. 21.
3. **the angel of humanity.** Michael (cf. Vita xli): Arm. B 'angel of the lover of mankind'.
4. **thy penitence.** B + 'and thy prayer'.
his Maker C: A B + 'to meet Him': Arm. + 'to be before Him'.
xxxiii. 1. **with her hand** Arm. E: A B C 'set her hand on her face'. Slav. >.
2. **gazed steadfastly** (*ἀτενίσασα*) C: A *ἠτένισεν*. Cf. Acts vii. 55.
(and) it. Lit. 'which' (*ὅ* A: *ἅ* C).
tell (*εἰπεῖν*) A C: Arm. 'write'.
3. Only in A Tisch.
B ends here.
4. **the firmaments.** A only. See Introd. § 9. Cf. xxxv. 2 (seven heavens). Cf. Charles, Introd. to 2 En. and notes on Test. Levi ii, iii.
5. **holy** (*ἁγίων*) **hands** C Tisch.: Arm. 'blameless hands': A 'hands' simply.
xxxiv. 1. **wonders** (*μυστήρια*). Lit. 'secrets' C: Arm. Slav. 'wonders': A + 'standing in the presence of God'.
xlv. 2. **†in the field of yonder dwelling.†** II III *in agro habitationis illius.* I *magnum*†.

---

xxxv. 1. **what is thy trouble?** A: C >.
2. **soul.** Arm. only. Others read 'body' wrongly (so Charles). **holy angels** A: C > 'holy'.
3. **what shall this mean?** C: A E Slav. >: Arm. 'what shall I be?' **even our God** A >.
4. Text as C. A shorter.
who are Arm.
D begins again.

Vita Adae et Evae.

(Then) was the sun darkened and the moon
xlvi. 1 and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his mourning embraced from above the body of his father, and Eve was looking on the ground with hands folded over her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared
2 Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam and said to Seth: 'Rise up from the body of thy
3 father and come to me and see what is the doom of the Lord God concerning him. His creature is he, and God hath pitied him.'

And all angels blew their trumpets, and cried:
xlvii. 1 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity on Thy creature.'

xlviii. 1 Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out holding Adam and he handed him over to
2 Michael, saying: 'Let him be in thy charge till the day of Judgement in punishment, till the last years when I will convert his sorrow into joy.
3 Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath been his supplanter.'

Apocalypsis Mosis.

negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy father Adam?'

And Seth telleth his mother, that they are xxxv 1
the sun and moon and themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith 2
to him: 'And where is their light and why have they taken on such a black appearance?' And 3
Seth answereth her, 'The light hath not left them, but they cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, the Father of Light; and on this account their light hath been hidden from them.'

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, xxxv 1
lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood up all the angels (and they were) lying on their faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and said: 'Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from 2
the works of His making, for He hath pitied Adam the creature of His hands.' But when the 3
angels had said these words, lo, there came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

And God saith to him: 'Adam, what hast xxxi 1
thou done? If thou hadst kept my commandment, there would now be no rejoicing among those who are bringing thee down to this place. Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief 2
and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will transform thee to thy former glory, and set thee on the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast 3
into this place to see thee sitting above him, then he shall be condemned and they that heard him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth thee sitting on his honourable throne.'

xlvi. 1. **sun darkened,** &c. Abbreviated from Apoc. Mos. xxxvi—ordinary setting to Jewish 'Apocalypse'. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; 2 En. xiv. 2–4; Test. Adam, &c.
hands folded over her head. Fuchs compares 2 Sam. xiii. 19 for this attitude in mourning.
her head. II 9 Meyer + 'and leaning her head on her knees.'
most bitterly. Lit. 'wept with most bitter weeping', a Hebraism.
3. **what is the doom**: *quid disponat de eo*, Meyer I II.
xlvii. 1. **blew their trumpets.** Lit. 'sang and spake with the trumpets'.
xlviii. 2. **Judgement** = *dispensationis* Meyer II III. I *defensionis*†.
3. **his supplanter.** II *qui supplantavit*, III *seduxit*, I *plantavi cum* †; Vita xlvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxix.

---

xxxvi. 1. **that** ὅτι D. So I read for οὗτοι. 'these' (A C Tisch.): Slav. >: Arm. 'those men.'
3. **Light of the Universe** A C D; cf. 2 En. xiv. 2–4.
Father of Light D Arm. only; cf. James i. 17.
A ends here.
xxxvii. 2. **Adam** C Arm. Slav.: D >.
3. **carried him off** D: C >.
Acherusian. So Tisch. E C: D 'Agerusian': Slav. *locum gerusi*: Arm. ἀχειροποίητον = (sea) 'not made with hands'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli xxxi; 2 En. x. 2; 'Conflict' I. vi. 17; Plato, *Phaedo*, 173 a. Cf. Greek Acheron, and 'fiery stream' of 1 En. xiv. 19 seq., xxiii. 2.
xxxix. This chapter displaced; see Introd. § 1.
1. **this place** = 'Acherusian lake'. E Arm. add gloss 'I send him into the Gehenna of fire.'
2. **transform thee**† **. . . glory.** So I read with Arm.: D 'to thy beginning': C †.
3. **grieved sore** C: D > 'sore' (πολλά).
honourable throne. D > 'honourable' (τιμίου).
sitting . . . throne. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12–18; Matt. xi. 23, xxiii. 12; Vita Adae xv, xvi.

Vita Adae et Evae.

viii. 4 And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen clothes of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen clothes over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son.'

5 And all the 'powers' of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was 6 consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother 7 [and no one else], and Michael and Uriel said:

Apocalypsis Mosis.

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, xxxvii. 4
and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying: 'Lift him up into Paradise unto 5
the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world.' Then Michael took Adam and left 6
him where God told him.

But after all this, the archangel asked concern- xxxviii.
ing the laying out of the remains. And God 2
commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the 'Lord 3
of Hosts' came on and four winds drew Him and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And 4
they came to paradise and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born 'according to the appointment of God'. Then Adam's body lay there in 5
paradise on the earth and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, xl. 1
(Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): 'Go away 2
to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: 'Let the body of Abel also be 3
brought.' And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied 4
since the day when Cain his brother slew him;

xlviii. 4. **and bury . . . his son.** II III only.

5. **the sleep.** So II III. I has *dormitatio* = 'resting-place'. According to Schatzhöhle (Christian), Ibn Ater, Abdul Serag, Adam was buried at Jerusalem; according to Jews, e.g. Ber. Rabba 58, Erubin 53 a, Pirke R. Eliezer, and Vit. Adae (III and Slav.), at Hebron. Cf. Fabric. i. 10. (MSS. III + 'in a place called Calvary'; Christian.)

powers = *virtutes*. See xxi. 1.

6. **[and no one else]** I >. A gloss.

---

xxxvii. 5. **third Heaven** C D: Arm. E 'second Heaven': Slav. is confused and corrupt, and separates paradise from 'third Heaven'.

my reckoning C D: Arm. 'day of renewal': Slav. 'my resurrection'. Cf. 2 En. viii. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Apoc. Paul xviii. 2; Test. Levi iii; Chagiga 12 b.

6. **left him** (ἀφῆκεν D) D E Slav.; C † κατήλειψεν (κατήλιψεν).

told him. D + 'and all the angels sang an angels' hymn marvelling at the pardon of Adam.'

xxxviii. 1. **laying out of the remains** C: D corrupt and obscure.

3. **Lord of Hosts** (κύριος στρατιῶν) C: D 'mighty lord,' κραταιὸς κύριος.

4. **born according to the appointment of God** C (διὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι καθ' ὅρον τοῦ θεοῦ): D 'he was there' (ἐγένετο ἐκεῖσε): Charles emends to καθορᾶν ('to behold' God). Arm. characteristically reads 'for the Lord wished to show him a marvel.'

5. **Then Adam's body . . . over him** C only. May be right, as it leads on to xl (to glorify Seth).

xl. 1. C has a fuller text and in *v.* 2 gives the names of four archangels.

2. **third heaven** C: Arm. 'second heaven': D >.

oil of fragrance. Cf. 2 En. viii.

three great angels. C >.

3. **Let the body.** C imperative: D infinitive mood.

Abel. Arm. + 'righteous'.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

'Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying: 'I will not 5
receive a companion body, till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me.' At that time, the angels took it and placed it on a rock, till Adam his father was buried. And 6
both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they 7
brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

And God called and said, 'Adam, Adam.' And xli. 1
the body answered from the earth and said: 'Here am I, Lord.' And God saith to him: 'I told 2
thee (that) earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrec- 3
tion; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of thy seed.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Eve's directions as to the Memorials of her life.

xlix. 1 Six days after, Adam died; and Eve perceived that she would die, (so) she assembled all her sons
2 and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all: 'Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God.
3 On account of your transgression, Our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgement, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race.
l. 1 But hearken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write
2 on them, all my life and your father's (all) that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked (hard).'

7. **bury your dead.** A feature of Adam legends; cf. Fabric. i. 1–100.
xlix. 3. **by fire** (Stoic). Greek idea adopted by Hellenist Jews, e.g. *Sibyl. Oracl.* iii. 760.
l. 2. **baked hard.** Well-known Jewish fable. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* I. xi; Bousset in *ZNTW*, 1902; Manetho, Syncell. *Chron.* xl; Jubilees, viii. 3 (Charles' note). Egyptian derivation has been suggested ΣΗΘ for ΘΩΘ (Thoth.); doubtful (?). Probably all accounts are *parallel*, not dependent.
In III (3, 5, 14, 17) and Jean is added the story of Solomon finding 'the tables', with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ to judge the world. Of Greek origin (e.g. *tabulas achiliacas* = ἀχειροποιήτους). All MSS. explain this differently. Monkish scribes here knew but little Greek.

---

4. **the body sprang up . . . saying.** So I read with D.
5. **a companion** (ἑταῖρον) C: D (and so Fuchs) reads ἕτερον, 'another'.
on a rock. 1 En. xxii. 7 and Jub. iv. 29 prove early date of this legend.
was buried D. C 'died.'
6. **and He caused . . . two** D.
7. **placed them** C: D >.
digged and builded C D.
xli. 1. **saith** (λέγει) C: D aorist.
2. **return.** Cf. Gen. iii. 19. Arm. and Slav. have crude Christian glosses.
3. **every man** C: D Arm. 'every race of man'. (? Christian.)

Vita Adae et Evae.

3 When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshipped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

li. 1 When they had been mourning four days, (then) Michael the archangel appeared and said
2 to Seth: 'Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works.'
3 Thereupon Seth made the tables.

Apocalypsis Mosis.

After these words, God made a seal and sealed xlii. 1
the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. 2
And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, 3
fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep, and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam be prepared for burial; and no man knew on earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in 4
the hour of her death) that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she saith: 'Lord, 5
Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his members didst thou make me. But deem me 6
worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with him in paradise, both without separation from each other; just as in our transgression, we were 7
(both) led astray and transgressed thy command, but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not 8
separate us now.'

But after she had prayed, she gazed heavenwards and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: 'God of All, receive my spirit,' and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

And Michael came and taught Seth how to xliii. 1
prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they buried her (body) where Adam's body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael 2
spake to Seth and saith: 'Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of the Resurrection.' And after giving him this rule; he 3
saith to him: 'Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day, rest and rejoice on it, because

li. 2. **Man of God.** Cf. xli.
the Lord rested. Motive here is, if possible, even more Jewish than the injunction. A symbol of Resurrection in Sanh. 97 a (Ginzberg); contrast motive in Hebrews iv. 9. This motive impossible to a Christian; cf. Jubilees ii. 17–21.

---

xlii. 1. **sealed the tomb.** Slav. + 'and made the sign of the Cross'.
2. **their place** C: 'the heaven' D Arm. (an explanation).
3. **for she knew not.** Motivè for Eve's grief same in all versions.
except Seth C: D says 'all slept'. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxviii, which contradicts Vit. xlviii.
4. **prayed** C + 'in the hour of her death'.
5. **rule** (ἀρχῆς) D: C ἀρετῆς ('virtue').
thy handmaid. C only.
didst thou make me. Cf. Gen. ii. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 12.
6. **enter into his tabernacle** D. C 'be buried with his body.'
8. C adds 'and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God': D >.
xliii. 1. **Michael came.** C expands—makes Michael present at her death.
2. **the Resurrection.** Arm. + 'and Advent' (Christian gloss).
3. **rest and rejoice on it** D Arm. Slav.: after these words, however, Arm. reads 'for on this day we rejoice, God and all his angels, besides all the spirits of his creatures, which may be upon the earth'. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 4, xxxii. 2; Test. Abraham ii, iii, vii; 1 En. lxvii. 2; Exod. xxxi. 13; Apoc. Zeph. xx; Sanh. 69 b; Test. Sim. viii. 11; Jub. ii. 19-21; 4 Ezra ii. 23. Both the practice, the injunction, and the symbol are typical and commonplace in later Judaism. Even the fires of Gehenna were cooled on the Sabbath (Test. Abrah.). Apoc. Pauli xliv transfers this notion to the 'Lord's Day' (Sunday). Aboda Zara says approach of Sabbath saved Adam from much worse punishment.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

There follows in the following MSS.: II 3, 5, 19, 17, Jean; and Ar. 210, a long story of Solomon finding 'tabulas achiliacas.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

on that very day, God rejoiceth (yea) and we angels (too) with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth.' Even thus spake 4
the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying (God) and saying: 'Allelujah.'

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of 5
God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honour and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.]

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power for ever and for ever. Amen.]

[Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.']

4. **the angel** D C E: Slav. 'archangel Joel'; see note on 'Jael', xxix. 4.
5. Doxologies are later Christian additions. The first paragraph occurs in C, the second in Arm., the third in Slav.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah has not survived independently, but as one of the three constituents of the Ascension of Isaiah. In its present form we cannot be sure that the Ascension of Isaiah existed earlier than the latter half of the second century of our era. The three constituents of which it consists are the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Testament of Hezekiah. The first of these with which we are here mainly concerned was of Jewish origin, and is of less interest than the other two, which were the work of Christian writers.

The Vision of Isaiah—vi—xi. 40 of the Ascension of Isaiah—is important for the knowledge it affords us of first-century beliefs in certain circles as to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, &c.

The long-lost Testament of Hezekiah—ii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 of the same work—is of very great value for the insight it gives us into the history of the Christian Church at the close of the first century. Its descriptions of the worldliness and lawlessness which prevailed among clergy, of the covetousness and vainglory and growing heresies among Christians generally, agree with similar accounts in 2 Timothy, 2 Peter, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii, xxiii).

The Martyrdom of Isaiah—i. 1–2 *a*, 6 *b*–13 *a*, ii. 1–8, 10—iii. 12, v. 1 *c*–14—is fragmentary. It opens with Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh his son and of Isaiah into his presence in order that the former should receive his dying commands relative to his duty in the coming days (i. 1–2 *a*). But Isaiah assures Hezekiah that all his words will be of none effect inasmuch as Manasseh would become the servant of Beliar and he Isaiah would be sawn asunder by Manasseh, and that no action of Hezekiah's could prevent his martyrdom (i. 6 *b*–13 *a*). On the death of Hezekiah Manasseh turned to evil ways and became the servant of Beliar and caused Israel to sin in every form of witchcraft, and fornication and lawlessness (ii. 1–7). And Isaiah withdrew first to Bethlehem and then to the mountains beyond it, where he and the prophets with him spent two years mourning and fasting because of the apostasy of Israel (ii. 10–16). The false prophet Belchira discovers his retreat and accuses him before Manasseh on three grounds: that he had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, that he had claimed to see God, though Moses had said that no man could see God and live, and that he had called Jerusalem Sodom, and its princes and people Gomorrah (iii. 1–12). On account of these things Manasseh caused Isaiah to be sawn asunder with a wood saw, Belchira and the false prophets standing by and deriding him (v. 1 *c*–14).

§ 2 Title.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah has, as we have seen, been preserved to us only in a fragmentary form as part of the Ascension of Isaiah. The whole book was known under several names. (*a*) Ἀπόκρυφον Ἡσαΐου is the designation given to it early in the third century by Origen in his commentary on Matthew xiii. 57 (Lommatzsch, iii. 49) καὶ Ἡσαΐας δὲ πεπρίσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱστόρηται. εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἡσαΐᾳ αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι πιστευσάτω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους οὕτω γεγραμμένοις (Heb. xi. 37). See also *Ep. ad Afric.* 9, and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* vi. 26. (*b*) It was known in the fourth century as τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἡσαΐου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* xl. 2, who says that it was used by his Archontici and his Hieracites. Cf. also lxvii. 3. In like manner Jerome (*Comm. in Isaiam* lxiv. 4) calls it his *Ascensio Isaiae.* (*c*) Again it went by the name Ὅρασις Ἡσαΐου as may be inferred from the texts of E S and L^2 of vi. 1. This designation appears in Montfaucon's and Pitra's list of Canonical and Apocryphal books, and was used by Euthymius Zigabenus in the eleventh century when anathematizing his Massaliani (*Victoria de Massal.* Anath. iv). This title belongs specifically and probably originally only to vi.—xi. 40. (*d*) Finally, it is named the Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου by Cedrenus I. 120–1. That such a work was incorporated in the *Ascension* might also be inferred from i. 2 *b*–5 *a*, which describe the contents of Hezekiah's vision. This description is applicable to the Christian Apocalypse iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 and to it alone. The fact, too, that Cedrenus quotes partially iv. 12, 14 and refers to iv. 15–18 of this very section points to the conclusion that such a book existed independently.

§ 3. The Versions.

Since the Martyrdom of Isaiah was originally an independent work, we shall deal here only with the Versions of this work and not with those that reproduce the rest of the Ascension of Isaiah.

(*a*) *The Greek Version.* This version existed in two forms, G^1 and G^2, as early as the third century. The former is lost, but its characteristics are reproduced by the Ethiopic (= E) and the first Latin Version (= L^1). Phrases and sentences of G^1 from every chapter of the Ascension of Isaiah, except iv, have been preserved by the 'Greek Legend'. This work was found by von Gebhardt in a Greek MS. of the twelfth century, no. 1534 in the National Library at Paris, and published by him in the *ZfWT* 330–53. In my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* it is reprinted from Gebhardt's text with one or two necessary emendations, and all the phrases taken directly from G^1 are printed in thick type, and the chapter and verse placed in the margin. Of G^2 an actual fragment was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century. On this fragment see my edition, pp. xxviii-xxxi, and for the fragment itself, pp. 84–95. G^1 and G^2 are in turn derived from a lost archetype G, which was known in its original form to the writer of the *Opus Imperfectum*: see pp. xl–xlii of my edition.

(*b*) *The Ethiopic Version.* This is the only version that preserves in its entirety the Ascension of Isaiah. It is, as I have shown in my edition, derived from G^1. It is a very faithful reproduction of the Greek. So closely does it follow the latter that it can almost always be retranslated without difficulty. Like every version, however, with a long history behind it, it has its defects. As yet only three MSS., *a b c*, have been brought to Europe from Abyssinia. The first of these was edited by Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, Oxoniae, 1819, and the whole three by Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine*, Lipsiae, 1877, and by the present writer, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the new Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, is here published in full*, London, 1900. The last work is based on a fresh and more accurate collation of the MSS.

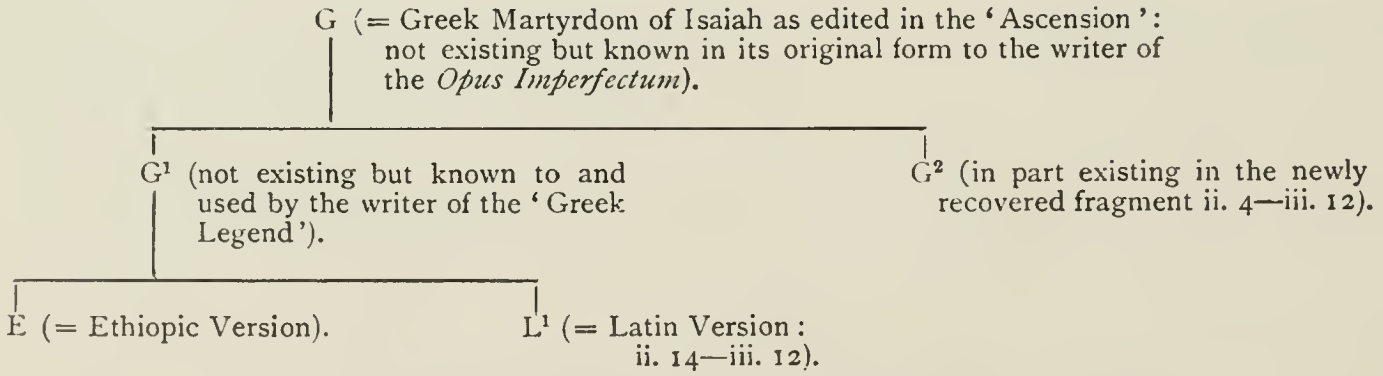
(*c*) *The Latin Versions.* There were two Latin versions, one of which, L^2, embraces vi—xi. 1–19, 23–40, the other, L^1, only ii. 14—iii. 13, vii. 1–19. The former was printed by Antonius de Fantis at Venice in 1522 from a MS. now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in 1832 and by Dillmann as an appendix to his edition in 1877, and by the present writer with critical notes and corrections in his edition of 1900.

The two smaller fragments, i. e. L^1, which were first edited by Mai in 1828 from a sixth-century Vatican MS., were re-edited by the present writer from a fresh collation of the MS.

A study of E, L^1, L^2, the 'Greek Legend', and of the Slavonic Version (= S) which exists only for vi–xi proves that E L^1 and the 'Greek Legend' go back to a definite Greek text, which we might name G^1, and that S L^2 go back similarly to G^2.

§ 4. Relations of the various Versions.

Some of these relations have already been briefly indicated in the preceding section. The student will find them dealt with at length in my edition, pp. xviii–xxxiii, xl–xlii. As regards the Martyrdom of Isaiah the textual affinities of all the textual authorities can be shortly summarized in the following table:—



§ 5. The Extent of the Martyrdom of Isaiah.

All writers save Laurence recognize a plurality of authorship in the Ascension of Isaiah, and the independent origin of the Martyrdom of Isaiah. Ewald was the first to distinguish the works of three different authors. Ewald's analysis was remodelled and issued in the following form by Dillmann:—

i. The Martyrdom of Isaiah, of Jewish origin: ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 2–14.

ii. The Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin: vi. 1—xi. 1, 23–40.

iii. The above two constituents were put together by a Christian writer, who prefixed *i.* 1, 2, 4 *b*–13 and appended xi. 42, 43.

iv. Finally a Christian editor incorporated the two sections iii. 13—v. 1 and xi. 2–22, and added also i. 3, 4 *a*, v. 15, 16, xi. 41.

Dillmann's analysis has on the whole been accepted by Harnack, Schürer, Deane, and Beer. All these scholars have been influenced by Gebhardt's statement that in his 'Greek Legend' there is not a trace of iii. 13—v. 1, xi. 2–22, and that, accordingly, these sections were absent from the text when the 'Greek Legend' was composed. Thus according to Gebhardt, Dillmann's analysis is confirmed by external evidence.

But Gebhardt's statement is wrong; for as I have shown in my edition the writer of the 'Greek Legend' was acquainted with both these sections, inasmuch as he incorporates phrases from iv. 2, 6, 8, 14, 19, xi. 19, 20. Hence Dillmann's analysis can no longer be maintained. With the full discussion of the questions at issue we are not here concerned. It will be sufficient to state the conclusions at which the present writer has arrived in his edition, and these are: 'The conditions of the problem are sufficiently satisfied by supposing a single editor, who had three works at his disposal, the Martyrdom of Isaiah of Jewish origin, and the two independent works, the Testament of Hezekiah (= iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and the Vision of Isaiah (= vi—xi. 40), of Christian origin. These he reduced or enlarged as it suited his purpose, and put them together as they stand in our text. Amongst the obvious editorial additions are i. 2 *b*—6 *a*, 13 *a*, ii. 9, iii. 13 *a*, iv. 1 *a*, 19—v. 1 *a*, 15, 16, xi. 41–3.'

We have herein given the extent of the Testament of Hezekiah, and the Vision of Isaiah, but that of the Martyrdom requires investigation. According to Dillmann the latter consists of ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*–14. But with this view the present writer cannot agree. Other fragments survive in Chapter i. Thus in ii. 1 the words 'he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah' suggest the questions: What commands are these? and when were they given? Now we find the probable answer to the latter question in i. 1, 2 *a*, in which Hezekiah summons Manasseh before him in the presence of Isaiah and Josab. The answer to the former question is still preserved in our text, though obscurely, owing to editorial additions. Thus in i. 6 *b* we learn that Isaiah gave certain commands to Manasseh. These are referred to in i. 7, ii. 1. What these commands were is not recorded in our book, but they are found in the Latin fragments preserved in the *Opus Imperfectum*, which go back *not to our text but to the original Martyrdom*. There we find the explanation of many difficulties in our text. Thus in the first place we discover the reason for Isaiah summoning Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year; for the Latin supplies it: 'cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam.' In the next place the object with which Hezekiah summoned Manasseh is not, as in our text, to become the depository of certain visions i. 2 *b*–6 *a*, but to receive directions as to his religious duties and the government of the kingdom: 'Vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa.' But the final editor of the Ascension of Isaiah, whose interests were centred in the visions, omitted these words, and attributed quite a different object to Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh. Hezekiah, he tells us, in i. 2. 6, summoned Manasseh 'in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen' (i. e. iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and also those which Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him (vi—xi. 40). Thus i. 2 *b*–6 *a* was added by the final editor to introduce the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah.

We have now seen that i. 1, 2 *a*, 6 *b* are derived from the original Martyrdom, but still more of this chapter comes from this source—indeed from 6 *b* to the close. This follows from the Latin passage in the *Opus Imperfectum* which either quotes or implies a knowledge of i. 7, 10, 12, 13. This passage, wherein I have italicized the words that are drawn from our book, runs as follows: 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia (ii. 1) *obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui* sanctam et omnia beneficia Dei pro merito eius collata in ipsum, et (i. 8, ii. 4) *stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo*. . . . Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, (i. 1, 6 *b*) *vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare*, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. (i. 7) *Et dixit ad eum Esaias*: vere quia *non descendunt verba tua in cor eius, sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici*: (i. 10, 12) *Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere*, dicens: Quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix *Esaias* propheta, *dicens*, (i. 13) *irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum* hoc.' (Printed with Chrysostom's works, vi, pp. xx–xxi.—Ed. Montfaucon.)

§ 6. The Date.

The Martyrdom is quoted by the *Opus Imperfectum*, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, and in all probability by Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαΐου ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε). It was not improbably known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). This

brings us, if the last reference is trustworthy, to the first century A. D. And this appears to be the right date; for it is unlikely that works written by Jews in the second century should attain to circulation in the Christian Church.

§ 7. Authorship and Original Language.

The author was a Jew. The details as to the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh are found in the Talmud (*Jebamoth* 49 *b*) in a form closely related to that in our text. Thus it is told that Rabbi Simeon ben 'Azzai found in Jerusalem an account of the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh. Manasseh condemned Isaiah to death because he had claimed to see God (Isa. vi. 1 sqq.), whereas according to the Law it was declared that no man could see God and live (Exod. xxxiii. 20). The same passage tells also of Isaiah taking refuge in a cedar tree, and of the cedar being sawn in sunder and Isaiah within it. Another version of the same legend is given in the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x), and still another in Targum on Isaiah quoted by Jolowicz (*Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Prophets Jesajas*, p. 9). See *Jewish Encyc.*, viii. 636.

It is very probable that the original was written in Hebrew. The Jewish origin of the legend points in this direction, and particularly its recurrence in the Talmud. The following facts also lend confirmation to this hypothesis. In ii. 1 there is a paronomasia of the words 'Manasseh . . . did not remember' = when retranslated into Hebrew: מנשה נשה. Again in i. 8 Malchira is probably a transliteration of מלכי־רע or מלאכי־רע as S. A. Cook has pointed out. In iii. 2 we have the familiar Hebraism *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν . . . καί*. Finally, 'wooden saw', i. e. *πρίων ξύλινος* in v. 11, 14, appears to be a mistranslation of משור עץ, which means a saw for sawing wood. In the Greek Legend iii. 14 it is described as *πρίων σίδηρος*.

§ 8. The Martyrdom of Isaiah in Jewish and Christian Literature and the Oriental Influences apparent in it.

The legend of the Martyrdom of Isaiah took its origin most probably in 2 Kings xxi. 16. Although Josephus does not mention it, it was certainly a Jewish tradition. In Sanh. 103 *b* it is said that Manasseh put Isaiah to death; and in Jebamoth 49 *b* that Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh because he declared that he had seen God. There, as in our text, Isaiah is charged with contradicting the words of Moses in Exod. xxxiii. 20. His death also by being sawn in sunder is also recounted. This account is probably drawn ultimately from the Semitic original of our text. Another form of the Legend appears in Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x).

The legend was known in the Apostolic age, if, as is generally assumed, we have in Heb. xi. 37 (*ἐπρίσθησαν*) a reference to the specific mode of Isaiah's martyrdom. But, even if this is doubtful, there is the evidence of the *Ascension* (i. 1, 2 *a*, 6—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*–14) which cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A. D. In the next century Justin Martyr most probably quotes from our text (see note on v. 11), while somewhat later frequent references and quotations are found in Origen.

But though the legend is undoubtedly Jewish, it appears to have been derived from Eastern sources. According to the Zamyâd Yast 46 (*S. B. E.* xxiii. 297), Bundahis xxxi. 5, xxxiv. 4 (*op. cit.* v. 131, 150) Yima reigned 616½ years and was then dethroned for his blind pride in accepting divine worship and sawn in two by the serpent of three heads, Azhi Dahâka. In the Persian work 'The History of King Djemchid and the Devas' which Larionoff translated into French from the Persian (*Journal Asiat.* pp. 59–83, 1889) we find a nearly related legend. When Djemchid's throne was seized by Zohak, the man of serpents, he fled into the wilderness. One hundred years later Ahriman and Biver (i.e. Zohak) having come upon him there, God caused a tree to open itself, in order that Djemchid might conceal himself therein. Notwithstanding, through the help of Iblis they discovered his hiding-place and had the tree sawn in twain, and so Djemchid was killed. This legend appears to have directly influenced the Talmudic accounts of the martyrdom of Isaiah exactly in the points wherein they differ from that in our text.

§ 9. Bibliography.

For complete bibliography see the present writer's edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* and Schürer[3] iii. 283–5.

(*a*) The chief editions of the texts of the Ancient Versions will be found under § 3.

(*b*) *Critical Inquiries* (dealing with the Ascension of Isaiah as a whole and with its parts). Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819, pp. 141–80; Nitzsch, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1830, pp. 209–46; Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1852, pp. 274–302; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, pp. v–xviii; Stokes, art. 'Ascension of Isaiah' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 1882, iii. 298–301; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 236–75; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 854–6; ii. 573–9, 714; Clemen, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja,' *ZfWT*, 1896, pp. 388–415; 1897, pp. 455–65; Robinson, 'Ascension of Isaiah' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, ii. 499–501; Beer, *Apok. und Pseudep.*, 1900, ii. 119–23; Littmann, *Jewish Encyc.*, 1904, vi. 642–3.

(*c*) *Editions.* Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the New Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic Version, is here published in full*, 1900.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

1 1 And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he
2 called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. And he called him into the presence of
Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet; and into the presence of Jôsâb the son of Isaiah.
5 b, 7 And whilst he (*Hezekiah*) gave commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, Isaiah said to
Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: 'As the Lord
liveth, whose name has not been sent into this world, [and as the Beloved of my Lord liveth], and as
the Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words shall be made of none
effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of
8 my body. And Sammael Malchîrâ shall serve Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he shall
9 become a follower of Beliar rather than of me. And many in Jerusalem and in Judaea he shall
cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar shall dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be
10 sawn asunder.' And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments,
11 and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. And Isaiah said unto him: 'The counsel of
12 Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought shall avail thee.' **And on that day** Hezekiah

1. **1.** 'in the twenty-fifth year', according to the *Greek Legend*.

2. **Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet.** Amoz אמוץ the father of Isaiah seems here to be confused with Amos the prophet עמוס. The LXX uses 'Αμώς for both, and the Asc. Isa. iv. 22 and Megilla 10^{b} both regard Isaiah as a prophet's son. According to the latter the father of Isaiah and King Amaziah were brothers.

Jôsâb, i. e. Shear-jashub, Isa. vii. 3.

the son of Isaiah. The editorial addition 2^{b}–6^{a} that here follows is omitted as being of Christian origin. See my edition, p. 2.

6. **commands.** Cf. ii. 1.

7. **and as the Beloved . . . liveth.** This is an addition by the Christian editor who thus converts a reference to the transcendence of God into a doctrinal statement about the Trinity.

depart. +'from life', *Greek Legend*, i. 8.

8. **Sammael** סַמָּאֵל. Originally an archangel, he enticed the serpent to tempt Eve in order to make the earth his kingdom, Jalkut Shim Beresh. 25. He became a chief Satan, Debarim rabba, 11; and the angel of death, Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 6. See Weber's *Jüd. Theologie*, 169, 218, 219, 253.

Malchîrâ. This appears to be a surname of Sammael, cf. Asc. Isa. xi. 41 'Sammael Satan.' But it also appears as a variant of the name Balchîrâ in v. 8 below. S. A. Cook in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests מלכי־רע or מלאכי־רע, 'evil king' or 'evil angel'. Beer in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigr. des A. T.* suggests that that Bechira (see ii. 12) = Bevir, the other name of Zohak, the man of serpents, the associate of Ahriman in the persecution of Djemchid.

serve Manasseh. The idea of demons being at the behest of men seems out of place here. On the other hand Belchîrâ's service of Manasseh is equally unsuitable.

Beliar. Cf. i. 9; ii. 4; iii. 11; v. 4 (*ac*). E corruptly reads 'Berial'. He is the chief of the evil spirits, and the opponent of Christ, 2 Cor. vi. 15; cf. Jub. i. 20, xv. 33; Sib. Or. ii. 167 (to come as Antichrist), iii. 63–73, (to proceed from the emperors of Rome, working signs and deceiving the elect, and finally to be burnt up); Test. xii Patr. *passim*. For the etymology see *Encycl. Bibl.* 525–7.

Note Sammael's relation to Beliar. They are alike in taking possession of Manasseh, ii. 1 and i. 9, iii. 11. But Sammael is inferior, as he exerts himself to make Manasseh subject to Beliar i. 8 (ii. 1, 4).

9. **Beliar.** 'Satan,' *Greek Legend* i. 9.

10. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* i. 10.

11. **Sammael.** 'Satan,' *Gk. Leg.* i. 11.

12. **And on that day.** 'on this day and' *b c*, 'on those words' *a*; 'and in that hour' *Gk. Leg.*

I–II. 1. We may compare for the diction as well as the sense of many clauses in I–II. 1 the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum Homil. I* (printed with Chrysostom's works, vol. VI, pp. xx-xxi, Montfaucon). 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia *oblituras fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui* (ii. 1) sanctam et . . . *stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo* (i. 8, ii. 4) . . .: Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, *vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare* (i. 1, 6^{b}), quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. *Et dixit ad eum Esaias*: vere quia *non descendunt verba tua in cor eius; sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici* (i. 7). *Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere* (i. 12) dicens: quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix *Esaias* propheta, *dicens: irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum* (i. 13) hoc, videns Ezechiae religionem, quia plus amabat Deum quam filium suum.'

8–12. For a different account of this interview of Isaiah and Hezekiah see Berachoth, 10 *a*. 'What is the meaning of the words "Thou shalt die and not live?" "Thou shalt die in this world and not live in the next world." He said: "Wherefore is all this?" He answered him: "Because thou hast not preached fruitfulness and increase." He rejoined: "Because it was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit that unprofitable children would spring from me." He replied: "What concern hast thou in the secrets of the All Merciful? Thou shouldst have done what was commanded thee, and the Holy One, blessed be He, may do what pleases Him." He replied thereto: "Give me thy daughter: perhaps my merits and thine together will bring it about that profitable children may spring from me." Then replied he: "The judgment is already determined regarding thee."'

13 resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: ['The Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and] the purpose of thy heart shall not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called [and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved].'

2 1 And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father but forgat them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh
2 and clung fast to him. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served
3 Satan and his angels and his powers. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been
4 before the face of Hezekiah ⟨from⟩ the words of wisdom and **from** the service of God. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which was spread abroad in Jerusalem.
5 And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John
6 of Anathoth, and by ⟨Zadok⟩ the chief of the works. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written
7 in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. And when Isaiah the son of Amoz saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship of Satan and his wantonness, he
8 withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. And there also there was much
9 lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. [And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain.]
10 They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going
11 astray of Israel. And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two years of
12 days on the mountains and hills. [And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false prophet whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab king of Israel had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal,

13. ['**The Beloved hath . . . Beloved**']. Editorial additions like 2^{b}–6^{a}.

II. 1. **Manasseh . . . forgat.** Cf. for the play on the words Gen. xli. 51; also the *Opus Imperf.*, and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2.
commands of Hezekiah. See i. 6.
Sammael. See i. 8 (note).

2. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2. A Jewish legend makes Manasseh remove the sacred name from the scriptures.

3. So the Ethiopic text. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3 *ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως.* Beer not so well renders 'changed in the house . . . all that had been', &c.
from, supplied as in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.

4. **Beliar the angel of lawlessness.** Cf. Asc. Isa. iv. 2 'lawless king'; 2 Thess. ii. 3 'the man of lawlessness' (= the Antichrist).
Beliar the ruler of this world. Cf. John xii. 31, xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4; also Eph. vi. 12 *κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, also ii. 2.
Matanbûchûs. ac. 'Metanbakas' b. In v. 3 it occurs as Mechêmbêchûs.
in apostatizing. But *ἐν ἀποστάσει* 𝔊². Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 9.

5. See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 (LXX) *ἐκληδονίζετο καὶ ἐφαρμακεύετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο*, also 2 Kings xxi. 6. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
and adultery. > 𝔊 and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
persecution. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16.
Belachîrâ and. > 𝔊. A premature mention, see ii. 12.
Anathoth. See *Encycl. Bibl.* in loc.
Zadok. 𝔊 only.

6. 2 Kings xxi. 17, &c.

7. **wantonness** E; *πομπήν* 𝔊; *ἀσωτίαν Gk. Leg.* iii. 8.

9. An editorial addition from Asc. Isa. vi. 7; 'withdrew . . . mountain' is from ver. 8 here; 'his son' and 'many of the faithful . . . heaven' are the editor's own.

11. **herbs.** Cf. 2 Kings iv. 38 ff. This asceticism was a preparation for visions and revelations. Cf. Dan. x. 2, 3; 4 Ezra ix. 26, xii. 51.

12–16. Belchîrâ and his history. 12–16 is an insertion and interrupts the narrative of ii. 11–iii. 1.

12. **Belchîrâ**, ii. 5, 12, 16; iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12. The Greek Papyrus gives four different forms Βελιχειάρ, Βελχειρά, Βεχειρά, and Μελχειρά. The *Gk. Leg.* gives Βεχειράς (iii. 10), the Latin *Bechira*. The Ethiopic varies even more. The most probable original is Melchîrâ or Melchiah. See i. 8 (note). Beer prefers Bechira. But the *Gk. Leg.* often mentions a false prophet Μελχίας. Perhaps there was a confusion between the demon's and the false prophet's names. Or more probably the tempter and tormentor of the prophet is regarded as an impersonation of the devil. See v. 9, 10. Isaiah calls him Διάβολος in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Ambrose on Ps. cxviii. uses diabolus. See v. 4 (note).
Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan. See 1 Kings xxii. 11.
Bethlehem. 'Bethany' 𝔊.
†Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî E. Read 'Zedekiah,' as in Gk. Frag. For the variation cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 98 B *ἦσαν ψευδοπροφῆται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλα* and 96 C *ψευδοπροφῆται Σεδεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι τετρακόσιοι.*
the 400 prophets of Baal. Cf. Chron. Pasch. *l. c.* Really the fellow-prophets of Zedekiah in 1 Kings xxii. 6 are nominally prophets of the Lord, and he is not connected with the 400 of Baal in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

13 had himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. And he, Micaiah, had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. ⟨And he was⟩ with Zedekiah the prophet: they were
14 with Ahaziah the son of **Ahab, king in Samaria**. And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr because he had slain
15 the prophets of God. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and
16 their teacher Gemarias of Mount †Joel† had heard—now he was brother of Zedekiah—when they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of †Aguaron† and *slew* Micaiah.

3 1 And Belchîrâ recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan.
2 And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr, king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and taken the nine ⟨and a half⟩ tribes captive, and led them away to the mountains of the Medes and the
3 rivers of Tâzôn; this (*Belchîrâ*) while still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared
4 Hezekiah. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem.
5 And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to the region of Bethlehem.
6 And they persuaded . . . And Belchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying: 'Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste and ⟨against the children of Judah and⟩ Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (*bound*) with hooks
7, 8 and iron chains': But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. And Isaiah himself hath
9 said: 'I see more than Moses the prophet.' But Moses said: 'No man can see God and live':
10 and Isaiah hath said: 'I have seen God and behold I live.' Know, therefore, O king, that he is lying. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath

smitten, &c. 1 Kings xxii. 24.

Amâdâ = Imlah.

13. **And he was.** $\mathfrak{G}^2$ supplies.

Ahab, king in Samaria. Alamerem balalâ'aw E; Αλὰ(μ) ἐν Σεμμωμα $\mathfrak{G}^2$. For 'Alam' = 'Ahab' see $\mathfrak{G}^2$ ii. 15. balalâ'aw = probably basala'aw, i.e. *βασιλέως*. The '-erem' is explicable from ἐν Σεμμωμα $\mathfrak{G}^2$ as 'in Samaria'.

14. Elijah is introduced here unexpectedly.

of Têbôn of Gilead. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1 (LXX) *ὁ Θεσβείτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ*, and Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13. 2 *ἐκ πόλεως Θεσεβώνης τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας*. This Thisbe is mentioned in Tobit i. 2. For the omission of *ὁ Θεσβείτης* cf. MS. A of the LXX. The Massoretic punctuation in 1 Kings xvii. 1 of מתשבי = 'of the sojourners of'.

prophesied regarding Ahaziah. 2 Kings i. 1–6.

Leba Nâsr. Corrupt for Salmanassar. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 6 and 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

15. **Gemarias** $\mathfrak{L}^1$; Jâlerjâs E; Ἰαλλαριας $\mathfrak{G}^2$; corruptly Joel E; Ισλαλ $\mathfrak{G}^2$; Efrem $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Here again the Latin version gives the easier reading. S. A. Cook, *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests that Joel is a corruption of Ebal and Efrem of Gerizim, or that Rephaim (Joshua xv. 8) and Jeruel (2 Chron. xx. 16) are referred to. Probably, however, Joel is corrupt for Israel, for which $\mathfrak{L}$ boldly substitutes the familiar phrase 'Efrem' after 'mount'.

16. **now he** $\mathfrak{L}^1$; now Îbchîrâ E (*a*); now Βεχειρά $\mathfrak{G}^2$. $\mathfrak{L}^1$ makes Gemarias the brother of Zedekiah, E and $\mathfrak{G}^2$ make Belchîrâ, though in ver. 12 he is said to be his nephew.

†Aguaron† E; Gomorrha $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Probably שמרון was misread עמרה (Cooke). If so, restore 'Samaria'.

III. 1. **And Belchîrâ recognized.** $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$.

2. **Alagar Zagâr.** i. e. Salmanassar. Cf. ii. 14.

and a half. $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5; lxxvii. 19; lxxviii. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Syr. and Arab.). > and a half E.

mountains $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$; 'boundaries (?)' E. Cf. LXX and Mass. in 2 Kings xvii. 6.

Tâzôn = Gozan. 2 Kings xvii. 6.

5. **they persuaded** $\mathfrak{G}^2$; 'he persuaded' E. Who the 'they' are is uncertain. Perhaps the false prophets persuaded Belchîrâ.

6. **those** E; 'the prophets' $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$.

against the children of Judah and. Restored from $\mathfrak{L}^1$.

with hooks and iron chains. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 (LXX 'bonds' not 'hooks').

7. **Judah** + 'and Jerusalem' $\mathfrak{L}^1$; 'and Benjamin they hate, and their word is evil against Judah and Israel' $\mathfrak{G}^2$.

8–9. Cf. Origen, *In Iesaiam Homil.* i. 5 'Aiunt ideo Isaiam esse sectum a populo quasi legem praevaricantem et extra scripturas annuntiantem. Scriptura enim dicit: "Nemo videbit faciem meum et vivet." Iste vero ait: "Vidi Dominum Sabaoth." Moses, aiunt, non vidit et tu vidisti? Et propter hoc eum secuerunt et condemnaverunt ut impium.'

9. **No man**, &c. Exod. xxxiii. 20.

I have seen God. Isa. vi. 1.

10. **he is lying.** $\mathfrak{G}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. 'they are lying prophets' E.

Jerusalem . . . Sodom, &c. Cf. Isa. i. 10. Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Ies.* i. 10 'aiunt Hebraei ob duas causas interfectum Isaiam: quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhae eos appellaverit, et quod, Domino dicente ad Mosen Non poteris videre faciem meam, iste ausus sit dicere Vidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum.' Cf. Jebam. 49 *b*.

declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the
11 prophets before Manasseh. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the
12 princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king. And the
words of Belchîrâ pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah.

5 1 b, 2 And he sawed him asunder with a **wood**-saw. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder
Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because
3 of Isaiah. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing]
4 deriding; And Belchîrâ said to Isaiah: 'Say: "I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise
5 the ways of Manasseh are good and right. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are
6, 7 good."' And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. But Isaiah was (absorbed)
8 in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them ⟨not⟩. And Balchîrâ spake
thus to Isaiah: 'Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh
9 and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee.' And Isaiah answered
and said: 'So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and
10, 11 all thy house. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body.' And they
12 seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a **wood**-saw. And Manasseh and
13 Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. And to
the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region
14 of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' And when Isaiah was being
sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he
was sawn in twain.

11. **Beliar.** See i. 9 (note).
12. **exceedingly.** E only.

V. 2. **wood-saw.** See note on ver. 11.
3. **Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs.** So all MSS. But the verbs following are in the plural. For Mechêmbêchûs see ii. 4.
laughing, a doublet.
4–8. **Balchîrâ** *b* (or 'Beliar' *a c*) tempts Isaiah.
4. Cf. Ambrose, *Comm.* on Ps. cxviii (ed. Bened. vol. i. 1124): 'ferunt quod Esaiae, in carcere posito cum mole imminentis urgeretur exitii, dixisse diabolum: Dic quia non a Domino locutus es, quae dixisti, et omnium in te mentes affectusque mutabo, ut qui indignantur iniuriam absolutionem in te conferant.'
7. **saw . . . not.** Negative supplied as in Asc. Isa. vi. 10.
8. **Balchîrâ** *b c.* Mîlchîras' *a.* See ii. 12 (note).
9. **So far . . . accursed** *b.* 'So far as I am concerned, accursed—that is to say—' *a.* The curse is against the false prophet as man ('house') and as an emissary of Satan ('powers'). Cf. *κατάθεμά σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφῆτα, διάβολε, Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Cf. also Matt. xvi. 23.
11. **a wood-saw.** For the sawing asunder of Isaiah cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15; Tert. *De Patientia,* 14 'His patientiae viribus secatur Esaias et de Domino non secat'; *Scorpiace* 8. A 'wooden saw' E, *Gk. Leg.* iii. 19, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 *περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαΐου, ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε,* &c., is a misunderstanding of מַשּׂוֹר עֵץ, which is a saw for sawing wood, whether of iron or any other metal. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 14 has *πρίονι σιδηρῷ.*
12. **and**—an intrusion.
13. **the cup.** Cf. Matt. xx. 22.
14. **neither cried aloud nor wept.** Cf. 'patientiae viribus,' Tert. *l. c.*

BOOK OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

It is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the Book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted conviction of one of this literary circle. He looked forward (civ. 11–12) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and become to the righteous 'a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom'. This hope was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocalyptic writings was very widespread, because they almost alone represented the advance of the higher theology in Judaism, which culminated in Christianity.[1] But our book contained much of a questionable character, and from the fourth century of our era onward it fell into discredit; and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom till over a century ago, when an Ethiopic version of the work was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three MSS. of it, from one of which Laurence made the first modern translation of Enoch. It was not, however, till recent years that the Book of Enoch and similar works have begun to come into their own owing to their immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B. C. to 100 A. D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.

The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C. Some of its authors—and there were many—belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period, in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O.T. prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God, and so, when men were moved by the Spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.

To describe in short compass the Book of Enoch is impossible. It comes from many writers and almost as many periods. It touches upon every subject that could have arisen in the ancient schools of the prophets, but naturally it deals with these subjects in an advanced stage of development. Nearly every religious idea appears in a variety of forms, and, if these are studied in relation to their contexts and dates, we cannot fail to observe that in the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality. And though at times the movement may be reactionary, yet the general trend is onward and upward. In fact the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch.

From what has been already said it is clear that no unity of time, authorship, or teaching is to be looked for. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the book belonged originally not to the Enoch literature at all, but to an earlier work, i. e. the Book of Noah, which probably exhibited in some degree the syncretism of the work into which it was subsequently incorporated. This Book of Noah clearly embraced chapters vi–xi, liv. 7–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25, cvi–cvii.[2]

[1] Nearly all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas. The authors of the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra, laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book.

[2] Portions have been preserved in Jubilees vii. 20–39, x. 1–15, but the date of this Noachic literature is at latest pre-Maccabean.

As regards the Enoch elements, the oldest portions of it are likewise pre-Maccabean, i. e. xii–xxxvi, and probably xc. 1–10, xci. 12–17, i. e. the Apocalypse of Weeks. The Dream Visions, i. e. lxxxiii–xc, were in all probability written when Judas the Maccabee was still warring, 165–161 B. C., lxxii–lxxxii before 110 B. C., the Parables, xxxvii–lxxi and xci–civ, 105–64 B. C.

The authors of all the sections belong to the Chasids or their successors the Pharisees.

Conflicting views are advanced on the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom, the origin of sin, Sheol, the final judgement, the resurrection, and the nature of the future life. There is an elaborate angelology and demonology, and much space is devoted to the calendar, and the heavenly bodies and their movements. Babylonian influences are here manifest and in a slight degree Greek.

The Book of Enoch, like the Book of Daniel, was written originally partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew. From an Aramaic original is derived vi–xxxvi, and possibly lxxxiii–xc, while the rest of the book comes from a Hebrew original. To determine these questions categorically is a task of no little difficulty, seeing that for four-fifths of the text we have only a translation of a translation, and that such close affinities exist between Hebrew and Aramaic. For the resemblances between the two languages are so great that frequently retranslation from the Ethiopic into either is sufficient to explain corruptions in the former. There has accordingly been great divergence of opinion on this question, but in the opinion of the present writer, who has spent considerable time on the problem, the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of the view above stated.

In the course of his studies it suddenly dawned upon the writer that much of the text was originally written in verse. This discovery has frequently proved helpful in the criticism of difficult passages, and the recovery of the original in a multitude of cases.

§ 2. The Title.

Our book appears under various titles, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1°. *Enoch.* Jude 14 ἐπροφήτευσεν . . . ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων.

Ep. Barn. ix. 3 ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει.

Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dindorf iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδόξων τῷ Ἐνώχ: also in iii. 474.

Origen, *In Ioannem* vi. 25 ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γέγραπται: *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γεγραμμένων.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* ii. 20 'ut Enoch refert'; *De Idol.* iv 'Enoch praedicens' xv; 'Spiritus . . . praececinit per . . . Enoch.'

Anatolius of Laodicaea (cited by Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32. 19 τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ μαθήματα).

2°. *The Books of Enoch.* This is probably the oldest title. The fifth section of the book itself opens with the words: xcii. 1 'The book written by Enoch'. cviii. 1 begins: 'Another book which Enoch wrote.' In lxxxii. 1 Enoch says to Methuselah: 'All these things I am recounting to thee . . . and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve . . . the books from thy father's hands.' xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness'. The third section, i. e. lxxii. 1, begins 'The book of the courses of the luminaries'. These passages imply a plurality of books.

But though apparently the oldest title, it has not the oldest independent attestation. It is found in the following works:

T. Jud. xviii. 1 (β A S[1]) ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

T. Lev. x. 5 (A) = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνώχ.

Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία: *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2 'In libellis qui appellantur Enoch'.

Pistis Sophia 'ea in secundo libro teu, quae scripsit Enoch'.

Syncellus (*Chronographia*, ed. Dind.), i. 19 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τοῦ Ἐνώχ. The same phrase recurs in i. 20, 48. Cf. i. 42 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου Ἐνώχ. Here and in the preceding work the division of Enoch into books is clearly recognized. There were five such divisions or books; see § 6.

3°. *Book of Enoch.* This title is found in:

T. Levi x. 5 (*a*, *d e g*) καθὼς περιέχει ἡ (> *a b f*) βίβλος Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

Origen, *De Princ.* i. 3. 3 'In Enoch libro': iv. 35 'in libro suo Enoch ita ait'.

Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3 'Fertur id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat'.

Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* iv 'De libro Enoch qui apocryphus est'.

Syncellus, *op. cit.* i. 60 ὡς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐνὼχ φέρεται. But this title may refer merely to one of the books of Enoch, and so come under 2°.

3°. *Words of Enoch.* This title has the oldest external attestation. Jub. xxi. 10, 'For thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.'

T. Benj. ix. 1 ἀπὸ λογίων (= λύγων β–d) Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου. This title finds some justification in 1 Enoch i. 1 'words of the blessing of Enoch'; xiv. 1 'book of the words of righteousness.'

4°. *Writing of Enoch*:

T. Lev. xiv. 1 (β A), ἔγνων ἀπὸ γραφῆς Ἐνώχ. See also in T. Sim. v. 4, T. Naph. iv. 1.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'scio scripturam Enoch . . . cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit.'

§ 3. Its Canonicity.

The citations of Enoch by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and by the Book of Jubilees shows that at the close of the second century B. C., and during the first century B. C., this book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. When we come down to the first century A. D., we find that it is recognized as Scripture by Jude. See under § 2, 1°. In the next century this recognition is given amply in the Ep. Barnabas xvi. 5 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή; by Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 24 ἃ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται (referring to Enoch); in the third century by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Prophet.* ii, see § 2, 1°; by Irenaeus iv. 16. 2 'Enoch . . . placens Deo . . . legatione ad angelos fungebatur'; by Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3, *De Idol.* xv, see § 2, 1°; by Zosimus of Panopolis, quoted in Syncellus (Dind. i. 24) τοῦτο οὖν ἔφασαν αἱ ἀρχαῖαι καὶ αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ὅτι ἄγγελοί τινες ἐπεθύμησαν τῶν γυναικῶν. After the third century the Book of Enoch fell into discredit and gradually passed out of circulation.

§ 4. The MSS.

a. Bodley, No. 4. Large quarto. 40 foll. 3 cols. 105 chapters. Latter half of eighteenth century. Enoch only.

b. Bodley, No. 5. Large quarto. 141 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century (?). Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Daniel.

c. Frankfort MS. Rüpp. II. 1. 34 × 30 cm. 181 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century. In several hands. Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Octateuch.

d. Curzon MS. Quarto. 91 foll. 2 cols. Enoch (102 chapters), Job, Daniel, 4 Ezra, Sirach.

e. Curzon MS. Small quarto. 101 foll. 2 cols. Marginal notes from another hand. Enoch (98 chapters ?), Samuel, Kings, and Apocryphal book.

f. British Museum. Add. 24185 (Wright's Catalogue, 1877, No. 5). 2 cols. of 23 lines. Nineteenth century. Enoch only. 106 chapters.

g. Brit. Mus. Orient. 485 (Wright, No. 6). 190 foll. 23 × 19 cm. 2 cols. of 23 or 24 lines. First half of sixteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Book of Jubilees. On foll. 168^a–177^a a duplicate of chapters xcvii. 6^b–cviii. 10 is inserted from another MS. akin to *g*. See next MS.

$_1g$. This MS. consists only of xcvii. 6^b–cviii. 10, and is found in foll. 168^a–177^a of *g*. It is inserted between the last word and the last but one of xci. 6. It is written by the same scribe, but the text though belonging to the best type differs from *g*.

h. Brit. Mus. Orient. 484 (Wright, No. 7). 3 cols. of 50 or 51 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, 1–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Sirach.

i. Brit. Mus. Orient. 486 (Wright, No. 8). 3 cols. of 29 lines. Eighteenth century. Chapters i–lx. 13^a missing. Nos. of remaining chapters erased. Enoch, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Sirach.

k. Brit. Mus. Orient. 490 (Wright, No. 12). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (107 chapters), Job, Daniel, 1 Ezra, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.

l. Brit. Mus. 24990 (Wright, No. 13). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (divided into chapters, but no numbers supplied), Job, Books ascribed to Solomon, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel.

m. Brit. Mus. Orient. 491 (Wright, No. 15). 219 foll. 40 × 32 cm. 3 cols. of 27 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Job, Twelve Minor Prophets, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.

n. Brit. Mus. Orient. 492 (Wright, No. 16). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (87 chapters), Books ascribed to Solomon, Jeremiah, 1 Ezra, Canticles, Sirach, Judith, Esther, Tobit.

o. Brit. Mus. Orient. 499 (Wright, No. 23). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Sirach, Daniel, Enoch (106 chapters), Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.

p. Formerly in the possession of Lord Crawford—now in the Rylands Collection. 67 foll. 39 × 33 cm. 3 cols. Seventeenth century. Enoch and other books.

q. Berlin MS. Peterm. II. Nachtr. No. 29 (Dillmann's Cat. 1). 167 foll. 17 × 14 cm. 2 cols. of 13 to 14 lines. Sixteenth century. Without division into chapters. Enoch only.

r. Abbadianus 16 (vid. *Cat. raison. de mss. éthiop. appartenant à A. d'Abbadie*, Paris, 1859). Nineteenth century. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. This is a poor MS., but it exhibits a few good readings.

s. Abbadianus 30. Eighteenth century. Enoch and other works. This is a poor MS., but has some notably good readings.

l. Abbadianus 35. 40 × 35 cm. 3 cols. of 38 to 39 lines. Seventeenth century. There are many erasures and corrections and marginal notes. The latter belong to the later type of text, and are designated as t^2. The division into chapters is marked in the margin on the first few folios. Enoch, Job, Samuel 1 and 2, Kings, Chronicles, Books ascribed to Solomon, Prophets, Sirach, 1–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther.

n. Abbadianus 55. 191 foll. 51 × 39 cm. 3 cols. of 48 to 50 lines. Possibly as early as the fifteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters) and other works. Text of Enoch much abbreviated after chapter lxxxiii.

r. Abbadianus 99. 70 foll. 23 × 17 cm. 2 cols. Nineteenth century. Copy made for M. d'Abbadie from a MS. in high estimation among the native scholars. This MS. has all the bad characteristics of the later type of text, but has some excellent readings. Enoch only.

w. Abbadianus 197. 157 foll. 26 × 23 cm. 3 cols. of 29 lines. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works.

x. Vatican MS. 71 (cf. Mai, *Script. veterum nova collectio*, Romae, 1831, tom. v. 2, p. 100). 27 foll. 3 cols. of 32 lines. Seventeenth century. Enoch only. 98 chapters.

y. Munich MS. 30. 61 foll. 25 × 15 cm. 2 cols. of 20 to 28 lines. Seventeenth century. Division into chapters only at the beginning. Enoch only.

z. Paris MS. 50 (see Zotenberg's Cat.). Seventeenth century. Enoch (division into chapters only at the beginning) and other works.

z^b. Paris MS. 49. Eighteenth century. Copy of *b*.

$_1a$. Garrett MS. 17 × 12 cm. 2 cols. of 22 lines. Nineteenth or end of eighteenth century. Enoch only.

$_1b$. Westenholz MS. 71 foll., of which first and last two are empty. 2 cols. of 24 lines. Eighteenth century. 106 chapters. Enoch only.

Relations of the Ethiopic MSS.

(*a*) There are two forms of text, α, β, of which β is late and secondary. α is represented by g_1gmqtu (and in some degree by *n*), while β, which owes its origin to native scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is represented by all the remaining MSS. The result of their labours has been on the whole disastrous, as these revisers had neither the knowledge of the subject-matter nor yet critical materials to guide them as to the true form of the text. The attestation, however, of neither group is uniform; especially is this so with α, which only once perhaps in twenty cases is undivided in its testimony. Thus it appears that the recension was not the work of a few years, but was rather a process which culminated in such a text as we find in β, and particularly in the MS. *v*.

(*b*) β or groups in β at times preserve the original text, where α is secondary.

(*c*) *The character and affinities of the chief MSS.*

g. Of the MSS. of α, *g* is decidedly the best all-round MS. It has been made the basis, so far as any single MS. can, of my text. It, however, exhibits much strange orthography and bad grammar.

$_1g$. This MS. (already described under *Ethiopic MSS.*) shows certain idiosyncrasies in ciii. 9–15, where it uses the first person over against the third in the other MSS. On the whole it is most nearly related to *g*.

m. This MS. is in some respects the weakest of the older group. It attaches itself so closely to *g*, that we must assume its having come under its influence. In the majority of its unique readings $_1g$ is unaccompanied by *m*, which, however, has many affinities with it.

q. Though teeming with errors in the way of additions, corruptions, and omissions, this MS. contains a larger number of unique original readings than any other used in our text. It approximates more closely to g_1gm than to *tu*.

t. This is a most interesting MS. as it gives the older type of reading in the text, and the later either over erasures or in the margin with the rejected words in the text bracketed. The corrector has not, however, done his work thoroughly. Moreover, in some cases the correction represents a return to the older text. *t* is closely connected with *u*.

u. This is a good MS. but very imperfect after lxxxiii. The omissions are capriciously made; sometimes words, sometimes phrases, sometimes whole sentences and paragraphs are excised to the entire destruction of the sense. Still, as *u* is a valuable MS. I faithfully record its omissions and changes.

n. Of the β class of MSS. *n* is by far the best. Indeed, though embodying in the main the second type of text, it attests more unique and original readings in i–xxxii than *m* or *t* or *u*. Also, at times, it alone of the β class supports various MSS. of the first class in the true reading.

§ 5. The Ancient Versions.

The Greek Versions.

The Greek Versions have only in part been preserved. Chapters i–xxxii. 6 and xix. 3–xxi. 9 in a duplicate form were discovered in 1886–7 at Akhmîm by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published by M. Bouriant in 1892. They are designated G^g, and as G^{g1} and G^{g2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Large fragments have been preserved in Syncellus—vi–x. 14, xv. 8–xvi. 1; and viii. 4–ix. 4 in a duplicate form. These are designated G^s, and as G^{s1}, G^{s2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Another fragment is found in a Vatican Greek MS., No. 1809, written in tachygraphic characters. For Greek quotations from 1 *Enoch*, see § 10 (*b*, *c*).

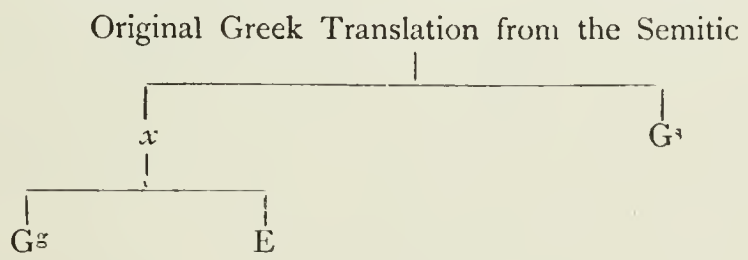
The relations of the G^s *and* G^g *to each other and to* E (*the Ethiopic Version*).

(*a*) G^s is more original than G^g. Though closely related these two fragments exhibit marks of independence. G^s has in several passages a different and undoubtedly better order of text. Thus it rightly places vii. 3–5 of G^g (or rather its equivalent of vii. 3–5) after viii. 3 of G^g. Again in viii. 3 G^g is very defective compared with G^s. The additional matter in G^s could not have been written by a Greek, as in every instance the office constitutes when translated into Aramaic a play on the name of the angel who discharges the office. Similarly in vi. 7 the order of the angels' names is different, and G^s is here again preferable to G^g E. Moreover, in viii. 4; ix. 9; x. 2, 4, G^s has a fuller and more original reading than G^g E. Finally G^s preserves several right readings over against G^g E. See x. 11, 14.

(*b*) Relations of G^s and G^g to E. E and G^g are more closely related than E and G^s, or G^s and G^g. They have the same corruptions over against the reading of G^s in x. 7, 11, 14; xiv. 8, 18; xv. 9; xviii. 5; xxii. 4; xxv. 5; xxviii. 2.

On the other hand, E preserves certain original readings lost by G^g and vice versa.

(*c*) From the above facts it follows that G^g and E spring from a common ancestor which we may designate *x*, and that this *x* and G^s proceed ultimately from the same original, the first Greek translation of the *Book of Enoch*, though the evidence postulates the existence of duplicate renderings in this translation, *x* adopting one rendering and G^s the other. In some cases *x* adopted both, which were reproduced respectively by G^g and E. In some cases there may have been variants in the Semitic original. Hence the genealogy of the above documents might be represented thus:



The Latin Version.

The Latin Fragment, which constitutes a very imperfect reproduction of cvi. 1–18, was discovered in 1893 in the British Museum by Dr. James. In the same year he issued it in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, II, No. 3, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 146–50. This MS. seems to point to a Latin translation of Enoch, and shows no signs of being an excerpt from a collection of excerpts.

For *Latin quotations* see under § 10 (*c*).

The Ethiopic Version.

The Ethiopic Version has been preserved in twenty-nine MSS. of which fifteen are to be found in England, eight in France, four in Germany, one in Italy, and one in America. Of these MSS. there are only three of which my knowledge is indirect and slight, *p* and *z*, z^b. Of these z^b is of no account as it is an exact transcript of *b*.

The division of Enoch into chapters was made apparently in the sixteenth century. The division into 108 chapters was made by Dillmann without MS. authority, and has been followed by all subsequent scholars. This division is indeed found in one MS., i.e. *h*, but it was unknown to Dillmann when he made his text. Moreover, the chapters in *h* vary frequently in length from those in Dillmann's text.

§ 6. The different Elements in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works. These consist of i–xxxvi, xxxvii–lxxi, lxxii–lxxxii, lxxxiii–xc, xci–cviii. Behind this apparently artificial division lies a real difference as to authorship, system of thought, and date. When I edited my first edition of Enoch in 1893 it was necessary for me to go at great length into the differentiae marking these divisions; since the accepted criticism of the day regarded i–xxxvi, lxxii–civ as forming the groundwork, and proceeding from one and the same author. Since that date this impossible hypothesis has vanished from the field of criticism. My task here is, therefore, no longer of a polemical nature, but simply to determine so far as possible the extent, character, and date of the various independent writings embodied in this work. The various sections will now be dealt with in the order of their occurrence.

Fragments of the Book of Noah. But before we enter on the criticism of the various elements in the book, we should observe first of all that it contains fragments of an earlier work—entitled the Book of Noah. Of the existence of this book we know independently from the Book of Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10, and later sources. But even if we had possessed no independent reference to such a book, we could have had no doubt as to its existence; for the contents of chapters lx, lxv–lxix. 25 prove conclusively that they are from this source; also cvi–cvii. Furthermore, vi–xi[1] are derived from the same work. These latter chapters never refer to Enoch, but to Noah. Moreover, where the author of Jubilees in vii. 20–25 describes the laws laid down by Noah for his children, and Noah's accounts of the evils that had brought the Flood upon the earth, he borrows not only the ideas, but at times the very phraseology of these chapters. Finally, we may observe that chapters lxxxviii–lxxxix. 1 presuppose a minute acquaintance with chapter x. liv. 7–lv. 2 probably belong to the same source. *The Noachic fragments preserved in this book are thus:* vi–xi, liv–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25, cvi–cvii.

These facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up on the débris of the former.

Having now disposed of the earlier materials utilized by the writers of the different Sections of Enoch, we shall now proceed to deal with the five Sections or Books in the order of their occurrence.

Section I. i–xxxvi. We have already seen that vi–xi belonged originally to the Book of Noah; xii–xvi, on the other hand, are a vision or visions of Enoch in which he intercedes on behalf of Azazel and the Watchers. These visions are preserved in a fragmentary form, and not in their original order—a fact which is most probably due to the editor of the whole work, since the same dislocation of the text recurs in lxxviii–lxxx and xci–xciii. The original order of xii–xvi was, so far as the present fragmentary text goes: xiv. 1 . . . xiii. 1–2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2, xii. 4–6 || xvi. 3–4. xii. 1–2 is an editorial introduction.

This portion of our text began obviously with the words: xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers'. Then came a request on the part of Azazel that Enoch should intercede for him. This request was acceded to on the part of Enoch, who in a vision received God's judgement on Azazel. But both the request and the vision are lost. In xiii. 1–2, however, the answer to Azazel's request is given in the divine doom announced by Enoch. Next Enoch is besought by the Watchers to intercede for them, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–7. Thereupon Enoch has a vision regarding them, xiii. 8, which he recounts to them, xiii. 9–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2. Finally the section closes with the message of doom, which Enoch is bidden to take to the Watchers, xvi. 3–4. Of xvi. 3–4 there is a doublet, xii. 4–6, which is more original than xvi. 3–4.

xvii–xix stand by themselves, exhibiting, as they do, strong traces of Greek influences in their description of the underworld, and yet showing a close affinity to xx–xxxvi, since xviii. 6–9 is a doublet of xxiv. 1–3, xviii. 11 of xxi. 7–10, xviii. 12–16 of xxi. 1–6; xix. 2, moreover, reflects the same view as x. 14.

xx–xxxvi come apparently from one and the same author: the functions ascribed to the archangels in xx are tolerably borne out in xxi–xxxvi. But since only four of the seven archangels mentioned in xx are dealt with in xxi–xxxvi, it is possible that a considerable passage was early lost.

[1] Even these chapters are composite; for they are a conflation of two distinct cycles of myths relating respectively to Semjaza and Azazel (see my second edition, pp. 13–14 notes), and this conflation was anterior to the date of the Dream Visions, which presuppose the existence of these chapters in their present form, or at all events of chapter x.

i–v now call for treatment. These chapters are connected in phraseology with every section of the book save lxxii–lxxxii. (See my edition, p. 2 sq.) Thus the phrase 'he took up his parable', i. 2, suggests a connexion with xxxvii–lxxi, but this may be a mere coincidence, since the writer is here consciously influenced by Num. xxiii–xxiv, where the phrase recurs several times. These chapters, moreover, appear to be of composite origin. ii–v seem to be a unity. But I see no satisfactory solution of the problem.

To sum up. i–xxxvi may be analysed into the following independent elements, i–v, v–xi, xii–xvi, xvii–xix, xx–xxxvi. When the Book of Jubilees was written we shall see that vi–xxxvi had already been put together.

SECTION II. xxxvii–lxxi. As all critics are now agreed that the Parables are distinct in origin from the rest of the book, I will simply refer the reader here to my edition, pp. 65 sq., for some of the grounds for this conclusion.

xxxvii–lxxi have been handed down in a fragmentary condition, and many of the problems they suggest can only be tentatively solved or merely stated.

xxxvii–lxxi consist in the main of three Parables, xxxviii–xliv, xlv–lvii, lviii–lxix. These are introduced by xxxvii and concluded by lxx, which describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah. lxxi, which contains two visions received in his lifetime, belongs to one of the three Parables. We have already seen that liv. 7–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25, are interpolated from the ancient Book of Noah.

Behind the Parables there appear to lie two sources, as Beer suggested though he did not work out his suggestion. The one was the 'Son of Man' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel who went with me': i. e. xl. 3–7, xlvi–xlviii. 7, lii. 3–4, lxi. 3–4, lxii. 2–lxiii, lxix. 26–9, lxx–lxxi, and the other 'the Elect One' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel of peace': i. e. xxxviii–xxxix, xl. 1–2, 8–10, xli. 1–2, 9, xlv, xlviii. 8–10, l–lii. 1–2, 5–9, liii–liv. 6, lv. 3–lvii, lxi. 1–2, 5–13, lxii. 1. See my edition, pp. 64–5.

SECTION III. lxxii–lxxxii. Chapter lxxii introduces a scientific treatise. In this treatise the writer attempts to bring the many utterances in the O.T. regarding physical phenomena into one system. The sole aim of his book is to give the laws of the heavenly bodies, and this object he pursues undeviatingly to lxxix. 1, where it is said that his treatise is finished. Through all these chapters there is not a single ethical reference. The author's interest is scientific, and, like the author of Jubilees in vi. 32–6, he upholds the accuracy of the sun and stars as dividers of time, lxxiv. 12. And this order is inflexible and will not change till the new creation, lxxii. 1. But in lxxx. 2–8 the interest is ethical and nothing else, and though it recognizes an order of nature, this order is more conspicuous in its breach than in its observance. lxxx. 2–8 appears then to be an addition. Nor, again, can lxxxi belong to lxxii–lxxxii. Whereas the blessing of lxxii–lxxix, lxxxii is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years, the blessing of lxxxi. 4 is for the man 'who dies in righteousness'. lxxxi is of the nature of a mosaic and may come from the hand of the editor of the complete Enoch. Finally lxxxii stood originally before lxxix. 6 'Such is the . . . sketch of every luminary which Uriel . . . showed unto me'. After the long disquisition on the stars in lxxxii, the first words in lxxix. 1 come in most appropriately: 'I have shown thee everything, *and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.*' If lxxxii did not precede, these words could not be justified. For like dislocations cf. xii–xvi, xci–xciii.

Thus the original order of this Section was: lxxii–lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxix. For a full discussion of this Section and its independence of i–xxxvi and the knowledge it implies of the Calendar, see my edition, pp. 147–50.

SECTION IV. lxxxiii–xc. This is the most complete and self-consistent of all the Sections, and has suffered least from the hand of the interpolator. For passages that have suffered in the course of transmission see xc. 19, which I have restored before xc. 14: also lxxxix. 48. In xc, *vv.* 13–15 are a doublet of *vv.* 16–18.

lxxxiii–xc is of different authorship to vi–xxxvi. (1) The descent of the Watchers in lxxxvi. 1–3 differs from that in vi. (2) The throne of judgement is in Palestine in xc. 20–6, but in the N.W. in the midst of the Seven Mountains in xviii. 8, xxv. 3. (3) The scene of the kingdom in lxxxiii–xc is the New Jerusalem set up by God Himself: in i–xxxvi it is Jerusalem and the earth *unchanged* though purified, x. 18, 20. (4) lxxxiii–xc are only visions assigned to Enoch's earlier and unwedded life: vi–xxxvi are accounts of actual bodily translations and are assigned to his later life. If these two Sections were from one and the same author, and that an ascetic, exactly the converse would have been the case. For other grounds see my edition, pp. 179 sq.

Identity of authorship appears, therefore, to be impossible ; but the similarities in phraseology and idea (see *op. cit.*) prove that one of the authors had the work of the other before him. Of the two Sections there is no room for doubt that lxxxiii–xc is the later.

SECTION V. xci–civ. *Critical Structure.* This Section is in the main complete and self-consistent. It has, however, suffered at the hands of the editor of the entire work in the way of direct interpolation and of severe dislocations of the text. We have already seen his handiwork in the case of xii–xvi and lxxviii–lxxxii. The dislocations of the text are a remarkable feature in this Section, and I cannot see any adequate explanation. The editor incorporated an earlier work—the Apocalypse of Weeks—into his text, xciii. 1–10, xci. 13–17, the former part dealing with the first seven weeks of the world's history and the latter with the last three. Taken together these form an independent whole. But this is not all. Since this Section is of different authorship to the other Sections of the book it is obvious that it began originally with xcii. 1, 'Written by Enoch the scribe,' &c. On xcii follows xci. 1–10, 18–19 as a natural sequel, where Enoch summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the Apocalypse of Weeks: xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17. Thus the original order of the book is xcii, xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv.

Relation to vi–xxxvi. At first sight the evidence for the unity of authorship of these two Sections is very great. They have many phrases in common. In each there are references to the law, the eating of blood, and to the regularity of nature. There is no hint of a Messiah in either. There are other resemblances but they are seeming and not real. On the other hand, in vi–xxxvi the Messianic kingdom is eternal, in xci–civ it is temporary, if the Apocalypse of Weeks is taken to be a constituent part of xci–civ. In the former the final judgement is held before the establishment of the kingdom, x. 12, xvi. 1, in the latter at the close of the temporary kingdom (xciii. 1–10, xci. 1–10). Whereas the resurrection in vi–xxxvi is a resuscitation to a temporary blessedness, x. 17, xxv. 5, in the latter it is not to the temporary kingdom spoken of in xci. 13, 14, xcvi. 8, but to one of eternal blessedness subsequent to the final judgement, c. 4, 5. Whereas the resurrection in vi–xxxvi is a resuscitation in a physical body, in xci–civ it is a resurrection in a spiritual body, xcii. 3, 4, civ. 2, 6. In the latter there is a resurrection of the righteous only: not so in the former. For other grounds see my edition, 219 sq.

Relation to lxxxiii–xc. In xci–civ the Messianic kingdom is temporary in duration but not so in lxxxiii–xc: in the former the final judgement is consummated at the close of the kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. In xci–civ there is a resurrection of the righteous only ; in lxxxiii–xc of the righteous and the apostate Jews. The kingdom to which the righteous rise in xci–civ is not the temporary kingdom on the earth but the new heaven, but in lxxxiii–xc it is the Messianic kingdom on the earth.

cv. This chapter appears to be an independent fragment.

cvi–cvii. These chapters have already been dealt with as part of the Book of Noah.

cviii. This chapter forms an appendix to the entire work added not by the editor but by a subsequent writer to confirm the righteous in the face of repeated disappointment in their expectations.

§ 7. DATES OF THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS.

I will here deal with these elements in the order of their age.

Book of Noah. This book was, as we have seen already, laid under contribution by the author of the Book of Jubilees and by the general editor of Enoch. Part of it is embodied in vi–xxxvi, and this part is presupposed as already existing by lxxxiii–xc. Now, since lxxxiii–xc cannot be later than 161 B. C., it follows that we have here the *terminus ad quem* of this work.

vi–xxxvi. Since vi–xvi, xxiii–xxxvi were known to the author of the Book of Jubilees (see my edition, p. lxix) this Section must have been written before the latter half of the second century B. C. Since, further, lxxxiii–xc, written before 161 B. C., show a minute acquaintance with x, the date of vi–xi must be put back to the first third of that century. Many other points in lxxxiii–xc (see my edition, p. 179) point to the acquaintance of the author of lxxxiii–xc with vi–xxxvi. Again, since vi–xxxvi makes no reference to the persecution of Antiochus, the *terminus ad quem* is thus fixed at 170 B. C. The fact that vi–xxxvi were written in Aramaic is in favour of pre-Maccabean date ; for when once a nation recovers, or is trying to recover, its independence, we know from history that it seeks to revive its national language.

lxxxiii–xc. The fourth and last of the four periods into which lxxxiii–xc divide history between the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom began about 200 B. C. (see my edition, pp. 180 sq., 206 sqq.), and marks the transition of supremacy over Israel from the Graeco-Egyptians to the Graeco-Syrians, as well as the rise of the Chasids. The

Chasids, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep, xc. 6, are already an organized party in the Maccabean revolt. But certain of these lambs became horned, i. e. the Maccabean family, and the great horn is Judas Maccabaeus, xc. 9. As this great horn is still warring at the close of the rule of the shepherds, xc. 16, this section must have been written before the death of Judas, 161 B. C.

xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17. This—the Apocalypse of Weeks—may have been written before the Maccabean revolt. There is no reference in it to the persecution of Antiochus. But the date is wholly doubtful.

lxxii–lxxxii. This section is referred to in Jubilees iv. 17, 21, where the author tells how Enoch wrote a book of the order of the months, the seasons of the years, and the rule of the sun. Hence the *terminus ad quem* is 110 B. C. or thereabouts.

xci–civ. In lxxxiii–xc the Maccabees were the religious champions of the nation and the friends of the Chasidim. Here they are leagued with the Sadducees and are the foes of the Pharisaic party. This section was written, therefore, after 109 B. C., when (?) the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees took place. But a later date must be assumed according to the literal interpretation of ciii. 14, 15, where the rulers are said to uphold the Sadducean oppressors and to share in the murder of the righteous. This charge is not justified before 95 B. C. As for the later limit, the Herodian princes cannot be the rulers here mentioned; for the Sadducees were irrevocably opposed to these as aliens and usurpers. The date, therefore, may be either 95–79 B. C. or 70–64 B. C., during which periods the Pharisees were oppressed by both rulers and Sadducees. In my edition of Jubilees, pp. lxix–lxxi, I have given various grounds for regarding xci–civ as dependent on Jubilees.

xxxvii–lxxi. From a full review of the evidence, which is given and discussed in the notes of my edition on xxxviii. 5, it appears that the kings and the mighty so often denounced in the Parables are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters—the later Maccabean princes, on the one hand, and not the earlier; for the blood of the righteous was not shed as the writer complains (xlvii. 1, 2, 4) before 95 B. C.: the later Maccabean princes, on the other hand, and not the Herodians; for (1) the Sadducees were not supporters of the latter, and (2) Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers—a fact which necessitates an earlier date than 64 B. C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea. Thus the date of the Similitudes could not have been earlier than 94 B. C. or later than 64 B. C. But it is possible to define the date more precisely. As the Pharisees enjoyed unbroken power and prosperity under Alexandra 79–70 B. C., the Parables must be assigned either to the years 94–79 or 70–64.

§ 8. The Poetical Element in 1 Enoch.

In the course of editing the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch I was fortunate enough to discover that no small proportion of it was written originally in verse. But the full extent of the poetical element was not recognized till the completion of the present edition. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book, but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connexions of wrongly disjoined clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Our recognition of this fact enables us to recognize the genuineness of verses which had hitherto been regarded as interpolations, and to excise others which were often in themselves unmeaning or at variance with their contexts. The very first chapter is the best witness in these respects. There we find that i. 6–9 consists of nine stanzas of three lines each. E had lost two of the lines of stanza seven, but happily these had been preserved by G^g. Again, in vi. 4–9 we have eight stanzas of four lines each. The order of the lines has been disarranged as will be seen in vi. 6–7, but here the parallelism enables us to effect their restoration. Ch. 51 would without a recognition of the poetical character be in many respects inexplicable. In other passages it enables us to recognize certain lines as dittographs: cf. lix. 6^d, lxxi. 3^c, lxxx. 7^c, lxxxii. 2^b, xciv. 7^d.

§ 9. Original Language of Chapters VI–XXXVI—Aramaic; of I–V, XXXVII–CIV—Hebrew.

That 1 Enoch was originally written in a Semitic language is now universally admitted. But what that language is is still, as regards portions of the book, a question of dispute. In the past, Murray, Jellinek, Hilgenfeld, Halévy, Goldschmidt, Charles (formerly), Littmann, and Martin have advocated a Hebrew original, while at various times an Aramaic original has been maintained by De Sacy, Lévi, Eerdmans, Schmidt, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Praetorius. Ewald, Dillmann

Lods, Flemming could not come to a decision between Hebrew and Aramaic. But of the above scholars only three have really grappled with the subject, i. e. Halévy, Charles, and Schmidt, and three different theses are advanced by them. While Halévy maintains a Hebrew original, and Schmidt an Aramaic, the present writer, as a result of his studies in editing the Ethiopic text and the translation and commentary based upon it, is convinced that neither view can be established, but that each appears to be true in part.[1] In other words, like the Book of Daniel, part of 1 Enoch was written originally in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. The proofs of this thesis amount in certain sections almost to demonstration: in the case of others only to a high probability. The results of the present study of this problem tend to show that chapters vi–xxxvi were originally written in Aramaic, and xxxvii–civ, and probably i–v in Hebrew.

Chapters i–v. *Probably from a Hebrew original.* These chapters, as we have shown elsewhere, do not come from the same author or period as vi–xxxvi.

i. 1. In E the text = ἐξᾶραι πάντας τοὺς πονηρούς whereas G^g has ἐξᾶραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς. The former, as the context shows, as well as Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (see note on p. 4 of the Commentary), is original, the latter not. Now the former = כל־הרעים, the latter = כל־הצרים, a corruption of the former. The same corruption is found in the LXX of Prov. xx. 22. Since E and G^g are in the main derived from the same Greek translation, this fact, unless due to a sheer blunder of a copyist, points to the presence of alternative readings in the margin of the Hebrew archetype, which were reproduced by the Greek translator. Other facts point in the same direction: see note on v. 9^b below.

1. 9. In 'He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones' the text reproduces the Massoretic of Deut. xxxiii. 2 in reading אָתָא = ἔρχεται, whereas the three Targums, the Syriac and Vulgate read אִתֹּה = μετ' αὐτοῦ. Here the LXX diverges wholly. The reading אתא is recognized as original. The writer of i–v therefore used the Hebrew text and presumably wrote in Hebrew.

v. 6^b. ἐν ὑμῖν καταράσονται πάντες οἱ καταρώμενοι = בכם יקללו כל־המקללים is, so far as I am aware, a Hebrew idiom, and not an Aramaic. See note on p. 12 of my Commentary.

v. 9^b. Here G^g reads ἁμάρτωσιν, but E = κριθήσονται = יֵאָשְׁמוּ (cf. Prov. xxx. 10; Isa. xxiv. 6; Jer. ii. 3, &c.). Here the parallelism shows that G^g is right. Here, as in i. 1 above, we can explain the double rendering by assuming that one of these readings stood in the text and the other in the margin.

Since none of the evidence favours an Aramaic original, and whatever linguistic evidence there is makes for a Hebrew, we may provisionally conclude in favour of the latter.

Chapters vi–xxxvi. The evidence in favour of an Aramaic original of these chapters is practically conclusive.

(*a*) *Aramaic words transliterated in the Greek or Ethiopic.* Amongst the many Semitic words transliterated in these versions the following are Aramaic and Aramaic only: in G^g φουκά, xviii. 8, i. e. פוכא, μανδοβαρά, xxviii. 1, and βαββηρά, xxix. 1, i. e. מדברא. Another Aramaic form is χερουβίν, xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, but this form is indecisive as it is found not infrequently in the LXX. In E manzerân[2] for manzerîn, x. 9, i. e. ממזרין: 'alwâ, xxxi. 2 (see note *in loc.*) = אהלא. The Hebrew form is אהלים.

Other transliterations are βάτους, x. 19, i. e. בת, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic: χαλβάνη, xxxi. 1, i. e. חלבנה Hebrew or חלבונא Aramaic. On the other hand there are two Hebrew words transliterated: thus σαρράν, xxxi. 1 = צָרִי, which is not found in Aramaic but which is rendered in Aramaic by קטף: and γῆ, xxvii. 2 = גיא = 'valley', which is a pure Hebrew word, the Aramaic being חילא. These last two cases are somewhat strange, but, since גיא is here used as a proper name, its use in an Aramaic document may be justified.

(*b*) *Aramaic constructions.* In xix. 2 we have the peculiar Greek αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων. This is a literal reproduction of the Aramaic idiom נשיהון די מלאכיא די חטו. The same construction recurs in E ix. 8 which = συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν = שכיבו עמהון עם נשיא. Here G^g, it is true, has omitted μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν. This omission was probably due to the unintelligibility of the construction to a Greek scribe. G^s, however, preserves the missing clause but wrongly connects it with the following verb—this change being due no doubt to an attempt to normalize the Greek. Thus G^s reads συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμιάνθησαν. Here the καί should be restored after θηλείαις. In vi. 8 we have a third instance of this idiom, though in a corrupt form: οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν τῶν δεκά(δων) = ראשיהון דעסריתא. This Aramaic idiom has found its way into the O.T. as in Cant. iii. 7.

(*c*) *Some of the proper names with which paronomasias are connected postulate an Aramaic original.* Thus in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now the ὁ τρίτος in vi. 7 is Ἀρακιήλ = ארקיאל, where ארק is Aramaic for 'earth'. Thus this angel naturally taught the signs of the earth: ארקיאל יאליף אתי ארקא. Again in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ εἰκοστὸς ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, where ὁ εἰκοστός according to G^s vi. 7 is Σαριήλ = סהריאל. Here סהר is Aramaic for 'moon'. Again in viii. 3 the ὁ ὄγδοος in ὁ ὄγδοος

[1] This view was first advanced in my edition of the Ethiopic text, pp. xxvii–xxxiii.

[2] Here G^g has μαζηρέους and cannot account for E. Hence E here, as in i. 1, v. 9^b above, presupposes another reading than that in G^g, this reading being in the text or margin of the Greek translation.

ἐδίδαξε ἀεροσκοπίαν is in G^g vi. 7 Ἐζεκιήλ (G^s Ζακιήλ) = שחקיאל. שְׁחַק (= ἀήρ), it is true, is Hebrew as well as Aramaic.

In xiii. 7 it is said that 'the angels were mourning in Abilene', i. e. אבלין באבילין. In G^s vi. 7 the play on Hermon is possible both in Aramaic and Hebrew (see note *in loc.*), but the play on Jared in the same verse is only possible in Hebrew. Whence we may infer that this paronomasia originated in Hebrew and is only reproduced in this Aramaic document. Finally in E G^s x. 7 the command is given to Raphael: ἴασαι τὴν γῆν = רפי הארעא, in which there is an obvious play on Raphael's name. But though Nöldeke states that 'רפא ist gemeinsemitisch' (*ZDMG*, 1886, xl. 723, quoted by Schmidt) it is not found in the Targums and later rabbinical literature. Here, therefore, the play may be due to a pre-existing Hebrew document or myth, just as we are obliged to make the same presupposition in the case of 'Jared' above.

(*d*) *Text restored through retranslation into Aramaic.* In this section there are many corrupt passages, as might be expected, which can be restored through retranslation either into Aramaic or Hebrew, owing to the close affinities of these languages. This may be the case in ix. 4 מלכיא (i. e. τῶν βασιλέων E) corrupt for עלמיא = τῶν αἰώνων, or מלכים for עלמים: similarly in x. 7 ἐπάταξαν E G^g = אבדו, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic, and corrupt for אמרו = εἶπον G^s.[1] In x. 17 τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν = שַׁבַּתְהוֹן, wrongly vocalized for שְׁבָתְהוֹן, or = שַׁבָּתָם corrupt for שְׁבָתָם. xiv. 8 κατεσπούδαζον καὶ †ἐθορύβαζον†. Here the second verb is impossible. The clause in Aramaic = יחון ויבהלון. Now the pael יבהלון = θορυβάζειν, ταράσσειν, or συνταράσσειν in Dan. iv. 2, 16; v. 9, 10; vii. 15, 28, and is rendered by Theodotion by the latter two verbs. On the other hand, the LXX renders the same Aramaic verb by καταπεύδειν in iv. 16; v. 6. Thus the translator of the LXX, who, as we know from the rest of his translation of the Aramaic section of Daniel, was very familiar with Aramaic, assigns to the part of the Aramaic verb the same meaning as the piel and hiphil of the Hebrew בהל. Hence we may assume that the pael in Aramaic could mean καταπεύδειν or θορυβάζειν. Thus we could explain ἐθορύβαζον as a mistranslation in this context of יבהלון. It is also possible that the two verbs are alternative renderings of one and the same verb in the Aramaic. This would have been possible also if the original had been Hebrew; for יבהלו pointed as a piel would mean κατεσπούδαζον and ἐθορύβαζον as a niphel. In xiii. 2; xv. 4, 11; xxix. 2 also the text can be restored by either language. (See notes *in loc.*)

But there are other passages that apparently defy restoration save through retranslation into Aramaic. In ix. 10 ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται †ἐξελθεῖν†, the ἐξελθεῖν is meaningless, but by retranslation we discover the origin of the corruption. ἐξελθεῖν = למנפק corrupt for למפסק = 'cease'. The lamentations 'cannot *cease* because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth'.

In x. 7 (where see note) the variations of the versions can be explained through the Aramaic, where E has twice 'earth' (= γῆ), G^g has once γῆ and once πλημμύρα, and G^s πλημμύρα both times. The variations could, of course, have originated in G, but γῆ and πλημμύρα can be readily accounted for as renderings of ארעה, which, punctuated as אַרְעָא = γῆ, and as אַרְעָא = πλημμύρα.

In xvii. 7 E = τὰ ὄρη τῶν γνόφων = טורי קבלא. The phrase was derived most probably from Jer. xiii. 16 הרי נשף. But G^g reads ἀνέμους τῶν γνόφων = רוחי קבלא. Here, as we have seen several times already, the Greek translator appears to have found טורי in the text and רוחי in the margin (or vice versa), and to have rendered both, one of which was preserved by G^g and the other by the Greek ancestor of E.

In xviii. 2 the text ἴδον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στερέωμα (G^g E) is quite impossible. The winds do not bear the earth. By retranslation into Aramaic we see that τὴν γῆν arose in the Aramaic through a dittography. The clause = חזית רוחיא ארבע ארעא מסוברין, where ארעא is a dittograph of ארבע. The winds bear the firmament, not the earth.

In xxviii. 2 πλήρης δένδρων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων. It would be absurd to speak of a plain as being 'full of trees and seeds'. Here ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων = ומזרעין, corrupt for וזרעונין (cf. Dan. i. 12, 16; Mishna, *Kil.* ii. 2; iii. 2) = καὶ τῶν φυτευμάτων. Or the wrong phrase may be due to a wrong punctuation of the Aramaic word by the Greek translator. See note *in loc.*

In xxxi. 3 ὅταν τρίβωσιν refer to certain fragrant trees mentioned in the preceding verse. These trees yielded a fragrant odour when burnt. (See note *in loc.*) Hence I assume that ירקון (= τρίβωσιν) is corrupt for ירלקון = καύσωσιν.

Chapters xxxvii–lxxi *from a Hebrew original.* In support of this view Halévy (*op. cit.* pp. 364 sqq.) criticized over a dozen of passages from the Parables and the interpolations with a view to showing that the meaning of the text could not be recovered unless by retranslation from a Hebrew original. Unhappily Halévy based his work on the corrupt text of Dillmann, and most of his conclusions have thereby been invalidated. Some, however, are of permanent value. On the other hand Schmidt (*O.T. and Semitic Studies*, ii. 336–43) strongly contests this view, and maintains the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. I have studied carefully his ingenious essay, but this study has served to confirm me in the belief in a Hebrew original, which I assumed in my edition of 1893, and supported by arguments in my text of 1908. The preparation of my new edition has served to bring fresh evidence on this question to light.

[1] Here again the two readings in the Greek versions can be best explained by variants in the margin of the Semitic original. See footnote p. 173, and the paragraphs on xiv. 8 (*ad fin.*), xvii. 7.

First of all I will give (*a*) *a list of passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of either a Hebrew or an Aramaic original*; (*b*) *passages which are believed to presuppose an Aramaic only*; and (*c*) *passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

(*a*) *Passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of a Hebrew or an Aramaic original.* xxxvii. 4 'Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits.' Here the Ethiopic has 'ĕmqĕdma = ἐκ προσώπου or ἔμπροσθεν = מִלִּפְנֵי, 'from before,' or practically 'by', as I have rendered it. This late use of מלפני is found in Esther i. 19; iv. 8; 1 Chron. xxix. 12. The same idiom is found in Aramaic, i. e. מן־קדם: cf. Dan. vi. 27 (‖ iii. 29 מִנֵּי). The same idiom recurs in lxv. 10, and possibly in xlviii. 2, 3, 6.

xl. 9. The play on the names of Raphael and Gabriel is found in Hebrew; it is possible in Aramaic in the case of Gabriel, but a play on Raphael has never been found in Aramaic. In fact, רפא is not found in the Targums.

xlv. 3. 'Shall **try** their works.' For 'try' the text reads 'choose'. Now, as I pointed out in 1908, this = יבחר, corrupt for יבחן: or, if the original had been Aramaic, we had to suppose that the translator followed the wrong meaning of יבחר. Schmidt accepts the latter supposition.

xlvi. 4[b]. 'Shall †raise up† the kings . . . from their seats.' A dittograph of this verse reappears in xlvi. 5[a] 'shall put down the kings from their thrones'. Here 'raise up' = יטול is corrupt for יַפִּיל = 'put down'. This restoration is possible either in Hebrew or Aramaic.

liv. 10. 'And **when**.' Here the text reads 'and because', but the context requires 'when'. The wrong rendering can be explained either from Hebrew or Aramaic (see note *in loc.*).

lv. 3. In my note I have restored the text by means of Hebrew: but it is possible also through Aramaic, since מן־קדם can also mean 'because of'.

lxv. 11. See note *in loc.*

lxvi. 2. Here the text reads 'hands' הידים or ידיא corrupt for המים or ימיא.

lxviii. 2. Text reads 'provokes me' = ירניזני or יארגיזני.

lxix. 1. As in lxviii. 2.

lxix. 4. The corruption can be explained either by Hebrew or Aramaic.

lxix. 13. *Task.* Here 'number' = מנין (or מנינא as Schmidt points out) which seems corrupt for ענין (or ענינא) = 'task'.

lxxi. 1. Same corruption as in lxix. 4.

(*b*) *Phrases and passages which are adduced by Schmidt in support of an Aramaic original.* Some of these have been dealt with already under (*a*), i. e. xxxvii. 4; xl. 9; xlv. 3; lxv. 11; lxviii. 2; lxix. 13, in which cases Schmidt suggests that the corrupt passages in question can be best explained by an Aramaic original, though possible also by a Hebrew original. His suggestions on li. 3, xli. 5 are unnecessary, as the corruptions are native to E, and that on lii. 9, as we shall see later, is untenable, and his transformation of xxxviii. 2 'whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits' into 'whose worship has been rendered solely to the Lord of Spirits' is wholly uncalled for, since there is no difficulty in the phrase which recurs twice in xl. 5, xlvi. 8, and has a parallel in Judith viii. 24. The plurals Sûrâfên, Kîrûbên, Afnîn in lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 are certainly Aramaic in form, but σεραφείν which occurs only twice in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. vi. 2, 6, appears both times in the oldest MSS. of the א A of the LXX in this form, in Isa. vi. 2 and in B in vi. 6. The Aramaic form χερουβείν is often found in the LXX. Hence this evidence for an Aramaic original is without weight.

But 'the most convincing evidence . . . of an Aramaic original is furnished by the Ethiopic translations of the term "Son of Man". They are walda sab'ĕ xlvi. 2, 3, 4; xlviii. 2; lx. 10: walda b'ĕsî lxii. 5; lxix. 29[a],[b]; lxxi. 14: and walda 'ĕguâla 'ĕma hĕjâw lxii. 7, 9, 14; lxiii. 11; lxix. 26, 27; lxx. 1; lxxi. 17. . . . Of these the last is the most peculiar. Literally it means "the son of the offspring of the mother of the living" . . . and is a rendering of *οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* and especially of *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.*' Schmidt then proceeds to emphasize the importance of these different renderings in the Parables, whereas in the N.T. it is the last that is uniformly used as a rendering of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and observes: 'before lxii he uses no other term than walda sab'ĕ, the equivalent of the Aramaic בר נשא. Later he employs four times the phrase walda b'ĕsî which corresponds to the Aramaic ברה דגברא. . . . This title is found in the Palestinian Lectionary, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Sinaitic text'. From the above evidence Schmidt concludes that, if the translator had 'a Greek text before him in which the N.T. title *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* was uniformly used', it would be scarcely conceivable that he would have used three distinct Ethiopic expressions to render it, and 'these of such a nature as to correspond exactly to the three different Ethiopic terms'. He holds, therefore, that 'the conclusion seems inevitable that he translated directly from the Aramaic. . . . General considerations strengthen this conclusion. If the Parables of Enoch were translated from a Greek text one would certainly expect to find somewhere a quotation from it or a reference to it in early Christian literature'. But Schmidt can find none.

The last argument I will answer first. The reader has only to refer to the list of parallels between the N.T. books and the Parables on pp. 180 sq. in order to learn that the Parables did influence, and that directly, the writers of the N.T. Further, Tertullian's words, when discussing the authenticity of 1 Enoch, cannot be adequately explained, unless as bearing on passages in the Parables referring to the Son of Man: 'Cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiiciendum est quod pertineat ad nos. . . . A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere *quae sonant Christum*' (*De Cultu*

Fem. i. 3). The Noah Apocalypse, moreover, which is interpolated in the Parables, is referred to in Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 52 οὓς (i. e. τοὺς ἀγγέλους) γενέσθαι κακούς, καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς ὑποβληθέντας ἐν γῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα (1 En. lxvii. 6, 11, 12). This evidence necessitates the existence of a Greek Version of the Parables.

Let us turn now to the next argument. The Ethiopic must have been made direct from the Aramaic because of the three forms in which the title 'Son of Man' is given in the Ethiopic, since these, according to Schmidt, correspond exactly to the three forms in Aramaic. But here I must join issue. We have, unless I have failed wholly in this study, seen that the evidence adduced by Schmidt for an Aramaic original is quite inconclusive, and that on the contrary the evidence so far points, though not conclusively, to a Hebrew original. For this conclusion other evidence will be adduced later. We are not, therefore, predisposed to accept such an extraordinary thesis as that the Ethiopic must have been made directly from the Aramaic. Before dealing directly with the titles in question we might point to two facts which render this thesis not merely improbable, but incredible. 1º. No known Ethiopic version has been made directly from the Aramaic. 2º. The Book of Enoch, by its artificial division into five books, like the five books of the Pentateuch, the five books of the Psalms, the five Megilloth, the five books in Proverbs, in Ecclesiasticus, the five divisions in the Pirke Aboth, and the five books of the Maccabean wars by Jason of Cyrene (see Hawkins[2], *Horae Synopticae*, p. 164), was after its kind a carefully edited work in which the fragments of a literature were put together with just as much fitness and insight as that of the Proverbs or the Pirke Aboth. This five-fold division was thus a well-known Jewish device, and, since according to the use of the book made by the N.T. writers it existed in its completed form in the first half of the first century A. D., if not nearly a century earlier, we cannot understand how an Ethiopic translator in the sixth or seventh century A. D. could have used the Greek version for the four books of Enoch, i–xxxvi, lxxii–lxxxii, lxxxiii–xc, xc–cviii, and an Aramaic for the fifth, i. e. the Parables, xxxvii–lxxi. It is very probable that the entire book was translated early in the first century of the Christian era into Greek. That the Semitic original was early lost is to be inferred from the fact that no evidence of any kind testifies to its existence after the birth of Christianity, whereas multitudinous evidence attests the existence of the Greek version.

We may, therefore, safely relegate to the limbo of impossibilities the hypothesis that chapters xxxvii–lxxi of the Ethiopic version were translated directly from the Aramaic.

We have now to consider what Schmidt terms 'the most convincing evidence of an Aramaic original', i. e. the Ethiopic translations of the term 'Son of Man'. The Ethiopic translation was made, as we have just seen, from the Greek. Hence whatever explanation we give of the three forms must be justified by a Greek retranslation. This fact at once discounts any attempt to find a Greek prototype for ʾĕguâla ʾĕmaḥĕjâw 'offspring of the mother of the living'. This Ethiopic phrase is used indifferently as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἄνθρωποι, υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνήρ. And the full form walda ʾĕguâla ʾĕmaḥĕjâw = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Dan. vii. 13, Ps. lxxix. 18, in Ezekiel about ninety times, Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and in the Gospels always = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In itself the Ethiopic phrase can mean 'son of man' or 'the Son of Man'. But if the translator wished to make it clear that the latter title was used, he could do so by prefixing a demonstrative pronoun as a rendering of the Greek article ὁ. This is done in every instance in the Parables save three. In the course of eight verses in lxxxix. 42–9 the Greek article is so rendered eleven times.

Let us now examine the other two titles walda sab'ĕ and walda b'ĕsî. sab'ĕ distinctively = ἄνθρωπος (though in a few cases it = ἀνήρ). Thus walda sab'ĕ = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. It can also = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but to make this unmistakable the translator could prefix the demonstrative pronoun as the equivalent of ὁ.

Next comes walda b'ĕsî. b'ĕsî = ἀνήρ generally, but as Dillmann (*Lex.* 519) puts it, it stands *creberrime* for ἄνθρωπος. In fact in the Ethiopic Version of our book it is used as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος in i. 2, xv. 1. If more of the Greek version had survived we should no doubt find many other instances.

The result of the above examination comes to this. The above three renderings do not presuppose three different forms in the Greek. They most probably presuppose merely one, i. e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but walda b'ĕsî may presuppose ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός. But I think the latter improbable. In lxii. 5; lxix. 29 (*bis*); lxxi. 14 b'ĕsî may be a rendering of ἀνθρώπου as in i. 2; xv. 1.

This change of rendering may seem surprising, but we have a perfect parallel in the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions of the Syriac N.T.[1] Thus whereas in the Peshitto b'reh dĕ-našâ (ברה דאנשא) occurs uniformly as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in the Curetonian version we have b'reh de-gabrâ (ברה דגברא) in Luke vii. 34; ix. 26; xxii. 48, and in the Sinaitic version b'reh de-gabrâ in Mark viii. 38; Luke vii. 34; John xiii. 31, and elsewhere in both these versions b'reh de-našâ. In the Palestinian Lectionary there is still another way of rendering the phrase, but this does not concern us here. We have, however, learnt from these versions that differences in the manner of rendering the title 'Son of Man' in these versions does not imply any difference in the original Greek. Similarly we conclude that the three renderings of this title in the Parables do not presuppose corresponding variations in the Greek, but are due to the translator.

If, then, these variations in the Parables are due to the translator or translators it follows that these translators were Aramaic-speaking Jews, since the phrases walda b'ĕsî and walda sab'ĕ are respectively equivalents of b'reh de gabrâ and b'reh dĕ-našâ.[2]

On the above grounds we conclude that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου stood in all cases in the Greek version of the

[1] See Schmidt in *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. 4714.

[2] The Aramaisms in the Ethiopic version of the O.T. are probably due to Aramaean missionaries.

Parables.[1] That this Greek *phrase* represents the Hebrew בן־האדם, we shall further conclude from the evidence given in the next section.

(*c*) *Passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

xxxix. 7[b]. 'The righteous . . . shall †be strong† (*a–m* : 'be beautiful†' *m*, *β*) as fiery lights'. Neither reading is satisfactory. *a–m* = יחזקו which may be corrupt for יָזְהֲרוּ = 'shine': cf. Dan. xii. 3 יזהרו . . ככוכבים.

xlvi. 7. 'These are they who †judge† the stars of heaven.' Here, as I have shown, the text appears to be based on Dan. viii. 10, and should be read (see my note *in loc.*) as follows :—

'These are they who raise their hands against the Most High,
And cast down the stars of heaven,
And tread them upon the earth.'

Thus 'judge' = ידינו which the context shows to be corrupt for יָרִידוּ = 'cast down'.

xlvii. 4[b]. 'Because the number of the righteous **had been offered**.' As the context shows (see my note *in loc.*) these words mean that the number of the righteous, i.e. the martyrs, is complete: cf. Rev. vi. 10, 11. Now *a* reads qarĕba = ἤγγικε = קָרַב, which in Mishnaic Hebrew = 'has been offered'. This meaning is not found in the qal of this verb in Aramaic.

lii. 9. 'All these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth.' Here there were two alternative Greek renderings of יִכָּחֲדוּ. One was originally in the text, and the other in the margin, but subsequently both were incorporated into the text. Or the dittograph was native to the Hebrew, i.e. יכחשו and יכחדו. Schmidt attempts to explain the corruption from an Aramaic basis by assuming that יתרמאון stood in the original, and that this received the two renderings in the text. But רמא does not mean 'to destroy'. Moreover, the Ethiopic word kĕhĕda here, which means 'to deny', occurs again in xlv. 1 ; xlvi. 7 ; xlviii. 10, in which three passages Schmidt says it goes back to the Aramaic כפר. Thus his proposal is satisfactory in no respect.

lx. 6. I have followed *u* in the text, but the parallelism is in favour of regarding the text as corrupt in the word 'worship'. This word is wholly unsatisfactory. It = ישתחוו, which may be corrupt (or יְשַׁחֲתוּ = 'pervert' or 'corrupt'). Thus we recover an excellent parallelism :—

'For those who corrupt the righteous law,
And for those who deny the righteous judgement,
And for those who take His name in vain.'

lxv. 10[a]. 'Their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by me for ever.'

For 'withheld' the text reads *οὐ λογισθήσεται* or *ἀριθμήσεται*. The Ethiopic word can mean either. The former rendering (as in lii. 8[d]) is generally followed here. It is, however, unsatisfactory. The true reading, as I pointed out in my text, can be recovered by retranslation into Hebrew. *οὐ λογισθήσεται* = לא יחשב, corrupt for לֹא יֶחָשֵׂךְ = 'shall not be withheld'. Here Schmidt follows the other possible meaning of the Ethiopic word *ἀριθμήσεται* = יתמנא—a corruption of יתמנע.

lxv. 10[b]. 'Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.' Instead of 'sorceries' the Ethiopic reads 'months'= חדשים, which Halévy rightly recognized as a corruption of חרשים = 'sorceries'. It is true that on an exceptional occasion Aramaic-speaking Jews used חדשיא instead of their own word ירחיא. Hence the evidence for a Hebrew original is slightly weakened here.

The text of this passage as known to Halévy and originally to myself was corrupt, and Schmidt rightly objected to this text even when emended as follows : 'because of the sorceries which they have searched out and (through which) they know that the earth . . . will be destroyed.' Schmidt observes that it 'is a strange idea that the terrible judgement of the flood would come because men had succeeded in discovering that the earth with its inhabitants would be destroyed.' This observation is just, but the remedy lies in the MSS. *g t u*, which omit the 'that'. The omission of this word restores the meaning of the whole verse. See note on p. 131 of my second edition of Enoch.

From the above evidence we infer a Hebrew original. As in the Hebrew chapters of Daniel, so here there were possibly many Aramaisms.

Chapters lxxii–lxxxii. *From a Hebrew original.*

lxxvi. 1, 14. Here the word in the text 'winds'= רוחות, which should have been rendered 'quarters'. This restoration is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

lxxvii. 1. In this verse there is a play on the four quarters of the earth. It is possible to recover this play by retranslation into either Hebrew or Aramaic in the case of the 'east' and 'north': קֶדֶם or קִדּוּם and צפון or צָפוֹן.

But this is not so in the case of the south and west. As regards the first the text reads 'the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea there . . . will He . . . descend'= דָּרוֹם כִּי יֵרֵד רָם. This is possible only in Hebrew.

lxxvii. 2. 'And the west quarter is named (lit. 'its name') diminished because there all the luminaries wane.' והרוח המערבית שמו אחרון כי שם יאחרו כל־המאורות.

[1] There is just a possibility that two forms stood in the Greek version, i.e. *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός*, and that these were due to the translators, who in this case also would be Aramaic-speaking Jews, but this is highly improbable.

lxxviii. 1. Of the two names of the sun which are transliterated, though corruptly, in this verse, one is Hebrew and not Aramaic; i. e. Orjares = אוֹר חֶרֶס. The other, Tômâs, i. e. תַּמּוּז, is Hebrew and Aramaic; but if it is corrupt from חמה, as Halévy conjectures, it is Hebrew.

lxxviii. 2. Of the four names of the moon which are here transliterated, three are Hebrew only, Asônjâ, i. e. אִישׁוֹן, Eblâ, i. e. לְבָנָה, and Benâsê, i. e. בֶּן־כֶּסֶה.

lxxx. 5. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 10. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 15. 'Tamâinî and Sun.' These two names are one, i. e. שֶׁמֶשׁ תֵּימָנִי 'the southern sun'. This is Hebrew, and not Aramaic.

Chapters lxxxiii–xc. *From a Hebrew (or Aramaic?) original.*

lxxxix. 44. The emendation suggested here is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

xc. 13ª, 16ª. In the duplicate version which we have of these verses, 'shepherds' in xc. 13 corresponds to 'ravens' in xc. 16. The latter is right. The corruption can be explained from a Hebrew background, רֹעִים, corrupt for עֹרְבִים, or from an Aramaic רעין, corrupt for עורבין.

xc. 13ᵇ, 16ᵇ. In the former 'cried to' corresponds to 'were gathered together' in the latter. Now the former = ἔκραζον = יִזְעֲקוּ or יִצְעֲקוּ, and the latter יִזָּעֲקוּ or יִצָּעֲקוּ in Hebrew. But this explanation is impossible in Aramaic; for though זעק and צעק occur in the sense of 'to cry', no mood of this verb is used in the sense of 'to assemble'. For this word they use כנשׁ.

xc. 18. **covered them.** The Ethiopic expression here is not good Ethiopic, but reproduces the Greek ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, which in turn is a literal rendering of כסה עליהם (Hebrew), or עליהון (or כסי) חפא in Aramaic.

xc. 27. 'I saw those sheep †burning and their bones burning†.' This clause is obviously corrupt. In 'bones' there appears to be a mistranslation of the late Hebrew עצם or the Aramaic גרם, which literally mean 'bone' or 'bones', but which when compounded with a suffix = 'self' or 'selves'. The participle is then a doublet. Hence we have וארא הצאן הזאת עצמה בערת = 'I saw these very sheep burning.' This is possible also in Aramaic.

xc. 38. 'The first among them became the **lamb**.' 'The lamb' = הטלה, which was corrupted into המלה, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, whence the Ethiopic text 'the word'. This explanation is possible also in Aramaic.

Chapters xci–civ. *From a Hebrew original.*

xciii. 5. Text reads 'after him' = אחריו, which I take to be corrupt for אחיתו = 'his posterity'.

xciii. 8ᵇ. The Ethiopic has a peculiar form, and = ἀσεβήσουσιν καρδίαι πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας, which is pure Hebrew = ירשע לבב כלם מחכמה. Cf. Ps. xviii. 22, רשעתי מאלהי.

xcv. 1ª. 'Oh, that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters.' The bracketed word is either an intrusion and = ענן, a dittograph of עני = 'eyes', or ענן is corrupt for עין = 'fount', the corruption being due to the occurrence of the phrase 'cloud of waters' in xcv. 1ᶜ. Hence 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters'. This is possible also in Aramaic.

xcvi. 5. 'Who devour the finest of the wheat
And drink **wine in large bowls.**'

For the emended phrase E has here the extraordinary words 'strength of the root of the fountain' = ἰσχὺν ῥίζης πηγῆς = כח עיקר עין, corrupt for בְּמִזְרְקֵי יַיִן (Amos vi. 6). See my note *in loc.*

xcvi. 6ª. **From every fountain.** E reads 'at every time' = בכל־עת, corrupt for מכל־עין.

xcvii. 8ᵇ–9. We have here a remarkable series of rhyming verses which arise on retranslation into Hebrew.

8	עֹשֶׁר עָשַׁרְנוּ	9ª	ונעשה שֶׁחָשַׁבְנוּ
	וּרְכוּשׁ לָנוּ	b	כי כסף אסף אספנו
	וְכֹל קָנִינוּ	d	ורבים אכרי בתינו
	אֲשֶׁר אִוִּינוּ	c	ומלאים כמים אוצרינו

xcviii. 4ªᵇ. See note *in loc.*

xcix. 6. Here E = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀδιαλείπτου, but in Tertullian (*De Idol.* iv) the phrase appears as 'in diem sanguinis *perditionis*' = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀπωλείας = ליום דם לאיד, where לאיד is corrupt for לְעַד = ἀδιαλείπτου.

xcix. 16. E (ₙg β) reads 'the spirit of His indignation' = רוח אפו, corrupt for חרון אפו = 'His fierce indignation.'

c. 6ª. See note *in loc.*

ci 4. E reads 'kings' = מַלְכֵּי, corrupt for מלחי, 'sailors'. This is also possible in Aramaic.

§ 10. (*a*) Influence of 1 Enoch on Jewish Literature.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, written before 105 B.C., the older Sections of 1 *Enoch* are drawn upon, but in the later Sections the converse relation may be assumed:—

Jubilees.	1 *Enoch.*
i. 11. 'sacrifice . . . to demons'.	xix. 1. 'sacrificing to demons as gods'.
16. 'the plant of uprightness'.	xciii. 2. 'the plant of uprightness'.

Jubilees.	1 *Enoch.*
29. 'the heavens . . . shall be renewed . . . the powers of the heaven . . . the luminaries be renewed'.	xci. 16. 'a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light'.
ii. 2. 'the spirit . . . of snow . . . of hoar-frost'.	lx. 18. 'the spirit of the snow'.
	17. 'the spirit of the hoar-frost'.
iii. 10. 'the heavenly tablets', and *passim*.	lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2. 'the heavenly tablets'.
iv. 15. 'Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth'.	vi. 6. (the angels) 'descended in the days of Jared'.
'the Watchers'. Cf. x. 5.	i. 5, xii. 2–4. 'the Watchers'.
20. 'he took to himself a wife . . . Ednî'.	lxxxv. 3. 'Before I took . . . Edna'.
22. 'testified to the Watchers'.	xii. 3–6, xiii. 1–10, xiv. 4–7, xv. 2 sqq.
'unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men'.	x. 11. 'united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them'. Cf. xv. 3, 4.
23. 'we conducted him into the Garden of Eden'.	lx. 8. '. . . the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'.
26. 'the Mount of the East'.	xviii. 7, 8. Cf. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3.
v. 1. 'they bare . . . giants'.	vii. 2. 'they bare great giants'.
6. 'He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth'. Cf. v. 10, x. 7.	x. 12. 'bind them fast . . . **in the valleys** (*emended*) of the earth'.
9. 'that each should slay his neighbour'.	x. 9. 'that they may destroy each other in battle'.
10. 'And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation when judgement is executed', &c.	x. 12. 'And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved, bind them fast for seventy generations **in the valleys** of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated'.
	x. 15, 16. 'destroy all . . . and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear', &c.
11, 12. 'He †destroyed† all . . . And He †made† . . . a new and righteous nature', &c.	lxxxix. 7. 'those (i.e. the seven) water torrents were removed from that high roof and the chasms of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. 8. Then the water began to run down into these', &c.
29. 'the (i.e. the seven) floodgates of heaven were restrained; and . . . all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below.'	vii. 1. (*Syncellus' Greek Version*). The Giants, Nephilim, the Eliud.
vii. 22. The Giants, the Nâphîl, the Eljô.	lxxxvii. 1. 'devour each other'. Cf. vii. 5, x. 9, 12.
'they devoured one another'. Cf. v. 2, 9.	ix. 1. 'much blood being shed . . . all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth'.
23. 'shed much blood . . . the earth was filled with iniquity'.	ciii. 7, 8. 'their souls shall be made to descend into Sheol . . . and into darkness . . . and a burning flame . . . grievous judgement'.
29. 'into Sheol shall they go, and into the place of condemnation shall they descend, and into the darkness'. Cf. xxii. 22.	xciii. 3. 'the seventh in the first week'.
39. 'the seventh in his generation'.	xxvi. 1. 'the middle of the earth' (Palestine).
viii. 12. 'the middle of the earth' (Shem's lot).	xix. 1. 'their (i.e. the angels') spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray'. Cf. also xv. 8, 11; xvi. 1.
x. 1. 'the unclean demons began to lead astray . . . and destroy them'.	xcix. 7. 'shall get no manner of help from them'.
xii. 2. 'What help and profit have we from those idols?'	ci. 2. 'withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth'.
4. 'who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth'.	lxxxix. 59. 'And He called seventy shepherds and cast those sheep to them'.
xv. 32. 'But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit for He alone is their ruler'. Contrast 1 En. lxxxix. 59.	xc. 17, 22.
'He will . . . require them at the hands of His angels'.	x. 16. 'plant of righteousness'.
xvi. 26. 'plant of righteousness'.	xcix. 7. 'worship impure spirits and demons'.
xxii. 17. 'worship evil spirits'.	xlvii. 3. 'the books of the living'.
xxx. 22. 'the book of life'. Cf. xxxvi. 10.	xcv. 3; xcvi. 1. The righteous rule and judge.
xxxii. 18, 19. Jacob's seed are to rule and judge.	lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 66. 'wild boar', 'wild boars' (= Edom).
xxxvii. 20. 'the boar' (= Esau).	

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, written between 109 and 105 B. C., there are nine direct references to Enoch.

T. Lev. x. 5. 'the house which the Lord shall choose . . . as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous'.	1 *En.* lxxxix. 50. 'the house for the Lord', &c.
xvi. 1. 'I have learned (+'in the book of Enoch' β A^{β} S). . . . for seventy weeks,' &c.	lxxxix. 59 sqq. 'seventy shepherds'.
xiv. 1. 'I have learned ('from the writing of Enoch' β A^{β} S^{1}), &c.'	xci. 6, 7.

The other six, *T. Sim.* v. 4; *T. Jud.* xviii. 1 (β A S^{1}); *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 (β S^{1}); *T. Dan.* v. 6; *T. Naph.* iv. 1; *T. Benj.* ix. 1, cannot be traced directly to any passage in 1 En. In *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 α reads 'Moses' for 'Enoch' in β S^{1}.

There are also parallels in the *Testaments* to 1 *Enoch*, e. g.:

T. Reub. v. 6, 7. The Watchers, the women, and the giants.	1 *En.* vi–ix. 2.
T. Lev. iii. 4. 'the Great Glory' (α β A^{β} S^{1}).	xiv. 20; cii. 3.
xvi. 2. 'make void the law and set at naught . . . by evil perverseness'.	xcix. 2, 14; civ. 9, 10.
xviii. 5. 'The heavens shall exult in his days And the earth shall be glad . . . And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him'.	li. 4. 'And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams, And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy'.
T. Naph. iii. 5. 'the Watchers also changed the order of their nature'.	vi.–ix. 2.

Possibly 1 *Enoch* was used by the author of the *Assumption of Moses*, written between A. D. 7 and 30.

Ass. Mos.	1 *Enoch.*
x. 3. 'He will go forth from His holy habitation,	i. 4. 'will come forth from His dwelling'.
4. And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken: And the high mountains shall be made low, and the **hills** (*emended*) shall be shaken and fall'.	i. 5, 6. '. . . unto the ends of the earth. The high mountains shall be shaken And the high hills . . . made low'.

The affinities of 2 *Baruch* with 1 *Enoch* are more numerous.

2 *Bar.*	1 *Enoch.*
x. 8. 'Sirens'.	xix. 2. 'Sirens'.
xiii. 8. 'the judgement . . . no respect of persons'.	lxiii. 8. 'His judgements have no respect of persons'.
xxiv. 1. 'the books shall be opened'.	xc. 20. 'opened those books'.
xxix. 4. Myth of Behemoth and Leviathan.	lx. 7–9, 24. Myth of Leviathan and Behemoth (earlier form).
5. 'the earth shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold'.	x. 19. 'Each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand'.
xxxv. 2. Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye, mine eyelids, a fount of tears'.	xcv. 1. 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters', &c.
li. 10. 'they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars'.	civ. 2, 4. 'ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . . have great joy as the angels'.
liv. 2. 'For whom nothing is too hard'.	lxxxiv. 3. 'nothing is too hard for Thee'.
lv. 3. Ramiel.	xx. 7. 'Remiel' (G^{g^2}).
lvi. 12–13.	vi–x.
lix. 2. "the eternal law'.	xcix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

In 4 *Ezra*, written between A. D. 81–96, we find an apparent use of 1 *Enoch*, particularly of the Parables.

4 *Ezra.*	1 *Enoch.*
vi. 49–52. Leviathan and Behemoth.	lx. 7–9, 24. Leviathan and Behemoth (earliest form of myth).
vii. 32, 33. 'Et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria reddent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et revelabitur Altissimus super sedem iudicii.'	li. 1, 3. 'and in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, And hell shall give back that which it owes . . . And the Elect one shall . . . sit on My throne'.
37.	lxii. 1 : lx. 6.
85, 95.	c. 5.
125. 'nostrae vero facies super tenebras nigrae'.	lxii. 10. 'the darkness shall grow deeper on their faces'.

From the second century A. D. onwards all knowledge of the *Book of Enoch* vanishes from Jewish literature with the exception of a few references that are given by Jellinek in the *Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1853, p. 249.

(*b*) The Influence of 1 Enoch on the New Testament.

1 *Enoch* has had more influence on the *New Testament* than has any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work. A few examples will clearly illustrate this.

New Testament.	1 *Enoch.*
(*a*) *General Epistles.*	
Jude 6. 'the angels which left their own habitation . . . reserved . . . great day'.	xii. 4. 'the Watchers . . . who have left the high heaven' . . .
	x. 4–6, 11, 12. 'Bind . . . darkness . . . judgement'.
14. 'the seventh from Adam'.	lx. 8. 'the seventh from Adam'.
14, 15.	i. 9. Cf. v. 4; xxvii. 2.
1 *John* i. 7. 'walk in the light'.	xcii. 4. 'walk in eternal light'.
ii. 8. 'the darkness is past'.	lviii. 5. 'the darkness is past'.
15. 'Love not the world nor the things that are in the world'.	cviii. 8. 'love . . . nor any of the good things which are in the world'.
(*b*) *Revelation.*	
ii. 7. 'the tree of life'. Cf. xxii. 2, 14, 19.	xxv. 4–6. The tree of life.
iii. 5. 'clothed in white raiment'.	xc. 31. 'clothed in white'.
10. 'them that dwell upon the earth'.	xxxvii. 5. 'those that dwell on the earth'.
17. 'I am rich and increased with goods'.	xcvii. 8. 'We have become rich with riches and have possessions'.
20. 'I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me'.	lxii. 14. 'and with that Son of Man shall they (i.e. the righteous) eat and lie down and rise up'.
iv. 6. 'round about the throne were four living creatures'.	xl. 2. 'On the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four presences'.
8. 'they rest not . . . saying'.	xxxix. 13. 'who sleep not . . . and say'.
vi. 10. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.	xlvii. 2. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.
15, 16. Compare the fear of the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, when they see 'the face of him that sitteth on the throne'.	lxii. 3. 'the kings, and the mighty, and the exalted 5. . . . shall be terrified . . . and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.
vii. 1. Angels of the winds.	lxix. 22. 'spirits . . . of the winds'.
15. 'He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them'.	xlv. 4. 'I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them'.
ix. 1. 'I saw a star from heaven fallen to the earth'.	lxxxvi. 1. 'And I saw . . . and behold a star fell from heaven'.
20. 'worship demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood'.	xcix 7. 'worship stones, and grave images of gold, and silver, and wood, ⟨and stone⟩ and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons'.
xiii. 14. 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth'.	liv. 6. 'leading astray those who dwell on the earth'.
xiv. 9, 10. 'tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels . . .'.	xlviii. 9. 'burn before the face of the holy . . . sink before the face of the righteous'.
10. 'holy angels'.	xx. 1 and *passim*. 'holy angels'.
20. 'blood came out . . . even to the horses' bridles'.	c. 3. 'the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners'.
xvii. 14. 'Lord of lords and King of kings'.	ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.
xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead . . ., and death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them'.	li. 1. 'in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back . . . and hell shall give back . . .'.
15. 'cast into the lake of fire'.	xc. 26. 'cast into this fiery abyss'.
xxii. 3. 'no more curse'. Cf. xxi. 4.	xxv. 6. 'no sorrow or plague or torment or calamity'.
(*c*) *Epistles of St. Paul.*	1 *Enoch.*
Rom. viii. 38. 'angels . . . principalities . . . powers'. Cf. *Eph.* i. 21; *Col.* i. 16.	lxi. 10. 'angels of power and . . . angels of principalities'.
ix. 5. 'God blessed for ever'. Cf. xi. 31.	lxxvii. 1. 'He who is blessed for ever'.
1 *Cor.* vi. 11. 'justified in the name of the Lord Jesus'.	xlviii. 7. 'in his (i. e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

New Testament.

2 *Cor.* iv. 6. 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'.

Eph. i. 9. 'according to His good pleasure'.
v. 8. 'children of light'. Cf. 1 *Thess.* v. 5.
Col. ii. 3. 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge'.
1 *Thess.* v. 3. 'then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child'.
2 *Thess.* i. 7. 'the angels of His power'.
1 *Tim.* i. 9. 'law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless', &c.
i. 15. 'worthy of all acceptation'. Cf. iv. 9.
v. 21. 'the elect angels'.

vi. 15. 'King of kings and Lord of lords'.

(*d*) *Epistle to the Hebrews.*

iv. 13. 'there is no creature that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do'.
xi. 5. 'Enoch was translated', &c.
xii. 9. 'Father of Spirits'.

(*e*) *Acts of the Apostles.*

iii. 14. 'the Righteous One' (= Christ).
iv. 12. 'none other name . . . whereby we must be saved'.
x. 4. 'thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God'.
xvii. 31. 'He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained'.

(*f*) *The Gospels.*

John v. 22. 'He hath committed all judgement unto the Son'.
xii. 36. 'sons of light'. Cf. *Luke* xvi. 8.
xiv. 2. 'mansions'.
Luke i. 52. 'He hath put down princes from their thrones'.
ix. 35. 'This is My Son, the Elect One'.

xviii. 7. 'Shall not God avenge His elect which cry unto Him day and night'. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 9.
xxi. 28. 'your redemption draweth nigh'.

xxiii. 35. 'the Christ of God, the Elect One'.
Matt. xix. 28. 'when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory'.
'ye also shall sit on twelve thrones'.

xix. 29. 'inherit eternal life'.
xxv. 41. 'prepared for the devil and his angels'.

xxvi. 24. 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born'.

1 *Enoch.*

xxxviii. 4. 'the Lord of Spirits has **caused His light to appear** (*emended*) on the face of the holy, righteous and elect'.
xlix. 4. 'according to His good pleasure'.
cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.
xlvi. 3. 'the Son of Man . . . who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden'.
lxii. 4. 'Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail'.
lxi. 10. 'the angels of power'.
xciii. 4. 'a law shall be made for the sinners'.

xciv. 1. 'worthy of acceptation'.
xxxix. 1. 'elect and holy children . . . from the high heaven'.
ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

1 *Enoch.*

ix. 5. 'all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee'.
xv. 1; lxx. 1–4.
xxxvii. 2. 'Lord of Spirits' (and *passim* in Parables).

1 *Enoch.*

liii. 6. 'the Righteous and Elect One' (= Messiah).
xlviii. 7. 'in His (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.
xcix. 3. 'raise your prayers as a memorial . . . before the Most High'.
xli. 9. 'He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him'.

1 *Enoch.*

lxix. 27. 'the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man'.
cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.
xxxix. 4. 'dwelling places of the holy', &c.
xlvi. 4. 'shall †raise up† (Read 'put down') the kings . . . from their thrones'.
xl. 5. 'the Elect One' (i. e. the Messiah). Cf. xlv. 3, 4 'Mine Elect One'; xlix. 2, 4.
xlvii. 1; 2. 'the prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them', &c.
li. 2. 'the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved'.
xl. 5. 'the Elect One'.
lxii. 5. 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.
cviii. 12. 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour'.
xl. 9. 'inherit eternal life'.
liv. 4, 5. 'chains . . . prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl'.
xxxviii. 2. 'It had been good for them if they had not been born'.

(*c*) The Influence of 1 Enoch on Patristic Literature.

Epistle of Barnabas (soon after A. D. 70).

xvi. 4 *λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.*

1 *Enoch.*

lxxxix. 56. 'He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them (i.e. 'those sheep') all into the hands of the lions, to . . . devour them. 66. . . . devoured. . . those sheep . . . and they burnt that tower and demolished that house'.

	1 *Enoch*.
Apocalypse of Peter (ed. Robinson and James, 1892).	
2. τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ θλιβομένους, &c.	cviii. 7–9.
3. σώματα . . . λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος καὶ ἐρυθρότερα παντὸς ῥόδου.	cvi. 2, 10.
5. μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν.	lxi. 9–11. 'one voice . . . bless', &c.
6. οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι.	liii. 3, &c. 'angels of punishment'.
8. ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.	
Justin Martyr.	
Apol. ii. 5 οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι . . . γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες . . . καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας . . . καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν. Cf. i. 5.	ix. 8, 9; xv. 8, 9.
Tatian (flor. A. D. 160).	
Oratio adv. Graecos, 8.	viii. 3. 'astrology'.
20.	vi. 6; xv. 8, 9.
Athenagoras (about A. D. 170).	
Legatio pro Christianis, 24, 25 οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, . . . οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερουράνια ὑπερκύψαι δυνάμενοι· καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων ψυχαί, οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι δαίμονες.	vi; vii; xiii. 5; xv. 8, 10.
Minucius Felix.	
xxvi 'Isti igitur spiritus, posteaquam simplicitatem substantiae suae . . . perdiderunt . . . non desinunt perditi iam perdere . . . et alienati a Deo, inductis religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus daemonas esse poetae sciunt· . . .'	viii; xv. 8–12; xvi. 1; xix. 1.
Irenaeus (ob. circa A. D. 202).	
i. 15. 6 . . . Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζὴλ ποιεῖν.	viii. 1. Cf. also x. 8.
iv. 16. 2 (ed. Stieren) 'Sed et Enoch . . . cum esset homo, legatione ad angelos fungebatur et translatus est et conservatur usque nunc testis iudicii Dei, quoniam angeli quidam transgressi deciderunt in terram in iudicium.'	xii. 4–6; xiii; xiv. 3–7; xv; xvi.
iv. 36. 4.	x. 2, 'a deluge,' &c.
v. 28. 2 '. . . daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciet signa, in quibus seducat habitantes super terram.'	xcix. 7.
	xix. 1.

Tertullian, writing between A. D. 197 and 223, regards Enoch as scripture.

Apol. xxii.	1 *En.* xv. 8, 9.
De Cultu Fem. i. 2.	viii. 1. 3.
ii. 10.	viii. 1.
De Idol. iv.	xix. 1; xcix. 6, 7.
De Idol. ix; *De Virg. Veland.* vii.	vi; xiv. 5.
Clement of Alexandria (circa A. D. 150–210).	
Eclogae Prophet. (ed. Dindorf), iii. 456.	xix. 3.
iii. 474.	viii. 2, 3.
Strom. iii. 9.	viii; xvi. 3.
Julius Africanus (ob. circa A. D. 237).	
Chronographia. . . . ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. Ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον 'οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τοὺς περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἔτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως, τῶν μετεώρων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας, δι' οὓς τῆς κακίας ἐπιγενομένης . . .	vii. 1; viii, &c.

Origen (A. D. 185–254) does not regard Enoch as inspired, and yet he does not wholly reject it. Cf. *Contra Celsum*, v. 52–4; *In Ioannem*, vi. 25; *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2; *De Princip.* i. 3. 3; iv. 35.

	1 *Enoch.*
Acta SS. Perpet. et Felic. (ed. Robinson, p. 72 sqq.).	
vii.	xxii. 9.
xii.	xiv. 9–17.
Commodianus (flor. A. D. 250), *Instructiones* (ed. Migne, P. L. v. 203–4).	
i. 3. (Deus) Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam,	(Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15).
Legitima cuius spreverunt illi dimissi,	
Tanta fuit forma feminarum, quae flecteret illos,	vi. 1, 2.
Ut coinquinati non possent caelo redire.	xiv. 5.
Rebelles ex illo contra Deum verba misere.	i. 9; xiii. 2.
Altissimus inde sententiam misit in illos	x. 4 sq.; xii. sq.
De semine quorum gigantes nati feruntur.	vii. 2.
Ab ipsis in terra artes prolatae fuere,	
Et tingere lanas docuerunt et quaeque geruntur,	viii. 1.
Mortales et illi mortuos simulacro ponebant.	xix. 1.
Omnipotens autem, quod essent de semine pravo,	
Non censuit illos recipi defunctos e morte.	
Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa	xv. 6.
Maxime quos hodie colitis et deos oratis.	xix. 1.
Cyprian (flor. A. D. 250).	
De Hab. Virg. 14 (ed. Hartel, i. p. 197) 'Neque Deus . . . tinguere . . . docuit . . . lapillis aut margaritis . . . quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt . . . oculos circumducto nigrore fucare . . .'	1 *En.* viii. 1, &c.
Pseudo-Cyprian (third century A. D.).	
Ad Novatianum (ed. Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67) 'Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere iudicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quae fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis quae de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.'	i. 9.
Hippolytus (flor. A. D. 220).	
Or. adv. Graecos (ed. Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, i. 393). . . . Ἅιδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων . . . Ὁ Ἅιδης τόπος ἐστὶν . . . ἀκατασκεύαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμου οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει.	xxii. 3. 'all the souls of the children of men'. xxi. 1. 'where things were chaotic' . . . 'a place chaotic'.
Zosimus of Panopolis (third century), quoted in *Syncellus* (Dindorf, i. 1829, p. 24).	vi–viii.
Clementine Homilies (fourth century ?).	
viii. 12 sqq.	vi. 1–xix. 1.

The *Clementine Recognitions* has a parallel but independent passage, iv. 26, 27.

Lactantius (flor. A. D. 320) in his *Instit.* ii. 14 (Migne, P. L. vi. 330–2; Brandt and Laubmann, i. p. 162 sqq.) gives quite a long passage which for its main features is indebted to 1 *Enoch* xiv. 5–7; lxix. 4; vii. 1; liv. 6; xv. 8–11; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

Inst. iv. 27; v. 18.	xix. 1.
vii. 7.	xxii.
vii. 16.	lxxx. 2.
vii. 19.	xc. 19; xci. 12.
vii. 24.	x. 17 sq.
vii. 26.	xlviii. 9.
Cassianus (A. D. 360–435).	
Collatio viii. 21 '. . . illa opinio vulgi, qua credunt angelos vel maleficia vel diversas artes hominibus tradidisse.'	viii. 1.

Thenceforward 1 *Enoch* fails to secure a single favourable notice. See *Hilary, Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3; *Chrysostom, Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1; *Jerome, De Viris Illustr.* iv, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum* i. 12; *Augustine, De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, 4, xviii. 38. The book is finally condemned in explicit terms in *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16. From this period the book fell into disuse and became lost to the Western Church, except in the fragments preserved by *Syncellus* in his *Chronography*, pp. 20–3; 42–7 (ed. Dindorf, 1829). These fragments are vi–ix. 4; viii. 4–x. 14; xv. 8–xvi. 1 and another.

There are also, as might be expected, many parallels in *Gnostic and Apocryphal Literature* to 1 *Enoch*.

Pistis Sophia (third century?) ed. Schwartze, 1851–3.	
p. 245.	1 *En.* xxxii. 3, 6.
p. 354.	vii. 1; viii. 3.
Acts of Thomas (Tisch. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*).	
p. 218, ch. xxxii.	vi. 6; lxxxvi. 3; vii. 2, 4.
Acts of 'the Disputation of Archelaus with Manes' (perhaps early in fourth century).	
ch. xxxii (Routh, *Reliquiae*, iv. p. 211).	lxxxvi. 1, 3; vii. 1; xv. 3; xviii. 11, 12.

The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea (date uncertain) has a close parallel to 1 *Enoch*.

iii. 3 (ed. Tisch. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., Lipsiae, 1876, p. 465).	c. 10, 12.

The Apocalypse of Paul has a similar idea.

4 sqq. (Tisch. *Apocal. Apocr.* p. 36).	c. 10, 12.

The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan, 1882).	
ii. 8.	xxvi. 1; xc. 26.
ii. 19.	vi. 6; viii. 1.
ii. 22.	xxxix. 4, 6, 7.
iii. 4.	vi–x.

(For the above details in Patristic, and Apocryphal Literature I owe much to Dr. Lawlor in *Journal of Philology*, xxv (1897) 164–225.)

§ 11. Influence on New Testament Doctrine.

B. Doctrines in Enoch which had an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines, or are at all events necessary to the comprehension of the latter.

(*a*) The nature of the Messianic kingdom and of the future life.
(*b*) The Messiah.
(*c*) Sheol and the Resurrection.
(*d*) Demonology.

(*a*) *The Kingdom.* We shall only deal with one incident coming under this head; it is found in the three Synoptists: Matt. xxii. 23–33; Mark xii. 18–27; Luke xx. 27–36. This incident can only be rightly understood from Enoch. When the Sadducees said, 'Whose wife shall she be of them; for the seven had her to wife,' they are arguing from the sensuous conception of the Messianic kingdom—and this was no doubt the popular one—given in 1 Enoch i–xxxvi, according to which its members, including the risen righteous, were to enjoy every good thing of earth, and to have each a thousand children. The Sadducees thought thereby to place this young prophet on the horns of a dilemma, and oblige Him to confess either that there was no resurrection of the dead, or else that polygamy or polyandry would be practised in the coming kingdom. But the dilemma proves invalid; and the conception of the future life portrayed in our Lord's reply tallies almost exactly in thought, and partially in word, with that described in 1 En. xci–civ, according to which there is to be a resurrection indeed, but a resurrection of the spirit, and the risen righteous are to rejoice 'as the angels of heaven' (1 En. civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25), being 'companions of the hosts of heaven' (1 En. civ. 6).

(*b*) *The Messiah.* The Messiah is referred to in xc. 37, 38. He is represented as the head of the Messianic community out of which he proceeds, but he has no special rôle to fulfil, and his presence in that description seems due merely to literary reminiscence. This Messiah-reference exercised no influence on New Testament conceptions. But with regard to the Messiah described in the Parables the case is very different. Four titles applied for the first time in literature to the

personal Messiah in the Parables are afterwards reproduced in the New Testament. These are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Elect One', and 'the Son of Man'.

Christ or *the Anointed One.* This title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time—see xlviii. 10; lii. 4—applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is associated here with supernatural attributes. A few years later in another writing, the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 36; xviii. 6, 8), it possesses quite a different connotation. In those Psalms the Messiah, though endowed with divine gifts, is a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David.

The Righteous One. This title, which occurs in Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; xxii. 14 (cp. 1 John ii. 1), first appears in 1 Enoch as a Messianic designation; see 1 En. xxxviii. 2; liii. 6. Righteousness is one of the leading characteristics of the Messiah, xlvi. 3.

The Elect One. This title likewise appearing first in 1 En. xl. 5; xlv. 3–4; xlix. 2, 4; li. 3, 5, &c., passes over into the New Testament, Luke ix. 35; xxiii. 35, 'The Christ, the Elect One.' In the Old Testament we find 'Mine Elect', Isa. xlii. 1, but not 'the Elect One'.

The Son of Man. This definite title (see notes on xlvi. 2, 3) is found in 1 Enoch for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its most characteristic contents. For an account of the relations between the Enochic and New Testament uses of this title, we must refer to the Appendix on 'The Son of Man' at the close of the book.

(*c*) *Sheol.* If we except the Psalms we have in 1 Enoch the first instances in which this word is found in its New Testament signification. For the history of this word and its meanings, see note on lxii. 10. Observe that x. 6, 13 refers to an abyss of fire prepared for Semjaza and his angels (cf. Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xx. 4, 13–15).

It is further interesting to note that the writer of xci–civ delivers himself of a sustained polemic in cii. 4–civ. 9 against the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol, and the fact that this writer in xci. 4 borrows Sirach i. 25 makes it probable that the immediate book he had in view is Sirach, which enforces dogmatically and repeatedly the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

The Resurrection. This doctrine, which is first taught beyond possibility of doubt in Dan. xii, though a true exegesis will find many intimations of the doctrine in earlier books, was made a commonplace of Jewish theology by 1 Enoch. For the various forms this doctrine assumed, see note on li. 1.

(*d*) *The Demonology* of 1 Enoch reappears for the most part in the New Testament.

(*α*) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4, are the angelic Watchers who fell from lusting after the daughters of men, and whose fall and punishment are recounted in 1 En. vi–xvi. They have always been imprisoned in darkness from the time of their fall.

(*β*) Demons. These are, according to 1 En. xvi. 1, the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. These demons were to work moral ruin on the earth without hindrance till the final judgement as disembodied spirits.

So in the New Testament. The demons are disembodied spirits, Matt. xii. 43–5; Luke xi. 24–6. They are not punished till the final judgement: Matt. viii. 29, 'Art Thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?' They are subject to Satan, Matt. xii. 24–8.

(*γ*) Satan appears in Enoch as the ruler of a counter-kingdom of evil, yet a kingdom subject to the Lord of Spirits. He led astray the angels and made them his subjects, liv. 6; lxix. 5. A Satan also led astray Eve, lxix. 6. The Satans (as in Job) can still appear in heaven, xl. 7. The functions of the Satans are threefold: they tempted to evil, lxix. 4, 6; they accused the fallen, xl. 7; they punished the condemned as angels of punishment, liii. 3; lvi. 1.

So in the New Testament there is the counter-kingdom of sin, Matt. xii. 26; Luke xi. 18; 'if Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?' Satan led astray the angels, Rev. xii. 4, and led astray man, 2 Cor. xi. 3. The demons are subjects of Satan, Matt. xii. 24–8. The functions of Satan are tempting, Matt. iv. 1–12; Luke xxii. 31; accusing, Rev. xii. 10; punishing, 1 Cor. v. 5, where impenitent sinners are delivered over to Satan for punishment.

§ 12. Bibliography.

(*a*) Chief Editions of the Text.

i. Translations.

Laurence. *The Book of Enoch, an apocryphal production, now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1821.
Dillmann. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853.
Schodde. *The Book of Enoch translated with Introduction and Notes*, Andover, 1882.
Charles. *The Book of Enoch translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments*, Oxford, 1893.
Beer in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen, 1900, ii. 236–310.
Flemming and Radermacher. *Das Buch Henoch herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1901.
Martin. *Le Livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906.
Charles. *The Book of Enoch, translated anew from the Editor's Text, with Introduction, Commentary, Critical Notes, and Appendices*, Oxford, 1912.

ii. Editions of the Versions.

Editions of the Greek Versions.

Bouriant. *Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, tom. ix, pp. 91–136, 1892.
L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre avec le texte grec du livre d'Énoch. Texte publié en fac-simile par l'héliogravure d'après les photographies du manuscrit de Gizeh, Paris, 1893.
Dillmann. *Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1892, li–liii, pp. 1039–54, 1079–92.
Lods. *Le Livre d'Hénoch: Fragments découverts à Akhmîm, publiés avec les variantes du texte éthiopien, traduits et annotés*, Paris, 1892.
Charles. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 318–70, Oxford, 1893. In this work I attempted an exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic texts.
Swete. *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. iii.
Radermacher. *Das Buch Henoch, herausgegeben . . . von J. Flemming und L. Radermacher*, pp. 18–60, 113–14, Leipzig, 1901. This text on the whole is well edited. As Dr. Radermacher is not a Semitic scholar he was sorely handicapped in editing a Greek text which is Greek in vocabulary, but largely Semitic in idiom.
The Vatican Fragment, written in tachygraphic characters (Vatican, No. 1809), was published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, tom. ii, and deciphered by Gildemeister in *ZDMG*, 1885, pp. 621–4, and studied afresh by von Gebhardt in Merx' *Archiv*, ii. 243, 1872.

Editions of the Ethiopic Version.

Laurence. *Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*, Oxoniae, 1838. This text was issued simply as a transcript of *a*, one of the MSS. brought to Europe by Bruce, the great Abyssinian traveller, in 1773.
Dillmann. *Liber Henoch, Aethopice, ad quinque codicum fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus*, Lipsiae, 1851.
Charles. *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1893. This translation was based on a drastic revision of Dillmann's text. Ten new MSS., belonging to the British Museum, were used, $g_1 g m$ being of primary importance, and *f h i k l n o* being of only secondary.
Flemming. *Das Buch Henoch: Aethiopischer Text herausgegeben von Joh. Flemming* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, vii. 1). Leipzig, 1902. Dr. Flemming's text is based on fifteen MSS., *a b c d e* g_1 *g*, *m p q t u v w y*. This editor had been at no little pains in the preparation of the text. His collations of *g m q*, however, are inaccurate and defective.

(*b*) Chief Critical Inquiries.

Lücke. *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes* (2nd ed., 1852), pp. 89–144; 1071–3.
Dillmann. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853. In this edition he insisted that the book proceeded from one author with the exception of certain historical allusions, vi–xvi; xci. 12–17; xciii; cvi, cvii; and certain Noachic interpolations, liv. 7–lv. 2; lx; lxv–lxix. 25, and also of xx; lxx; lxxv. 5; lxxxii. 9–20; cviii.
In 1860, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 1), vol. xii. 308–10, he recognized the separate authorship of xxxvii–lxxi, and its priority to the rest of the book.
In 1883, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 2), vol. xii. 350–2, he describes 1 Enoch as a mere 'combination of the Enoch and Noah writings', and concedes that xxxvii–lxxi are later than the rest of the book.
Ewald. *Abhandlung über des äthiopischen Buches Henokh Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, 1855; *History of Israel*, v. 345–9 (translated from the German).
Hilgenfeld. *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1857, pp. 91–184.
Halévy. 'Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Énoch' (*Journal Asiatique*, 1867, pp. 352–95).

GEBHARDT. 'Die 70 Hirten des Buches Henoch und ihre Deutungen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Barkochba-Hypothese' (Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.*, 1872, vol. ii, Heft ii, pp. 163–246).
TIDEMAN. 'De Apocalypse van Henoch en het Essenisme' (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1875, pp. 261–96).
DRUMMOND. *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 17–73.
SCHÜRER. *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (translated from the second and revised edition of the German), vol. iii, div. ii, pp. 54–73, 1886.
BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888, pp. 7–16.
CHARLES. *The Book of Enoch, translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text, emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments*, Oxford, 1893.
CLEMEN. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1898, pp. 211–27, 'Die Zusammensetzung des Buches Henoch'.
BEER. 'Das Buch Henoch' in Kautzsch's *Die Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, vol. ii, 1900, pp. 224–30.
FLEMMING and RADERMACHER. *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1901.
MARTIN. *Le Livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906. [For further details see my new Commentary, *Introduction*, § 9.]

(*c*) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE BOOK.

See under Translations, § 12 (*a*) i.

LAURENCE.
DILLMANN.
SCHODDE.
CHARLES.
BEER.
FLEMMING and RADERMACHER.
MARTIN.
CHARLES.

§ 13. ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS SPECIALLY USED IN THE TRANSLATION OF 1 ENOCH.

a, *b*, *c*, *d*, &c., denote the Ethiopic MSS.
α denotes the earlier Ethiopic MSS., i. e. $g_1\, g\, m\, q\, t\, u$.
β denotes the later Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *a b c d*, &c. (i. e. from *a* to $z_1 a_1 b$, with the exception of the earlier MSS.).
E denotes the Ethiopic Version.
G^s denotes the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus: in the case of 8^b–9^b there are two forms of the text, G^{s1} G^{s2}.
G^g denotes the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmîm, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo.
Two special brackets are used in the translation of 1 Enoch:
⌜ ⌝. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in G^g but not in E.
⌜ ⌝. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in E but not in G^g or G^s.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Section I. Chapters I—XXXVI

Introduction

I–V. *Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot of the Wicked and the Righteous.*

1 1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect ⌜and⌝ righteous, who will be
2 living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked ⌜and godless⌝ are to be removed. And he took up his parable and said—Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, ⌜which⌝ the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is
3 for to come. Concerning the elect I said, and took up ⌜my⌝ parable concerning them :

The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,
4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai,
[And appear from His camp]
And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven ⌜of heavens⌝.

5 And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.

I. 1. **The blessing of Enoch.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1, 'the blessing of Moses.'
the elect and righteous. This phrase is found also in xxxviii. 2, 3, 4, xxxix. 6, 7, xlviii. 1, lviii. 1, 2, lx. 13, lxiii. 12, 13, 15, lxx. 3.
day . . . removed. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (a citation ?).
all the wicked. Here Gk. reads *πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς* = כל־הצרים corrupt for כל־הרעים. So E.
removed + 'and the righteous will be saved' Gg.
2. **took up his parable,** &c. So Gg. Cf. Num. xxiv. 3, 4, whence also 'eyes were opened' (of Balaam).
saw. 'had' Gg, corrupt.
the Holy One. See verse 3. The change from the first to the third person, as here, is frequent in this book. Cf. xii. 1–3, xxxvii. 1, 2, lxx. 1, 3, lxxi. 5, xcii. 1, and esp. xci–civ.
to come + 'do I speak' Gg.
3. **the elect.** This designation belongs mainly to the Parables. It occurs in i. 8, v. 7, xxv. 5, xl. 5, xli. 2, xlviii. 1, 9, li. 5, lvi. 6, 8, lviii. 3, lxi. 4, 12, lxii. 7, 8, 11, xciii. 2.
3^{b}–9. A poem consisting of tristichs. The discovery of this structure is helpful in the restoration of the text, especially in stanzas 1 and 7.
Holy Great One. So Gg, E always has 'Holy and Great One'. Also in x. 1, xiv. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1, xcii. 2, xcvii. 6, xcviii. 6, civ. 9. God is called simply 'The Holy One' in i. 2, xciii. 11 ; and 'The Great One' in xiv. 2, ciii. 4, civ. 1 (twice).
come forth from His dwelling. Mic. i. 3, Isa. xxvi. 21, Ass. Mos. x. 3.
the eternal God = אלהי העולם, *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος*. Cf. Gen. xxi. 33, Isa. xl. 28, Rom xvi. 26. This could also be translated 'God of the world'. Cf. lviii. 4, lxxxi. 10, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2; also xii. 3, lxxxi. 3 ('Lord, King . . . of the world').
4. Sinai, where the law was given, will be the place of future judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2 ; Ps. lxviii. 17. Verses 4–9 all deal with the final judgement.
upon the earth Gg, 'thence' E.
[**And appear from His camp**]. So Gg, a needless repetition after 'from his dwelling'. It spoils the parallelism. E has 'and appear with His hosts'.
5. **Watchers.** Here and in x. 9, 15, xii. 4, xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, xv. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xci. 15 = fallen angels. In xii. 2, 3, xx. 1, xxxix. 12, 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12, lxxi. 7 = archangels. The name first occurs in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23. The Greek here inaptly inserts the singing of the Watchers (see 2 En. xviii).
quake E, 'believe' Gg.
6. Cf. O.T.; e.g. Ps. xcvii. 5, Mic. i. 4, and Ass. Mos. x. 4.
shaken + 'shall fall and be dissolved' Gg.
made low + 'so that the mountains shall waste away' Gg.

7 And the earth shall be ⌜wholly⌝ rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).

8 But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall ⌜all⌝ be blessed.

⌜And He will help them all⌝,
And light shall appear unto them,
⌜And He will make peace with them⌝.

9 And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of ⌜His⌝ holy ones
To execute judgement upon all,
And to destroy ⌜all⌝ the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh
Of all the works ⌜of their ungodliness⌝ which they have ungodly committed,
⌜And of all the hard things which⌝ ungodly sinners ⌜have spoken⌝ against Him.

2 1 Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, ⌜and⌝ the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and trans-
2 gress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, ⌜how **steadfast** they are⌝, how ⌜none of the things upon earth⌝
3 change, ⌜but⌝ all the works of God appear ⌜to you⌝. Behold the summer and the winter, ⌜how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.⌝

3 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees ⌜seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

5 1 Observe ye⌝ how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed ⌜and know⌝ with regard to all ⌜His works⌝, and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.
2 And ⌜all⌝ His works go on ⌜thus⌝ from year to year ⌜for ever⌝, and all the tasks which they

8. **will make peace.** See v. 4 (note).
the righteous. i. 7, 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxviii. 3, xxxix. 4, xliii. 4, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, xlviii. 1, 7, 9, l. 2, liii. 7, lvi. 7, lviii, 3, 5, lx. 2, lxi. 3, lxii. 3, lxxxii. 4, xciv. 3, 11, xcv. 3, 7, xcvi. 1, 8, xcvii. 1, 3, 5, xcviii. 12–14, xcix. 3, c. 5, 7, 10, cii. 4, 10, ciii. 1, civ. 1, 6, 12, 13.
will protect, &c. So E. Gg has *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις.* Cf. Wisd. iv. 15.
they shall be prospered. *τὴν †εὐδοκίαν† δώσει αὐτοῖς* Gg, corrupt for *εὐοδίαν* as in Sir. xliii. 26.
light. Cf. xxxviii. 4. This 7th stanza is restored from the Greek. E omits two clauses of the tristich.
9. Quoted by St. Jude 14, 15; Pseudo-Cyprian (ed. Hartel iii. 67); Pseudo-Vigilius (Migne lxii. col. 363). The Greek supplies the defects in the Ethiopic, i.e. 'His', 'all', 'of their ungodliness' 'and hard words which' 'have spoken'. Cf. v. 4, xxvii. 2, ci. 3. For a full discussion of the literary problem see my edition of Enoch in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part xi, pages 5 and 7. The Greek, however, has *ὅτι* wrongly for *ἰδού*, and a dittograph in the last clause of stanza 9.
Ten thousands of His holy ones. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Dan. vii. 10. The angels are so called in xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxxi. 5, ciii. 2, cvi. 19, as already in Job v. 1, xv. 15, Zech. xiv. 5, Dan. iv. 13, viii. 13. They are called 'holy angels' in xx. 1–7, xxi. 5, 9, xxii. 3, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 2, xxxii. 6, lxxi. 8, xciii. 2. And 'holy ones of heaven' in ix. 3. For other names see vi. 2 (note).

II. In ii–v. 3 the order of nature is contrasted with the disorder of man's world. In Test. Naph. iii. 2, 3, men are told to observe God's law as sun, moon, and stars observe their appointed order, and the Watchers who left their natural order are held up as a warning. Cf. Sirach xvi. 26–28, Pss. Sol. xviii. 12–14.

2. **steadfast:** 'corruptible' Gg, possibly a misreading of נכנים as נבלים.
3. The Hebrews had two seasons only, Summer and Winter. Cf. Gen. viii. 22, Isa. xviii. 6, Zech. xiv. 8.

III. On the fourteen evergreen trees see Geoponica xi. 1. The twelve trees (see my Greek Verss. of Test. of xii Patr., pp. 248, 249) for use with sacrifices have nothing to do with this list here. The Greek has lost iii. 1^{b}–v. 1^{a} through homoeoteleuton.

V. 2. **all the tasks . . . change not** 'all His works serve Him and change not' E.

accomplish for Him, and ⌜their tasks⌝ change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.

3 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and ⌜change not⌝ their tasks ⌜from His commandments⌝.

4 But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words
With your impure mouths against His greatness.
Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And the ⌜years of your destruction⌝ shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.

6a In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous,
b And by you shall ⌜all⌝ who curse, curse,
⌜And all⌝ the sinners ⌜and godless⌝ shall imprecate by you,
7c And for you the godless there shall be a curse.

6d ⌜And all the . . . shall rejoice,
e And there shall be forgiveness of sins,
f And every mercy and peace and forbearance:
g There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

i And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,
j But on you all shall abide a curse⌝.
7a But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace,
b And they shall inherit the earth.

8 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride:
But they who are wise shall be humble.

9 And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their life.

And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

4. **the commandments of the Lord.** Cf. xcix. 2 'the eternal law'.
of the Lord: 'His' G^g.
proud and hard words. See i. 9, note, and Cf. Ps. xii. 4; Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20. The charge of blasphemy is frequent in xci–civ, e.g. xci. 7, 11.
greatness + 'for ye have spoken with your lies' G^g, a gloss.
hard-hearted. Cf. xcviii. 11, c. 8 'obstinate of heart'.
ye shall find no peace. This phrase occurs only in i–xxxvi and xci–civ, v. 4, xii. 5, xiii. 1, xvi. 4, xciv. 6, xcviii. 11, 15, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, and cf. i. 8. Cf. Isa. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21.
5. **shall perish** G^g. 'ye shall destroy' E, corruptly.
6. **ye shall make your names** E (lit. 'give'). 'your names shall be' G^g. Read perhaps 'ye shall leave', &c., as in Isa. lxv. 15.
by you . . . curse G^g. 'you shall the sinners curse' E, wrongly. For G^g cf. Ps. cii. 9. G^g adds five lines, of which one or two only can be original. I have transferred 7c, so as to give three parallel tetrastichs in 6, 7.
7. The temporal blessings promised in the O.T., cf. Ps. xxxvii. 11, are here renewed, but the writer has forsaken O.T. ground on the question of Sheol and the Resurrection.
joy E, 'grace' G^g.
8. **bestowed upon the elect wisdom.** See xlii. 1, 2. G^g adds in this verse doublets from 7^{ao} 8^a.
wise . . . humble seems suspicious. G^g adds largely, and omits 'humble'.
9. Cf. Isa. lxv. 20, 22, Zech. viii. 4; 1 En. xxv. 4, 5 (note).
Sin G^g. 'be judged' E, another meaning of יֶאְשְׁמוּ.
increased, multiplied. Cf. Gen. i. 22, &c., but here of spiritual expansion.

VI–XI. *The Fall of the Angels: the Demoralization of Mankind: the Intercession of the Angels on behalf of Mankind. The Dooms pronounced by God on the Angels: the Messianic Kingdom*—(a Noah fragment).

6 1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto
2 them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men
3 and beget us children.' And Semjâzâ, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not
4 indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations
5 not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then sware they all together and bound themselves
6 by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended ⌜in the days⌝ of **Jared** on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn
7 and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Samîazâz, their leader, Arâkîba, Râmêêl, Kôkabîêl, Tâmîêl, Râmîêl, Dânêl, Êzêqêêl, Barâqîjal,
8 Asâêl, Armârôs, Batârêl, Anânêl, Zaqîêl, Samsâpêêl, Satarêl, Tûrêl, Jômjâêl, Sariêl. These are their chiefs of tens.

VI–XI. These chapters are abruptly introduced. See introduction. vi. 3–8, viii. 1–3, ix. 7, x. 11 belong to a Semjaza cycle of myths. As in lxix. 2 he is chief and Azazel only tenth in command. Elsewhere in Enoch Azazel is chief and Semjaza is not mentioned. These myths, however, were already confused in their present form when lxxxviii–lxxxix. 1 were written. Again, x. 1–3 belongs to an Apocalypse of Noah, many fragments of which occur in Enoch. Syncellus gives an additional fragment of it after x. 3. Indeed, vi–xi is all Noachic; cf. Jub. vii. 21–25, and my edition of Jubilees lxxi seq., 264. xii–xvi, however, belong to the Book of Enoch.

VI. 2. **children of the heaven.** Cf. xiii. 8, xiv. 3, xxxix. 1. See xv. 1–7. Cf. 'sons of the holy angels' lxxi. 1, and note.

The entire myth of the angels and the daughters of men in Enoch arises from Gen. vi. 1–4: 'the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men.' This refers not to alliances between Sethites and Cainites, but to an early Persian (?) myth to the effect that before Zoroaster's coming demons had corrupted the earth and allied themselves with women (Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 382, 560). The original LXX rendering for 'sons of God' was *ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as in Philo, *de Gigantibus*, Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. 5, Eusebius, Augustine, and Ambrose. On the myths see Grünbaum in *ZDMG* xxxi. 225 ff., and for statements dependent on this account in Enoch, or harmonizing with it, cf. Jub. iv. 15, v. 1 seqq.; Test. Reub. v. 6, 7, Test. Naph. iii. 5, 2 En. vii, xviii, Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Joseph; *Ant.* i. 3. 1; Philo, *de Gigantibus*; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 5; Ps. Clement, *Hom.* viii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 10; Tert. *de Virg. Veland.* vii; *Adv. Marcion.* v. 18; *De Idol.* ix; Lact. *Institt.* ii. 15; Commodian, *Instruct.* i. 3. In the *De Civ. Dei* xv. 23 Augustine combats this view and denies the inspiration of Enoch which Tertullian had upheld.

saw and >G^s.

4. **And they** >G^g.

and said >G^g.

6. **in the days of Jared** see cvi. 13. So the Greek; the Ethiopic is corrupt. We thus get two paronomasiae in the Hebrew: Jared, and ירד 'descend', and Hermon and חרם 'a curse'. For the tradition cf. Orig. *Comment. in Ioann.* tom. viii, p. 132, ed. Huet.; Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 4, ed. Petav., tom. i, p. 4; Hilary, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3.

The reasons for the angels' descent in the Book of Jubilees differ from those given in this chapter. There in iv and v it is said that the Watchers were sent to earth by God 'to instruct the children of men to do judgement and uprightness', and that when so doing they began to lust after the daughters of men. Cf. Test. Reub. v. 6. In 1 Enoch the angels are said to have descended because of their lust, and the same reason is given in Jalkut Shim. *Beresh.* 44. See Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 253.

The Book of Jubilees has an implicit polemic against this and other statements of Enoch. In later tradition Azazel could not return to heaven because he had outstayed the seven days' limit assigned to angelic visitants to earth.

7. This list is incomplete, as a name has been lost after Tûrêl.

Samîazâz: possibly שמעזיז or-שמחזאי (cf. Shamchazai in Targ. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3).

Râmêêl: probably corrupt for Arakiêl as in G^s. In viii. 3 G^s says of Arakiêl, *ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς.* Now in Aramaic ערק = 'earth', and thus his duties are reflected in his name. He is mentioned as unfallen in Sib. Or. ii, 215–217.

Kôkabîêl = 'star of God'.

Tâmîêl = 'perfection of God'.

Râmîêl: see 2 Bar. lv. 3, Sib. Or. ii, 215–217.

Êzêqêêl: in viii. 3 G^s says *ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν*; thus his name describes his function, as שחק = *ἀήρ* (2 Kings xxii. 12).

Barâqîjal = 'lightning of God'.

Armârôs or Pharmaros (G^s), Arearôs (G^g). In viii. 3 G^s says he *ἐδίδαξεν . . . ἐπαοιδάς . . . καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον*: the name thus may come from חבר, a spell or incantation, and be Abarôs or something similar.

Samsâpêêl. G^s in viii. 3 assigns to the 7th *τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἡλίου.* So the name should be Shamshiel. For the sun-god Shamash see *K.A.T.*^{3} 367–370.

Tûrêl = 'rock of God'.

Jômjâêl = 'day of God'.

Sariêl, 'Arâzjâl (E), Esdrĕêl (viii. 3). G^s (viii. 3) assigns him *τὰ σημεῖα της σελήνης*, so these forms are corrupt for Sariel (G^s) סהר = 'moon'. G^g gives Seriel in viii. 3 but Atriel here.

8. **chiefs of tens.** G^g has *ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα*, an Aramaic construction = our text. Cf. xix. 2 G.

7 1 And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one,
and they began to go in unto them and to **defile** themselves with them, and they taught them charms
2 and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they
3 became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed
4 all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against
5 them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and
6 fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against
the lawless ones.

8 1 And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made
known to them **the metals** ⟨of the earth⟩ and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments,
and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all
2 colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they
3 were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-
cuttings, 'Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqîjâl (taught) astrology, Kôkabêl the con-
stellations, **Êzêqêêl the knowledge of the clouds,** ⟨Araqiêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs
4 of the sun⟩, and Sariêl the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry
went up to heaven . . .

9 1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being
2 shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. And they said one to another:
The earth made †without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryings† up to the gates of heaven.
3 ⌜And now to you, the holy ones of heaven⌝, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause

VII. The Ethiopic and Greek vary considerably in this and the eighth chapter. The notes of time in the Greek are due to later hands.

1. **charms and enchantments.** Cf. Wisdom xii. 4, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2. 5.

2. **great giants.** For further references to these cf. Wisdom xiv. 6, Tob. vi. 14, Sir. xvi. 7, 1 Bar. iii. 26, 3 Macc. ii. 4, Jubilees vii. 22, 23.

three thousand ells. Syncellus omits the height, and the misdeeds of the giants (verses 3–6), but adds 'And they bare unto them three kinds (of offspring); first, great giants. And the giants †begot the Naphilim and to the Naphilim were† born the Eliud. And they grew according to their greatness'. The Eth. and the Giz. Gk. have lost this from the original. Jub. vii. 21–22 is based on this passage and enables us to correct 'begot' and 'were born' to 'slew'. Also in vii. 24 Jub. quotes most of viii. 5. Cf. E and G^g (omitted by G^s). Thus both lines of text E G^g and G^s are here defective. The three classes of giants go back to Gen. vi. 4; cf., too, 1 En. lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2 and Jub. vii. 21, 22 (Giants, Nâphîl, Eljô).

5. **drink the blood.** With the Jews a great crime. Gen. ix. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 32–34; Acts xv. 20; Jub. vii. 28, xxi. 6, 1 En. xcviii. 11.

one another's flesh. One class of giants destroyed another. Cf. Jub. vii. 22.

VIII. 1. **Azâzêl.** See note on vi–xi, also x. 4 note. The origin of the name is unknown. See *Encyc. Bib. in loc.* Azâzêl here is first in order and tenth in command according to Syncellus, who alone adds a number. He calls Semjâzâ the *πρώταρχος* in verse 3.

metals . . . antimony, &c. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 2; ii. 10 ('ut Enoch refert'), where he follows this passage closely. Cf., too, Test. Reub. v. 5, 6; Isa. iii. 16–24. The Ethiopic misread *μέταλλα* (G^s) as *μετ' αὐτά*, G^g as *μεγάλα*.

the metals of the earth G^s. So E on repeating the phrase in a doublet. G^s ends this verse: 'And the children of men made (them) for themselves and their daughters and transgressed and led astray the holy ones.' This contradicts our Noachic text, and agrees with Jub. and Test. xii Patr. where the women by these arts seduce the angels.

2–3. The variations between the Eth. and G^s are here numerous.

2. **and they committed . . . astray** > G^s.

3. **resolving of enchantments.** Dan. v. 12; cf. 1 En. xcv. 4 'anathemas that cannot be resolved'.

astrology. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* Dind. iii. 474 *Ἐνώχ φησιν τοὺς παραβάντας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας.*

Several of these names correspond to the functions. See vi. 7 (notes). G^s alone gives us the complete list, and he gives their numbers not their names, according to their order in vi. 7.

Êzêqêêl. E reads Tâmîêl wrongly here (See vi. 7, note), G^g has Sathêl, and G^g E *ἀστεροσκοπίαν* for *ἀεροσκοπίαν*.

After viii. 3 G^s introduces 'after this the giants began to devour men's flesh', and this leads up to viii. 4, the cry of men.

4. **to heaven** + 'saying Bring our cause before the Most High and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the lords in greatness' $G^{s\,2}$. Cf. ix. 3.

IX. 1. **And then** (E), 'then' G^g, + 'the four great archangels hearing' $G^{s\,1\,2}$.

The Eth. has Surjan and Urjan, i.e. Suriel and Uriel. For Suriel the Greek has Raphael, thus giving us the usual four archangels. See xl. 2 (note).

looked down from heaven. Ps. xiv. 2.

2. **the earth . . . heaven:** 'the voice of them that cry upon the earth to the gates of heaven' G^g.

without inhabitant. Cf. lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5; Test. Naph. iii. 5.

3. **and now . . . heaven.** Lost in $G^{g\,s\,1\,2}$ through hmt.

holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

4 before the Most High." ' And they said to the Lord **of the ages**: ' Lord of lords, God of gods, King
of kings, ⟨and God of the ages⟩, the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the
5 ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and
power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all
6 things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. Thou seest what Azâzêl hath done, who hath taught
all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which
7 men were striving to **learn**: And Semjâzâ, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over
8 his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the
9 women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have
10 borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. And now,
behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven,
and their lamentations have ascended: and cannot **cease** because of the lawless deeds which are
11 wrought on the earth. And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest
these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them
in regard to these.'

10 1 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent **Uriel** to the son of Lamech,
2 and said to him: ⟨' Go to Noah and⟩ tell him in my name " Hide thyself! " and reveal to him the
end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come
3 upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape
4 and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.' (And again the Lord said to
Raphael: ' Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening
5 in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged

Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

4. The angels' prayer is fuller in G^s, and a still more rhetorical form of it occurs in lxxxiv. 2, 3. For angelic intercession see *v.* 10 note.

Lord of the ages. So G^{s1}. Lord of the kings E, >G^{gs2}. ⟨**and God of the ages**⟩ G^{s12}.

5. **power over all things** EG^s, 'all power' G^g.

and nothing . . . seest. Lost in G^g through hmt.

6. **revealed . . to learn**, G^g. E corrupt, but easily emended to our text. For ἔγνωσαν G^g we read γνῶναι as G^s suggests. G^s 'revealed to the world the things which are (preserved) in heaven. And the children of men are practising his practices in order to know the mysteries'.

the eternal secrets, &c. What these are is not told.

7. ⟨**and**⟩ G^g. Semjaza is the leader in this verse, as Azazel in verse 6. See note on vi–xi.

8–9. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5 *οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι—γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες —καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας—καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν.*

8. **with the women** >G^g.

The Eth. contains an Aramaism *μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν* which has led G^s to add a verb *ἐμιάνθησαν*, and G^g to omit *μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν*.

all kinds of sins + 'and have taught them to make hate-producing charms' G^s, or reading *μισητίαν* for *μίσητρα*, 'to practise lewdness'.

9. **Giants.** *τιτᾶνας* G^g, *γίγαντας* G^s.

10. **cannot cease**, &c. *ἐξελθεῖν*, E G^{gs}=למנפק corrupt for למפסק='cease'.

The angels' intercession on men's behalf, as in this chapter and also in xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 1, is an O.T. doctrine; cf. Job ~~v. 1,~~ xxxiii. 23; Zech. i. 12. It was evidently a popular doctrine. Cf. Tobit xii. 12 (contrast Acts x. 4), xii. 15; Rev. viii. 3: Test. Levi iii. 5 and v. 6, 7 (see my full note on doctrine 200 B.C.–A.D. 100, T. Levi iii. 5).

11. **seest** G^{gs}, 'knowest' E.

suffer them. So Greek texts, misread by E *τὰ εἰς* for *ἐᾷς*.

X. 1 ⟨said⟩ >E.

the Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

the Holy and Great One (E). See i. 3 (note). 'And the Great Holy One' G^{gs}.

Uriel. So G^s, G^g has Istrael. E is corrupt.

son of Lamech, i.e. Noah.

2. ⟨**Go to Noah and**⟩ G^s; original, as each command begins with 'Go'. Cf. x. 4, 9, 11 in G^s.

Hide thyself; i.e. to receive further disclosures from the angel. Cf. xii. 1, 2.

3. G^s is much fuller. 'Instruct the righteous (man) what he is to do, from the son of Lamech, and he will preserve his soul unto life and escape through the world, and from him will be planted a plant and it will be established throughout all the generations of the world.'

of the world G^{gs} *n* >E-*n*.

4–8. Raphael's task—to remove Azazel and heal the earth; Uriel's task is given in 1–3, Gabriel's in 9–10, Michael's in 11–12.

4. Azazel as the chief offender and leader is first punished (in *v.* 11, Semjaza), by imprisonment now, and finally by fire. He is conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scape-goat was led. The Jerusalem Targum (Ps. Jonathan) on Leviticus says that the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, i.e. Beth Chadure or Beth Chaduda (Joma, vi. 8). This Beth Chaduda (='Dudael' of this verse) was a definite locality near Jerusalem. Cf. Lev. xvi. 10, 22. On Semjaza and Azazel see Targ. Ps. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3, where both names occur and the myth is given. Observe that Azazel is punished in a place by himself; and also that in the Noah sections this place is in the valleys of the earth, but in the genuine Enoch beyond the earth.

5. **upon him**, 'under him' Gk. wrongly. Cf. liv. 5.

rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may
6, 7 not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire.) (And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the
8 Watchers have **disclosed** and have taught their sons. 'And the whole earth has been corrupted
9 through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.' And to Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication: and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men: [and cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in
10 battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and
11 that each one of them will live five hundred years.' And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, **bind** Semjâzâ and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves
12 with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the **valleys** of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is
13 for ever and ever is consummated. (In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: ⟨and⟩
14 to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be **condemned** and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all
15 generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because
16 they have wronged mankind. (Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: ⌜and it shall prove a blessing; the works of righteousness and truth⌝ shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

17 And then shall all the righteous escape,
And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
And all the days of their youth and their **old age**
Shall they complete in peace.

for ever, i.e. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, may denote various periods, according to the context in which it is used. Here it equals seventy generations (cf. *v.* 12); in *v.* 10 five hundred years; elsewhere again an unending period.

For verses 5 and 12 cf. Jude 6.

6. **day of the great judgement** G^g, 'great day of judgement' E. See xlv. 2 (note). This judgement inaugurates the final judgement of the angels.

the fire. See xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7–10; 2 Bar. xliv. 15, xlviii. 39, lix. 2.

7. Raphael's name suggests 'healing'. Cf. Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14.

healing of the earth E G^g, 'healing of the plague' G^s.

the plague G^{gs}, 'the earth' E.

disclosed G^s, 'smitten' E G^g.

8. Note how all sin is ascribed to the fallen angels.

works that were taught G^{gs}, 'teaching of the works' E.

9, 10. Gabriel to destroy the giants. The account here is closely followed by Jubilees v. 6–11. The giants slay one another in the presence of their parents; cf. xiv. 6, and *v.* 12 here. The parents are then bound in the earth's abysses, and their power of hurting the earth is at an end; cf. xiv. 5. But it is not so with the spirits of the giants. They enjoy an impunity in wrong-doing until the final judgement. See xv. 11–xvi. 1.

9. **[the children . . . and]** >G^{gs}, dittograph in E.

[and cause . . . forth] dittograph in E of 'send'.

send . . . battle, 'send . . . war' G^g.

10. **an eternal life**, i.e. five hundred years. See *v.* 5 (note). As to the prayer of the fallen angels, cf. xii. 6, xiii. 4–6, xiv. 7.

11. This verse describes Michael's task, which is distinct from that of Gabriel. Cf. lxxxviii. 3 which is distinct from lxxxviii. 2.

the Lord >G^{gs}.

bind. So G^s, 'show' G^g and E, i.e δηλῶσον for δῆσον.

united . . . with them. Jub. iv. 22.

12. **their sons**: 'all these sons' E, 'all' being corrupt as often in E for def. art.

The binding of the angels in the valleys has been altered in E to 'in the hills' as in the Greek myths of the Titans. For the valley see lxvii. 4 sqq. and cf. Jub. v. 10 'in the depths of the earth', and Jude 6 ὑπὸ ζόφον.

seventy generations. This period has no connexion with the Apocalypse of Weeks.

13. **abyss of fire**, i.e. the same as that mentioned in *v.* 6, xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7–10, xc. 24. Cf. Rev. xx. 10, 14, 15 'lake of fire', and Matt. xxv. 41.

14. **condemned** G^s. κατακαυσθῇ G^g E corrupt for κατακριθῇ.

all generations E, 'the ('their' G^s) generation' G^g. Here G^s ends.

15. Gabriel is given this charge in *v.* 9.

16. **plant of righteousness**, i.e. Israel. Israel springs from a seed that 'is sown' by God, lxii. 8: hence it is established as 'a plant of the seed for ever', lxxxiv. 6; is called 'the plant of uprightness', xciii. 2; the plant of righteousness, xciii. 5; the eternal plant of righteousness, xciii. 10; and 'the plant of righteous judgement', xciii. 5.

17. The writer wanders off to a very sensuous picture of Messianic bliss; cf. xxv. 4 (note).

old age. The reading (E and G^g) 'Sabbath' is due to a corruption in the original Aramaic or Hebrew.

18 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and
19 be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield
20 ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth
21 destroy from off the earth. ⌜And all the children of men shall become righteous⌝, and all nations
22 shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. ⌜And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.

11 1 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send
2 them down ⌜upon the earth⌝ over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations **of men.**'

XII–XVI. *Dream-Vision of Enoch: his Intercession for Azazel and the fallen Angels: and his Announcement of their first and final Doom.*

12 1 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was
2 hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.
3 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of **majesty** and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers
4 called me—Enoch the scribe—and said to me: 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, †declare† to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves

18. **shall all be planted with trees** E, 'and a tree shall be planted in it' G^g.
18, 19. Cf. O.T. prophecies, Amos ix. 13, 14; Hos. ii. 22, 23; Jer. xxxi. 5; Isa. xxv. 6; Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 26, 27.
19. G^g corrupt.
each measure shall bear. Contrast Isa. v. 10, and cf. the chiliastic expectations of Papias in Iren. *adv. Haer.* v. 33. Cf., too, 2 Bar. xxix. 5.
20. The cleansing is by the Messianic kingdom probably, not by the deluge.
oppression E, 'impurity' G^g.
20, 21. **from off . . . righteous** E >G^g.
21. The conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. xc. 30 (note), xci. 14.
22. **the earth** E, 'all the earth' G^g.

XI. concludes an account of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 12.
upon the earth >G^g.
2. Cf. Ps. lxxxv. 10; Isa. xxxii. 17.
of men G^g, *αἰώνων* E †for *ανπων*.

XII–XVI. The visions are only preserved in fragments and are out of order. Cf. lxxviii–lxxx, xci–xciv. As Enoch can still intercede for the fallen Watchers their doom in x is not yet carried out. The original order was: Enoch was asked to intercede for Azazel (lost), vision (lost), answer in xiii. 1–2; then to intercede for the Watchers, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–7, vision in xiii. 8, answer to the Watchers xiii. 9–10. This second vision is given at length, with God's revelation about the Watchers' first estate, sin, and doom, xiv. 2–xvi. 2. The closing message of doom for the Watchers in xvi. 3–4 is a duplicate of xii. 4–6, which seems more original. This repetition is very Semitic. Thus the original order would be xiv. 1 . . ., xiii. 1–2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2, xii. 4–6 ‖ xvi. 3–4. xii. 1–2 is an editorial introduction. Note that here in this Enoch section a man intercedes for angels: in the Noah section angels intercede for men (ix. 3, 4), but not for angels (lxviii. 3, Noachic).

XII. 1. **Before these things,** before the angels' intercession for men (ix) and God's doom (x) on the Watchers.
was hidden E, 'was taken' G^g, to receive the following revelation. Cf. x. 2. Enoch is still living, and not finally translated from earth as yet. As man he writes the petition for the fallen angels (xiii. 6); receives a vision in sleep, and is transported in spirit unto heaven (xiv. 2); speaks with a tongue of flesh (xiv. 2); and is terrified, like a mortal man, at the presence of God (xiv. 24).
2. **holy ones.** See i. 9 (note).
Watchers. See i. 5 (note).
3. **of majesty** G^g. So E by the slightest change.
King of the ages. See i. 3 (note). **Watchers** E, + 'of the Holy Great one' G.
called. Enoch is really asked to intercede. So read this verse after xiii. 3.
the scribe. Cf. xcii. 1. Enoch is further called the scribe of righteousness (xii. 4, xv. 1), because he is himself a righteous man (xv. 1, lxxi. 14–16) and also declares the righteous judgement that is coming (xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, lxxxi. 6, lxxxii. 1, &c.).
4–6. Really the close of xii–xvi. See note above.
4. Cf. Jude 6. † **declare** E, G^g 'and say', correctly. Cf. xvi. 4.
have left. Cf. xv. 3.
the holy eternal place E, 'the holiness of the eternal place' G^g.

5 wives: "Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgive-
6 ness of sin: and inasmuch as †they† delight themselves in† their† children, The murder of †their† beloved ones shall† they† see, and over the destruction of †their† children shall† they† lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."'

13 1 And Enoch went and said: 'Azâzêl, thou shalt have no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth
2 against thee to put thee in bonds: And thou shalt not have toleration nor †request† granted to thee, because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness
3 and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.' Then I went and spoke to them all
4 together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence
5 of the Lord of heaven. For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their
6 eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer †in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their
7 requests that they should have forgiveness and length†. And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon: I read their petition till I fell
8 asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of chastisement, ⌜and a voice came bidding (me)⌝ to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.
9 And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in
10 'Abelsjâîl, which is between Lebanon and Sênêsêr, with their faces covered. And I recounted before them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

14 1 The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance
2 with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to
3 converse therewith and understand with the heart. As He has created and given ⌜to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given⌝ me the power of reprimanding
4 the Watchers, the children of heaven. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus, that your petition will not be granted unto you ⌜throughout all the days of eternity, and that judge-

Ye have G^g, 'and have' E.
5. **And ye** G^g, 'and they' E.
no peace. Cf. v. 4, xiii. 1.
5, 6. †they, †their. Read 'ye', 'your'.
6. Cf. x. 10, 12, xiv. 6.

XIII. 1. Azazel addressed in conformity with x. 4. Message of his doom. See xii–xvi (note).
went and said E, 'said "Go"' G^g.
no peace xvi. 4, v. 4.
bonds x. 4.
2. †**request**. Read 'rest'.
4, 5. As the angels could not address God nor lift up their eyes to heaven, Enoch is besought to become their intercessor. As a scribe, he draws up their petition in writing, and does not present it by word of mouth.
4. **read** G^g, 'take up' E.
6. †**in regard to . . . length**†. For 'length' read 'length of days', x. 9, 10.
7. **waters of Dan.** This river, called also the Little Jordan (Joseph, *Ant.* v. 3. 1, viii. 8. 4) is a tributary of the Jordan. This place (from דין, to judge) is chosen because of the significance of its name here—judgement.
the west of Hermon E, 'Hermon of the West' G^g.
8. **to tell . . . and reprimand** E, 'Tell . . . to reprimand' G^g.
sons of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).
9. **'Abelsjâîl**, perhaps Abilene אבילין, with a play on אבלין, 'mourning'.
10. **Sênêsêr**—Senir, a name of Hermon—Deut. iii. 9, Cant. iv. 8.
recounted G^g, 'spake' E.
reprimand, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 3, 'judge angels'.
heavenly Watchers. See i. 5 (note). The vision follows in xiv. 2-xvi. 2.

XIV. 1. A title for the section xii–xvi.
The book of the words $q G^g$, 'This book is the word' E (rest of MSS.).
eternal, lit. 'who are from eternity', in the loose sense of that word. See x. 5 (note).
Holy Great one G^g, 'Holy and Great one' E. See i. 3 (note).

XIV. 2.–XVI. 2—the Vision.
2, 3. God has created man with a tongue for speech and a faculty of understanding, and so has created Enoch with a power of reprimanding the eternal watchers.
tongue of flesh. Cf. lxxxiv. 1.
the Great One. Cf. ciii. 4, civ. 1.
and understand with the heart E, 'with understanding of the heart' G^g.
3. **to man . . . and given** $>G^g$, through hmt.
children of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).
4–7. Enoch's reprimand to the Watchers.

5 ment has been finally passed upon you: yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you⌝. And from
henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and ⌜in bonds⌝ of the earth the decree
6 has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. And (that) previously you shall have seen
the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before
7 you by the sword. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own:
even though you weep and pray and **speak all the words** contained in the writing which I have
8 written. And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist
summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and **hastened** me, and the winds in
9 the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew
nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright
10 me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals:
and the walls of the house were like a tesselated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was
11 of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were
12 fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its
13 portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there
14 were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. And as I quaked
15 and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater
16 than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And
in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to
17 you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path
18 of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw ⌜therein⌝ a lofty throne: its
appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the **vision** of
19 cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look
20 thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and
21 was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason
22 of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about
Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times
23 ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no **counsellor**. And the most holy ones who were
24 nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on
my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: 'Come hither,

5. Cf. xiii. 5. Also Athenagoras' *Apology*, xxv. 1; Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.

in bonds of the earth Gg, 'on the earth' E. Read 'in bonds on the earth' or (cf. Lam. iii. 34) 'as prisoners of the earth'.

6. Cf. x. 9, xii. 6.

pleasure in them. Cf. xii. 6. So Gg. E has 'ye shall not possess them'.

7. **speak all the words.** I have emended μή into μήν in Gg καὶ μὴν λαλοῦντες πᾶν ῥῆμα (Cf. converse in x. 7 Gg). If we accept the negative and read λαχόντες for λαλοῦντες, we can take the phrase as an apodosis—'ye are not to be granted a single request', &c.

Iren. iv. 16. 2 refers to this passage and to Enoch's *legatio ad angelos*.

8. **clouds invited me.** The expression is peculiar. Cf. perhaps Matt. xvii. 5. We should expect, however, some such idea as in Ps. xviii. 10, 11, civ. 3.

sped E, κατεσπούδαζον Gg. Cf. *Passio Perpetuae* xi.

hastened ἐθορύβαζον GgE. But בהל in Heb. and Aram. means also 'hasten', cf. Dan. iv. 5.

caused me to fly E=ἀνεπτέρωσαν, Gg=ἐξεπέτασαν. Perhaps read ἐξεπέρασαν, cf. Num. xi. 31.

9–13. Enoch is carried up into heaven and passes within the outer court of God's palace.

10. **crystals**=hailstones. Cf. Isa. xxx. 30. (**made**) **of crystals** E. Gg has 'and they were all of snow'.

13. **delights**=τρυφή. τροφή Gg.

14. Cf. lx. 3, lxxi. 11; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17, 18.

15. The doors are open so that Enoch can describe what is within. Gg is corrupt.

18–22. The writer draws on Isa. vi: Ezek. i. x.; Dan. vii. 9, 10. This passage is used by the author of lxxi. 5–8.

18. **therein** > Gg.

a lofty throne: Ezek. i. 26; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ass. Mos. iv. 2; Test. Levi v. 1; Rev. iv. 2.

vision. So I emend. E has 'voice' (ὀπός). Gg has *opos* corrupt for ὅρασις.

19. Dan. vii. 10.

streams of flaming fire E, 'flaming streams of fire' Gg.

20. **the Great Glory.** Cf. cii. 3; Test. Lev. iii. 4.

whiter than, &c. Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Ps. civ. 2; Jam. i. 17; Rev. iv. 3.

21. **enter** + 'into this house' Gg.

by reason of the magnificence and glory Gg, 'of the Magnificent and Glorious One' E (cf. ciii. 1), but this seems corrupt.

22. **could draw nigh.** Cf. 3 Macc. ii. 15; 1 Tim. vi. 16.

He needed no counsellor. Cf. Sir. xlii. 21, and 2 En. xxxiii. 4. E, with a slight change, gives our text. Gg has πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. 2 En. xxxiii. 4.

23. **the most holy ones** Gg, 'the holiness of the holy ones' Ea.

'did not leave.' Contrast lxxi. 8.

24. **prostrate** Gg. E is corrupt. Cf. Dan. viii. 17; 2 En. xxi. 2; Luke xxiv. 5.

25 Enoch, and hear my word.' ⌜And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me⌝, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.

15 1 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous
2 man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice. And go, say to ⌜the Watchers of heaven⌝, who have sent thee to intercede ⌜for them: "You should intercede⌝ for men, and not men
3 for you: Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children
4 of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons? And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, **as the children** of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those ⌜also⌝ do who die
5 and perish. Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget
6 children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. But you were ⌜formerly⌝
7 spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling.
8 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon
9 the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from **men** ⌜and⌝ from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin;
10 ⌜they shall be evil spirits on earth, and⌝ evil spirits shall they be called. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth,
11 on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants **afflict**, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, ⌜but never-
12 theless hunger⌝ and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded ⌜from them⌝.

16 1 From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death ⌜of the giants⌝, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement—thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great ⌜judgement⌝ in which the age shall be con-
2 summated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated." And now as

hear my word G^g, 'to my holy word' E (*ἁγίου* for *ἄκουσον*).
25. **bowed:** so G^g. 'looked' E corruptly.

XV. 1. **scribe of righteousness.** See xii. 3 (note).
2. **Watchers of heaven** >G^g.
intercede. See ix. 10 (note).
for them . . intercede >G^g through hmt.
3. Cf. xii. 4; Jude 6.
4–7. For mortal man upon earth wedlock is appointed, to continue the race; but for immortal angels in heaven it involves pollution and guilt. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30, no marriage in heaven.
4. **spiritual, living the eternal life** E, 'and spirits, living, eternal' G^g.
as the children of men, 'with the blood of men' G^g E, i.e. בדם for כבני.
lusted after + 'and made' E.
5. **nothing . . to them.** E^{gtu} corrupt.
6. **spiritual,** &c. G^g as in *v.* 4.
8–9. The forbidden union of angels and the daughters of men gives rise to a monstrous race of giants, with spiritual powers and earthly desires. So from these giants when they die will proceed evil spirits, i.e. demons, living on earth. Moreover, these demons will not be restrained as the fallen angels are, nor slain like the mortal bodies of the giants. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5; Tert. *Apol.* xxii. Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15 regards the demons as wicked angels and no more.
8. **shall be called evil spirits** E G^s; *πνεύματα ἰσχυρά* G^g, defective and corrupt.
9. **from men** G^s, 'from those above' G^g E.
beginning E + 'of their creation' G^{gs}.
they shall be . . earth E G^s. > G^g.
10. G^s omits. The verse is only a repetition of 7, 8.
of the earth E, 'on the earth' G^g.
11. **afflict:** 'laying waste' G^s, 'clouds' E G^g, i.e. עננין corrupt for מענין = 'afflict'. The demons' evil activities will continue on the earth.
trouble E; *δρόμους* G^{gs}, corrupt for *τρόμους* (?).
but nevertheless hunger G^{gs}. >E + *καὶ φάσματα ποιοῦντα* G^s, perhaps rightly.
cause offences G^{gs}, also E, easily corrected.
12. **against the women** E, 'of the women' G^{gs}.

XVI. 1. The demons will not be punished until the final judgement, whereas the watchers are punished before and again at that judgement. This doctrine also appears in Jubilees x. 5–11, and in the N.T. Cf. Matt. viii. 29, 'to torment us before the time.'
of the giants E G^s >G^g + *Ναφηλεὶμ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ μεγάλοι ὀνομαστοί* G^s. Cf. Gen. vi. 4.
from the souls of whose flesh E^{eny} G^g. All texts are here corrupt, though ^{eny} are best.
consummation. See xlv. 2 (note).
2. Here we might read a quotation in Syncellus ending—'and these are from the first book of Enoch concerning the watchers'. It limits the age of man to 120 years and so perhaps does belong to the lost Apocalypse of Noah. See my forthcoming Commentary on Enoch, pp. 14, 15.

to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been ⌜aforetime in heaven⌝, (say
3 to them): "You have been in heaven, but ⌜all⌝ the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."
4 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace." '

XVII–XXXVI. *Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol.*

XVII–XIX. *The First Journey.*

17 1 And they took ⌜and brought⌝ me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire,
2 and, when they wished, they appeared as men. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and
3 to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries ⌜and the treasuries of the stars⌝ and of the thunder, ⌜and⌝ in the **uttermost depths,** where were
4 a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, ⌜and a fiery sword⌝ and all the lightnings. And they took
5 me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards
6 the west. I saw the great rivers and came to the great ⌜river and to the great⌝ darkness, and went
7 to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place
8 whence all the waters of the deep flow. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

18 1 I saw the treasuries of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation
2 and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four
3 winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven. ⌜And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven⌝, and have their station between heaven and earth: ⌜these are the pillars

aforetime E >G^{gs}.
3. E wrongly inserts 'and now' at the beginning of 3.
all G^{g} >E.
Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ed. Dindorf. iii. 9 is based on this statement.
4. **no peace.** See v. 4 (note).

XVII–XIX. These chapters are foreign to the rest of this section. They are full of Greek elements, e.g. Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Cocytus (xvii. 5, 6); the Ocean Stream (xvii. 5, 7, 8; xviii. 10); Hades in the West (xvii. 6).
Again xviii. 6–9 is a duplicate account of xxiv. 1–3; xviii. 12–16 of xxi. 1–6; and xviii. 11 of xxi. 7–10.
Again xix. 1 contradicts x. 11–14; xiv. 5. How could the imprisoned angels (xv. 12–xvi) assume many forms and seduce men to sacrifice to the demons? Still these chapters do belong to the Enoch tradition.

XVII. 1. **and brought** supplied from G^{g}.
like flaming fire. Cf. Ps. civ. 4.
appeared as men. Cf. xix. 1, 'assuming many different forms', and 2 Cor. xi. 14.
2. **of darkness** G^{g} *ζοφώδη*, 'of whirlwind' E = *γνοφώδη*. Cf. Job xxxvii. 9.
the point of E >G^{g}.
3. **places of the luminaries:** perhaps the chambers of the sun and moon cf. xli. 5.
and the treasuries of the stars supplied from G^{g}.
of the thunder. Cf. xli. 3, xliv, lix, lx. 13–15 and notes.
in the uttermost depths. E is thus easily emended. G^{g} has *εἰς τὰ ἀεροβαθῆ*.
fiery bow, with which the lightnings are shot. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Hab. iii. 9; Lam. ii. 4, iii. 12.
arrows, i.e. lightnings. Ps. xviii. 14, lxxvii. 17, 18.
and a fiery sword E. >G^{g}. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 41.
4. **took** E, 'brought' G^{g}.
The living waters G^{g}, 'waters of life' E. Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; and esp. Rev. xxii. 17.
fire of the west. See xxiii. (notes). This fire is not Gehenna as Enoch does not place that in the west.
receives E, *παρέχον* G^{g}.
5. **river of fire.** The Pyriphlegethon.
great sea. *Ὠκεανός*.
towards the west E, 'of the west' G^{g}.
6. **I saw** G^{g}, 'and I saw' E, also in verses 7 and 8, &c. The omission of the copula suits the Aramaic idiom.
the great rivers. Are these the Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus?
river and to the great supplied from G^{g}.
no flesh G^{g}, 'all flesh' E.
7. **the mountains of the darkness** E. 'the winds of the darkness' G^{g}.
8. **The mouths,** &c., i.e. Oceanus. Cf. 'the springs of the great deep' in Babylonian cosmogony: they are at the ends of the earth, and the mountains (cf. *v.* 7) are near by.

XVIII. 1. **treasuries of all the winds.** See xxxiv–xxxvi, xli. 4 (note), lx. 11, 12.
foundations of the earth. Cf. O.T. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 15.
2. **corner-stone.** Job xxxviii. 6.
the earth and G^{g} E, but a dittograph of ארבע 'four' in the Aramaic seems probable, misread ארעא 'earth'.
3. **And I saw . . . heaven** E, > G^{g} through hmt.
These are . . . heaven > G^{g} through hmt.
pillars of the heaven. Cf. Job. xxvi. 11 for the words but not the idea.

4 of the heaven⌝. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and
5 all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw ⌜the paths
6 of the angels. I saw⌝ at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. /And I proceeded
and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones,
7 three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, ⟨one⟩ was
of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of **jacinth**, and those towards the south of red stone.
8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the
9, 10 throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains Is a region the
11 end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns ⌜of
heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns⌝ of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards
12 the height and towards the depth. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament
of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no
13 birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,
14 and to me, when I inquired regarding them, The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and
15 earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll
over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of
16 their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. And He was wroth with them,
and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even) ⌜for ten thousand years⌝.'

19 1 And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women,
and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray
into sacrificing to demons ⌜as gods⌝, (here shall they stand,) till ⌜the day of⌝ the great judgement in

4. **winds which turn . . . the sun.** Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
bring . . . to . . . setting. = *δύνοντας* (Active). *διανεύοντας* G^g which Dillmann emends to *δινεύοντας*, 'whirling'.
5. **carrying the clouds** (*t*, *β* only) explains the difficulties in Job xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 16. G^g*gmqu* read 'in the cloud'.
at the end of the earth the firmament. The firmament's ends rest on the earth's ends, cf. xxxiii. 2, while its vault is supported by the winds, xviii. 2, 3.
6–9. For the seven mountains see the other account in xxiv. 1–3. Also cf. Jubilees viii. 22.
6. **proceeded** + 'to the south' E. This addition is obviously wrong. The mountains are in the NW., lxxvii. 3, lxx. 3. Moreover, as three are towards the east and three towards the south, this *v.* (6) implies that the corner one must be in the NW.
and saw a place G^g > E which seems to have read *εἰς τὸν νότον* for *εἶδον τόπον*.
seven mountains. The Garden lies to the east of them xxxii. 1–2 and like them is in the NW. lxx. 3. Cf. too xxiv. 1–3 (the mountains), xxiv. sqq. (the Garden or at least the tree of life). See further lxxvii. 3, lx. 22, 23, lx. 8, xxxii. 1–3 for the Garden's position. For the number 'seven' cf. 4 Ezra vi. 42, 1 En. lxxvii. 5, 8. See full note in my new Comm. on 1 En. xviii. 6. With the mountains cf. those in lii. 2, liii. 7.
three$^{1°}$ E, > G^g.
7. **jacinth** (?) *ἰάσεως* E, corrupt for (?) *ἰάσπιδος*, 'jasper'. But G^g has *ταθεν*. So *ἰακίνθου* or *ἰανθίνου* is more probably original. We can neither be sure of identifying the stones or discovering the source of the ideas in our text. But cf. Ezek. xxviii. 13.
8. **like the throne of God.** In xxv. 3 it *is* the throne of God. God's mountain is in the north in Isa. xiv. 13. Cf. Ezek. i. 4; Job xxxvii. 22. Cf. 'the holy mountain of God', Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14, 16.
alabaster. *φουκα* G^g=פוכא.
sapphire. Ezek. i. 26.
9. **a flaming fire.** Cf. xxiv. 1.
And beyond these G^g. E attests, but here as always misrenders, as *ἐπὶ ἐκείνων* for *ἐπέκεινα* (G^g). Cf. ver. 12.
10. Cf. xviii. 5, xxxiii. 2.
11. Is this the final place of punishment for the fallen angels? If so, cf. x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, xc. 24.
of heavenly fire . . . columns > G^g. Cf. Gen. xix. 24; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 22.
height . . . depth E. ∽ G^g.
12–16. The place of punishment for the disobedient stars, already occupied. Cf. xxi. 1–6.
13–16. The stars are regarded as conscious, and therefore punished. Cf. Jude 13 *ἀστέρες πλανῆται*.
13. **and to me . . . them** G^g, E corrupt.
14. **host of heaven.** Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21.
15. **the Lord** G^g, 'God' E.
rising + *ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστιν* G^g—a gloss on *v.* 12.
16. **till the time** = ten thousand years, xxi. 6.
ten thousand years G^g, *ἐνιαυτῷ μυστηρίου* E corrupt.

XIX. This chapter disagrees with xv. 12–xvi, as here the spirits of the fallen angels are free to seduce men to sacrifice to demons. In fact the fallen angels here have the function of tempting men which is elsewhere assigned to the demons. The women too become female demons here. If, however, xix belongs to x–xvi, then xix is defective. 'Their spirits' should be followed by 'of the giants', which would be an Aramaic idiom likely to be misunderstood by a Greek translator.
1. **sacrificing to demons as gods.** Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37; Bar. iv. 7. This passage and xcix. 7 are the source of Tert. *De Idol.* iv.
as gods E > G^g.
the day of E > G^g.
the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

2 which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who
3 went astray shall become sirens.' And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and
no man shall see as I have seen.

XX. *Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels.*

1, 2 And these are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is
3 over the world and over Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.
4, 5 Raguel, one of the holy angels who †takes vengeance on† the world of the luminaries. Michael, one
6 of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind ⌜and⌝ over chaos. Saraqâêl,
7 one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy
8 angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels,
whom God set over those who rise.

XXI—XXXVI. *The Second Journey of Enoch.*

XXI. *Preliminary and final Place of Punishment of the fallen Angels (stars).*

1, 2 And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither
3 a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw
4 seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then
5 I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' Then
said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why
6 dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars ⌜of heaven⌝,
which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years,
7 the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.' And from thence I went to another place, which
was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt
and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of
8 fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: 'How

2. **the women . . . of the angels** G^g, 'lit. their women . . . of the angels'. An Aramaic idiom. E is corrupt.
will become sirens. So G^g. E is corrupt *ὡς εἰρηναῖαι*. For sirens cf. Apoc. Bar. x. 8. *σειρήν* in the LXX renders יענה e.g. Mic. i. 8.

3. **the ends of all things.** Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) as *ὕλας πάσας* and Origen, *De Princ.* iv. 35, as 'universas materias'.

XX. There are seven archangels in this chapter, but only four are mentioned in i–xix, cf. xxi–xxxvi. See lxxxi. 5. Other discrepancies, however, are reduced by the evidence of G^g.

1. $G^{g1,2}$ are defective, G^{g2} omits and G^{g1} reads only 'angels of the powers'. Both, however, in *v.* 8 end *ὀνόματα ζ' ἀρχαγγέλων.*
who watch. See i. 5, xii. 2.

2. Uriel's province here explains, e.g. xix, xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 1, where he is overseer of the world.
Tartarus $G^{s1,2}$. E = *τρόμου*, corrupt.

3. **Raphael.** See x. 4, 7. His province here suits admirably in xxii. 3, 6. In xxxii. 6, however, his province seems that assigned to Gabriel in xx. 7.

4. **Raguel.** There seems to be no connexion between name and function. Cf. xxiii. 4.
†takes vengeance on.† See xxiii. 4 (note).
world of $G^{g1,2}$. 'world and' E.

5. **Michael** is Israel's guardian angel, as in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, and elsewhere. Cf. xxiv. 6.
(and) over chaos $G^{g1,2}$. *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ* E.

6. **Saraqâêl** E, 'Sariel' $G^{g1,2}$.
spirits + 'of mankind' E.

7. Gabriel, not Raphael, should be the speaker in xxxii, according to this verse.

8. **Remiel.** This clause (only in G^{g2}) completes the *seven*, which number G^{g1} also mentions. For Remiel cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36.

XXI. 1–6. Cf. xviii. 12–16. The place where the disobedient stars are punished.

1. Origen cites in *De. Princ.* iv. 35 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum.'
chaotic. So $G^{g1,2}$, and E is easily so emended.

3. **together** E. 'and cast down' $G^{g1,2}$.

5. **chief over them** $G^{g1,2}$. 'chief over me' E.
why art thou eager for the truth $G^{s1,2}$. The Aramaic original = Dan. vii. 16 (cf. 19), and the Greek text used by E, had *ἀκρίβειαν*, not *ἀλήθειαν*.

6. **of heaven** $G^{g1,2}$. > E.
the Lord $G^{g1,2}$ but late MSS. read 'Most High God', a title not found in Enoch, though 'Most High' occurs in all the sections. E has 'God'. See xcix. 3 (note).
ten thousand years $G^{g1,2}$. 'ten thousand ages' E, i.e. ʿâlam for ʿâm.
the time $G^{g1,2}$. 'the number of the days' E.

7–10. **Another place.** Apparently the final prison of the angels here is the abyss of xviii. 11, 12, which was below the waste place, where the seven stars are bound already. For this final prison, cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, liv. 6, xc. 24–5.

7. **conjecture.** E^{mu} $G^{g1,2}$. All E MSS. prefix a gloss 'to look upon'.

9 fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!' Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?' And
10 I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said ⌜unto me⌝: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

XXII. *Sheol or the Underworld.*

22 1 And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west ⌜another⌝ great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

E

2 And there was in it †four† **hollow** places, deep and wide and very smooth. †How† smooth are **the hollow places** and deep and dark to look at.

Gg

And there were †four† hollow places in it, deep 2
and very smooth: †three† of them were dark and one bright and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: '†How† smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view.'

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should
4 assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places **have been made** to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

E

5 I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven
6 and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit—whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?'

Gg

I saw ⟨the spirit of⟩ a **dead man** making suit, 5
and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was 6
with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?'

7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

8. **terrible,** *δεινός*, 'terrible' G^{g12}. E = *ὀδυνηρός*.
9. **Uriel** E > $G^{g1,2}$.
and I answered $G^{g1,2}$. > E which inserts 'and he answered me' after 'with me'.
the spectacle of the pain E (*ὀδύνης*), 'the terrible (*δεινῆς*) spectacle' G^{g}.
10. **unto me** E > G^{g}.
for ever G^{g} gives a doublet.

XXII. This chapter contains a very detailed account of Sheol or Hades. The writer places it in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails. This is the earliest statement of the Pharisaic or Chasid doctrine of Sheol, but here it is already fullgrown. The departed have conscious existence, and moral, not social distinctions are observed in Sheol. See lxiii. 10, for the history of this doctrine. Cf. Dan. xii.

1. [**and**] > G^{g}.
2. † **four** †, three are gloomy and one bright, according to our text, but *vv.* 8 and 9 show that there are *three* in all, not *four* (G^{g}). E has there inserted 'regarding it and' to avoid the inconsistency.
† **four** † . . † **three** †. Read 'three . . two'.
hollow. *καλοί* E for *κοῖλοι*. So too in ver. 3.
† **how** †. Read 'why' to suit the reply 'for this very purpose' in *v.* 3. **hollow places** 2°. So G. E has *κυκλώματα*.
deep and dark. This seems to suit only the places of punishment. Contrast 'one bright' and *v.* 9.
3. **Raphael** has the same rôle in Tobit.
created E. *ἐκρίθησαν* G^{g} corruptly.
the spirits of the souls of the dead, G^{g} E^{gu}, E rest of MSS. corrupt. Cf. ix. 10.
4. **been made.** So I emend G^{g} E, which corruptly read 'made'.
to receive them. Cf. promptuaria of 4 Ezra iv. 35, vii. 95, 1 En. c. 4, 5 (note).
[**till the period appointed.**] A dittograph.

5–7. Formerly thought to describe the first division of Sheol, which contains the souls of the righteous, who in their life were persecuted, and suffered a violent and undeserved death. The idea of the righteous or of the angels crying for vengeance on the wicked occurs in all the sections of Enoch. Cf. ix. 1–3, 10, 11, xxii. 5–8, xlvii. 1, 2, lxxxix. 76, xcvii. 3, 5, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3. Cf. also Rev. vi. 10; 4 Ezra iv. 35. But really these verses describe not a division of Sheol, but the sight of a soul demanding vengeance.

5. **spirits . . dead.** E. *ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐντυγχάνοντος* G^{g} defective and corrupt. Note the singular in *v.* 6.
6, 7. Abel's soul cries for vengeance. Gen. iv. 10.
6. **which maketh suit** > E.
answered + 'and said to me' E, a doublet of 'saying'.

E

8 Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the **hollow places**: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 And he answered me and said unto me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made ⟨for⟩ the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the **bright** spring of
10 water. **And** such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their
11 lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There
12 He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days
13 of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'
14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.'

G^{g}

Then I asked regarding all the **hollow places**: 8
'Why is one separated from the other?'

And he answered me saying: 'These three 9
have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And **this** division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And **this** 10
has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great 11
pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings, and torments of the accursed for ever, **so that** (there may be) retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And **this** 12
division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. And **this** has been 13
made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 14
'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who ruleth over the world.'

XXIII. *The fire that deals with the Luminaries of Heaven.*

3 1, 2 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning
3 fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly. And

8. The three divisions of Sheol are now given.
hollow places. *κριμάτων* E, *κυκλωμάτων* G^{g}, both corrupt for *κοιλωμάτων*.

9. The first division is for the souls of the righteous, whether martyred or not. Thus good and ill fortune in life do not continue even after death, despite 5–7. 'The bright spring' seems to refer to an existing tradition. For the phrase 'water of life' in Babylonian literature see *K.A.T.*^{3} 523 seqq.
spirits *n.* Rest of MSS. read 'souls', but 'nafs' often = 'spirits'. Cf. xv. 12, lxix. 12, xcix. 7.
bright. E has 'brightness'.

10. The second division is for those sinners who lived prosperously and attained to honourable burial, having escaped punishment in life.
this. G^{g} corruptly reads 'thus'.

11. **great pain.** Cf. ciii. 7, 8; Luke xvi. 23–5.
great day of judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
the accursed = *τῶν κατηραμένων*, which E wrongly takes actively.
so that, &c., emended by Radermacher.
for ever, in Greek, 'till the age', i.e. till the final judgement.

12. The third division is for the sinners who suffered in their life and therefore incur less penalty in Sheol. The suffering unrighteous cry to God for vengeance.

13. **their spirits shall not be slain.** There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty seems to be 'the slaying of the spirit', but even this did not imply annihilation. See cviii. 3 (note), also xcix. 11.
their spirits + 'because those who suffer affliction here are punished less' G^{g}, a gloss.
shall not be punished G^{g}. 'shall not be slain' E.
nor shall they be raised. The sinners in the second division will rise, but only for a severer condemnation. Is the Resurrection here general, or only for Israel? If general, this declaration is unique in pre-Christian Jewish Apocrypha.

14. After each fresh revelation Enoch generally bursts forth into a doxology. Cf. xxv. 7, xxvii. 5, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9–13, xlviii. 10, lxxxi. 3, lxxxiii. 11, lxxxiv, xc. 40.
Lord of glory. See xxv. 3 (note).
Lord of righteousness. Cf. xc. 40, cvi. 3.

XXIII. 1, 2. Enoch is still in the west, but proceeds to another quarter in it, where there is a restless river of fire. xvii. 4 seems to deal with the same subject.
1. **west of the ends** G^{g}. E = 'west, to the ends'.
2. **burning** E. > G^{g}.
but ran regularly E. G^{g} = *ἅμα* (corrupt for *ἀλλὰ*) *διαμένον*.

4 I asked saying: 'What is this which rests not?' Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me ⌜and said unto me⌝: 'This course ⌜of fire⌝ ⌜which thou hast seen⌝ is the fire in the west which †persecutes† all the luminaries of heaven.'

XXIV—XXV. *The Seven Mountains in the North-West and the Tree of Life.*

24 1 ⌜And from thence I went to another place of the earth⌝, and he showed me a mountain range of
2 fire which burnt ⌜day and⌝ night. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: ⌜three towards⌝ the east, ⌜one⌝ founded on the other, and three towards the south, ⌜one⌝ upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which
3 joined with any other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them
4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever:
5 and its fruit ⌜is beautiful, and its fruit⌝ resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said: '⌜How⌝ beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms ⌜very⌝ delightful in appearance.'
6 Then answered Michael, one of the holy ⌜and honoured⌝ angels who was with me, and was their leader.

25 1 And he said unto me: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree,
2 and ⌜why⌝ dost thou wish to learn the truth?' Then I answered him ⌜saying⌝: 'I wish to
3 know about everything, but especially about this tree.' And he answered saying: 'This high mountain ⌜which thou hast seen⌝, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit
4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation

4. **And said unto me** E. > Gg.
of fire Gg. > E.
which thou hast seen E. > Gg.
†persecutes† *ἐκδιῶκον* Gg (E supports) corrupt for *ἐκδικῶν*.

XXIV. Enoch has been in the extreme West in xxiii: now he goes to the NW. First he sees a mountain range of fire, and then the seven great mountains, one of which is the throne of God.

1. **And from thence . . . of the earth** E. > Gg.
day and E. > Gg.

2. **beyond it.** *ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν.* E = 'towards it': cf. xviii. 9.
and beautiful E. 'in beauty' Gg.
three towards 1° E. > Gg.
one 1° 2° E. > Gg.
rough Gg. 'crooked' E.

3. **excelled them in height** *ho*$_1$*b*. Gg omits 'them'. All other MSS. of E read 'their height'.
resembling Gg. E easily emended.
fragrant E. 'of goodly appearance' Gg = *εὐειδῆ* for *εὐώδη*.

4. The tree of life. Cf. xxv. 4-6.
neither was any amongst them E. 'and no one else had enjoyed them' Gg.
is beautiful and its fruit E. > Gg through hmt.

5. **How** Gg. > E.
fragrant Gg. E = 'of goodly appearance'.
its blooms Gg. E corrupt.
very E. > Gg.

6. Michael, Israel's patron angel, is in charge of these treasures of the Messianic Kingdom. From xx. 7, we should expect Gabriel here.
and honoured E. > Gg.

XXV. 1. **ask** + 'and why didst thou marvel' Gg.
why 2° Gg. > E.
wish to learn the truth Gg, 'enquire accurately to learn' E.

2. **Then I** + 'Enoch' *a-q,β*. > Gg.
saying E. > Gg.

3. **This high mountain,** i.e. the middle one of the seven. Cf. xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3. It is not Sinai, but the throne of God when He descends to bless the earth. Cf. lxxvii. 1.
which thou hast seen E. > Gg.
the Holy Great One . . . Glory E. Gg = 'the Great Lord the Holy One of Glory'.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
Lord of Glory. Cf. xxii. 14, (xxv. 7), xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxxiii. 8.
Eternal King. Cf. *vv.* 5, 7, xxvii. 3; only found in i-xxxvi.
He shall come down. This mountain is in the north-west. In lxxvii, God will descend in the south.

4. **great judgement.** See xlv. 2 (note).

4, 5. This is the tree of life. After the final judgement men by eating of it will be endowed with a long life—not eternal life. Cf. *v.* 9, x. 17, xxv. 6. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxiii. 2, 3, 6, 7; lxxiv. This materialistic conception of the tree of life, based on Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22, appears later, e.g. 4 Ezra viii. 52; ? Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14.

5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

6 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad,
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:

And in their days shall no ⌜sorrow⌝ or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

XXVI. *Jerusalem and the Mountains, Ravines, and Streams.*

26 1 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place ⌜in which there were
2 trees⌝ with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. And there I saw a holy mountain,
3 ⌜and⌝ underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow
4 ravine: in it also ran a stream ⌜underneath⌝ the mountain. And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine ⌜deep and dry⌝ between
5 them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three ⌜mountains⌝. And all the ravines were deep ⌜and narrow⌝, (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon
6 them. And I marvelled ⌜at the rocks, and I marvelled⌝ at the ravine, yea, I marvelled very much.

XXVII. *The Purpose of the Accursed Valley.*

27 1 Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this
2 accursed valley ⌜between⌝?' ⌜Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said:

5. **then** G^g, E = 'this'.
holy G^g, 'humble' E.
Its fruit . . . to the elect. So G. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12. E is very corrupt.
elect. See i. 3 (note).
transplanted, i.e. the tree of life was moved from the earthly Eden to the Garden of Righteousness, and will thence be moved to Jerusalem.
to the holy place, i.e. Jerusalem when purified. For the divine New Jerusalem see xc. 29.

6. In this verse I have followed G^g. E differs in lines 2 and 3, where *gq*, o_1b read for 'shall . . . bones' 'and they shall draw the fragrance thereof into their bones,' i.e. into themselves. If we accept this, we might read 'Then shall they rejoice with joy And be glad in the holy place', &c.
no sorrow or plague. Cf. Isa. lxv. 19, 20. **torment . . touch them** cf. Wisd. iii. 1.

7. For doxology cf. xxii. 14 (note).
who, G. E = 'because'.
created them, G^g, 'created such things', E.

XXVI. Enoch visits Jerusalem and its vicinity.

1. **the middle of the earth**—Jerusalem. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 12, v. 5. In Jubilees, viii. 12, 19, it is called the earth's ὀμφαλός or navel, as Delphi was among the Greeks. In 1 En. xc. 26, Gehenna is 'in the midst of the earth'.
blessed place, all MSS. of E except *q* read 'blessed planted place'. Cf. xxvii. 1, lxxxix. 40; Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45.
branches abiding and blooming. Cf. the blessing of Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22: also John xv. 5.

2. **a holy mountain,** Zion.
and 2° > G^g.
a stream, the brook of Siloah.
flowed E, G^g has δύσιν for ῥύσιν.

3. **another mountain,** the Mount of Olives.
between them E. 'between it' G.
a ravine, the valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat.
underneath G^g, 'towards' or 'alongside' E.

4. **another mountain,** i.e. the Mount of Offence.
a ravine, i.e. the valley of Hinnom.
deep and dry G^g, 'underneath it' E.

XXVII. 1. **and this accursed valley between** E. G^g = 'and (why is) this valley accursed?' i.e. G^g has lost ἡ. Gehenna was early associated with the worship of Moloch, repressed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and cursed by Jeremiah (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 2, 6, xxxii. 35). In Isa. lxvi. 24, the rebellious and apostate Jews suffer by fire there, in the presence of the righteous, as here. There are two stages in the growth of the idea. (1) In 1 Enoch xlviii. 9, liv. 1, 2, lxii. 12, 13, xc. 26, 27, the apostate Jews are there corporally and spiritually punished for ever. In xxxvii–lxx, the wicked are to be swept away after awhile. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12, 13. (2) It is a place of spiritual punishment only, for apostate Jews xci–civ. Cf. xcviii. 3. In the N. T. (e.g. Matt. v. 29, 30) Gehenna is for the wicked generally. Later Judaism regarded Gehenna as the purgatory of faithless Jews, and the place of eternal perdition for the Gentiles. Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 341 sqq.

2. **Then Uriel . . said: This** E. > G^g.

'This⌝ accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all ⌜the accursed⌝ be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

E

Here shall they be gathered together, and here
3 shall be their place of judgement. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

Gᵍ

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be the place of their habitation. In the last 3 times, in the days of the true judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the **godly** bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with
5 which He has assigned them (their lot).' Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His ⌜glory⌝ and lauded Him gloriously.

XXVIII—XXXIII. *Further Journey to the East.*

28 1 And thence I went ⌜towards the east⌝, into the midst ⌜of the mountain range⌝ of the desert, and
2 I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees **and plants.** ⌜And⌝ water gushed forth from
3 above. Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused **clouds** and dew to ascend on every side.

29 1 And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain
2 range. And ⌜there⌝ I saw **aromatic** trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

30 1, 2 And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water. And
3 therein there was a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

31 1 And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were ⌜groves of⌝ trees, and there flowed forth from
2 them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another

valley. Gᵍ has γῆ—a transliteration of גאי as in Neh. xi. 35, &c.
the accursed > E.
unseemly words. Cf. v. 4 (note).
habitation Gᵍ. 'judgement' E.
2–3. The text differs, according as we follow Gᵍ or E.
3. **spectacle** E. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12.
the godly = εὐσεβεῖς emended from ἀσεβεῖς. E corrupt: ? emend to 'those who have obtained mercy'.
Lord of glory. See xxv. 3.
Eternal King. See xxv. 3 (note).
5. **His ⌜glory⌝** Gᵍ. > 'glory' E. **lauded** Gᵍ. 'remembered' E, zakarkû for zamarkû.

XXVIII. The Wilderness between Jerusalem and the Jordan according to Ezek. xlvii. 8, 12 was one day to be well watered and covered with trees.
1. **towards the east** > Gᵍ.
of the mountain range > Gᵍ.
and plants. E > 'and'. Both Gᵍ and E misrender the Aramaic original as 'seeds'.
2. **and** > Gᵍ.
3. **rushing** Gᵍ. E φαινόμενον corrupt for φερόμενον.
which flowed. Added in E.
caused . . . to ascend Gᵍ. E so emended by change of a vowel point.
clouds. Gᵍ E read ὕδωρ, i. e. מיין for ענגין.

XXIX. 1. Enoch goes further East to the region of fragrant trees.
and thence, E transposes before † 'water' (='clouds') in preceding verse.
2. **there** > Gᵍ.
aromatic. A corruption in the Aramaic leads to a false reading—'of judgement'.
exhaling Gᵍ. E = πλέον for πνέοντα.
almond tree Gᵍ. > E, but after πλέον in line before has kuaskuas = ? καρύαις (Gᵍ).

XXX. 1. **beyond** Gᵍ. See xviii. 9 note.
went Gᵍ. 'mountains' E.
afar Gᵍ. 'not afar' E.
another + 'great' Gᵍ.
water + 'like that which fails not' E—a gloss?
2. **therein was a tree** Gᵍ. 'I saw a beautiful tree' E.
the colour Gᵍ. 'like' E.
3. **beyond.** See xviii. 9 (note).

XXXI. 1. **groves** Gᵍ. > E.
nectar. E prefixes 'as it were'.
sarara E. σαρραν Gᵍ, a transliteration of צְרִי a kind of balsam.

mountain ⌜to the east of the ends of the earth⌝, ⌜whereon were aloe-trees⌝, and all the trees were full
3 of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

E

32 1 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

Gg

To the north-east I beheld seven mountains 1 full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon and pepper.

2 And thence I went over the summits of ⌜all⌝ these mountains, far towards the east ⌜of the earth⌝, and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over ⌜the angel⌝ Zotîêl.

E

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there and of goodly fragrance, large, very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.

Gg

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, 3 and from afar off trees more numerous than these trees and great—†two† trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.

4 ⌜That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are⌝ like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit
5 is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then
6 I said: '⌜How⌝ beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me ⌜and said⌝: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

2. **to the east of the ends of the earth** G^g. >E.
whereon were aloe trees E. >G^g. This aloe is the modern eagle wood. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 120–1.
all G^g. E corrupt.
of stacte i.e. *στακτῆς* emended from G *εξ αυτης*, and E=*στερεός*.
3. **burnt** *τρίβωσιν* G. E=*λάβωσιν*, probably corrupted from G's reading. G in turn follows a misreading of דלק 'burn' as דקק 'pound'.
it G^g reads *διό* corrupt for *αὐτό*. E=*τὸν καρπόν*.
smelt sweeter G^g. 'was better' E.

XXXII. The earthly Garden of Eden and the Tree of Knowledge.
1. **and after . . odours** >G^g through hmt.
To the north-east G^g, 'towards the North' E. That G^g is right appears from *v.* 2 'far towards the East'. in both G^g and E. So the Garden of Righteousness in lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3 in the NW. is distinct from the primitive earthly Garden of Righteousness or Eden in the NE. mentioned here. Also the seven mountains here in the NE. must be distinct from the seven mountains, one being God's throne, in the NW. in xviii. 6, xxiv, 2 seqq. The garden here seems not to be the abode of the departed righteous, unlike the garden in lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxv. 2, lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3. Instead their souls have a division in Sheol. xxii. 9.
2. **Erythraean sea.** The Persian and Indian Oceans. Cf. lxxvii. 6, 7.
went G^g. E corrupt.
far from it E. G^g corrupt.
the angel E. > G^g.
Zotîêl. Seemingly the angel who guarded the entrance to Paradise.
3. **Garden of Righteousness.** Cf. lxxvii. 3; also lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, with notes. This garden is in the East; that in lxxvii. 3 in a part of the North; in lxx. 3 in the NW.
In xxxvii–lxx, as well as in the Noachic fragments, this garden is the abode of the departed righteous; while in i–xxxvi a special division in Sheol is assigned to their spirits. Can this division and the garden be the same place? Both are in the West lxx. 3, 4 and xxii. 1. See my Commentary *in loc.*
beyond. So E which wrongly makes *μακρόθεν* govern the following words.
growing E (= *φυόμενα*). G^g reads *δύω μέν*, which would require 'the tree of life' before 'and the tree of wisdom'. But the tree of life is near the chief of the Seven Mountains in the NW. See xxxii. 1, xxv. 5, xviii. 9 (notes).
4. **That tree . . . its leaves are** G^g. > E through hmt.
the fragrance . . . afar E in *q*, but *gmu* add, after 'penetrates', 'proceeds', while *tβ* add 'and proceeds'. G^g reads 'its fragrance penetrates afar from the tree'.
5. **Then** G^g. 'and' E. G^g preserves the Aramaic idiom. Cf. ix. 1, &c.
How G^g, *ὥς*. > E as in xxiv. 5.
the tree G^g. 'this tree' E.
and how G^g *q* + 'beautiful and' E.
6. Adam and Eve here seem to be still alive. If x. 1 belongs to this section the Samaritan chronology is followed. See lxv. 2 (note). Note that Adam's sin is not regarded as the cause of man's fall.
Then G^g. 'and' E.
Raphael. xx. 7 leads us to expect Gabriel here.
and said E. >G^g.
thy father. G^g breaks off with 'thy father ate'.

33 1 And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven
2 rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and
3 I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their
4 times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

XXXIV—XXXV. *Enoch's Journey to the North.*

34 1 And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and
2 glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost,
3 snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, †it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.†
35 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the †east†, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

XXXVI. *The Journey to the South.*

36 1 And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals
2 of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, †and wind†. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals
3 above them. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course
4 to the west on the path which is shown to them. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to **spirits** and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

Section II. Chapters XXXVII—LXXI.

The Parables.

37 1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch the son of Jared, the son
2 of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy

XXXIII. 2. **whereon the heaven rests.** See xviii. 5 (note).
3. The portals of the stars are described at length in lxxii–lxxxii.
4. Uriel here writes down the accounts, but in *v.* 3 it is Enoch who writes.
companies, or 'companions'. So E*a*. E*β* reads 'functions.'

XXXIV. The portals of the North winds, and the nature of those winds. Cf. lxxvi. For the winds of the four quarters cf. Rev. vii. 1.
1. **device** (*a–m*) 'wonder' $mt^2\beta$.
2. **and** > *q*. **north winds.** So apparently *gm*, *β* and also t^1t^2u. 'winds through the north' *q*.

XXXV, XXXVI. Portals of the West and South and East winds.

XXXV. **the †east†.** Read the North. Or, better, transpose this chapter after xxxvi. 3.

XXXVI. 1. **come** + 'the south wind' *a–q*, *β*. 'from the south' *u*.
†And wind†. Meaningless. But cf. xxxiv. 2. Perhaps these stood originally 'and from thence come the south winds, and when they blow there is dew and rain'.
2, 3. Above the winds' portals are the stars' portals in the East.
4. **to spirits and to men** *gqu*[1] (but *gq* read nafâsât, *u* nafâsâtà), other MSS. 'to the spirits of men'.
the work of His might. *q* reads 'the might of His work'.

XXXVII. 1. This genealogy helps to show that the Parables form an independent work.
The second vision. The first seems to be i. 2.
2. **beginning.** The Ethiopic word used here and in *v.* 3 may also = 'sum'.
and say. 'Say', *a–m*, dy_1a.
men of old time, including Cainan, Mahalalel, and Jared, according to the LXX chronology, followed in the Parables. See liv. 7 (note), lxx. 4 (note).
words of the Holy One *gmt*, fy_1b. Other MSS. 'holy words'.

3 One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men
of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom.
4 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received
according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of
5 eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my
voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

XXXVIII—XLIV. **The First Parable.**

XXXVIII. *The Coming Judgement of the Wicked.*

8 1 The first Parable.
When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth:

2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous,
Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth,
Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits?
It had been good for them if they had not been born.

3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged,
And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,
4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted:

Lord of Spirits. Only in 2 Macc. iii. 24 in contemporary or earlier writings, yet cf. 'the God of the spirits of all flesh' Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. In Enoch it occurs in xxxvii. 4 (twice), xxxviii. 2 (twice), 4, 6, xxxix. 2, 7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 12, xl. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, xli. 2 (twice), 6, 7, xliii. 4 (twice), xlv. 1, 2, xlvi. 3 (twice), 6, 7, 8, xlvii. 1, 2 (twice), 4, xlviii. 2, 3, 5, 7 (twice), 10 (twice); xlix. 2, 4, l. 2, 3 (twice), 5, li. 3, lii. 5, 9, liii. 6, liv. 5, 7, lv. 3, 4, lvii. 3, lviii. 4, 6 (twice), lix. 1, 2, lx. 6, 8, 24, 25 (twice), lxi. 3, 5, 8, 9 (thrice) 11, 13 (twice), lxii. 2, 10, 12, 14, 16 (twice), lxiii. 1, 2 (twice), 7, 12 (twice), lxv. 9, 11, lxvi. 2, lxvii. 8, 9, lxviii. 4 (twice), lxix. 24 (twice), 29, lxx. 1, lxxi. 2, 17. We find it in all 104 times, and 28 of these at least in the Interpolations. In the genuine portions it fits the context most closely: cf. xxxix. 12, xl. 1–10, xlvi. 3–8, &c.: but in the Interpolations it is never so appropriate: cf. xli. 6, 7, lix. 1, 2 (context = natural phenomena).

3. **to the men of old time.** For 'ĕllû I read la'ĕlla.

4. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2; also 1 En. xciii. 10 seqq.

by i.e. 'ĕmqĕdma = מלפני.

the lot of eternal life. Cf. xl. 9, lviii. 3, lxii. 14. The life of a member of the Messianic kingdom is eternal in xxxvii–lxx; in i–xxxvi it is limited in duration, v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6, in the Dream Visions, lxxxiii–lxxxix, its duration is uncertain. The kingdom itself is temporary in xci–civ, and the real recompense of the righteous is the eternal life which follows on the close of the Messianic kingdom and the final judgement.

5. **Parables.** Cf. Num. xxxii. 7, 18, Job xxvii. 1 = elaborate discourses, in the form of a vision, a prophecy, or a poem.

those that dwell on the earth. This phrase has a good ethical sense in the genuine portions of this section, as xxxvii. 2, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5. So Rev. xiv. 6. In the Interpolations it has a bad sense in liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and doubtful or merely geographical elsewhere, never good. In the Rev. it always has the bad sense except in xiv. 6.

XXXVIII. The time of requital is coming. When righteousness appears, and the light of the Lord of Spirits shines on the face of the righteous and elect, where will the sinners and deniers dwell?

1. **the congregation of the righteous.** Peculiar to the Parables, and explained by xxxviii. 3, liii. 6, lxii. 8. Cf. Ps. i. 5, cxlix. 1, Pss. Sol. xvii. 18.

driven from the face of the earth. Cf. Ps. 1. 4, and 1 En. i. 1, xxxviii. 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 6, xlvi. 8, xlviii. 9, 10, liii. 2.

2. **the Righteous One** *mβ*. *a–m* read 'righteousness' i.e. ṣĕdĕq for ṣâdĕq cf. liii. 6. For other titles of the Messiah cf. xxxix. 6, xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5, lii. 6, 9, lv. 4, lxi. 5, 8, 10.

works *q* prefixes 'hope and'.

hang upon the Lord of Spirits. Cf. Judith viii. 24.

denied the Lord of Spirits, a frequent charge against the sinners: in fact their chief offence. Cf. xli. 2, xlv. 2, xlvi. 7, xlviii. 10, lxiii. 7. Cf. Jude 4. They deny too the heavenly world xlv. 1, the Messiah, xlviii. 10, the spirit of God lxvii. 10, the righteous judgement, lx. 6, while the righteous believe in the name of the Lord xliii. 4. The phrase is borrowed by the Interpolations, lxvii. 8, 10.

denied 'outraged' *q*.

It had been good, &c., cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

3. **the secrets of the righteous revealed.** The blessings in store for them are still hidden, lviii. 5, as also the Messiah, lxii. 7.

and the sinners *q*. Other MSS. omit 'and' and so make 'the sinners, &c.' the apodosis.

4. The supremacy and oppression of the earth's great ones are drawing speedily to a close. This is the Parables' constant theme, xlvi. 4–8, xlviii. 8–10, liii. 5, lxii. 1–12, lxiii; borrowed too by the Interpolations lxvii. 8–13. It distinguishes xxxvii–lxx from xci–civ.

From that time. MSS. prefix 'and', i.e. waw introducing the apodosis.

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits **has caused His light to appear**
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

5 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
6 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits
For their life is at an end.

XXXIX. *The Abode of the Righteous and of the Elect One: the Praises of the Blessed.*

39 1 [And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the
2 high heaven, and their seed† will become one with the children of men. And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]
And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.
3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.

4 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.

5 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.

And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,

And mercy like dew upon the earth:
Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.

6*a* And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
7*a* And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
6*b* And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

the holy and righteous and elect, xlviii. 1.

has caused . . . to appear. MSS. read 'is seen' but *a*, *d* have 'the Lord of Spirits' in the nom. and *q* has 'His light' in the acc.

His light, transfigures His saints. Light is the blessing of the kingdom. See v. 7, i. 8, xlv. 4, xxxviii. 2, l. 1, lviii. 3, xxxviii. 4, lviii. 3–6.

The idea is still further developed in xci–cviii, e.g. xcii. 4, civ. 2, cviii. 11, 12, 13.

5. **Then** *q*. 'and then' other MSS.

the kings and the mighty *a*. 'the mighty kings' $t^2\beta$. Cf. lxii. 1, 3, 6, 9, lxiii. 1, 2, 12, lxvii. 8, 12. They are the Jewish native rulers and the Sadducees, for they have denied the Lord and His Anoînted (xlviii. 10), and a heavenly world (xlv. 1), they have persecuted the houses of His congregations and the faithful. Only xlvi. 7 seems to point to heathen rulers 'their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,' but this may refer only to the heathen or Sadducean attitude of the Maccabean princes (cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, viii. 14, xvii. 17), e.g. John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and above all Alexander Jannaeus.

perish and > *q*.

given into the hands of the righteous. Cf. xlviii. 9, also xli. 2, lxii. 11. This seems to imply that the judgement is not catastrophic.

righteous and holy. xlviii. 1, 4, 7, li. 2 (lxv. 12). In the former passages it is used of members of the kingdom.

6. The time for mercy is past, l. 5.

thenceforward. *q* reads 'there'.

for themselves *a*, cov_1b.

XXXIX, 1, 2[a], Interpolated. It seems to be a fragment of the older Book of Enoch such as we find in vi–xxxvi. The tenses should be past and not future.

elect and holy children, &c. *q* reads 'holy and elect'. Cf. cvi. 13. For 'elect' cf. 1 Tim. v. 21.

2. **Enoch received,** i.e. did not write himself.

zeal and wrath 'wrath and zeal' *q*.

3. A real translation here, like Elijah's, and no dream as in xiv. 8, 9.

4. **dwelling-places,** or 'dwellings' or 'abiding places'. See xxxix. 7, 8, xli. 2; 2 En. lxix. 2; John xiv. 2, a vision of the future Messianic kingdom under the protection of the Lord of Spirits. The unities of time and place are curiously neglected.

5. **His righteous angels** *a*. 'the angels' β.

water and **dew** = abundance. Cf. xlix. 1, Amos v. 24.

6–7. The text is slightly out of order.

6. **that place** *a–m*. 'those days' *m*, $t^2\beta$.

the Elect One *a–q*, 'the place of the elect' *q*, β–*ax*.

the Elect One of righteousness and of faith. See xlvi. 3 (note).

7[a]. **his** *gm*. 'their' *qtu*, β.

6[b]. **his days** *a*. 'their days' $t^2\beta$.

7*b* And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing,

And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
[And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]
8 There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place:

And there heretofore hath been my portion,
For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.
9 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises,
because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of
10 Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying:
11 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him
there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from
12 generation unto generation. Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless,
praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with
13 spirits."' And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say:
14 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.' And my face was changed;
for I could no longer behold.

XL—XLI. 2. *The Four Archangels.*

O 1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude
2 beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the
Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names:
for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.
3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.
4, 5 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing
6 the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard
pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and **supplicate** in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord
8 of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went
with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four presences which I have
9 seen and whose words I have heard and written down?' And he said to me: 'This first is Michael,
the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds

7*b*. **be †strong†** *a–m*=יחזקו which may be corrupt for יזהירו='shine'. *mt²β-a* read 'be beautiful'.
fiery lights = stars, cf. Dan. xii. 3.
[and uprightness, &c.], a dittography.
8. Enoch predestined to a place in the kingdom. Cf. lxxi. 14–17, xc. 31; Dan. xii. 1.
and there *q,n*. Other MSS. 'there'.
9. As in xxxvii. 4 we have the free grace of God brought forward, though in that passage 'according to my insight' occurs as well.
12. **Those who sleep not.** Cf. xxxix. 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12 (and Interpolations lxxi. 7).
Lord of Spirits. 'Lord of Hosts' in the Trisagion, Isa. vi. 3.
13. **all** + 'the wakeful ones' *q*.
14. Cf. Ascensio Isaiae vii. 25. Here Enoch is 'blinded by excess of light.'
for *a*. 'till' *t²β–e*.

XL. 1. **thousands,** &c., Dan. vii. 10. (Interpolations lx. 1, lxxi. 8).
2. The angels of the presence come from Isa. lxiii. 9. This list is taken over by the Interpolations, lxxi. 9. For the chiefs' names contrast ix. 1, xx.
those that sleep not *a–m*, 'those that stand' *t²β*.
the angel that went with me. Cf. xliii. 3, &c., and 'the angel of peace' xl. 8, &c.
4. Michael 'who is like God?' in *v*. 9, is 'the merciful'.
5. Raphael is the 'healer' in *v*. 9. (Cf. Tobit iii. 17, xii. 14.)
the Elect One, Isa. xlii. 1. Used only in the Parables (see xlvi. 3) and Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35.
and the elect ones, 'of the elect ones' *q*.
6. Gabriel here intercedes, but in *v*. 9 is set over the powers.
pray and intercede . . . supplicate. These verbs are in the plural in all MSS. but *d*.
7. Phanuel is set over the repentance and hope of the inheritors of eternal life (*v*. 9), and here restrains the Satans. These are ruled by a chief, Satan (liii. 3) to whom the Watchers became subject and so fell (liv. 6). They had access into heaven, xl. 7 (cf. Job i. 6). They tempted to evil (lxix. 4, 6), they accused (xl. 7), they punished, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1. (Interpolations lxvi. 1.)
The Talmud confuses the Satans and the fallen angels, as does lxix. N.T. Demonology resembles that of Enoch.
8. **angel of peace.** Cf. xl. 2, Test. xii Patr. *Dan* vi. 5, also *Asher* vi. 6.
hidden + 'I said unto him' *abcdex*.
9. **Michael** *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

of the children of men, is Raphael : and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel : and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'
10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

41 1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the
2 actions of men are weighed in the balance. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off : and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

XLI. 3–9. *Astronomical Secrets.*

3 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there
4 I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the
5 beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they
6 are bound together. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the command-
7 ment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

And they give thanks and praise and rest not ;
For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.
8 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous
And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,
Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
And divided the spirits of men,
And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
In the name of His righteousness.

Gabriel *a*, 'the holy Gabriel' *β*.
repentance unto hope *a–q* and many *β* MSS. 'repentance unto repentance' *q*, 'repentance and hope' *abcex*. For our text cf. Acts xi. 18; 2 Cor. vii. 10.
is named *a*, 'is' *β*.
10. **Lord of Spirits** *a*, 'Most High God' *β*.

XLI. 1. What kingdom can this be? Is it the Messianic Kingdom, or the kingdom of this world, or a division (into seven parts) of heaven?
actions of men are weighed. Cf. lxi. 8; Job xxxi. 6; Prov. xvi. 2; Ps. lxii. 9; Dan. v. 27. The Talmud materializes this conception.
2. **and** $^{1°}$ *q*. > *a-q*, *β*.
driven thence, xxxviii. 1.
deny, &c., xxxviii. 2.
3–8. This section is alien to the context. It may, however, belong to the Parables. Cf. Job, &c. It belongs certainly in character and detail to xliii. 1, 2, xliv, lix, lxix. 13–25. See xliii.
3. Lightning and thunder are often treated of. Cf. xvii. 3.
secrets of the winds. On the wind's functions cf. xviii. 1–5, xxxiv-xxxvi, lxxvi.
dusty earth *gt*^{1}*u*, 'dust of the earth' *mt*^{2}*β*.
4. **And there** *mqtβ*, 'there' *gu*.
the chamber, &c. Based on Job xxxviii. 22.
and winds. > 'and' *β–hov*$_{1}$*b*.
and of the clouds > *gu*^{2}.
5. for the sun and moon see further lxxii. 5.
the oath. Sun, moon, and stars seem conscious; they are subject only to God, xli. 6; they praise and rest not, xli. 7. Cf. lxix. 24, xliii. 1, 2.
by which they are bound together. So *k* alone, probably a fortunate conjecture.
6. **traverses,** 'returns' *qc*.
7. **hidden . . . path of the moon,** i. e. when the moon is invisible. See lxxiii-lxxiv.
before + 'the glory of' *mt*^{1}*u*.
8. Note the doctrine of predestination.
the sun *apy*, 'the shining sun' *mt*^{2}*β–py*.

9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

XLII. *The Dwelling-places of Wisdom and of Unrighteousness.*

41 1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

2 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:

Wisdom returned to her place,
And took her seat among the angels.

3 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,

As rain in a desert
And dew on a thirsty land.

XLIII—XLIV. *Astronomical Secrets.*

43 1 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their
2 names and they hearkened unto Him. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the
3 number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went
4 with me who showed me what was hidden: 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. 'their parable'): these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

44 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

XLV—LVII. **The Second Parable.**

XLV. *The Lot of the Apostates: the New Heaven and the New Earth.*

45 1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:

Such shall be the lot of the sinners

9. The judge appointed is the Messiah. Read this verse directly after xli. 2. Cf. Acts xvii. 31.
no angel hinders and no power *mqt²u* β–*y*. 'neither angel nor power' *gt¹y*.
He appoints. So *g* only.
a judge *a* only has the acc. The rest of the MSS. read 'the judge sees them all'.

XLII. A fragment out of connexion with its present context. Where it should come, I do not know.
1. 2. A favourite theme—the praise of wisdom. She dwelt in heaven, lxxxiv. 3; Job xxviii. 12–14, 20–4; Baruch iii. 29; Sirach xxiv. 4: came down among men, Prov. 1. 20, viii, ix. 1–10: no place was found for her, 1 En. xciv. 5. She will return in Messianic times, v. 8, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 3, xci. 10; 2 Bar. xliv. 14; 4 Ezra viii. 52.
2. **went forth** *a*, 'came' *abcex*.
3. The wicked refused Wisdom when she came; they welcomed Unrighteousness when she sought them not.

XLIII, XLIV. This passage shows the interest felt by the wise in Israel in ethical and cosmic questions at once. Cf. Job, Sirach, and Wisdom. But these sections on natural phenomena frequently disturb the context in this work.
XLIII. 1. **by their names.** Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.
2. **weighed,** &c. Cf. xli. 5.
how their revolution produces lightning *gqt¹*(*mu*). 'and revolution: how one flash of lightning produces another' *t²*β.
3. Cf. xlvi. 2.
3, 4. The stars represent the holy: cf. Dan. viii. 10. See too civ. 2; Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43. For the stars as angels cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Deut. iv. 19.
4. **holy** *a*, 'righteous' β.
believe. Cf. 'faith' in xxxix. 6, lviii. 5, lxi. 4, 11, and 'denial' xxxviii. 2.
XLIV. Shooting stars. Cf. xliii. 2.
XLV. 1. The Second Parable begins.
deny the name of the dwelling, i. e. the Sadducees. Cf. xxxviii. 2, and note.
and the Lord *a*, 'and of the Lord' β.
2. **and** 1° *a-t*. > *t*,β.
The transformed earth (*v.* 5) will be for the righteous only.

Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.

And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name:

4 Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.

And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light:

5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing:

And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it:
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones
And have caused them to dwell before Me:

But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. *The Head of Days and the Son of Man.*

46 1 And there I saw One who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2 And I asked the **angel** who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that
3 Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me:

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,

Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

denied the name . . . of the Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).

day of suffering and tribulation. Also called 'that great day', liv. 6, 'day of judgement and consummation', x. 12, 'of destruction', xcviii. 10, 'of darkness', xciv. 9. See my Commentary further *in loc.*

The phrase refers to (1) the Deluge in x. 4, 5, 12^{b}, liv. 5, 7–10, xci. 5, xciii. 4, (2) final world-judgement at the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom, x. 6, 12^{c}, xvi. 1, xix. 1, xxii. 4, 11, xxv. 4, xlv. 2, liv. 6, lv. 4, xc. 20–7. (3) Judgement of the sword by the righteous, also at the Messianic Kingdom's beginning, l. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcviii. 12. (4) Final world judgement at its close, xciv. 9, xcviii. 10, c. 4, ciii. 8, civ. 5. In xlviii. 8–10 (2) and (3) seem to be combined, and in xcix. 9, 15 (3) and (4).

3. **Mine Elect One,** *a–m.* 'the Elect One', *mt*^{2}*β.* See xl. 5.

throne of glory. Cf. lv. 4, lxii. 3, 5. Also lxi. 8, lxii. 2, lxix. 27, 39 (as judge). The throne is that of the Head of Days, xlvii. 3, li. 3.

try. The translator read יבחר for יבחן or if the original was in Aramaic he followed the wrong meaning of יבחר.

And their places of rest, &c. This comes better in *v.* 5 or 6.

souls, *a*, 'spirits' *β.* See xxii.

elect ones, *a-m.* 'Elect One' *m*, *abcfhoxy*^{1}.

glorious *a.* 'holy and glorious' *t*^{2}*β.*

4. **Elect One,** *mt,β–c.* 'elect ones', *gquncy*^{2}.

4, 5. After the judgement the Messianic Kingdom is set up in a transformed heaven (xlv. 4, li. 4) and earth (xli. 2, xlv. 5), with angels and men as members xxxix. 4 (note). Isa. lxv. 17 and lxvi. 22, have the idea, but without the logical consequence of a blessed immortality, as in 1 Enoch, 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75.

6. **destroy them . . earth.** Cf. lxix. 27.

XLVI. 1. Here and in the following chapters Dan. vii. has been drawn upon. The title, 'Head of Days' i. e. 'The Everlasting', occurs in xlvi. 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, and in the Interpolations lv. 1, lx. 2, lxxi. 10–14, but not so appropriately.

2. **the angel.** The MSS. wrongly read 'one of the angels'. See note on xl. 2.

that Son of Man. Cf. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 2, lxii. 9, 14, lxiii. 11, lxix. 26, 27, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, in all of which passages the demonstrative occurs; it is missing only in lxii. 7. But, 'that' and 'this' in our translator are usually renderings of the Greek article, and so here. Thus in Enoch this title is the distinct designation of the personal Messiah, and the Greek equivalent must have been *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and not *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.*

3. The Messiah in the Parables is (1) Judge of the world, (2) Revealer of all things, (3) Champion and Ruler of the righteous. As (1) Judge he has righteousness (xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, liii. 6, and here. Cf. Ps. xlv. 4–7, lxxii; Isa. xi. 3–5), wisdom (xlix. 1, 3, li. 3), and power (xlix. 3, lxii. 6). As (2) Revealer He will bring to light the invisible worlds of righteousness and sin, xlvi. 3, xlix. 2, 4, and raise the dead, li. 1, lxi. 5, and judge all, li. 2, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxii. 2, 3, lxix. 27. As (3) Champion he upholds, vindicates, and rewards the righteous, xxxix. 7, xlviii. 4, 7, li. 5, liii. 6, lxii. 7, 8, 14, 15.

who hath righteousness. Cf. Isa. ix. 6–7, xi. 3 seqq.; Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. ix. 9; Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 seqq.

hath chosen him. Hence he is called the Elect one, xxxviii. 2, xl. 4.

And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

4 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.

5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

6 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

7 And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,

8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

XLVII. *The Prayer of the Righteous for Vengeance and their Joy at its coming.*

1 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.

2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray [and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

hath the pre-eminence, *aefh*^{1}*k*. 'hath surpassed everything' t^2*β-efh*^{1}*k*.

4, 6. Cf. O.T. e. g. Isa. xiv. 9, 11 ; Ps. iii. 7, lviii. 6 ; Lam. iii. 16.

4. †**raise up**†. Read 'put down' as in the dittograph in *v*. 5.
mighty from their seats. Cf. Luke i. 52 (a quotation?). *v*. 5 is a dittograph of this.
break the teeth, &c. Cf. Ps. iii. 7.

5. **whence the kingdom.** Cf. Wisdom vi. 23 ; Rom. xiii. 1.

6. **worms . . their bed.** Hardly refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' death in 2 Macc. ix. 5, 9, but to burial in general cf. Isa. lxvi. 24. Acts xii. 23 has a strangely similar connexion of thought to 'because they do not extol'.

7. This verse is an echo of Dan. viii. 10. We may reconstruct it thus:

'And these are they who cast down the stars of heaven
And tread to the earth those who dwell upon it.'

We require a distich here, and the title 'Most High' does not occur elsewhere in the Parables.
†**judge**† = ידינו corrupt perhaps for יורידו 'cast down'.
the stars, here = the righteous, as in Dan. viii. 10.
tread. Cf. 'stamped upon them' in Dan. viii. 10. So read 'to the earth'.
and dwell upon it possibly = וישבו בה corrupt for יוֹשְׁבֶיהָ.
manifest *a-q*. > q_1*b*. 'and manifest' t^2*abcox*.
unrighteousness + 'their ('and all their' *gm*) works are unrighteousness' all MSS. except *qu,e*n_1*b*.
their power rests upon their riches. Cf. Ps. xlix. 6, lii. 7 ; En. xciv. 8 (note).
their faith, &c. A strong expression for the idolatrous tendencies of the Sadducean court. See xxxviii. 5 (note).

8. **persecute** *gt*, 'are driven forth' *mqu,β*.
the houses *gmt*^{1}*u*, 'from the houses' *q*,t^2*β*. Cf. liii. 6.

XLVII. 1. The judgement follows the dethronement of the mighty.
the righteous. Here in the plural, but in the next line in the singular (collective).
the blood, &c. Alex. Jannaeus was the first to shed the blood of the righteous, 95 B. C. See xxxviii. 5 (note).

2. On the angels' intercession. See xv. 2 (note).
the prayer of the righteous. Cf. Rev. vi. 10 ; En. xcvii. 5 (note).

3 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,
4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. *The Fount of Righteousness: the Son of Man—the Stay of the Righteous: Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty.*

48 1 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.
2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
3 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.
4 He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.
6 And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
7 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,

3. **books of the living.** In O.T. these are the registers of actual Israelite citizens, with a right to the *temporal* blessings of the chosen people. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 32, &c.; Ps. lxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; also Jubilees xxx. 20, 22. In Dan. xii. 1, they refer to an immortality of blessedness. Cf. N.T. Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, &c., and the idea in Luke x. 20; Heb. xii. 23. Cf. too Enoch ciii. 4, 'the memorial of the righteous.'

There were also books recording good and evil deeds. Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Jubilees xxx. 22; also Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22, and in Enoch evil deeds only (as Isa. lxv. 6), lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61–77, xc. 17, 20, xcviii. 7, 8, civ. 7; also 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

Further there were the heavenly tablets of God's plans. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Dan. x. 21. Also in Enoch lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 1–3, ciii. 2, 3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1, cviii. 7 ('books of the holy ones' as ciii. 2). See my Commentary *in loc.*

4. **the number of the righteous had been offered.** Cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36; Rev. vi. 10, 11.
the righteous *m*. Other MSS. read 'righteousness'.
been offered, a late sense of קרב misrendered 'drawn nigh' here.

XLVIII. 1. **And** *qt*,*β*. > *gmu*.
fountains of wisdom. Cf. xlii. 1, 2 (note). Cf. Isa. lv. 1.

2. **at that hour,** i. e. when Enoch was beholding these visions.
The Parables assert the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man. See *vv.* 3 and 6, xlvi. 1, 2, xlix. 2, lxii. 7. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 26.

3. **the signs,** of the Zodiac, מזרות, Job xxxviii. 32. See also viii. 3, lxxii. 13, 19.

4. **righteous** + 'and to the holy' *β*.
whereon to stay themselves. Cf. lxi. 3.
the light of the Gentiles. Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6. He will become their light through his future coming and character being made known to them.
troubled of heart. Cf. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

5. **All shall fall down,** even his deniers, lxii. 6, 9, lxiii, xc. 37. Cf. Ps. lxxii. 9, 11; Phil. ii. 10.
praise and bless *a*, ∽ *q*,*β*.
the Lord *a*–*m*, 'the name of the Lord', *m*,*β*.

6. **and** *q*,*β*. > *a*–*q*.
hidden. 4 Ezra xiii. 52.
before Him. *q* reads after 'for evermore'.

7. **revealed,** through O.T. prophecy. Cf. lxii. 7.
holy and righteous ∽ *tu*,*l*.
preserved the lot, &c., i. e. guard their future inheritance.

Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

8 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands,
For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.

9 And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:
As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy:
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.

10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again:
And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.
The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

XLIX. *The Power and Wisdom of the Elect One.*

49 1 For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.

3 And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

4 And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

hated and despised this world, &c. Cf. cviii. 8–10; Gal. i. 4.
in his name they are saved. Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11; Acts iv. 12.
according to his good pleasure . . . life *g*: 'his good pleasure hath been for their life' owy_1b: 'he is the avenger of their life' *mtu*,β-owy_1b: *q* is corrupt: *g* = bafaqâdû: *mtu* = faqâdê.
8. **day of their anguish.** See xlv. 2 (note).
9. **into the hands.** Cf. xxxviii. 5 (note).
As straw . . . as lead. Cf. Exod. xv. 7, 10.
Gehenna is here visible to the righteous, cf. xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27; 4 Ezra vi. 1, but not so in En. lxii. 12, 13; Rev. xx. 14; or in the last clause here—'no trace'. Really the Parables transform the conception of Gehenna, and the spectacle is only temporary in this verse.
before the face of the righteous *a*, 'before . . holy' β.
10. **rest.** Cf. liii. 7.
And before them (> 'and' *q*) *a*, 'and before him' β.
fall and not rise again. Ps. xxxvi. 12.
the Lord . . . and His Anointed. Ps. ii. 2. In O.T. Messiah is not an exact technical term, but is used of the Davidic kings, and even Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1). It is first found in the later sense in the Parables here, xlviii. 10, lii. 4: then in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8; 4 Ezra vii. 29, xii. 32; 2 Bar. xxix. 3, &c.

XLIX. The Messiah's acts follow from his attributes. Cf. Isa. xi.
1. **wisdom.** Cf. Isa. xi. 9.
2. Cf. xlvi. 2 (note).
disappear as a shadow, &c. Job xiv. 2.
continuance, lit. 'standing-ground'.
glory . . . for ever. Cf. Isa. ix. 6, 7; Mic. v. 2.
3. **which gives** *gqtu*. 'Of Him who gives' *m*,β.
the spirit of those, &c. He perfectly realizes the eschatological hopes of those who in the past were faithful.
4. Cf. v. 2, xliii. 3 (note).
a lying word. Cf. lxii. 3, lxvii. 9.
Elect One. Cf. xlviii. 6.

L. *The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous: the Repentance of the Gentiles.*

50 1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,
2 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.
And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness (this)
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands.
3 They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.
4 And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:
At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.
5 And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

LI. *The Resurrection of the Dead, and the Separation by the Judge of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

51 1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.
5*a* For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.
3 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,

L. Interpolated or at least containing incongruous details due to literary reminiscence. As in lxxxiii–xc and xci–civ the judgement of the sword precedes the Messianic kingdom which comes gradually together with the conversion of the heathen, and the final judgement follows. But in xxxvii–lxx the Son of Man suddenly appears and begins his reign with the resurrection and final judgement, with no place of repentance or time for conversion; cf. lxii, lxiii.

1. A gradual change from the night of oppression to the light of glory and honour; cf. lviii. 5, 6.
holy and elect; cf. lxii. 8.

2. For the period of the sword; cf. xc. 19, 34, xci. 12.
On the day *a*: *β* prefixes 'and'.
day of affliction; cf. xlviii. 10, xlv. 2 (note).
on which *gmt.* > *qu*, *β*.
evil *g* wrongly in acc.
shall have been *gq*, 'shall be' *β–fy*, 'is' *ut*^{2}.
repent. Cf. the Gentiles' conversion in xc. 30–4, xci. 14.

3. They are saved without honour.
through the name of *a*, 'before' *t*^{2}*β*.

4, 5. The final judgement. The unrepentant perish. Cf. lx. 5, 25; also 4 Ezra vii. 33–4; 2 Bar. lxxxv. 12.

LI. 1. There are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection. (1) All Israelites are to rise. Dan. xii. 2; 1 En. i–xxxvi (except xxii. 13), xxxvii–lxx, lxxxiii–xc; Ps. lxv (title) in LXX; 2 Macc. vii. 9, &c.; 2 Bar. l–li. 6. (2) All righteous Israelites, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19; Ps. xvi. 10, 11, xvii. 15, xlix. 15, lxxiii. 24–7; Job xiv. 13–15, xix. 26–7; 1 En. xci–civ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16, xiii. 9, xiv. 7, xv. 15; 2 Bar. xxx; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 14. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise, 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37; Test. 12 Patr. Benj. x. 6–8.

Some Jews believed the soul was immortal, but the body would not rise. Wisdom of Sol. iii. 1, &c., iv. 7, v. 16, viii. 20 (compared with ix. 15, xv. 8); Jubilees xxiii. 30.

the earth also . . . received. So *g* save that it substitutes a gloss 'those who are treasured up in it'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 32. *tu* are defective: 'Sheol shall give back that which has been entrusted to it, that which it has received.' *β* conflates *g* and *tu*.

The earth gives up the body just as Sheol and Abaddon give up the soul. They are both reunited at the Resurrection that they may be judged together, according to Sanh. 91^{a}.

Sheol and **hell** here = the intermediate state. See lxiii. 10 (note).

hell = destruction or Abaddon, Job xxvi. 6; Rev. ix. 10. Here the body rises, cf. lxii. 15, i–xxxvi, lxxxiii–xc. Also 2 Macc. vii. 9 seqq.; 2 Bar. xxx, l–li. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37. In xci–civ the soul and spirit rise. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, &c.

2–5. These verses are out of order. The 'he' in *v.* 2 refers to the Elect One in *v.* 3 or *v.* 5. If we bring 5^{a} before 2 we get five stanzas of three lines each, and the first four begin with 'in those days'.

2. **choose.** Cf. Matt. xxv. 32.
the day has drawn nigh, &c. Cf. Luke xxi. 28.

3. Cf. xlviii. 1, xlix. 3, lxi. 7, 11, also xlii. 2 (note).
the Elect One *gmu*,*β*, 'Mine Elect One' *qt*^{1}.
My throne *a*, 'His throne' *t*^{2}*β*.

And his mouth shall **pour** forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:
For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

4 And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

5*b* And the earth shall rejoice,
c And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
d And the elect shall walk thereon.

LII. *The Seven Metal Mountains and the Elect One.*

52 1 And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for
2 I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west—There mine eyes saw
all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and
a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.
3 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in
4 secret?' And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion
of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'
5 And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto
thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.
6 And these mountains which thine eyes have seen,
The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],
And they shall become powerless before his feet.
7 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.
8 And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.

his . . . counsel. Emended. *q*,β = 'all the secrets of wisdom shall go forth from the counsel of his mouth'. *a*–*q* put 'all the secrets' in the acc. and *gu* insert 'and' after 'wisdom'.

4. **mountains leap.** Cf. Ps. cxiv. 4, 6; and for the whole verse cf. Test. 12 Patr. Levi xviii. 5.

angels . . . joy. Cf. Luke xv. 10. We can translate either 'the angels . . as to their faces' or 'the angels—their faces'.

[all] Omit, and read 'ĕllû for kuĕllû, as often.

5. Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 3, 9, 11, 29, 34.

walk *q*, 'go' *mtu*, 'go and walk' β (and *g* over an erasure).

LII. The mountains, and the metals symbolize the future kingdoms of the world. In Dan. ii. 31–45 the metals have this meaning, but the mountain is the Messianic kingdom.

This chapter, however, seems to contain two independent documents. In verses 1–4 the mountains serve to exalt the Messiah's dominion, in 5–9 they are destroyed before his presence. Again, verse 4 and verse 5 give two independent answers to verse 3. Of the two sources suggested by Beer for the Parables, verses 3-4 thus belong to the Son of Man source, verses 5–9 the Elect One source. Verses 1–2 are common to both sources.

1. **in that place,** i. e. in heaven, xxxix. 3.

2. **lead.** We expect seven mountains here. Five are given in lxvii. 4, and tin is added in lii. 8. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi. 22 for the gates of the seven metals in the mysteries of Mithra.

4. These world powers show the Messiah's might by melting before him, as metals before the fire.

5. **that angel.** Here 'that' = Greek article.

a little + 'and thou shalt see' β.

surround the Lord of Spirits *a*–*m*: 'the Lord of Spirits has established' *m*,t^2β.

6–9. No metal will avail as ransom or weapon.

6. **wax before the fire,** Ps. xcvii. 5; 1 En. i. 6; Mic. i. 3, 4, where also 'water' and 'streams down'.

streams down + 'upon those mountains' MSS.

7. Zeph. i. 18; cf. Isa. xiii. 17.

8. Cf. Hos. ii. 18.

nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate (or 'coat of mail'). So *q*, but *u*,β = 'garment for a coat of mail' (or 'breastplate'). In *a*–*u* there is a dittograph.

[shall be . . . and]. A dittograph.

and shall not be esteemed > *q*.

9 And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

LIII—LIV. 6. *The Valley of Judgement: the Angels of Punishment: the Communities of the Elect One.*

53 1 There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.

2 And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly **oppress**:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.

3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'
5 And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.

6 And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

7 And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

54 1 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning
2 fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.
3 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being pre-
5 pared?' And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.

6 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance

be [denied] and destroyed. Two alternative renderings, cf. יִכָּחֲדוּ.

LIII. The valley of Jehoshaphat, where God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles, Joel iii. 2, 12.

In Joel Theodotion renders *τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως* and the Targ. Jon. 'plain of the decision of judgement'. The Midrash Mishle 68[d] holds that God will judge the whole world in this valley. Though usually identified with the Kidron, the valley originally had no locality assigned to it. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2353.

1. **there** *α–q*, 'and there' *qβ*.
deep valley with open mouths *mqtu,β–n*. 'open and deep-mouthed valley' *g*.
not become full. This seems inexplicable.

1, 2. The presents and homage of the mighty ones avail not, as they are sinners and oppressors, and therefore torments await them.

2. **whom they lawlessly oppress.** I emend jĕṣâmĕwû 'produce' into jĕṣâmawû 'oppress', cf. *v.* 7.
shall perish. All MSS. insert a negative.

3. **angels of punishment.** See xl. 7 (note), also cf. liv. 3–5.
abiding *mqt(gu)*. Other MSS. 'going'.

5. **these** > *qu,nx*.
prepare *β*. > *a*.
this earth: 'this' = Greek article.

6. **house of his congregation.** See xxxviii. 1 (note) = synagogue. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 8.

7. Cf. lii. 6, and Isa. lxiv. 3; Zech. iv. 7. There is a return to the figurative language of lii, where the mountains = the kingdoms of the earth.
his righteousness *α–q*. 'His face' *q,t²β–n*.

LIV. The writer passes from the valley of judgement and the fetters still in making to the valley of Gehenna where the kings are cast. The fallen angels and the kings are mentioned together as in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

1. **a deep valley,** Gehenna. See xlviii. 9 (note), and cf. lvi. 3, 4. This valley of Hinnom lay to the south of Jerusalem.

3–5. The first judgement of the Watchers, cf. x–xvi. The 'abyss' here is only the preliminary place of punishment, cf. x. 5, 12.

4. **chains,** 'chains of ('and' *qt*) instruments' *mqt,β–dn*.

5. **and they shall cover.** *q* reads 'to cover'.

6. Their second judgement.
on that great day. See xlv. 2 (note).
Note that in the Parables the guilt of the Watchers lay in becoming subject to Satan. Cf. xl. 7; Jubilees x. 8 seqq.
and $^{5°}$ > *q,abcde*.
cast them *tu,β*. > *gmq*.
furnace *α–q*, 'fire' *q,y*, 'furnace of fire' *β–y*. Cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, xc. 24, 25. Not Gehenna.

on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. *Noachic Fragment on the first World Judgement.*

7 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth.
8 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine,
9 and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell
10 on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.'

55 1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'In vain have I destroyed all who dwell
2 on the earth.' And He sware by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

LV. 3—LVI. 4. *Final Judgement of Azazel, the Watchers and their children.*

3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain **because of** this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith
4 God, the Lord of Spirits. Ye† mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

56 1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains
2 of iron and bronze. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are
3 these who hold the scourges going?' And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.
4 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,
And the days of their lives shall be at an end,
And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

LIV. 7—LV. 2. Interpolated. A digression on the first world-judgement—the Deluge and so a Noachic fragment. Cf. xxxix. 1, 2^a, liv. 7–lv. 2, lx, lxv–lxix. 25. These all (1) disturb the context; (2) claim to be by Noah lx. 7–11, 24, 25, lxv–lxviii. 1; (3) misunderstand the Parables, e.g. combine lii. 1, 2 with liv. 1; (4) give a definite date, lx. 1; (5) in lxviii. 2–5 contradict liv. 4–6, lv. 3, 4; (6) confuse the Satans and the fallen angels, lxix, and make Semjaza the leader, not Azazel; (7) misuse borrowed technical terms and phrases, lx. 11, 24, lxvii. 8, 10: also liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 10, lxvi. 1; (8) use the Samaritan chronology, not that of the LXX, see lxv. 2 (note).

Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10 mention a Book of Noah, whence these passages were interpolated to supply Enoch's silence about the Flood.

7. **above the heavens.** All MSS. but $_1b$ wrongly add 'and in addition to the fountains which are beneath the heavens'.

8. In primitive Babylonian cosmology water = the primitive element or the original male and female elements.

9. **all who dwell,** &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

10. **And** > *q*.

when, emended: 'inasmuch as' *tu,ew*. 'on this account' *gmqt²β–ew*. The translator misread כִּי (Heb.) or ארי (Aramaic). Yet 'on this account' may be right, but requires 'shall recognize'.

LV. 1. **the Head of Days,** inappropriately introduced by interpolator.

repented. Cf. Gen. viii. 21.

2. **so** *q,t²β*. > *gmt¹u,x*.

this is in accordance with My command *gt*, 'this is My command' *m*, 'this command is according to My desire' *q*, 'after this according to My command' *ut²β*.

3. resumes liv. 6.

day of tribulation and pain. See xlv. 2 (note).

because of this. Text = 'before this'.

I will cause ... to abide *a–qu*, 'shall abide' *q,β–d*.

chastisement ... wrath *a*, ∞ *β*.

4. The kings have to witness Azazel's judgement, and thence infer their own. Perhaps we should read 'Ye kings and mighty'.

of glory *a–q*, 'of My glory' *qβ*.

LVI. 1–4. The Watchers and the demons are now judged. The demons, or 'beloved' (x. 12, xiv. 6), at last fill the valley. See liii. 1.

1. **they held** *gq,β*. > *mtu*.

scourges and *g*. > *qt,β*: *mu* read 'and'.

2. **these who** *gt²*, 'these' *mqt¹u*, 'who' *β–n*.

the scourges *g*. > *a–gβ*.

3. **chasm of** > *q*.

4. **and** 1° > *q*.

reckoned, i.e. continued.

LVI. 5–8. *Last Struggle of the Heathen Powers against Israel.*

5 And in those days the angels shall return
And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes:

They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,
And they shall rouse them from their thrones,

That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.

6 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,
[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway:]
7 But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.

And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,

And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,

Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.

8 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,

And their destruction shall be at an end;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

LVII. *The Return from the Dispersion.*

57 1 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and
2 coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven
3 to the other, in one day. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

5–LVII. 3ª. Another section from the 'Elect One' source (see p. 169) which depicts the last struggle of the heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom set up in Jerusalem, and would suit lxxxiii–xc or xci–civ, but not xxxvii–lxix, where we have a superhuman Messiah with universal dominion, legions of angels, and the immediate presence of the Almighty, destroying all his enemies with the breath of his mouth. Not only is there a break in the context here, but the Parables deal only in general terms and avoid names and clear indications of date. Not Jerusalem, as here, but a new heaven and earth will be the seat of the kingdom. The date seems clear. The Syrians ceased to be formidable after 100 B.C.: while the Romans are not referred to here. Thus the Elect One Source, if this section belongs to it, may be fixed as written between 100–64 B.C.

5. The Gentiles are stirred up, not by God directly as in Ezek. xxxviii. 14–17, but by angels, as in Dan. x. 13 seqq.
return gm^1q, 'assemble' m^2tu,β.

6. **His elect ones** 1° gqt. 'their elect ones' mu,β–e.
[And . . . highway]. The construction is against the insertion of these words.
threshing-floor. Cf. Isa. xxi. 10.

7. The attack fails, Zech. xii. 2, 3; the invaders disagree, Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Zech. xiv. 13; Hag. ii. 22, and destroy one another. Cf. c. 1–3.
But $tu\beta$. $>gmq$.
his brother a, 'his neighbour and his brother' β.
no number . . slaughter. q reads 'for their number through their death and chastisement shall be corpses and it shall not be in vain'. In fact only a scribe in t inserts a negative. Possibly then we should restore 'till the number of the corpses be more than myriads', supposing ממותם corrupt for מְרִבּוֹת.

8. **in** a-q, 'and in' q,β.
Sheol shall open its jaws. Cf. Num. xvi. 31–3; Isa. v. 14. See lxiii. 10.
shall be at an end g. $>t,\beta$, 'shall not end' q, 'has sunk down' m, 'has been destroyed' u.

LVII. Dispersed Israel returns from east and west. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13, xliii. 5, 6, xlix. 12, 22, 23.

1. **on the winds.** Perhaps read 'like the winds'.
from the west. 'to the west' q.

2. **was heard** gq,β, 'was' mtu.
the pillars . . moved. Cf. Hag. ii. 6, 7; Joel iii. 16.
one end . . . other a–q, 'the end of the earth to the end of the heaven' β.

LVIII—LXXI. The Third Parable.

LVIII. *The Blessedness of the Saints.*

58 1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
For glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
And the elect in the light of eternal life:
The days of their life shall be unending,
And the days of the holy without number.

4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits:
There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.

5 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith:
For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
And the darkness is past.

6 And there shall be a light that never endeth,
And to a limit (lit. 'number') of days they shall not come,
For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
[And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

LIX. *The Lights and the Thunder.*

59 1 [In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute (lit. 'their judgement'): and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of
2 Spirits willeth. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.
3 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

Book of Noah—a Fragment.

LX. *Quaking of the Heaven: Behemoth and Leviathan: the Elements.*

60 1 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were

LVIII. The third Parable begins. Much seems to have been lost, to make room for the Noachic fragments. As it stands, it embraces lviii, lxi–lxiv, lxix. 26–9. The main theme is the final judgement by the Son of Man, especially over the great ones, and the ensuing bliss of the righteous.

2. **your lot,** preserved for them by the Messiah xlviii. 7.

3. **light of the sun.** See xxxviii. 4 (note), and verse 4 here.
eternal life. See xxxvii. 4 (note). Cf. Dan. xii. 2; Pss. Sol. iii. 16.

4. **the Eternal Lord** or 'Lord of the ages'. See lxxxi. 10. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

5. **secrets of righteousness,** i.e. their hidden recompense, as in xxxviii. 3, and xlviii. 7. They must still 'seek', and so their life is progressive.
heritage of faith. Cf. xxxix. 6, lxi. 4, 11.

6. **never endeth,** emended for MSS. 'cannot be numbered'.
[And . . . Spirits]. Dittograph of following line.

LIX. An intrusion of the same class as xli. 3–8, xliii, xliv, probably from a Noah-Apocalypse.

1. Cf. Job xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 5, 13, xxxviii. 24–7, for their ethical ends.
In *a*, 'and in' *β*.
of the lights *a,ev*, 'the lights' *β–ev*.
a blessing or a curse. Cf. xli. 8; Job xxxvi. 31.

2. Cf. lx. 13–15.
he caused *a–u*, 'they caused' *abdovx*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*.
judgements. Text has read *οἰκήματα* for *κρίματα*.
on the earth. All MSS. but *u* add 'and the voice of the thunder'.

3. Job xxxviii. 24–7.

LX. One of the Noachic fragments. See liv. 7 (note), also notes on lx. 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, &c.

1. **the year 500.** This date is drawn from Gen. v. 32, and is a date in the life of Noah, not of Enoch; so for 'Enoch' read 'Noah'.
in the seventh month, &c., the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles according to the Levitical Law.
In that Parable, unsuitable to the words 'I saw', and so no doubt inserted by the interpolator. Read 'in that vision'.
host of the Most High, &c. Cf. i. 6, 7, 9, for the theophany, also for the host xl. 1, lxxi. 8, 13.

2 disquieted with a great disquiet. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

3 And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.

4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the 5 commotion and the quaking of the heaven. And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and 6 long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

25 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.'

7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the 8 abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first 9 man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses 10 of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. And he said to me: 'Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.'

2. **Head of Days.** See xlvi. 1 (note); liv. 7 (note).
the righteous could hardly have been before God's throne before the Deluge, as few if any righteous had as yet died.
3. Cf. xiv.14, 24.
loins gave way. Ps. lxix. 23; Isa. xlv. 1.
dissolved. All MSS. but *u,dy* add 'and'. Hence *β* supplies an extra verb 'melted' to 'reins.'
4. Cf. Dan. v. 6, viii. 17, x. 9, 10. Michael as chief archangel (xl. 4, 9) sends 'the angel of peace' (*v.* 24).
5. **Michael** *a*. 'the holy Michael' *β*.
merciful and long-suffering. Cf. lx. 25, l. 3, 5, lxi. 13.
6. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 37. The Deluge has here features belonging properly to the Messianic judgement of the Parables.
Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).
worship not. Only *u* has the negative. If we omit it, we might restore 'corrupt' instead of 'worship'.
law. Text = 'judgement'. Heb. משפט has both meanings.
25. **punishment . . . rest.** Cf. lxii. 12.
Afterwards . . . according to His mercy, i.e. after the Deluge. Cf. Gen. viii. 21, 22; En. lx. 5 (note).
There is a dittograph preceding this verse 'in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not be (*bcx*: 'may not come' *e*; all other MSS. omit negative and verb) in vain and may slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers'. Before the last sentence 'Afterwards, &c.' all MSS. insert another dittograph 'when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon these'.
7–10. A fragment dealing with Creation myths.
7. This strange fancy about Behemoth and Leviathan occurs first in Job xl, xli, but Jewish expounders find it also in Gen. i. 21; Ps. l. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1. See 4 Ezra vi. 49–52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4, where these monsters are to be the food of the righteous in the Messianic age. See too Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 202, 389, 402.
that day, i.e. Creation.
fountains of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; Job xxxviii. 16; En. lxxxix. 7.
8. †**Dûidâin**† *u*, Dûnadâin *g*, 'Dûndâin' *t*, Dêndâin *m,β-eh*, Dêin (?) *h*. Cf. 'land of Nod' Gen. iv. 16. See *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 39.
the garden. See xxxii. 3 (note). Whether the earthly or the heavenly garden, it is empty in xxxii. 3-6, and the righteous dead are in the West xxii; it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch's and Noah's times, lxi. 12, lx. 8, 23: of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, lxx. 2–4; of Enoch and Elijah in Elijah's time, lxxxix. 52; of Enoch in lxv. 2 (see note), and here. This passage (lx. 8) and the LXX are the oldest witnesses for the translation of Enoch into Paradise. Cf. Latin version of Sir. xliv. 16, Ethiopic of Gen. v. 24. See Weber, *L.d.T.* 251.
seventh from Adam. Cf. xciii. 3; Jude 14; Jubilees vii. 39.
7–9, 24. Both 4 Ezra vi. 49–52 and 2 Bar. xxix. 4 seem to have drawn on our text.
9. **the other angel,** see *vv.* 4 and 11. For the answer see *v.* 24. *q,β-n* read 'that' for 'the'.
10. **Thou son of man,** = Noah. Cf. Ezekiel's use of the phrase, and contrast the use in the Parables xlvi. 1–3 (note).

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is
first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the
12 heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds
are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the portals of the winds are reckoned, each accord-
ing to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power
that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions
13 are divided. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that
are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey.
14 For the thunder has †places of rest† (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and
the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together
15 through the spirit and separate not. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice,
and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury
of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned
back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth.
16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws
it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains
17 of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good
18 angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength—There is a
19 special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit
of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course
is †glorious† both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel.
20 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the
chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the
21 mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from
its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the
whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on
22 the earth . . . For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment
for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain,
23 and the angels take it in charge. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.
24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: 'These two monsters, prepared conformably
to the greatness of God, shall feed . . .

LXI. *Angels go off to measure Paradise: the Judgement of the Righteous by the Elect One: the Praise of the Elect One and of God.*

1 1 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

11–13. A long account about physical secrets. The answer to *v.* 9 comes in *v.* 24 and is given by the angel of peace.
11. **the other angel,** &c. Borrowed from xlvi. 2. Cf. xliii. 3.
12. The powers of nature are personified or regarded as conscious intelligences. Cf. Jubilees ii. 2 'angels of the spirit of fire', &c.; Rev. vii. 1, 2, xiv. 18, xix. 17; Asc. Isa. iv. 18.
chambers. All MSS. but *g* read 'in the chambers'.
how they are weighed. Cf. xliii. 2, Job. xxviii. 25.
portals. So Flemming emends.
lights of the moon. Its various phases.
13. Cf. Job xxxvii. 1–5.
16. The ebb and flow of the sea, which is also supposed to supply the springs in the mountains.
17. **a good angel.** Hail often hurts, but yet is not in charge of a demon.
19. Unlike the previous phenomena, mist appears in all seasons, and by night and by day.
is glorious. Text may = כבד. If so, it should have been rendered 'is oppressive'.
in its chamber is an angel *tu*, 'its chamber is an angel' *gmq*, 'in its chamber is light and its angel' *β*.
20. The dew dwells at the ends of the heaven. Cf. xxxiv. 1, 2; xxxvi. 1 and lxxv. 5.
21. The rain is so important for the well-being of man (Job xxxvii. 12, 13) that its spirit is not independent, but subordinated to the angels. Cf. Job xxviii. 26, xxxviii. 25–8.
and $1^{o} > gq$.
And whensoever . . . on the earth *a–q* (*u* omits 'with the water on the earth').
22. **for** *mt,β–doyb*. > *u*. *q,doy*$_1$*b* read 'from the place of'. *g* = a corruption of *mt*.
23. **the Garden.** See *v.* 8 (note). Note that the seas and the Garden adjoin as in lxxvii. 3, 4.
24. goes back to *v.* 9. The angel of peace is out of place here. See *vv.* 4, 9, 11.

LXI. 1. The true text of the Parables is resumed, but the opening verses are difficult.
those angels. The reference may be lost. *q* reads 'the two angels'.
wings, only assigned to angels in the latest books of the O. T. cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 16.
towards the north, perhaps Paradise. See xxxii. 3 (note); lxx. 3.

2 And I asked the angel, saying unto him: 'Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?' And he said unto me: 'They have gone to measure.'

3 And the angel who went with me said unto me:
'These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness.

5 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,

That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.

6 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

7 And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

8 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory.
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.

9 And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.

10 And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God,

the angel of peace, in the Elect One sections.
the cords *a*. 'the long cords' *β*.
have gone > *mud*. **to measure** *(q)tuβ*. 'to begin' *gm*.

3–5. The measures and ropes seem to represent the nature of the ideal community of the righteous living and departed, and the union and communion of such with one another and with the Lord of Spirits.

3–4. Belong to Son of Man source, as 'the angel who went with me' interprets.

3. **to the righteous** *gqtu,n*. > *m.β–n*.
stay themselves on. Cf. xlviii. 4, lxi. 5.

4. **righteousness** *a*. *β* prefixes 'the voice of'.

5. The righteous alone rise here; in li. 1, 2 all Israel.
devoured 1°. *q* omits next nine words through hmt.
by the beasts *tu*. 'by the treasuries' *gm*. *β–n* reads 'and by the beasts' after 'of the sea', omitting 'and .. devoured'.

6. **all who dwell above in the heaven**, i.e. the angels as in *vv*. 8, 10, 12, ix. 3, xlvii. 2.
one voice. Cf. 2 Bar. xxx. 2 'in one assemblage of one thought'.

7. **that One** = the Lord of Spirits, or else the Elect One, *v*. 5. Or better, for *la* read *ba* and render 'with their first words they blessed'.

8. See xlv. 3 (note): cf. Ps. cx. 1.
glory *a*. 'His glory' *β*.
the holy, i.e. the angels. Cf. lxi. 6. But *q* reads 'the righteous'.
shall their deeds be weighed *mqu, β*. 'they ('he' *t,abcdefhkl*) shall weigh their deeds' *g*. See xli. 1 (note).

9. **ways**, 'cause' *t*.
the word of the name, or 'command of the name'.
Lord of Spirits 2° *a*. 'Most High God' *β*.
sanctify *a, n*. 'praise' *β–n*.

10. **He will summon.** Or if jeṣêw'ĕ is a misrendering of *βοήσει*, render 'the host . . . shall cry out'.
Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin. Cf. xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, lxxi. 7. The Cherubim were primarily symbolic figures, the means of revealing or concealing God's presence, but here = an order of angels. Cf. Rev. v. 6; 2 En. xix. 6, xx. 1. The Seraphim served in His immediate presence. They are not classed together in O. T. The Ophannim (i.e. wheels) come from Ezek. i. 15. The Talmud classes them with Cherubim and Seraphim, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 168, 205.

the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of prin-
11 cipalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

12 All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him.
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.

13 For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering,
And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect
In the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LXII. *Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty: Blessedness of the Righteous.*

2 1 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said:
'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.'
2 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.
3 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

4 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

5 And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,

angels of power and . . . of principalities. Cf. Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Test. 12 Patr. Levi iii. 8.
the other powers on the earth, i. e. the lower angel-powers over nature.
11. The seven virtues of the praising angels. Cf. xlix. 3.
glorify + 'and praise' β.
exalt > *g*.
in the spirit of patience il_1a. 'in patience' other MSS.
Blessed is He, &c. Cf. xxxix. 10; and Rev. iv. 9, 11, v. 13.
12. **who sleep not.** See i. 5 (note).
the holy ones *a*, *bwxy*: 'His holy ones' β–*bwxy*.
garden of life. See lx. 8 (note). The LXX chronology is followed here as in all the Parables. Cf. liv. 7 (note).
spirit of light, i. e. good spirit, human or angelic. Cf. cviii. 11; Luke xvi. 8.
blessed *a*. 'holy' β.
13. **mercy.** See lx. 5 (note).

LXII. A long account of the judgement, esp. of the kings and mighty. Short accounts occur in xlvi. 4–8, xlviii. 8–10, liii–liv. 3. They behold the Messiah with anguish, and pray for mercy, but are carried off to torment. The righteous are glorified.
1. **the kings,** &c. See xxxviii. 5.
lift up your horns. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 4.
2. **seated him.** So Dillmann emends for MSS. 'sat'. Cf. Isa. xi. 4.
word of his mouth. The judgement is forensic.
all the sinners, cf. lxix. 27 (note).
from before *a*. 'and from before' β.
3. **righteousness** *a*. 'the righteous in righteousness' β–$\pi\upsilon$; *b*, 'the righteous' $\pi\upsilon$, *b*.
no lying word. xlix. 4.
4. Cf. Isa. xiii. 8, xxi. 3, xxvi. 17.
[and . . . forth] dittograph of line 4.
5. **one portion,** &c. Isa. xiii. 8. Cf. Wisdom v. 1 seqq.

And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.

8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown.
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

10 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

11 And **He will deliver** them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect
12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect:
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

13 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

14 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.

And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

Son of Man *a–m*, 'Son of the woman' *m,β*. See xlvi. 2 (note).
Sitting on the throne of his glory. Cf. Matt. xxv. 31.
6. **the kings and the mighty** *a–u*. 'the mighty Kings' *u,β*.
rules over all. Dan. vii. 14.
who was hidden, or 'that was hidden', i.e. the unseen universe.
6, 7. **hidden.** Cf. xlviii. 6, 7. Revealed by the Lord of Spirits to the elect, who thus became a congregation, the plant of righteousness of x. 16.
7. **from the beginning.** So *mgt*, β–$_1a$.
8. **congregation.** Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
elect and holy *a*, 'holy and elect' *β*.
10. **shame, and darkness.** Cf. xlvi. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 55. **grow deeper** *gt,β–f*. Cf. Nah. ii. 10.
11. **He will deliver them to**, &c. So Flemming emends. *mβ* read 'the angels of punishment shall take them in charge'.
angels for punishment. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liii. 3—liv. 2.
12. **spectacle.** See xlviii. 9 (note).
sword, used figuratively as in lxiii. 11.
drunk. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 6.
13. **saved**, cf. xlviii. 7.
14. God Himself (Isa. lx. 19, 20; Zeph. iii. 15–17) and the Messiah (xxxix. 6, 7, xlv. 4) will dwell with the righteous and elect for ever.
eat: 'abide and eat' *β–n*[1].
eat and lie down. Zeph. iii. 13.
15, 16. **garments of glory . . . of life.** Cf. 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, also 1 En. cviii. 12.
15. **of glory** *a,in*. 'of life' *β–in*.

16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits:
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. *The unavailing Repentance of the Kings and the Mighty.*

63 1 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall 2 down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say:
'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,
3 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,
And Thy glory for ever and ever:

Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.

4 We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings.'
5 And they shall say:
'Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory!

6 And now we long for a little rest but find it not:
We follow hard upon and obtain (it) not:

And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever:

7 For we have not believed before Him
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord]

But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.

8 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not,
And we find no respite for confession

That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice,
And His judgements have no respect of persons.

9 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

garments of life $q\beta$, a–q prefix 'your garments'.
from a–t^1, t^2, 'with' β.
not grow old; cf. Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5.

LXIII. A last despairing appeal by the kings and mighty. They justify God's judgement. Cf. Wisdom v. 3–8.
1. **the mighty and the kings** a, 'kings' *aehknvw*, 'mighty kings' *bcdfilopxy*$_1a_1b$.
His angels a–*tu* β, 'the angels' t,q^2.
2. They confess what before they denied, xlvi. 5.
3. Cf. xlix. 2.
splendid . . . power a–*mu*, 'every secret thing is lighted up and Thy power' β.
5. **glorify and give thanks** a–q. 'glorify Him and thank Him' q,β (+'and bless Him' β).
6. **And now** q,β. 'now' a–q.
follow hard upon $gt^1{}_1b$. > u,i. 'are driven away' mq, $t^2\beta$–i_1a_1b.
obtain, &c.: q reads 'obtain not light; it has', &c.
darkness is our dwelling-place. Cf. xlvi. 6.
7. **believed** or 'confessed'.
of spirits gq, efv. 'of lords' m. 'of kings' tu, β–efv.
[**our Lord**] a, 'the Lord in all His work' β.
sceptre gm, io_1a_1b. 'throne' tu, fv.. 'sceptre of the throne' $q,dhkln$.
8. No place of repentance when the final judgement has come.
our Lord is true, &c. Cf. Jub. iv. 21.

10 Now they shall say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burden† of Sheol.'
11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
And shame before that Son of Man,
And they shall be driven from his presence,
And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

12 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

LXIV. *Vision of the fallen Angels in the Place of Punishment.*

64 1, 2 And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

LXV. *Enoch foretells to Noah the Deluge and his own Preservation.*

65 1, 2 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch:
3 and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: 'Hear me, hear me, hear me.' And I said unto him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight
4 and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?' And thereupon there was a great commotion
5 on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?
6 And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those

10. Riches avail not to save them. Cf. lii. 7, liii. 1, 2; Ps. xlix. 7–12.
unrighteous gain. Cf. Luke xvi. 9, 11; Sir. v. 8.
from the midst thereof *gqu*. 'from the flame thereof' *mt*, *β–b*.
into the †burden†. Possibly *βάριν* = 'stronghold' was misread as *βάρος*, 'burden'. Or we might read 'into the burden of the flame of Sheol'.
Sheol. See my Commentary for a full discussion of this word's history. (1) The oldest view occurs in e. g. Job xxx. 23; Num. xvi. 30. It is the place appointed for all living, is beneath the earth, and is the land of destruction, forgetfulness, and silence. The individual does exist, but without joy or contact with God or man. Good and bad fare alike, but the family, and national and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced. Cf. the Homeric Hades. (2) In the second century B.C. the doctrine of future retribution and the Resurrection altered the conception to that of a place of reward, and also that of an intermediate state (cf. li. 1). (3) Owing to the Resurrection being limited to the righteous, Sheol came to mean hell, or Gehenna, as the preliminary or permanent abode of wicked souls (lxiii. 10, xcix. 11). See Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life,—passim.*
11. Bousset suggests that this verse is an interpolation. It resembles lxii. 10.
darkness and shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10.
12. **Thus** *a–g*, 'as' *g*, 'and thus' *β*.

LXIV. A digression on the fallen angels, judged in the second Parable, liv. 3, &c., lv. 3, 4. It is out of the context here, as 'that place' in *v.* 1 cannot be Sheol referred to in lxiii. 10.
2. **I heard,** 'and I heard' *m*, *vx*.
angel, 'angels' *m*.
descended + 'from heaven' *t*, *β*.

LXV—LXIX. 25. Professedly part of a Noah Apocalypse (see liv. 7), giving here three accounts (1) lxv. 1–lxvii. 3, the coming Flood and Noah's escape; (2) lxvii. 4–lxix. 1, the fallen angels' punishment, and that of the kings and the mighty; (3) lxix. 2–25, the angels' fall and the secrets they disclosed.

LXV. 1. Note that the vision is Noah's. It opens with a sinking of the earth here as with a quaking of the heavens in lx. 1.
and *q*,*β*. > *a–q*.
Noah. 'I Noah' *t*, and so in first person for verses 1 and 2.
2. **the ends of the earth,** i. e. where the entrance to heaven is. Cf. cvi. 8.
grandfather, really great-grandfather. Cf. lx. 8.
3. **I said** *a*, *v*: 'he said' *t²β–iv*.
4. **a voice,** the command of verse 6.
6–10[a]. Text out of order. Clearer if verses 9–10[a] followed at once on verse 5.
6. **those who dwell on the earth,** borrowed from the Parables. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).
have learnt all the secrets, &c. Cf. vii, viii, lxix.
all their powers—the most secret ones *gt*, 'their secret powers' *β–an*, 'the powers of their most secret secrets' *m*. 'their powers' *qu*.

who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images
7 for the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal
8 originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain
9 that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.' And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have
10 asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. And He said unto me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by Me for ever. Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those
11 who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." And these—they have no **place of repentance** for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.
12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,
And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.'

LXVI. *The Angels of the Waters bidden to hold them in Check.*

66 1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruc-
2 tion on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause **the waters** to rise but should hold them
3 in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

LXVII. *God's Promise to Noah: Places of Punishment of the Angels and of the Kings.*

67 1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come
2 up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. And now the angels are making a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the
3 earth will not remain without inhabitant. And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be **unfruitful** on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'
4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley

the power of witchcraft. Cf. vii. 1, viii. 3. The Deluge is due to the corruption wrought through the angels.
8. **from the earth** > *q*.
is pre-eminent. So *t*. Other MSS. = *celer est, praecurrit*.
9. **my hand** *gq*. 'his hand' *mtu*, *β*.
10. **withheld.** Text = 'reckoned', i. e. יחשב corrupt for יֶחְשַׂךְ in Hebrew, or יתמנא for יתמנע in Aramaic.
sorceries. So Halévy חרשים for חרשים = 'months' in text. This emendation is possible in Aramaic as well as Hebrew. Or ירחיא might be corrupt in Aramaic for סהריא = 'secrets'.
11. **place of repentance.** Text = 'return'. In Hebrew תשובה and in Aramaic תיובא mean both 'repentance' and 'return'.
12. Noah is to found a new and righteous generation.
thy righteous seed *gmtu*(*q*), 'thy seed in righteousness' *β*.
both for kingship *q*(*t*), 'both for kings' *β*, 'both kings' *gmu*.
fountain. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 28; Ps. lxviii. 26.

LXVI. 1. **angels of punishment.** They deal solely with the second judgement in the Parables. Here they wrongly are said to be the agents of the Deluge, and angels over the power of the waters. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liv. 7 and lx. 16. Cf. Rev. xvi. 5.
[**abide and**]. A dittograph > *q*: *u*, *bx* omit 'and dwell'.
2. **the waters.** Text corruptly reads 'the hands'.
The angels are to pause that the ark may be built. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.

LXVII. 1. Cf. Gen. vi. 9.
2. In lxxxix. 1, Noah himself makes the ark.
have completed *t*. So *a*–*t* in a corrupt form. 'have gone' *β*.
3. Cf. lxv. 12.
it shall not be unfruitful. Emended. > *bdoxy*$_1$*b*. Or we might emend to 'they shall not tempt (thy seed)'.

LXVII. 4—LXIX. 1. This section deals with the fallen angels' punishment. Characteristic features of the second judgement are here transferred to the first, and localities distinct in the parables are here confused, e.g. the burning valley of Gehenna is placed among the metal mountains (lxvii. 4), while in liv. 1 it is in 'another part of the earth'.
4. The Deluge and the judgement of the fallen angels are mentioned together here as in x. 2, 4, but here (1) the prison is the burning valley (= the Gehenna of liv, though there it is a furnace of fire that receives the angels), and (2) this is the preliminary prison, not the final.

which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold
5 and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. And I saw that valley in which there was a great con-
6 vulsion and a convulsion of the waters. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned
7 beneath that land. And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits
9 and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever;
10 for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. For the judgement shall come upon them,
11 because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the
12 springs shall change and become cold. And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the
13 earth.' Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the **kings** and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. *Michael and Raphael astonied at the Severity of the Judgement.*

68 1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book
2 of the Parables. And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit transports and **makes me to tremble** because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before

in the west, borrowed from lii. 1. It increases the geographical confusion.

5, 6. Features of the Deluge, and volcanic disturbances are combined, the latter connected with the angels' punishment.

6. **burned beneath that land.** A subterranean fire was believed to exist under the Gehenna valley. Cf. xxvii. 1 (note). Cf. too the fate of Sodom.

8. The hot springs result from the meeting of the water and fire underground by which the angels were punished. Herod the Great resorted to such a spring, Callirhoe to the east of the Dead Sea, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 5. Cf. the hot springs of Machaerus, Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* vii. 6. 3.

in those days—those of the writer.

healing of the body *gm, bx.* 'healing of the soul and body' *qtu, β–bx.*

punishment of the spirit i. e. in the final judgement.

punished in their body. At present the sin of their spirit entails suffering on the body only, which is healed by the waters, but in Gehenna spirit and body alike will suffer.

denied the Lord of Spirits. Cf. xxxviii. 2 (note), liv. 7 (note).

see their punishment daily, i.e. can read their future torments in the present ones of the angels.

9. The kings will repent under torment, but without avail.

an idle word. Cf. xlix. 4 (note).

10. **deny the Spirit of the Lord.** This phrase is unique in Enoch.

11. With the angel's departure the waters cool. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.

in these waters *a*, 'in those days' *β–v*.

12. **Michael** *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

13. The waters heal now, and their healing virtue blinds the kings to the fire below which is reserved for their future torment. Cf. *v.* 8.

kings. Text='angels' i. e. מלאכיא for מלכיא.

lust *m*, 'desire' *gqtu*, 'death' *β–y*.

LXVIII. 1. Note that the Parables already exist as a complete work in the hands of the redactor, who confesses to combining them with the Noah fragments. The meaning of this chapter is far from clear.

words of the book. 'book of the words' *g*.

2. This dialogue of Michael and Raphael sets forth the severity of the judgement over the fallen angels, or rather the Satans.

The power of the spirit. A strange phrase. Halévy suggests that 'power' here = יד in the sense of 'punishment'.

makes me to tremble. Text='provokes me' = יארגיזני.

because of *a–q*, 'and because of' *q,β*.

judgement of the secrets. Perhaps the penalty for the secrets divulged by the Satans.

of the angels *qβ*. > *a–q*.

executed + 'and abides' *β*.

3 which they melt away?' And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement
4 (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?' And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do
5 as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.'

LXIX. *The Names and Functions of the (fallen Angels and) Satans: the secret Oath.*

69 1 And after this judgement they shall terrify and **make** them to **tremble** because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

2 And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûrâêl†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâêl†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Sîmâpêsîêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl,
3 the twentieth †Rûmâêl†, the twenty-first †Azâzêl†. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens].

4 The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God**, and brought them
5 down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of **God** evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled
6 their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons
7 of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell
8 on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Pênêmûe: he taught the
9 children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to
10 eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation
11 to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power

3. **Michael** *a*. 'the holy Michael' *β*. So too in *v*. 4.
answered + 'me' *gqu*.
is not softened *β*. 'is not convicted' *a*.
word of judgement (that) has gone forth *gq*. 'word: judgement &c.' *mtu*, *β*.
because of those who have thus led them out, i. e. the Satans who seduced these angels.
4. **do as if they were the Lord.** Cf. Isa. xiv. 11–13.
5. **all that is hidden** *a*. 'the hidden judgement' *β*.
neither angel nor man suffers their torments, but these fallen angels alone.

LXIX. 1. **make them to tremble.** Text = 'irritate them' = ארגיזהון which has both meanings.
2, 3. I have bracketed 3 and most of 2 as an intrusion. These angels are those who fell in the days of Jared, but in *v*. 4 seqq. we have Satans. So perhaps read in 2 'behold the names of those Satans,' and go on to 4.
2. The thirteenth is superfluous and not in vi. 7, where see note.
4. In the Parables the Satans and the fallen angels are distinguished. The latter fell in the days of Jared in i–xxxvi, and xci–civ. Here, however, the functions of the two are confused. Azazel causes all sin in i–xxxvi (x. 8), and Semjaza in vi. 3, ix. 7.
Jeqôn *a–u*, Jeqûn *β*, i.e. 'inciter'.
the sons of God. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7. Emended for text 'the sons of the angels', i.e. אלהיא was misread as מלאכיא. *t,bcd*, &c., add 'holy', which may go with 'sons' or 'angels'.
5. **Asbeêl** 'deserter from God' or (Schmidt) 'thought of God'.
6. **Gâdreêl,** a Satan, as he led astray Eve. In viii. 1 it is Azazel that makes weapons of war. In Aramaic Gadreel = 'God is my helper' עדריאל.
[**the weapons . . . men**] dittograph from end of verse.
8. **Pênêmûe.** Cf. פנימי 'the inside'.
9–10. The art of writing is a proof of the degeneracy of the human race. Word of mouth should be sufficient pledge for the righteous.
11. Man was originally righteous and immortal. Cf. Wisdom, i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24. Cf. Talmud, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 215, 216, 222, 248. He lost his uprightness and immortality through the devil's envy, Wisdom ii. 24; the evil knowledge introduced by the Satans or angels, 1 En. lxix. 11; his own evil act, 1 En. xcviii. 4.
pure and righteous *a–q*, 'pure and holy' *q*, 'righteous and pure' *β*.

12 †it is consuming me†. And the fifth was named Kâsdejâ : this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smitings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smitings
13 which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâʿĕt. And this is the †**task**† of Kâsbeêl, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high
14 above in glory, and its name is Bîqâ. This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who
15 revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael.

16 And these are the secrets of this oath . . .
And they are strong through his oath :
And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,
And for ever.

17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water,
And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created,
And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.
20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths
23 from all the quarters of the winds. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings : and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-
24 frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving : they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.]

25 And this oath is mighty over them,
And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved,
And their course is not destroyed.

†it is consuming me†. Perhaps read 'they are being consumed'.

12. Cf. Ps. xci. 5, 6, and Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on these verses.

Tabâʿĕt, unknown name. Schmidt, *O.T. and Semitic Studies*, p. 341, conjecturally restores the lost clause of 12 and all 13.

13. **task** = ענין emended from text = 'number' = מנין. I cannot interpret this verse.

14. **this** *a*, 'and this' *β*.
show him *a-q*, 'show them' *β*.
the hidden name that + 'they might enunciate that (+ 'evil and' *m*) hidden name' *mu* : + 'they might see that hidden name and' *β*.

16. **heaven was suspended.** Cf. Job xxvi. 7.

17. **earth . . . water.** Cf. Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6.
from . . . mountains . . . waters. Cf. Ps. civ. 10, 13.
beautiful waters *a–u*, *aefhikp*. 'beautiful (>*u*,*ly*$_1$*a*) waters for the living' *u*,*bclxy*$_1$*a*.

18. †**as its foundation**† seemingly corrupt for 'to limit it'.
the sand. Cf. Jer. v. 22 ; Job xxvi. 10 ; Ps. civ. 9.

19. **depths made fast.** Cf. Prov. viii. 28.

20. **to eternity** *q*,*β*. > *a-q*.

21. **calls them by their names.** Cf. xliii. 1 (note).

22–24. An interpolation.

22. **quarters.** So I render with Flemming, otherwise 'bands'.

23. **the voices of the thunder** *a*. *β* prefixes 'chambers of'.
chambers of the hail. Cf. lx. 11, 19–21. This verse seems to be an interpolation within an interpolation.

24. Cf. xli. 7.

25 Resumes the 'oath' of verses 14–21.

Close of the Third Parable.

26 And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled
Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

27 And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.

28 With chains shall they be bound,
And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,
And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible;

For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
And all evil shall pass away before his face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.
This is the third Parable of Enoch.

LXX. *The final Translation of Enoch.*

0 1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of
2 Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft
3 on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them: and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the
4 West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

LXXI. *Two earlier Visions of Enoch.*

1 1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens:
And I saw the **holy sons of God.**

26–29. These verses form the conclusion of the third Parable; we have returned to its main theme.
26. **the name of that Son of Man had been revealed.** Cf. Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12. See also 1 En. xlviii. 7, lxii. 7.
27. **on the throne of his glory.** See xlv. 3 (note).
the sum, i.e. all judgement. Cf. John v. 22, 27. For 'sum' cf. ראש in Ps. cxxxix. 17.
the sinners, esp. the mighty ones in the Parables, though in general also, cf. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 5, 6, [l. 2] liii. 2, 7, lxii. 2, 13.
and be destroyed > *q*.
from off the face of the earth. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
28. Cf. liii–lvi.
29. Summarizes, e.g. xlix.
the word of *t*, *bceh*^{1}*nx*: 'they shall say to' *a–t df*, &c.

LXX. The writer awkwardly makes Enoch describe his own translation. Otherwise this chapter is in keeping with the Parables.
1. **Son of Man.** Note the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man here. Cf. xlviii. 2 (note), and xlvi. 2 (note)
and to the Lord *gqt*, 'to the Lord' *mu*, *β*.
those who dwell, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).
2. **he was raised.** 'his name was raised' *t*.
chariots. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11. For Enoch's translation cf. lxxxvii. 3, 4, lxxxix. 52.
his name *mqt*. 'the name' *gu*,*β*. **his name,** i.e. his person.
3. **numbered** *gqt*,*i*. 'dragged' *m*,*β–i*.
between the North and the West. See xviii. 6 (note), xxiv. 1–3 (notes), lx. 8 (note) and lxvii. 4.
the cords. Cf. lxi. 1 seqq.
4. Paradise already contains his righteous forefathers. Cf. lxi. 12.

LXXI. Seems to belong to the Parables. There are two visions in this chapter: (1) verses 1–4. Enoch is translated in spirit to the heavens, has a vision of God, and is shown by Michael the secrets of the spiritual and physical worlds. (2) verses 5–17. Again Enoch is translated in spirit to the heaven of heavens and has a vision of God's house, without Michael's guidance. Both visions should come before lxx, which describes the translation of 'his name', i.e. his final translation.
1–4. The first vision.
1. **translated:** 'hidden' E, as always. See xii. 1 (note).
holy sons of God. Text has 'sons of the holy angels'. See lxix. 4 (note), 5, cvi. 5. The expression 'sons of Elohim' in Gen. vi. is the source of this phrase.

They were stepping on flames of fire:
Their garments were white [and their raiment],
And their faces shone like snow.

2 And I saw two streams of fire,
And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

3 And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand,
And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

5 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
And between those crystals tongues of living fire.

6 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
And they girt that house.

7 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin:
And these are they who sleep not
And guard the throne of His glory.

8 And I saw angels who could not be counted,
A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
Encircling that house.

And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
Go in and out of that house.

9 And they came forth from that house,
And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
And many holy angels without number.

10 And with them the Head of Days,
His head white and pure as wool,
And His raiment indescribable.

11 And I fell on my face,
And my whole body became relaxed,
And my spirit was transfigured;

[and their raiment] a duplicate rendering.
2. **streams of fire.** Cf. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, also *vv.* 1, 5, 6 here.
3. **and he showed.** All MSS. but *u* prefix 'and he showed me all (>β) the secrets of mercy'. As 'mercy' is an alternative rendering for 'righteousness', this is a dittography.
4. Physical secrets here as in xli. 3–8, xliii, xliv occur in contexts of an entirely ethical character.
5–17. The second vision.
5, 6. Cf. xiv. 9–17.
5. **he translated my spirit** *a*. 'a spirit translated him' β.
there. MSS. add a gloss 'in the midst of that light'.
6. **the girdle** *a–q*. 'a girdle' *q*,β.
7. Cf. lxi. 10, 12, also xxxix. 13, xl. 2.
and 3° *a*, >β.
8. **a thousand,** &c. Cf. xiv. 22, xl. 1.
Michael, &c. See xl. 4–7.
go in and out, not so in xiv. 23.
9. **and** 2° *a–t*. >*t*, β.
10. **Head of Days.** See xlvi. 1 (note); Dan. vii. 9.
11. **and I fell . . . relaxed.** Cf. lx. 3.
spirit was transfigured. Contrast xxxix. 14; and cf. Asc. Isa. vii. 25.

And I cried with a loud voice,
. . . with the spirit of power,
And blessed and glorified and extolled.

12 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of
13 Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in xlvi. 3) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

14 And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me :
' **This is** the Son of Man who **is** born unto righteousness,
And righteousness abides over **him,**
And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes **him** not.'
15 And he said unto me :
' He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come ;
For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

16 And all shall walk in **his** ways since righteousness never forsaketh **him** :
With **him** will be their dwelling-places, and with **him** their heritage,
And they shall not be separated from **him** for ever and ever and ever.

17 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way
In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

Section III.

Chapters LXXII–LXXXII. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

LXXII. *The Sun.*

2 1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me ; and he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world
2 and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity. And this is the first law of the luminaries : the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven,
3 and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and

spirit of power. Cf. lxi. 11. Some words seem lost before this phrase.

14–16. Owing to the loss of a reference to the Son of Man, some scribe has altered third to second persons in 14, 16, but not in 17, or 15.

14. Cf. xlvi. 3.
he *gmt.* >*u.* 'that angel' *qβ.*
This is . . . is restored for text 'Thou art . . . art'.
unto *gtu, abcf,* &c. 'in' *mq, deh,* &c.
righteousness. See xlvi. 3 (note) for this attribute of the Son of Man.
him restored for 'thee'. So in *v.* 16 *passim.*

15. **proclaims unto thee peace.** Cf. Mic. iii. 5 ; Zech. ix. 10 ; Isa. lvii. 7.
the world to come—the Messianic kingdom. Earliest use of the phrase. See Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 120 seqq.

16. **all** + 'shall be and' *β–al*$_1$*b.*
dwelling-places. Cf. xxxix. 4, 7.

17. **length of days :** i.e. an eternity ; contrast v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6.
an upright way *m.* 'his upright way' *β. gtu* support *m.* + 'to the righteous' all MSS.

Note on 14–17. I do not hold, as Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* 348, Dalman, *Worte Jesu* 200, that our text elevates Enoch to the dignity of the Messiah. Bousset quotes 2 En. xxii. 6, lxvii. 2 ; Targ. Jon. on Gen. v. 24 ; Ps. Clem. *Hom.* xviii. 13 ; *Recog.* ii. 47.

LXXII. 1. **dominion.** Cf. lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8–20.
names. Cf. lxxviii. 1, 2.
origin i.e. rising.
the new creation. Cf. xlv. 4, xci. 15, 16 ; Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22 ; 2 Pet. iii. 3, 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1 ; also the Yasts xiii. 57–58 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 194).

2. Here begins an account of the sun in its progress through the signs of the zodiac, and the resultant increase and decrease of the days and nights.
portals. See Babylonian *Creation Epos* v. 9 ; *K.A.T.*^{3} 619, 630. Cf. xxxiii–xxxvi for portals of winds and stars. In lxxii-lxxxii, sun, moon, and stars pass through the same portals, but in xxxiii–xxxvi the stars' portals are small, while in lxxii. 6 one of the sun's portals is called 'great'.

six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other
4 in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals. And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumfer-
5 ence of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (lit. 'that') portal and
6 shines in the face of the heaven. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which
7 is the fourth [those six portals in the east]. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in
8 their season. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty
9 mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth
10 morning. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly
11 to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth
12 portal. And then the day becomes longer by †two† parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night
13 becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth
14 portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day
15 becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the
16 sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. And when thirty mornings are accomplished,
17 the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts. and the night seven. And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty
18 mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. On that day the day decreases
19 by †two† parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-
20 and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. On that day the day is equalized with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to
21 nine parts. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises
22 thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than

leaders of the stars. See lxxv. 1 (note).
windows. Cf. *v.* 7, lxxv. 7.
right and left = south and north.

4. Cf. xli. 5–7.
circumference, a disk or a sphere. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 3, also xviii. 4, lxxiii. 4.

5. **The chariot.** Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, 8; driven by the wind xviii. 4, lxxviii. 2.
returns through the north. Cf. xli. 5.
is so guided, possibly by an angel. The sun is not, as the heavenly bodies are in i–xxxvi, semi-conscious.

6. **the first month**, of the Hebrews, i.e. Abib (Exod. xiii. 4), the time of the spring equinox. It began the ecclesiastical year and corresponds to our April.

6, 7. **the great portal**, so distinguished from the twelve window-openings of each portal (lxxii. 3, lxxv. 7), with their heat-giving flames.

8. The author replaces the heathen signs of the zodiac by portals, cf. the 'chamber' of Ps. xix. 5. Though well aware of a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, he reckons it as consisting of 364 days, or 52 sabbaths of days. Thus he has eight months of 30 days, and four of 31 days each, the extra day in the latter being 'on account of the sign', i.e. that of the equinoxes or solstices. Cf. lxxii. 13, 19. The division into eighteen parts of the day suits northern Asia at a latitude of 49°.

10. **on** *a–t*, 'and on' *t*, *β*.
a ninth part, i.e. of the whole day, *gqu*. >*mt*, *β*. All MSS. wrongly insert 'twice as much' after 'longer'.
exactly *a*. >*β*.

11. **in the fourth** + 'portal' *q*,*β*–*bcdx*$_1$*a*.

12. **and** 1°. >*bcdlopxy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*.
†two†. Read 'one'.

13. **it returns** *a*. 'the sun returns' *β*.
portal 1°. >*a–t*.
its sign, i.e. the summer solstice here, cf. *v.* 19, lxxv. 3, lxxviii. 7.

14. **on** *a–q*. 'and on' *q*^{2} *β*.

15. **mounts up**, to start on his return journey to the first portal.

18. †two†. Read 'one'.

19. **its sign** + 'in the fourth portal (> *u*) in the east' *a*

20. **[and . . . length]**, a duplicate rendering.

22. **and night becomes longer than night**, *a–m*. 'till the thirtieth morning' *β*.

day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight
23 parts. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns
to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets
24 in the second portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven
25 parts and the day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets
in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty
26 mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night becomes
longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and
27 the day to six. And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again
on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west
28 opposite to it. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a †ninth† part, and the night
29 has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. And the sun has returned and entered into the
second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising
30 and setting. And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts
31 and the day to eight. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns
to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven.
32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night
33 is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. And the length
of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course
34 of the sun these distinctions are made (lit. ' they are separated '). So it comes that its course becomes
35 daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his
return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, i.e. the great luminary which is named the sun,
36 for ever and ever. And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to
37 its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and
rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but
as regards size they are both equal.

LXXIII. *The Moon and its Phases.*

3 1 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.
2 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides
3 is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure. And her rising and setting
change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform
4 (i.e. full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus she rises. And her first
phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and
constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the
5 portal where the sun rises. And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole

morning, *a–q*, *efln*. >*q*. 'day' *abcd*, &c.
25. **into the first portal** *β–a*, 'in it on the first day (?)' *gq*, 'in the sixth portal' *m*, 'on that day' *tu*.
27. **that portal** *m*,*β*, 'all the portals' *a–m*.
28. **on that night**, *gq*, *f*. 'on that day' *mt*, *β–f*.
a †ninth† part *gqu*. >*m*. 'one part' *t*, *β–a*. 'ninth' should be 'eighteenth', as in 16. Or for 'decreased in length' we might emend to 'grown shorter than the day'.
31. **that portal** *a–t*. 'that second portal' *t*, *β*.
35. **he returns** *a–m*. 'he returns, he returns' *m*, *β*.
sixty times, i.e. two months in each portal, one month on his northward and one month on his southward journey. The author disregards for the time being the extra day in the first, third, fourth, and sixth portals.
luminary *a*. 'eternal luminary' *β*.
37. **as he rises, so he sets** *g*, 'so he rises and (+ 'so' *qt*) he sets' *mqt*, 'and so he sets' *u*, 'and so he rises and sets' *β–anx*.
day and night + 'in his chariot' t^2, *β*.
sevenfold brighter. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 4. Also cf. Isa. xxx. 26.
as regards size . . . . equal. So Lucretius believed, *De Rer. Nat.* v. 564–91.

LXXIII. This chapter and LXXIV treat of the moon's course.
2. **the heaven** *a–m*, *bcdilo*, 'the sun' *m*, *aefhknpw*.
3. **her rising and setting**, i.e. the place of her rising and setting.
4. **her first phase** lit. 'her beginning', i.e. the new moon in the popular sense, on the first day of her visible reappearance.
thirtieth morning, of the solar month.
5–8. The author's scheme is hard to follow. Apparently the lunar month amounts to 30 days and 29 days alternately, and is divided into two parts. During the first part the moon waxes from new moon to full moon in 14 days when the month is 29 days, and in 15 when the month is 30 days. During the second part it always wanes in 15 days. Again the moon is divided into fourteen parts, i.e. each half surface into seven parts, and the waxing of the

circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, (and) the four-
6 teenth part of her light. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light
7 amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun
rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the
beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and
8 is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. And she rises on that
day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her
remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

LXXIV. *The Lunar Year.*

74 1 And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly
2 revolution. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their
positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months
3 as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. In single seventh
parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her
4 darkness in the west. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues
5 her own peculiar course. In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle portals the
6 third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the
portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes from the sun, and in eight
7 days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. And when the sun goes forth from the
fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in
seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the
8 first portal in eight days. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the
9, 10 sun goes forth. Thus I saw their position—how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. And
if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue
11 to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. And the overplus of the
sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the
12 moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. And **the sun** and the stars bring in all

moon is due to the successive lighting up of each fourteenth part. Verses 5, 6 suppose the period from new to full moon to be 14 days, verse 7 supposes it to be 15 days.

5. **goes forth,** MSS. read reḫûq = ἐξέχων, which is used of the sun's rising or appearing. It in turn may render יֹצֵא, which is used of the rising of the sun and stars. Flemming proposes to emend the text to rĕ'ûj = 'visible'.

one-seventh part *gqtu, abc*, &c. Other MSS. corrupt.

(and) the fourteenth part *gqu*. 'of the fourteenth part' *mt*, β. + 'of half' *g*, needlessly, as the fractions are fractions of half in this verse and the next.

6. **one-seventh part** 2° *gmqu, d*. 'the thirteenth part' *t, l*. 'the fourteenth part' β–*dklo*. Apparently $\frac{1}{7}+\frac{1}{14}$ of $\frac{1}{2}=\frac{3}{28}$ of the whole moon are lighted the first day when there are only 14 days to the full moon.

7. **half of one part of light,** i. e. one twenty-eighth. When the waxing takes 15 days, the moon only receives one twenty-eighth part, and so is practically invisible, the first morning: on the second day she attains to one-fourteenth, and becomes visible.

fourteen *gu, abc*, &c. 'thirteen' *mqt,il₁b*.

8. **thirteen** *a, n*. 'fourteen' β–*n*.

LXXIV. This chapter deals with the moon's waxing and waning, her monthly change of position with regard to the signs and the sun, and the difference between lunar and solar years.

2. **of them all,** i. e. the moon's phases.

fifteen days, i. e. between conjunction and full moon.

3. Cf. lxxiii and lxxviii.

and in single seventh . . . darkness >*a,an*.

4. **peculiar course,** independent of the sun.

5, 6. During two months the moon sets with the sun as new moon and as full moon. When the sun is in Aries and Libra the new moon and the full moon are in the third and fourth portals. In verse 6 the moon goes forth as it waxes from the third portal to the first in 7 days, turns about and returns to the portal where the sun rises, i. e. the third, in 7 or 8 days, and there becomes full moon, and proceeds thence through the fourth and fifth to the sixth portal, where she arrives after 8 days. Thence she returns to the third portal in 7 days.

6. **and accomplishes.** 'and in that accomplishes' t^2,β.

9. **how the moons rose and the sun set** *a–q*. 'according to the order of their moons the sun rising and setting' *q*, β.

10, 11. The difference between the lunar and the solar year. The lunar year has 354 days (see lxxviii. 15). The solar year has 12 months of 30 days, or 360, and also 4 intercalary days in the equinoxes and solstices, in all 364 days (lxxiv. 10, 12). In verses 10ᵃ and 11 these intercalary days are neglected, and so the solar year has only 360 days, or 6 days more than the lunar.

11. **the moon** t^2β: *a* has transposed the word to the next sentence, as subject to 'bring in'.

12. Accuracy of the solar and sidereal time-division. Jubilees vi. 32–6 protests against the use of the lunar year.

and the sun. So *gmt* except that they prefix 'from' before 'the sun', >*qu*, β.

and the stars *u*, 'and from the stars' *gmt*, >t^2, β. Here all MSS. add 'and (> *n*) the moon', following the lead of *a*.

the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity;
13 but **complete** the years with perfect justice in 364 days. In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in
14 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days. For the moon alone the days amount
in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [i.e. to the sum (of 1,770) there is
15 to be added (1,000 and) 62 days.] And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days
16 in 8 years amount to 2,832 days. [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the
17 days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their
world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun)
rises and sets 30 days.

51 1 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over
all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office,
according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not
2 reckoned in the reckoning of the year. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries
truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the
heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accom-
3 plished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. For the signs and the times
and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever
over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the
face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, i.e. the sun,
moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots
4 of the heaven. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's
chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth
5 diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. [And for the winds and
6 the spirit of the dew† when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.] As for the
twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars,
7 and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west, There are many windows open to the left
and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding
(as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them,
8 and wherein they set corresponding to their number. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running
9 in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. And one is larger than
all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

but complete = ἀλλὰ τελοῦσιν, corrupted into ἀλλάττουσιν, whence the Ethiopic text.

13–16. Merely seem to assert that the solar year of 364 days exceeds the lunar of 354 by 10 days. But why should eight years be referred to? The author seems to have in mind the eight-year cycle or octaetris, which, however, allowed for $365\frac{1}{4}$ days in the solar year. See special Introduction to lxxii–lxxxii, p. 150 in my new Commentary.

14. The totals for 3 and 5 years are added together to give the total for 8 years. (1062 + 1770 = 2832.)

The brackets indicate a marginal gloss.

(**1000 and**) found only in the margin of *c*.

16. [ ] a doublet.

17. **their world-stations** *a–m*, 'their stations' *m*, *β*.

LXXV. The intercalary days, the stars, and the sun.

1. The four intercalary days are under charge of the highest stars, the leaders of the heads of ten thousands. See lxxxii. 11, 12.

and 1° *q*, *β*. >*a–q*.

their office *m*. 'its (>*q*) office' *a–m*. 'their position' $t^{2}\beta$.

the reckoning 1° *a*: *β* prefixes 'all'.

are not reckoned. The popular reckoning was 360 days to the year. Cf. lxxxii. 5.

2. Men reckon wrongly, by omitting these intercalary days, lxxxii. 4–6.

the exactness of the year *q*: 'in exactness the world' *g*: 'the exactness of the world' *mtu*, *β*. In Ethiopic 'âm = 'year', and 'âlam = 'world'.

is accomplished *gm*, *β*: 'accomplishes' *qtu* (taking 'the exactness' as object).

3. These days are, however, real. Uriel showed them to Enoch. Cf. lxxii. 1.

signs, i.e. of the Zodiac, lxxii. 13, 19.

Lord of glory *a–q*: 'Lord of Spirits' *q*: 'Eternal Lord of glory' *β–l*. See lxxxiv. 2 (note). Cf. 'the great Lord, the King of glory,' lxxxi. 3.

chariots of the heaven. Cf. lxxii. 5; *q* reads 'troops of the heaven'.

4. The variation in the sun's heat is explained by the twelve openings in the disk of the sun.

doors Uriel showed me, open (*m*)*tu*, *afhikn*: 'open' *g*: 'doors and Uriel showed me' *q*.

5. An intrusion. The first clause is unintelligible, the second 'when they' &c. seems to be a dittograph of the last clause in 4 and the first in 5.

opened *a–q*. + 'in the seasons' $t^{2}\beta$.

6, 7. Adjoining each one of the sun's twelve portals are twelve windows open to the left and right of them. Cf. lxxii. 3, 7. These diffuse warmth over the earth, one being open at a time, and all differing in heating power.

6. This verse begins in *a* with a dittograph 'when they are opened' from *v*. 4. *β* inserts 'I saw', thus altering 'twelve portals' from a *nominativus pendens* into the acc. But Enoch had been viewing them since lxxii.

8. **above** + 'and below' *bcd*, &c.

9. **one is larger**. Perhaps the Great Bear.

LXXVI. *The Twelve Winds and their Portals.*

76 1 And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the **quarters** (of the heaven), from
2 which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. Three of them are open on the face (i.e. the east)
of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (i.e. the south) of the heaven, and
3 three on the left (i.e. the north). And the three first are those of the east, and three are of †the
4 north, and three [after those on the left] of the south†, and three of the west. Through four of these
come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are
sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon,
and on everything which is in the water and on the land.
5 And the first wind-from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal
which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat,
6 and destruction. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from
it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which
lies toward the north come cold and drought.
7 And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of
8 them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. And through the middle portal next to it there
9 come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. And through the third
portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.
10 And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts
11 and desolation. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew
and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and
rain, and dew and locusts.
12 And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth
13 dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost. And from the middle portal come forth dew and
rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth
14 drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve portals of the four **quarters**
of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their bene-
factions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. *The Four Quarters of the World: the Seven Mountains, the Seven Rivers, &c.*

77 1 And the first **quarter** is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because
the Most High will **descend** there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever
2 **descend.** And the west **quarter** is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the
3 heaven wane and go down. And the fourth **quarter**, named the north, is divided into three parts:

LXXVI. A detailed account of the twelve portals of the winds and the nature of the winds which issue therefrom. Cf. xxxiii–xxxvi.

1. **the quarters.** The text wrongly renders רוח as 'wind'. See lxxvii. 1 (note).
2. **right . . . left**, cf. lxxii. 3.
3. **and** $^{1°}$ >*gmt*. The words 'north' and 'south' are in the wrong order.
4. Through the four portals come beneficial winds, i.e. the middle of the three in each quarter. For the hurtful winds cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.
5–6. Winds from the east, i.e. ESE., E., ENE.
6. **what is fitting** or 'advantageous' or 'right'. Text=rĕt'ĕ; cf. rĕt'ĕt in *v.* 11 rendered 'in a direct direction'.
7–9. Winds from the south, i.e. SES., S., SWS.
7. **through the first** *qu*: *gmt*, *β* prefix 'the first'.
10–11. NEN., N., NWN. winds.
10. **north winds**: MSS. adds a gloss 'which is named the sea and which came forth'.
in the east + 'towards the south' *gtu*: + 'which inclines towards the south' *m*, *β*–o_1a.
11. **in a direct direction.** Read perhaps 'what is fitting'. See *v.* 6 (note).
health and rain and dew *a*. *β* puts 'health' last.
in the west: MSS. add 'which inclines to the north'.
12–13. WNW., W., WSW. winds.
12. **dew** + 'and rain' *β*.
14. **quarters**, MSS. read 'portals' corruptly.
all $^{2°}$ >*qu*.
all $^{3°}$ >*q*, *β*–*fhi*.
my son Methuselah. Cf. lxxxii. 1.

LXXVII. 1–3. The four quarters, and the meaning of their names. They are each explained from the Hebrew. The East קֶדֶם is first or foremost קַדְמוֹנִי. The South דָּרוֹם is where the Most High descends יָרַד רָם. Cf. xxv. 3. The West אַחֲרוֹן (not existing in Aramaic). The North צָפוֹן is divided into three parts: one for men, one for waters (צפה an overflowing), and clouds and darkness (צפן to conceal), while one contains Paradise (צפן to reserve).

1. **quarter.** Here and in verses 2, 3 the text='wind' i.e. רוח as in Ezek. xlii. 20.

the first of them is for the dwelling of men : and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds ; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth : and thence
5 comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away. I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers : one of them coming from the †west† pours its waters into the Great Sea.
6 And ṭhese two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the
7 east. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, ⟨two of them to⟩ the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say :
8 into the desert]. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland : two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

LXXVIII. *The Sun and Moon : the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.*

1, 2 And the names of the sun are the following : the first Orjârês, and the second Tômâs. And the moon has four names : the first name is Asônjâ, the second Eblâ, the third Benâsê, and the fourth
3 Erâe. These are the two great luminaries : their circumference is like the circumference of the
4 heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is
5 transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals
6 on the face of the heaven. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven :
7 [the light becomes full in her] : on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth
8 parts. And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the four-
9 teenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. And

the garden of righteousness. See lx. 8 (note), lxx. 3 (note).

4. Note recurrence of the number seven in this book, as in Jewish writers generally. Cf. xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, lxi. 11, lxxii. 37, xci. 16, xciii. 10.

seven high mountains, not those of xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, though originally they are derived from the same source.

pass + 'and go' *q*, *β*.

5. **seven** *β*. >*a*.

from the †west†, seemingly the Nile. If so 'ârab (='west') should be a transliteration of ערבה 'desert' or 'steppe'.

the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean. Cf. Num. xxxiv. 6, 7.

6. The Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Erythraean Sea, a general name for the Arabian, Persian, and Indian seas.

7. **⟨two of them to⟩** must be supplied.

[and some say . . .]. A gloss.

8. **two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea** *bcdfiloxy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* : >'in the mainland' *aehkn* : 'seven, and two in the Red Sea' *a–m* : 'two in the mainland and five in the Red Sea' *m*. For the 'five great islands' cf. Jub. viii. 29, and for the number 'seven' see *K.A.T.*^{3} 618.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. The relations of the sun and moon are again described as well as the waxing and waning of the moon.

LXXVIII. 1. For Halévy's interpretations of the names see my Commentary *in loc.* He connects the two names of the sun with the two seasons, cold and hot, in Palestine, and the four names of the moon with its phases.

and 1° *a–q*, *ehl*. >*q*, *β–ehl*.

3. Cf. lxxii. 4, 37, lxxiii. 2.

the size of the circumference *a* : 'the size' *β* : + 'like the circumference of the heaven' *a–u*, a dittography.

4. In lxxii. 37 and lxxiii. 3 we are told that the sun's light is seven times that of the moon : in lxxiii. 2 that light is added to the moon in due measure. Here we are further told that one-seventh of the sun's light is gradually transferred to the moon, till the moon is full.

5. **by the north.** Cf. lxxii. 5.

6–17. The waxing and waning of the moon, the length of the months, &c.

6. See lxxiii. 5, 6 (notes) for the case of fourteen days' waxing.

[the light becomes full in her] *a–u*. A duplicate of 'accomplishes her light'. *u* is partly untranslatable. *β* reads in this verse 'and when the moon rises, she appears in the heaven, and has a fourteenth part of her light, and on the fourteenth day she accomplishes all her light'.

7. See lxxiii. 7, 8 (notes) for the fifteen days' waxing.

8. As the moon wanes, her light decreases each day by one-fourteenth part : on the fifteenth the remainder, i.e. one twenty-eighth, vanishes.

half of a seventh *t*, *β* : 'half and to a seventh' *a–t*.

10 in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. And Uriel showed me
another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by
11 the sun. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring
it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven],
12 and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished full in the heaven. And on the first
13 day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon
exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon
shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against
14 the sun. On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the
light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of
15 light. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-
nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first
16 portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. And in the time of her going out she appears for
17 three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each. At
night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven,
and there is nothing else in her save her light.

LXXIX–LXXX. 1. *Recapitulation of several of the Laws.*

79 1 And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is
2 completed. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing
rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month
3 and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this
4 sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: ⟨And
the waning⟩ which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven
5 days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. She falls
behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when
6 this place which thou seest has been traversed. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary
which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.

80 1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee every-
thing, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this
moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times
and departures.

9. **twenty-nine days.** Cf. lxxiv. 10–17, lxxviii. 15–17.
once twenty-eight, a reference to the cycle of Callippus, in which the last month in seventy-six years had only 28 days. See my Commentary *in loc.*, and cf. lxxiv. 13–16 for a reference to the octaetris.
11. The moon waxes over against the sun on the side turned to the sun, i.e. the western side.
[her light . . . heaven] $^{1°}$ β: >'in the heaven' a. Bracketed as a dittograph.
13. A true observation.
She becomes. q, β prefix 'and'.
15. **and** $^{2°}$ a: > β.
at her time + 'when she is accomplishing her waning' *gmt*, and *qu* originally.
the first period of time, i.e. the first half-year. The author recognizes only two seasons in the year; cf. iii, iv. As often as the moon is in the first portal during the first half-year, she is waning; cf. lxxix. 3, 4.
16. **the time of her going out,** i.e. the second half of the year.
17. **like a man,** i.e. a human face. Hence perhaps the name Asônjâ in *v.* 2 (Halévy).

LXXIX. 1. **my son** + 'Methuselah' *t*,β.
the law of all *a–u*: 'all the laws of' *u*,β.
2. **of bearing rule** *a–u*: 'for every power' β.
3. **of the waning** *a*: 'of the month and of the waning' β.
4. **⟨And the waning⟩.** Restored. So also Flemming and Martin.
5. **She falls behind** *a–t*: *n* prefixes 'and': *t*, β prefix 'and how'.
and the order. So emended for 'and (> *mq*) according to the order of'. Our text here identifies the solar and sidereal systems, as in lxxiv. 12.
one period, i.e. half-year. See lxxiv. 10–17.

LXXX. An interpolation. As soon as we pass from lxxix we enter into a world of new conceptions; the whole interest is ethical and nothing else. There is no fixity at all in natural phenomena: their laws and uniformities are always dependent on the moral action of men. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1–13.
1. **the angel** *gmt*: > *qu*, β.
I have shown *mq*, β: 'I will show' *gtu*.
leaders of the stars. Cf. lxxii. 3, lxxv. 2, 3.
those who turn them, probably the winds. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
and times + 'and they turn them' *gmt*.

LXXX. 2-8. *Perversion of Nature and the heavenly Bodies owing to the Sin of Men.*

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time:
And the rain shall be kept back
And the heaven shall withhold (it).
3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
4 And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
5 [And in those days the **sun** shall be seen and he shall journey in the **evening** †on the extremity of the great chariot in †the west]
And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.
6 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed).
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.
7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
[And they shall be altered from all their ways],
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.
8 And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all.'

LXXXI. *The Heavenly Tablets and the Mission of Enoch.*

81 1 And he said unto me:
'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact.'
2 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh
3 that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world,

2–8. Note the tristichs.
2. Cf. Jer. iii. 3, v. 25.
shall alter β (intransitive): *a-u* give transitive form, and *t* supplies 'its ways'.
withhold *m*, β. 'stand still' *gqtu* (by change of a vowel point).
4. Cf. Joel ii. 10; Amos viii. 9; 4 Ezra v. 4.
5. The first two lines are corrupt and out of the context. If we remove them, verses 4–5 form a tristich relating to the moon.
the sun. Text has 'the heaven' (*mq*, β: 'in the heaven' *gtu*), i.e. שמים for שמש.
and he shall journey in the evening. Text has 'and hunger shall come', i.e. רעב 'hunger' corrupt for ערב 'evening'. For יֵרָאֶה 'shall be seen' we might read יִזְרַח 'shall rise' (cf. 4 Ezra v. 4), and for בקין 'on the extremity' read מציק, 'causing distress' and make 'shall come (or 'journey')' refer to the 'chariot'. Then we have: 'And in those days the sun shall rise in the evening, || And his great chariot shall journey to the west, causing distress.' These emendations are possible in Hebrew, but not in Aramaic.
6. **chiefs of the stars.** Cf. *v.* 1 (note). The MSS. read: 'chiefs of the stars of the order shall transgress.'
transgress the order. Cf. xviii. 15, xxi. 6.
7. **shall be concealed.** Contrast lxxv. 2, and cf. lxxxii. 4-6.
those on the earth, here in the same sense as in the interpolations in the Parables. See xxxvii. 5 (note).
[And they . . . ways]. Intrusion, possibly a doublet of 6^b.
take them to be gods. Cf. xix. 1. Acts vii. 42.
8. **all** *a*: 'them all' β.

LXXXI. Also an interpolation. is a sort of mosaic, and came probably from the editor of the complete Enoch. 'Those seven holy ones' in lxxxi. 5 are taken from lxxxvii. 3: 'the heavenly tablets' in lxxxi. 1, 2 from xciii. 2, ciii. 2: 'the books of judgement' from lxxxix. 61, 64: while lxxxi. 5, 6 refer to lxxxii. 1, 2 and xci. 1.
1. **these heavenly tablets.** See xlvii. 3 (note). β-*n* prefixes 'the writing of'.
2. **the book of** *mt*: 'the book' *gu*: 'the book and all that was written therein' *q*, β.
3. Cf. xxii. 14 for a like doxology.
the great Lord *a*: 'the Lord' β.
the King of glory for ever *a*: 'the Eternal King of glory' β-*bc*.

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

4 And after that I said:
'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written,
And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'

5 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: 'Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no 6 flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayst teach thy children and record (it) for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

7 Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good;

The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practise righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'

10 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

LXXXII. *Charge given to Enoch: the four Intercalary Days: the Stars which lead the Seasons and the Months.*

82 1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee, and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
[And thy children that shall be to thee],
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

children of men *a*, *filoy*,$_1$*a*$_1$*b*: 'children of the world' *β–fhi*, &c.

4. Contrast the blessing of lxxii–lxxix and lxxxii. 4, which is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years.

day of judgement *gmu*. 'unrighteousness' *q*, *t*^{2},*β*. Can this mean that there is no judgement for the righteous?

shall be found *a–m*: 'has been found' *m*, *t*^{2},*β*.

5. **those seven holy ones,** probably the seven Watchers, cf. xx: *β* reads 'three' for 'seven'. See lxxxvii. 2, xc. 21, 22.

no flesh is righteous. Cf. Job ix. 2; Ps. xiv. 1.

Creator. Cf. xciv. 10.

5, 6. These verses are inserted to serve as an introduction to xci–civ.

6. **thy son** *a*: 'thy sons' *β*.

till. The MSS. add 'again', a dittograph of עד but read with a different pointing.

givest thy (last) commands, i.e. the idiomatic meaning of צִוָּה. So *mt*.(*g*), *β–cde*: 'comfortest' *q*: 'growest strong' *cde*.

8. **go down,** i.e. into Gehenna.

9. The righteous die, yet they are taken away to the abodes of the blessed. The phrase is borrowed from Isa. lvii. 1, 'The righteous is taken away out of the way of (or 'because of') the evil.' Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 20; Wisdom iv. 7–14. The Hebrew word 'take away' occurs in e.g. Num. xx. 26; Ps. civ. 29.

10. **Lord of the world,** or 'Eternal Lord' *a–q*: 'Lord of the ages' *q*, *β*. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lviii. 4, lxxxi. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

LXXXII. Conclusion of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

1. In xxxiii. 4 Uriel writes down everything for Enoch; but in this book, cf. lxxii. 1, lxxiv. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxix. 2-6, lxxxii. 1, Uriel only shows the hidden things to Enoch, whereas Enoch writes them down.

deliver them to the generations of the world, i.e. to all, and not only to the far distant generations as in i–xxxvi. See i. 2. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'Cum Enoch filio suo Matusalae nihil aliud mandaverit quam ut notitiam eorum posteris suis traderet.'

2. **wisdom,** i.e. the revelations. Cf. xxxvii. 4, xcii. 1, xciii. 10–14.

to thee and to thy children *mqu*, *β*: 'to thy son' *t*. *g* is corrupt. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6. As Lamech is thus already born, the Samaritan or Massoretic reckoning is followed.

[**And thy . . .**]. Interpolation.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom,
And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which 5 lead them and enter with them four days. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the **whole reckoning of the year**: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accur- 6 ately. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

7 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, **to whom** the 8 Lord of the whole creation of the world hath **subjected** the host of heaven. And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—sun, moon, and stars, 9 and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch **that they** enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions. 11 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder 12 the four parts of the year. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and 13 leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division. And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Mîlkî'êl, Hel'emmêlêk, and Mêl'êjal, 14 and Nârêl. And the names of those who lead them: Adnâr'êl, and Ijâsûsa'êl, and 'Elômê'êl—these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.

15 In the beginning of the year Melkejâl rises first and rules, who is named †Tam'âinî and sun,† and 16 all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season 17 become withered. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'êl, Zêlebs'êl,

3. **better than good food.** Cf. Ps. xix. 10, cxix. 103.
4. **blessed are all those** *t*, *β–y*: > *gu*, *y*: 'blessed (+ 'moreover' *q*): are all (+ 'the righteous' *m*) *mq*.
The four intercalary days introduced by four leaders. Cf. *v.* 11, lxxv. 1, 2.
divide *qt*, *β–no*$_1$*b*, cf. lxxxii. 11: 'are divided' *gmu*, *no*$_1$*b*.
5. Cf. lxxv. 2.
whole reckoning of the year. So with Beer I emend 'in the reckoning of the whole world'.
6. On the four intercalary days and their portals see lxxv.
the year is completed in three hundred, &c. *β*: 'the year of three hundred . . . is completed' *a-gmu*.
7. **to whom . . . hath subjected.** Emended from *a–q*, *β* 'whom He hath commanded for me'.
Lord of the whole creation of the world. Here only; cf. lxxxiv. 2.
9–20. An account of the stars as promised in lxxii. 1, and declared to be given in lxxix. 1.
10. **who watch that they enter.** MSS. read 'who watch and they enter'—? a Hebrew idiom preserved.
times + 'who lead them in their places' (>'in their places' *u*) *a*.
11. The leaders of the four intercalary days, the twelve months, and the 365 days.
for > *q*.
. . . sixty (days) there are heads *gqu*(*m*): '. . . sixty-four (days) with the heads' *t*, *β*.
12. Not clear.
a station. 'his station' *q*, *a*.
13. Milkiel is an inversion of Helemmelek. These four are over the four seasons of the year, and each has three under him, one for every month.
14. Not clear. The latter part of the verse seems to defy explanation.
15–17. The period from spring to summer = 91 days is under the dominion of Melkejal or Milkiel. He is named 'the southern sun', as Goldschmidt and Beer point out 'Tam'âinî' and 'sun' should be read together, i. e. שמש תימני.
15. **of the year** *m β*: > *a–m*.
16. **calms** *u*: 'anxiety' *a–u*.
the rose-flowers, not in O.T., except in English version of Isa. xxxv. 1; Cant. ii. 1.
which come forth *a–m*: 'bloom' *β*: >*m*.
17. The subordinate leaders are those of the months, three to the quarter.

and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hîlûjâsĕph : and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.

18 The next leader after him is Hêl'emmêlêk, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days
19 of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth : glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is
20 in the fields, and the winepress : these things take place in the days of his dominion. These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands : Gîdâ'îjal, Kê'êl, and Hê'êl, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfâ'êl : and the days of his dominion are at an end.

Section IV.

Chapters LXXXIII—XC. The Dream-Visions.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. *First Dream-Vision on the Deluge.*

83 1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting
2 them before thee. Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other : the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible
3 vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to
4 the earth. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent
5 from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth,
6 and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said : 'The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me : 'Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why
7 dost thou make such lamentation ?' And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me : 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth : it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with
8 a great destruction. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole
9 earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great
10 destruction. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer
11 for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as †He had known† it in the beginning,

Hîlûjâsĕph. Note play on נוסף 'is added'.

18–20. Summer to autumn.

19. **the signs of (his) days** *β*. 'the days of his sign' *gmt* (*qu*).

20. This verse is confused. The three names are those of the leaders of the three months. The fourth, Asfâêl, is an inversion of Hîlûjâsĕph (verse 17), and belongs to the first triad. There is no account of the remaining six months. The redactor may have omitted them.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. The first Dream-Vision deals with the Deluge or first world-judgement.

LXXXIII. 1. **my visions** *a–t*. 'visions' *t*, *β*.

2. Enoch took a wife at 65 (Gen. v. 21). Her name was Edna, 1 En. lxxxv. 3, cf. Jubilees iv. 19, where these Dream-Visions are referred to. Note that lxxxiii–xc are only dreams, whereas in the other sections Enoch has open intercourse with the angels, and is translated bodily. Yet on *ascetic* grounds one would expect the bodily translation before marriage, and the dream-visions after.

3. **Mahalalel.** 'Malâl'êl' in text.

5. **lifted up (my voice)** *mqu*, *β–n*. 'arose' *g*. 'began' *t*, *n*.

7. **secrets of all the sin** (*tu*) *β*. 'sin of all the sin' *gm*. 'sin of all' *q*.

8. **Lord of glory.** xxv. 3, 7, xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxv. 3.
and that He . . . earth *t*, *β*. > *a–t* through hmt. (?).

9. **from heaven**, i. e. ordained of God.

10. The prayer is given in lxxxiv. 2–6.
and besought *a–q*. > *q*, *β*.
my prayer *mt*, *β*. 'I prayed and' *g*. > *qu*.

11. **the whole earth** *gmq*, *cdfiloy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*. > *t*, *abehknx*.
as †He had known† it. Read 'as I had known it,' or 'as He had made (or 'established') it'.

then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, †and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

34 1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith :

2 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.

And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion ;
And all the heavens are Thy throne for ever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

3 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,
Wisdom departs not **from the place of Thy throne,**
Nor turns away from Thy presence.
And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].

4 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.

5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the earth without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction.

6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath,
But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed,
And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.'

Lord of judgement. Here only.

windows. Never used of the sun in i–xxxvi nor in lxxii–lxxxii, where 'portal' is the word. For 'windows' see lxxii. 3 (note).

† **and he ascended.** Read 'so that he ascended', i. e. וַיַּעֲלֶה for וַיַּעַל.

LXXXIV. Enoch's Prayer for his Posterity.

1. **The Holy and Great One.** See i. 3 (note).

tongue of flesh. See xiv. 2.

children of the flesh of men *gmt*, *abcfhiknx*. 'children of men' (+ 'of flesh' *q*) *qu*, *de*, &c.

2. Cf. ix. 4 sqq.

Lord of the whole creation of the heaven. Here only. Cf. lxxxii. 7 ; also lviii. 4 (note).

King of kings. ix. 4.

God of the whole world. Here only. Cf. i. 3 (note).

All the heavens are Thy throne. Isa. lxvi. 1.

3. **nothing is too hard for Thee.** Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where the LXX render 'is hidden from thee'. The MSS. here add a dittograph 'and nothing' (or 'no').

Wisdom departs not from . . . Thy throne. Cf. Wisdom ix. 4, also Prov. viii. 30 in the LXX version ἤμην παρ' αὐτῷ, and Sirach i. 1.

departs not *g*. Other MSS. 'departs not from Thee.'

from the place of Thy throne, nor turns away. Text='nor turns away (*gqm* corrupt) from her life (>*qu*) (+'from' *mq*) Thy throne and'. So transpose 'nor turns away', and read 'from the place' ('ĕmmĕnbârâta) for 'from her life' ('ĕmmanbartâ).

[**for Thou . . .**] A dittograph from the line before.

4. **upon the flesh of men.** Cf. verses 1, 5 ; Job. xii. 10.

great day of judgement. Most MSS. read 'day of the great judgement'. See my text. See xlv. 2 (note). Here=the Deluge, but in xix. 1 the final judgement, and so always in xci–cv.

5. **Great King.** xci. 13.

6. **a plant of the eternal seed.** See x. 16 (note). Cf. lxii. 8 ; xciii. 2, 5, 10.

LXXXV–XC. *The Second Dream-Vision of Enoch: the History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.*

85 1, 2 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah: 'To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my
3 words—incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and
4 the other red. And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon
5 I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and
6 I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him
7 not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. And I looked till that first
8 bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.
9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him
10 proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

LXXXVI. *The Fall of the Angels and the Demoralization of Mankind.*

86 1 And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell
2 from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began
3 to live with each other. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became
4 bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them]. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen,
5 and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their
6 horns. And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

LXXXV—XC. The second Dream-vision, giving a complete history of the world from Adam down to the final judgement, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. As in Ezekiel, men are symbolized by animals, e. g. the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of later times by sheep. Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 6, 8. The Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey, cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17; the fallen Watchers by stars; unfallen angels by men. The symbolism is, however, sometimes dropped, and the same symbol may vary in meaning. In the main the narrative is based on the O.T., but some mythical elements from later Jewish exegesis are incorporated.

LXXXV. 2. Cf. Prov. v. 1.

3. **Edna.** Cf. lxxxiii. 2.
I saw, &c. Cf. Dan. iv. 10.
on my bed *q*, *β*. 'of my bed' *gmt*. *u* corrupt.
white is the colour symbolizing righteousness throughout this vision. Cf. lxxxv. 8, lxxxvii. 2, &c., and Isa. i. 18, Ps. li. 7, Rev. vii. 14.
a heifer = Eve.
two bulls. Cain, black with his sin; Abel, red as a martyr.

5. **that heifer** = Cain's wife; according to Jubilees iv. 1, his sister, by name Avan.
him 3° *q*, *β*. 'them' *gmt*.

6. Eve seeks Abel.
lamentation, i. e. אבל, a play on Abel, i. e. הבל.
over him *q*. 'with regard to him' *g*. 'thereupon' *mt*, *β*.

8. **another white bull,** i. e. Seth. So *mt*, *β*. 'a pair of white oxen' *gqu*, i. e. Seth and a sister. See Jub. iv. 8, 11.

9. Seth and his descendants are righteous.
many *gmqt*. > *β*.

LXXXVI. 1. **a star,** i. e. Azazel, cf. lxxxviii. 1; x. 4. In vi all the angels descend together, cf. Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253).

2. **And after that** *β*. 'and these' *mq*. 'and in the midst' *t*. 'and' *u*. > *g*.
Are the 'large' oxen Sethites?
to live with each other. 'to lament one to ('with' *β*) another' *a–g*, *β*. 'to live to one another' *g*.

3. Fall of the rest of the angels.
became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them *a*. 'were amongst those cattle and bulls, pasturing with them' *β*.

4. **elephants, camels, and asses,** represent the three classes of giants. See vii. 2 (note).

6. **children of the earth.** The symbolism is dropped for a moment.
from them *gm*. > other MSS.

LXXXVII. *The Advent of the Seven Archangels.*

87 1 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth
2 began to cry aloud. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold
there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place
3 and three with them. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took
me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me
4 a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said unto me: 'Remain
here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the
oxen, and all of them.'

LXXXVIII. *The Punishment of the Fallen Angels by the Archangels.*

88 1 And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had
fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was
2 narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those
elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked
3 because of them. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth
stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were
like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

LXXXIX. 1–9. *The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah.*

89 1 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being
terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon;
2 and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. And again I raised mine
eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents
3 flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened
on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface,
4 and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. And the water, the darkness,
and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above
the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.
5 And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were
6 swallowed up and perished in that water. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen
and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer

LXXXVII. 1. The conflict of the bulls and giants.
2. The unfallen angels are symbolized by men, as men by animals.
and I saw in the vision > *qu*.
four *a*. 'one' *β*.
four . . . and three with them. See lxxxviii. 1 for the 'four'. The 'three angels' are found again in xc. 31. For the seven archangels, cf. lxxxi. 5, xci. 21, 22, xx.
with them *m*. 'with him' *a–m*, *β*.
3, 4. This tower seems to be Paradise, and thus we have in lxxxiii–xc a conception of its locality and inhabitants quite different from any that has preceded. See lx. 8 (note).
3. **all the hills were lower** *t*, *β*. 'it was built all the hills' (*sic*) *a–t*.
4. **one said** *a–q*, *cefhik*. 'they said' *q*, *β–cefhik*.
oxen, and all of them *a–u*. 'and all the oxen' *u*, *β*.

LXXXVIII—LXXXIX. 1. Closely connected with x. 1–14, but the variations are too many to presuppose it in quite its present form. Azazel is the only leader here.
LXXXVIII. 1. Cf. x. 4–8, where Raphael binds Azazel.
2. In x. 9, 10 Gabriel performs this task.
and camels *t*, *β*. > *a–t*.
3. In x. 12–14 Michael binds and imprisons the Watchers. Semjaza is not mentioned here.
come forth . . . stoned (them) from heaven. Read 'descended' for 'stoned', or with *n* read 'hurled a sword'.
gathered and took *t*, *β* in sing., *u* reads 'gathered' in sing., *m* reads 'took' in sing.
an abyss of the earth. In x. 12 'under the hills'.

LXXXIX. 1–9. The Deluge, and Noah's deliverance.
1. Cf. x. 1–3 where Uriel visits Noah for the same end. To build the ark, Noah becomes a man.
that white bull *m*. 'those white bulls' *a–m*, *β*.
without his being terrified *gqu*, 'terrified as he was' *mt*, *β*.
three bulls—his three sons.
covered in, cf. Gen. vii. 16; 1 En. lxvii. 2.
2. **seven.** Cf. lxxvii. 4 (note).
3, 4. The Deluge.
3. **saw** $^{2°}$ *u*. 'caused it not to be seen' *t*, *β*.
6. **with all the animals**, i. e. the real animals.

7 see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths. And again
I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms
8 of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. Then the water began to run down
into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness
9 retired and light appeared. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel,
and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was
red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

LXXXIX. 10–27. *From the Death of Noah to the Exodus.*

10 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera:
lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites,
11 eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another;
but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the
12 wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white
13 sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve
sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep
14 to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep
to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many
15 flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed
their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to
16 cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. And a sheep which had
been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they
lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended
17 at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. And He called
that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should
18 admonish them not to touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word
of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together
into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the
19 sheep from henceforth. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceed-
20 ingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. And the Lord came to the sheep and they
began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became
21 quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the
wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep
22 with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep
23 followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves
24 began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water
stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between

7. **the chasms of the earth.** The writer conceives the flood as caused by a cleaving of the depths of the earth, and stayed by their closing up. Cf. Jub. vi. 26; Prayer of Manasses 3.

9. **and one black** *β*. > *α*.

that white bull departed, i. e. Noah died.

10. The symbolism has a new meaning forced upon it by the author. His cattle produce all kinds of four-footed beasts, and birds of prey. Nearly all of these appear later as the enemies of Israel. Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17.

different genera. Here 'ahzâb means races of animals as well as of men.

a white bull. Abraham.

11. **A wild ass.** Ishmael. In verses 15, 16 the Arabs or Midianites are called the 'wild asses', not inaptly. Cf. Gen. xvi. 12. Isaac is the 'white bull'.

the wild asses *a*, *abd*, &c.: 'the wild ass' *cefh*.

12. **A black wild boar.** Esau. Later Jewish hatred thus associates Edom with the animal most detested. Cf. verses 42, 43, 49, 66. In 72 it is used of the Samaritans.

A white sheep. Jacob. Israel is the sheep of God's pasture, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3; Jer. xxiii. 1.

13. **one of them,** i. e. Joseph.

the asses. Midianites (*v.* 11).

the wolves, the Egyptians.

16. **a sheep which had been saved,** i. e. Moses.

Lord of the sheep. The usual title in this and the following chapters.

18. **another sheep,** Aaron.

met it *a–t*. 'met that sheep' *t*, *β–d*.

went and *gmq*. > *tu*, *β*.

20–27. The plagues of Egypt and the Exodus.

20. **they began** *a–m*: 'He began' *m*, *β*.

22. **glorious and terrible to behold** *gmt*: 'terrible to behold' *qu*: 'His appearance was terrible and glorious' *β–a*.

24. **led them** *u*. Other MSS. 'leading them' (we must excise 'and' in the latter case).

25 them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst
of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea.
26 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered
itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered
27 those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

LXXXIX. 28–40. *Israel in the Desert, the Giving of the Law, the Entrance into Palestine.*

28 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water
and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep
29 pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that
30 sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And
after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and
31 terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. And they all
feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst
32 them]: 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led
them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander
33 from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. And the Lord of the
sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from
the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen
34 away. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their
35 folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away,
and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those
36 sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. And I saw in this vision till that sheep
became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.
37 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till
all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and
38 approached a stream of water. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew
39 from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. And I saw
till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the **two** sheep
as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. 'had fallen asleep and led
40 them'). And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw
till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

28–40. Journeyings through the wilderness, the lawgiving on Sinai, and the occupation of Palestine.
28. **began to open their eyes**, i.e. to recover their spiritual vision and return to God. Cf. lxxxix. 32, 33, 41, 44, 54, xc. 6, 9, 10, 35.
and to see *mtu*, *β*. 'and they saw' *gq*.
29. Moses ascends Sinai, and returns to Israel. Exod. xix.
30. **great and** *a*. > *β-v*.
31. **that sheep with them** = Aaron.
with them *gmq*. 'with him' *t*, *β*.
[which was amongst them] *gu*. A dittograph. 'the other sheep which was among ('with' *q*) them' *mqt*, *β*.
32. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 12 sqq., xxxii.
again ascended, or 'returned and ascended'.
33. **fallen away** + 'from His path' *β*.
34. **it**, i.e. Moses.
return to their folds = give up their errors.
35. Exod. xxxii. 26–9.
and 3° + 'after that' *t*, *β*.
36. Moses becomes a man to build the tabernacle. Cf. verses 1, 9.
in this vision *a–u*. 'there a vision' *β*.
placed . . . in that house, i.e. made the tabernacle the centre of their worship.
37. Death of Aaron and of all the generation that had gone out of Egypt.
that sheep *t*, *β*. So *g*, but corrupt. *mu* defective. > *q*.
led them *a*. 'led the sheep' *β*.
a stream, Jordan with **a pasture** to the east of it.
38. Moses dies. Cf. Deut. xxxiv.
39. **the two sheep**. Joshua and Caleb. I emend kuĕllômû = 'all' to kĕl'ĕhômû = 'the two'.
40. **glorious land**. Palestine. Cf. Dan. xi. 16, 41.

LXXXIX. 41–50. *From the Time of the Judges till the Building of the Temple.*

41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

42 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram from their 43 midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild 44 boars till he had destroyed them †all†. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, **till** it †forsook its glory† and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself un- 45 seemly. And the Lord of the sheep sent the **lamb** to another **lamb** and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that 46 ram which had †forsaken its glory†. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs 47 oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled 48 down the first ram. And that second ram arose 49 and led the [little] sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed **the** wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the 48*b* sheep and robbed them no more of ought. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

Greek fragment from Vatican MS., published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, t. ii, deciphered by Gildemeister, in *ZDMG*, 1855, pp. 621, 622.

Ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλίου χρῆσις.

Καὶ οἱ κύνες ἤρξαντο κατεσθίειν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ 42
ὗες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες κατήσθιον αὐτά, μέχρι οὗ ἤγειρεν
ὁ κύριος τῶν προβάτων κριὸν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν προβάτων.
Καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν 43
τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ ἐνετίνασσεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ
μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ὗας καὶ ἀπώλεσεν ὗας πολλοὺς
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς . . . το τοὺς κύνας. Καὶ τὰ πρόβατα 44
ὧν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοίγησαν ἐθεάσοντο τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐν
τοῖς προβάτοις, ἕως οὗ ἀφῆκεν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι †ἀνοδίᾳ. Καὶ ὁ κύριος τῶν προ- 45
βάτων ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄρνα τοῦτον ἐπὶ ἄρνα ἕτερον
τοῦ στῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν προβάτων
ἀντὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ ἀφέντος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ 46
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ σιγῇ κατὰ
μόνας καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ
εἰς ἡγούμενον τῶν προβάτων καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐπὶ πᾶσι
τούτοις ἔθλιβον τὰ πρόβατα. [Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις 47
γέγραπται ὅτι] ὁ κριὸς ὁ πρῶτος τὸν κριὸν τὸν δεύτερον
ἐπεδίωκεν καὶ ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· εἶτ'
ἐθεώρουν, [φησίν], τὸν κριὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἕως οὗ
ἔπεσεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κυνῶν. Καὶ ὁ κριὸς ὁ δεύ- 48
τερος ἀναπηδήσας ἀφηγήσατο τῶν προβάτων. Καὶ 49
τὰ πρόβατα ηὐξήθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν· καὶ πάντες
οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες ἔφυγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφο-
βοῦντο αὐτόν.

50 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: ⟨and⟩ a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower

41–50. The times of the Judges and Kings till the Temple is built.

Of 42-9 a fragment of the Greek version survives. Note the *ἑξῆς* in *v.* 49, and also the *φησίν* showing quotation from some catena of excerpts from Enoch.

42. The dogs are the Philistines (46, 47). The foxes are the Ammonites (55), and the wild boars are the Edomites (12, 43, 49, 66).

till the Lord of the sheep raised up, &c. *gn.* Cf. Gk. Other MSS. give 'till another sheep, the Lord of the sheep, arose'.

43. **that ram.** Saul, who did not, however, destroy them all. The Greek has *πολλούς*. Note the Greek article = Ethiopic demonstrative 'those'.

44. **That sheep whose eyes were opened**, i.e. Samuel, who alone was seer when there had been no 'open' vision. Cf. i. 2; 1 Sam. iii. 1, 21. The Greek has 'sheep' in the plural.

till. MSS. have *ὡς* corrupt for *ἕως*. See Gk.

its glory†, 'his way' Gk. For דרכו restore יי דרך 'the way of the Lord'.

45, 46. David anointed king. Both Samuel and David (until king) are lambs, as Solomon previous to coronation is a little sheep (*v.* 48*b*).

45. **lamb** Gk. 'sheep' Eth. MSS.

that ram Gk. 'that ram, sheep' *d.* 'that sheep' other MSS.

46. **during** Eth. 'in addition to' Gk., i. e. another sense of *ἐπί* (Dative not Gen.).

48. **led the sheep.** So Gk., but Eth. MSS. give 'led the little sheep', pointlessly.

48*b*. **And that ram begat . . . leader of those sheep**, should follow *v.* 49, which suits best the reign of David. Gk. omits, as it ended with *v.* 49.

50. **That house** = Jerusalem. So Test. Levi x. 4 (quoting this passage). The 'tower' is the Temple. 'A full table' refers to the offerings and sacrifices.

it was built . . . on the house *gmt*, *ilno*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* (*mt*, *in* have 'that' before 'house'): 'it was built for those sheep ⟨and⟩ a high tower on the house' *β*–*ilno*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*: 'it was built for those sheep ⟨and⟩ a lofty tower was built' *q*: *m*,*ilno*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* add a dittograph after 'tower'—'lofty on that house and a tower'.

was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

[LXXXIX. 51–67. *The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

51 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep,
52 but the sheep began to slay them. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from
53 the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. And many other sheep He sent
54 to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until
55 those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild
56 beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them,
57 into the hand of all the wild beasts. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured
58 by all the wild beasts. But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.
59 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep
60 henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed—and them destroy ye.' And
61 He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than
62 I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record (namely) how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he
63 effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may **comprehend** and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my

51–67. Gradual declension of Israel till the Temple is destroyed.
51. **forsook . . . their house.** True only of the Ten Tribes.
that their house, 'that' in Eth. = τόν in Gk.
called . . . and sent, i.e. the prophets.
slay. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 4.
52. Elijah's escape and translation. Cf. xciii. 8.
from the sheep *gm*. Other MSS. 'from the hands of the sheep'.
54. **the Lord** + 'of the sheep' *β*.
invited that slaughter and betrayed His place, called in the heathen to help them and so betrayed Jerusalem. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.
55. The fall of the two kingdoms, and their oppressors' names.
lions and tigers. Assyrians and Babylonians. In 56, 65 the 'lions' are the Babylonians. The 'wolves' are Egyptians, and perhaps the 'hyenas' are the Ethiopians.
56. God forsakes His city and people. Ep. Barn. xvi. 5 refers to this verse.
57. **Lord of the sheep.** 'Lord of the lions' *gmq*.
the wild beasts > *g*.
59. **seventy** *β*. 'seven' *a*. The 'seventy shepherds' raise the most vexed question in Enoch. They are certainly angels, for (1) they exist contemporaneously and receive their commission together, lxxxix. 59. (2) They are to protect the sheep, and only allow so many to be destroyed by the Gentiles. So they cannot be heathen rulers. (3) Men would have been symbolized by animals. (4) During the earlier period God was Israel's shepherd, now He withdraws and commits their pasturing to seventy of his angels. (5) The angel recorder of lxxxix. 61 is called 'another'. (6) In the judgement they are classed with the fallen angels, xc. 21–25. (7) God speaks directly to them. After the exile, Israel was not immediately shepherded by God but by His delegates. How was it that righteous Jews as well as apostates perished? Because of the faithlessness with which the seventy angels discharged their trust, and this faithlessness was to be punished in due time. The theory of the seventy shepherds is an extension of the conception of the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy periods of Daniel. The events between the fall of Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom are divided into four periods (1) to the Return under Cyrus, (2) to the conquests of Alexander, (3) to the Seleucid conquests of Palestine, (4) to the Messiah's reign.
60. The number to be destroyed was a definite one.
61. **another,** in xc. 14, 22 an archangel and Israel's guardian angel, i.e. Michael. This task devolves on Enoch in xii. 3, xv. 1, xcii. 1; in 4 Ezra xiv. 22–26 on Ezra, in 2 En. xxii. 11 on Vretil. See *K. A. T.*[3] 400 sq.
63. **destroy** + 'of their own caprice' *bcefhnpx*.
comprehend, emended by very slight change.

64 command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare
it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which
65 the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.' And I saw till those shepherds pastured
in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered
66 those sheep into the hand of the lions. And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part
of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them ; and they burnt that tower and demolished
67 that house. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep
was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

LXXXIX. 68–71. *First Period of the Angelic Rulers—from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Return from the Captivity.*

68 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour
them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number : it was written by the other
69 in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. And each one slew and destroyed many
70 more than was prescribed ; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. And thus
in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those
shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the
Lord of the sheep—(even) everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made
71 away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. And the book was read before the Lord
of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

LXXXIX. 72–77. *Second Period—from the Time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great.*

72 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those
sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that
73 house ; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. And they began again
to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower ; and they
began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.
74 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of)
their shepherds likewise ; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruc-
75 tion, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. And the Lord of the sheep
remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (i.e. the
76 beasts), and they (i.e. the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. And this
one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and
implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings
77 of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. And he took the actual
book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

XC. 1–5. *Third Period—from Alexander the Great to the Graeco-Syrian Domination.*

90 1 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-**five** shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep),

64. No interference allowed with the shepherds, but only a record of their evil deeds.

65, 66. The lions are the Babylonians, who destroy the 'tower' and the 'house'. Thus the shepherds begin about 590, or if the Assyrians are meant, about 720. For the 'wild boars', or Edomites, cf. Obad. 10–12 ; Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 sqq. ; Isa. lxiii. 1–14 ; Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

68. **was written** *u*. 'should write' *g*. 'wrote' other MSS.

69. **lament** + 'very much' *β*.

70. The first period ends. It lasts twelve hours (*v*. 72), i.e. twelve shepherds' reigns. The periods are divided thus : 12 + 23 + 23 + 12.

71. **from his hand** *gmt*. 'in His hand' *β*.

72. **three of those sheep,** Zerubbabel, Joshua, and either Ezra or Nehemiah. The difference in their date is disregarded. Büchler holds that these = three tribes, Levi, Judah, and Benjamin. Cf. T. Joseph xix. 3.

wild boars. Here = Samaritans, not Edomites, as *v*. 66.

73. **named** + 'as before' *q*.

The bread . . . was polluted. Cf. Mal. i. 7 'polluted bread,' i.e. unclean offerings because of the unworthy and heathenized people and priesthood. Cf. Ass. Mosis. iv. 8.

75. The Dispersion.

76. **before the Lord** *g*. 'in the mansions of ('before' *β*) the Lord' *mqtu*, *β*.

the shepherds *gmq*. 'their shepherds' *t*, *β*.

gave testimony *mt*, *β*. 'it was heard' *gq*.

77. The second period ends with the fall of the Persian power, which lasts twenty-three hours.

XC. 1. **Thirty-five.** All the MSS. are corrupt. *qt*, *β-ky* read 'thirty-seven' (corrupted further in *qu*). In xc. 5 at the close of the third period the three periods are summed up as (12 +)23 + 23 = 58.

and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their
2 hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. And after that I saw
in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the
eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to
3 devour their flesh. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds,
4 and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. And
I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh
nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell
5 to the earth and the sheep became few. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the
pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

XC. 6–12. *Fourth Period—from the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabean Revolt.*

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see,
7 and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to
8 them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. And I saw in the
vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep
9 in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast
down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes
10 were opened. And it †looked at† them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the
11 rams saw it and all ran to it. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens
and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the
12 sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens fought and battled
with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

as . . . the first. As the twelve had fulfilled their times, so did the rest of the thirty-five.

others received them. Here we have the transition to the Greek period, i. e. from Alexander to the establishment (expected) of the Messianic kingdom. This period has two divisions: (1) twenty-three shepherds of the Graeco-Egyptian rule of Palestine, 330–200; (2) twelve shepherds of Graeco-Syrian rule from 200 till about 140 or 130.

2. The new world power—of the Greeks, is represented by a new order—birds of prey. The 'eagles' are the Greeks or Macedonians. The 'ravens' are the Syrians under the Seleucidae (*vv.* 8, 9, 12). The 'vultures' and 'kites' must be the Egyptians under the Ptolemies.

2–4. The Graeco-Egyptian domination.

3. **was being devoured** *a–u*. 'was devoured' *u*, *β*.
I looked *gqu*. 'I saw' *m*. 'I cried out' *t*, *β*.

4. **the dogs,** i. e. Philistines (lxxxix. 42, 46, 47).
neither flesh nor skin. Mic. iii. 2, 3.

5. **twenty-three** + 'shepherds' *t*, *β*.

6–17. The fourth and last period of heathen supremacy, the Graeco-Syrian domination over Israel, from 200 to 140 or 130 B.C. See Commentary *in loc.*

6. **behold** *a*. 'little' *β*.
began to open their eyes: rise of the Chasids, who existed previous to the Maccabean outbreak. See 1 Macc. ii. 42, iii. 13, and 1 En. xc. 9. They possessed all the enthusiasm and religious doctrine of the nation. While champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees they held advanced views on the Messianic kingdom and the Resurrection. The writer of these Dream-visions was evidently a Chasid. He teaches the Resurrection, the final judgement, and the kingdom of the Messiah, and above all he criticizes severely the moral and ceremonial irregularities in the services of the second temple (lxxxix. 73). For this writer the Chasid aims—the re-establishment of the Theocracy and the preparation for the Messianic kingdom—are bound up with the success of the Maccabean leader. This could not be the case after Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 153 B.C., which not merely alienated the Chasids from the Maccabean family, but made them its deadly enemies. Thus we date lxxxiii–xc before 153 B.C.

6–7. The Chasids or 'lambs' appeal in vain to the nation, owing to foreign oppression.

7. **Yea, they cried to them** *q*, i. e. the lambs cried to the sheep: 'but they (i. e. the sheep) did not cry to them' *g*: 'but they oppressed them' *m*: 'but they did not hear them' *t*: 'but the sheep did not cry to them' *β–ino.*

8. **one of those lambs.** Onias III, put to death by the Syrians in 171 B.C See 2 Macc. iv. 33–35.

9. **of one** *g*. 'one' other MSS.

The horned lambs must be the Maccabees, and the great horn must be Judas Maccabaeus. This section is thus earlier than Judas' death in 160 B.C. See my Commentary for further notes.
eyes were opened. Unlike the Chasids, the Maccabees do not appeal in vain.
opened + 'and their eyes saw' *gmt.*

10. **†looked at†.** For r'ĕja 'looked at' read r'ĕja 'pastured with'.
it cried *m*, *β-in.* 'they cried' *a–m.*
rams, a different word here from that in lxxxix. 42–44.

11, 12. Syria uses every effort against Judas but in vain.

12. **with it:** 'with them' *g*, *eh.*
its horn: 'their horn' *q*.

XC. 13–19. *The last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews* (where *vv.* 13–15 and 16–18 are doublets).

13 And I saw till the †shepherds and† eagles and those vultures and kites came, and †they cried to the ravens† that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come.

16 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

19 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.

14 And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram].

17 And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.

15 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell †into His shadow† from before His face.

18 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

13–19. As early as 1893 I read *v.* 19 before *v.* 16, and bracketed 15 as a doublet of 18. Martin suggests that 13–15, and 16–18 are doublets. I have gone further as the text shows. Ver. 19 follows 13 (=16), and many emendations are still required.

13. The symbolism becomes looser here, and the 'vultures' and 'kites' are no longer restricted to the Graeco-Egyptians as in *v.* 2. See *v.* 16, and compare the varying reference of boars in lxxxix. 66 and 72. So perhaps here the vultures and kites are Ammon and Moab.

†shepherds and† (*g* omits 'and') i.e. רעים corrupt for ערבים 'ravens', probably due to a dittography in 13. See *v.* 16.

†they cried† i.e. יְזָעֲקוּ (or יצעקו) for יְזֻעֲקוּ (or יצעקו) 'were gathered together'. See *v.* 16 again. The LXX thus mistranslates יועקו in Judges vi. 34, 35, xviii. 22, Jos. viii. 16, 1 Sam. xiv. 20. So I read 'and I saw till the ravens and eagles and vultures and kites were gathered together,' &c.

16. **All** 1°. 'and' *u*.

ravens and kites ∞ *m*.

came 1° *gq*. 'brought' *mtu*, *β*.

all the sheep—in the nom. *g*, in the accus. *mqt*, *β*.

19. The sword is given to Israel to oppose the hosts of Gog and to avenge itself on its heathen oppressors; in xci. 12 the sword has a higher ethical significance, the judgement of oppression and sin.

14. The text is corrupt.

carried up has no object, but requires 'the book' as in *v.* 17.

opened in *v.* 17 can hardly be right as the books are opened later in *v.* 20. In any case the book would be carried up first. Cf. lxxxix. 70, 76. So I read here in *v.* 14 'and I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds, carried up (the book) into the presence of the Lord of the sheep'.

[came and helped . . . ram.] An intrusion. There is no intervention needed to save Israel which triumphs over Gog in *v.* 19. This clause, whether added in the Hebrew or the Greek, has a clear reference to the help which Michael gave to Judas Maccabaeus. See 2 Macc. xi. 6, 8. Michael is Israel's patron, as well as the heavenly scribe in these chapters.

helped it + 'and saved it' *g*.

for the help *g*. Other MSS. 'a help.'

17. **till he opened . . . destruction**: 'for it was opened by the command of the Lord concerning the destruction' *g*.

before the Lord of the sheep *mq*, *β*. 'formerly. 18. And the Lord of the sheep' *gtu*.

15, 18. God himself destroys Israel's last foes like Korah and his followers, Num. xvi. 31 sqq. This is the first act of the final judgement; the remaining acts are quite forensic.

15. **the Lord** *a–q*. 'that Lord' *q*, *β*.

† into His shadow † i.e. בצלו corrupt for מצאן 'from among the sheep'. *gm* read 'into the shadow'.

18. **And I saw till the Lord of the sheep** ('**of the sheep**' > *m*) **came unto them** *m*, *β*. > *q* through hmt. 'and the Lord of the sheep I saw till He came to those sheep (till the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *t*) *gt*, 'and the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *u*.

staff and **smote the earth** recall Num. xx. 11, while **the earth clave asunder** recalls Num. xvi. 31–33.

it covered them. The Ethiopic=ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς—a Hebraism. *g* is corrupt. > *u*.

XC. 20–27. *Judgement of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the Apostates.*

20 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the **other** took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.
21 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, **all the** stars whose privy members
22 were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more
23 than I commanded them.' And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.
24 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full
25 of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast
26 into that fiery abyss. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and
27 cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. And I saw those sheep burning† and their bones burning†.

XC. 28–42. *The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the Messiah. Enoch awakes and weeps.*

28 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried
29 it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.
30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying
31 them in every **thing**. And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they

20. **the pleasant land,** i.e. Palestine, cf. lxxxix. 40 and Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. God's throne is set up in Jerusalem (*vv.* 28, 29). The books are opened as in Dan. vii. 10. See xlvii. 3 (note). The Messiah does not appear till after the judgement in lxxxiii–xc.
the other. Text has 'all' kuĕllô for kâl'û, and so reads 'and He took all the sealed books'.
21. **men** *a*. > *β*.
the seven *qtu*, *β*. 'and seven' *m*. > *g*.
seven first white ones. For these seven archangels cf. the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, and Tobit xii. 15; Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; viii. 2. See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* pp. 281, 282, &c.; *Jewish Encycl.* i. 590.
bring *gm*, *β*. 'come' *qtu*.
before Him. > *gu*, *d*.
star. See lxxxvi–lxxxviii.
all the stars, &c. So I emended in 1893, with Dillmann.
horses + 'and the first star which went out (*g*; other MSS. 'fell') first'—a dittograph.
22–25. The shepherds are judged along with the fallen Watchers.
22. **said unto him** *mtu*, *β*-*hox*$_1$*b*. 'said unto them' *gq*,*hox*$_1$*b*.
23. *g* has only 'And behold they were all bound before Him'.
24. **an abyss full of fire.** Their final prison, as in x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, liv. 6. Contrast xviii. 12.
flaming and full of: 'flaming with' *g*.
26. The Apostates are cast into Gehenna, south of Jerusalem ('to the right', &c.).
27. The Apostates suffer in view of the blessed Jerusalem. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 24, 1 En. xlviii. 9 (note).
and their bones. Read 'yea their very selves'—a Hebrew idiom; עצם='self'.
28, 29. The old Jerusalem removed and the new set up. Cf. O.T. prophecy: Ezek. xl–xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12; lx; Hagg. ii. 7–9; Zech. ii. 6–13. A New Jerusalem descending from heaven is a familiar idea in Jewish Apocalypses. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 26; xiii. 36; 2 Bar. xxxii. 2; Rev. xxi. 2, 10.
28. **folded up,** *np*(*y*): 'submerged' *gqtu*, *β*–*npy*.
29. **and** (>*g*) **all the sheep were within it** *a*–*m*, *acdiklo*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*. 'and (>*m*) the Lord of the sheep was within it' *m*, *befhnpvx*. The omission of 'and' in *gm* suggests that we should read 'from which He had sent forth all the sheep', by reading 'abâgʿa for 'abâgʿĕ and prefixing 'ĕ to mâ'ĕkalâ.
30. Conversion of the surviving Gentiles and their spontaneous submission to Israel. Cf. Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19–21, &c. Contrast the later Jewish view, Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 384–387, 395.
and obeying them *mt*, *β*. >*gqu*.
in every thing, lit. 'in every word'.
31. **those three,** &c. see lxxxvii. 2, 3.
that ram, seemingly Elijah, lxxxix. 52.

32 took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep†before the judgement took place†. And those
33 sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to
34 His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep
35 were invited into that house, but it held them not. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they
36 saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.
37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the
38 birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a **lamb**, and that **lamb** became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep
39 rejoiced over it and over all the oxen. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.
40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and
41 gave Him glory. Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and
42 be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision. .

Section V. XCI—CIV (i.e. XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19, XCIII. 1–10, XCI. 12–17, XCIV—CIV).

A Book of Exhortation and promised Blessing for the Righteous and of Malediction and Woe for the Sinners.

XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children.*

92 1 The book written by Enoch—[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

before the judgement took place. These words are awkward here.

32. **white**=righteous; abundant and clean wool=righteousness in large measure. Cf. Isa. i. 26; iv. 3; lx. 21.

33. The righteous dead will rise to share in the kingdom. Cf. li. 1. Also the dispersion are gathered into it. Cf. Mic. iv. 6, 7.

rejoiced. Cf. Isa. lxii. 3–5; lxv. 19.

34. Israel's sword sealed and preserved as a memorial.

into the house *g*. 'into His house' *mqt*, *β*.

were invited *g*. Other MSS. 'were enclosed'.

it held them not. Cf. Isa. xlix. 19–21; Zech. ii. 4; x. 10.

37. **a white bull.** The Messiah emerges from the bosom of the community. He is not angelic, but human, yet superior to the righteous symbolized by sheep. As human he corresponds to the Messiah of the prophets, not that of the Parables (apocalyptic). He has, however, no function and comes after the judgement. The Messiah-hope was practically dead while such a leader as Judas lived. Later some revived the O.T. Messiah, the Son of David as in Pss. Solomon (70–40 B.C.), others followed the idea of the supernatural Son of Man given us in the Parables (94–70 B.C.).

38. All the members of the kingdom are transformed, and the Messiah becomes a lamb. Their life is now apparently unending, and there is a return to the primitive righteousness of Eden, i.e. Adam was a white bull.

a lamb. The text corruptly runs 'the first became among them (*a–u*, *aikn*: 'among them became' *bcdlox*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*) a word and that word became a great animal'. I no longer consider that the corruption arose in the Greek, i.e. *ῥῆμα* for *ρημ* a transliteration of רְאֵם, but follow Goldschmidt (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. 91) in tracing it to the Hebrew, i.e. מִלָּה 'word' for טְלֵה 'lamb'. This correction is supported by Test. Joseph xix. 3–9, where the three harts first become three lambs, and then with the other nine harts become twelve sheep. Again there in *vv*. 5–9 the bull-calf (=Judas Maccabaeus) becomes a lamb, and yet as a lamb overcomes and destroys the beasts and reptiles who attack him. The lamb, or rather the horned lamb, is the nation's head, indeed its Messianic head. Here the Testaments seem to be dependent on 1 Enoch.

great *a*. 'great and' *β*.

black seems wrong here.

40. Cf. xxii. 14.

XCI–XCIV. I have rearranged these chapters in what was apparently their original order (see above) and treated the Apocalypse of Weeks, i.e. xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, as an earlier fragment incorporated by the author of xci–civ or the editor of the whole book. Beer, however, taking xci. 1–11, 18–19 as the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, rearranges the order as xci. 1–11, 18–19, xciii, xci. 12–17, xcii, xciv.

XCII. The beginning of the new book composed of xci–civ. The original order was xcii, xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv, as printed here.

1. **The book . . . indeed wrote** (*g*). Other MSS. 'written by Enoch the scribe'. For 'scribe' cf. xii. 3, 4.

[Enoch indeed . . . all the earth]. An interpolation.

this complete doctrine of wisdom (which is) praised, *a–t*. *t* reads 'of the' for 'this'. *β–y* read 'is praised' after 'wisdom'.

a judge of all the earth. For wisdom as God's assessor see lxxxiv. 3 (note).

2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep,
[Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.

5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for·evermore.

XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Admonition to his Children.*

91 1 'And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother;
For the word calls me,
And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you for ever.'

2 And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.
3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said:

'Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,

But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.

5 For I know that violence **must** increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:

Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

2. The times though evil are ordained of God.
the Holy and Great One *gq*, el_1a: 'the Holy Great One' *mt*, β–el_1a. See i. 3 (note).
3. **the righteous one.** Used collectively as in xci. 10.
the righteous one . . . sleep, [shall arise]. *g* reads 'and wisdom shall arise'.
4. **the righteous** *tu*, β: *gq* = 'righteousness'.
power. Uprightness and power will no longer be dissevered.
he shall *mt*, β. 'they shall' *gqu*.
in eternal light. See xxxviii. 4 (note).
5. Cf. x. 16, 20.

XCI. 1. Enoch calls his sons together. Cf. lxxxi. 5, 6.
all thy brothers . . . all the sons of thy mother ∞ *g*.
all the sons. Their names are given in 2 En. i. 10, lvii. 2.
3. **unto all the children of righteousness** *gq*, y_1b. 'to all (> *u*, + 'his children' *t*) concerning his(> β–$ehny_1a_1b$) righteousness' *mtu*, β–$ehny_1a_1b$.
beloved *a*–*u*. 'my beloved' β.
4. **love uprightness,** &c. Cf. xciv. 1.
draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart. Cf. Sir. i. 25. Cf. Ps. xii. 2; Jas. i. 8.
associate not, &c. > *gu* through hmt. Cf. xciv. 2, 3, civ. 6.
in righteousness, my sons. 'in uprightness and righteousness' *g*.
good paths. Perhaps a reference to the Two Ways. Cf. *v*. 19.
5. The Deluge.
violence must increase. Emended easily from text which = 'the state of violence shall increase.'
cut off from its roots, cf. *vv*. 8, 11.

6 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,

A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgement on earth.

8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,

And they (i.e. the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.

10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

11 [And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]

18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again
That ye may know what will come to pass.
19 And now, hearken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

XCIII, XCI. 12–17. *The Apocalypse of Weeks.*

93 1, 2 And after that Enoch both †gave† and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said:

7, 8. This fresh development of wickedness will call forth the final judgement.
7. **in all** *a–q*. 'and all' *q*, *β*.
and transgression > *gu*.
from heaven > *g*.
And > *gmt*.
Lord + 'upon earth' *g*.
8. **And the roots** *mtu*, *β*. > *gq*. Cf. *vv*. 5, 11.
And (> *u*, *bcfhp*) **they shall be destroyed** *mtu*, *β*. > *gq*.
9. The absolute rejection of the heathen seems to be taught here, the prevailing, though not the universal, belief of later Judaism. Contrast *v*. 14.
10. **the righteous.** The singular used collectively, as in xcii. 3. In xci-civ only the righteous attain to the Resurrection. See li. 1 (note).
their sleep *gmq*, *x*. 'his sleep' *tu*, *β–x*.
wisdom. See xlii. 1, 2 (note).
11. This verse is an interpolation by the final editor, added to introduce *vv*. 12–17, which originally followed xciii. 1–10. Judgement has already been consummated in xci. 7–9, and the resurrection attained xci. 10. Verse 11 reverts to the period of the sword—which precedes the Resurrection (xc. 19, xci. 12; cf. c. 4, 5).
12–17. I read these verses after xciii. 14.
18. **will show** *m*, *β*. 'have shown' *gqt*. > *u*.
19. **hearken unto me** *qtu*. 'hearken' *β*. > *g*.
And $^{2°}$ > *g*.
paths of righteousness . . . paths of violence. For 'paths' cf. xciv. 1, 2, 4. This is one of the earliest non-canonical references to the Two Ways. See Test. Ash. i. 3, 5; 2 En. xxx. 15 (note).

XCIII. 1–10. An account of the great events of the world during the first seven weeks of its history, which are already past. The three last weeks of xci. 12–17 belong to the future. This Apocalypse of weeks refers to the Dream-visions, lxxxiii-xc, but not being by the same author is irreconcilable with them. The ten weeks are not definite and equal periods, but of varying length, each marked, especially towards its close, by some great event, e.g.

'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things,
Yea, I Enoch will declare (them) unto you, my sons:

According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy angels,
And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.'

3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said:
'I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgement and righteousness still endured.

4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up;
And in it there shall be the first end.

And in it a man shall be saved;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.

5 And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement,
And his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

8 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.

And in it a man shall ascend;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

the first by Enoch's birth, the third by Abraham's call, the seventh by the publication of Enoch's writings. In the eighth the Messianic kingdom is established and lasts to the close of the tenth week. The final judgement in xci. 15 is held at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

1. †**gave**† *a–mt*. 'was' *t*, *β*. I cannot explain this corruption.
and began. > *a–g*.
the books. Cf. xxxiii. 3, 4, xl. 8, lxxiv. 2, lxxxi. 1, 2.

2. These disclosures are for the children of righteousness. Cf. xcii. 1.
the elect of the world. Here only in Enoch.
the plant of uprightness. See x. 16 (note).
uprightness *a–q*. 'righteousness' (+ 'and uprightness' *β*) *q*, *β*.
will declare *gq*, *β*. 'have declared' *mtu*.
heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

3. **Enoch** > *mqt*.
seventh in the first week. Cf. 'seventh from Adam', Jude 14; also Gen. v. 24 where he is the seventh of the patriarchs. This does not imply that each week = exactly seven generations, as the sixth and seventh must = fourteen or more.
still endured. i.e. goodness still prevailed. Or we may render 'were still held back', i.e. the Deluge was not yet.

4. **great wickedness.** This growth of wickedness should belong to Jared's days as in vi. 6 and cvi. 13. The Deluge and the covenant with Noah (a law for the sinners) occur in this week.
a law shall be made *q*, *n*. Also *gmu* read 'law' in the nom., cf. *v*. 6. *t*, *β–n* read 'He will make a law'.

5. Abraham and his seed are chosen to reveal God's righteous judgements. Cf. x. 16 (note) and xciii. 2, 10.
his posterity shall become. Text reads 'after him (or 'it') it shall come' (or 'become').

6. **Visions.** Divine manifestations in favour of Israel in Egypt.
Visions of the holy and righteous *mq*, *β*. *u* omits 'and righteous'. *g* reads 'visions . . . righteousness . *t* = 'holy and righteous visions'.
a law, given on Sinai, binding for all time. Cf. xcix. 2.
an enclosure, i.e. Palestine. Cf. lxxxix. 2.

7. The Temple will stand for ever, though one form of it may give place to another. In xci–civ proper, there appears to be no Temple after the final judgement. The risen righteous enjoy a purely spiritual existence like the angels. Cf. Jub. and possibly Pss. Sol.

8. The divided kingdoms, Elijah (lxxxix. 52), the Temple's fall and the Captivity.
chosen root *g*, *β*. 'root of might' *mqt*.

9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.

10 And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

11 [For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works
12 of heaven? And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see
13 all their ends and think them or do like them? And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?
14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?]

XCI. 12–17. *The Last Three Weeks.*

91 12 And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors,
And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.

13 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,
14*d* And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.

14*a* And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world,
b And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth,
c And the world shall be written down for destruction.

15 And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgement,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.

9. From the captivity to the author's time an apostate period. Cf. lxxxix. 73–75.
apostate $1^{o} > gm$.

10. The writer's own disclosures are to be made known at the end of the seventh week. For the extravagant claims he makes cf. Sir. xxiv. 28–32.
shall be elected *a*, *acfhikn*: 'shall be recompensed' *bdlopxy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b*.
The elect righteous *q*, *abefhikx*. Cf. i. 1 Greek Version. *t* supports this *g*,*dloy*$_1$*a*$_1$*b* read 'the elect of righteousness'. *m* 'the righteous'. *u* 'the elect'. These alone will receive the revelations. Cf. c. 6, civ. 12, 13.

XCIII. 11-14. These verses are quite out of place in their present context, and suit rather the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries lxxii–lxxix, lxxxii; but are foreign to the whole tone of this book, xci–civ.

11. **the voice of the Holy One,** i.e. the thunder. Cf. Job xxxvii. 4, 5; Ps. xxix.
think His thoughts. Cf. Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxviii. 33; Ps. xl. 5, xcii. 5; Eccles. xi. 5.

12. **a soul** *gmq*, *bxy*: 'His breath' *t*, *β–bxy*.
a spirit *mtu*, *bxy* (*gq* corrupt): 'His spirit' *β–bxy*.
Enoch's journey through heaven and Hades is referred to.
their ends, i.e. of the things of heaven. But the text may be corrupt for 'their causes'.

13. Not given in Enoch. Cf. Job xxxviii. 4, 5.

14. Not given in Enoch. Jer. xxxi. 37; Job xi. 8.
founded. Cf. xviii. 2, 3.

XCI. 12–17. These verses giving an account of the last three weeks of the world's history are here restored to their place after xciii. 1–10, the account of the first seven weeks.

12. The eighth week sees the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, and the first act of the final judgement—the period of the sword (xc. 19), when the wicked are given into the hand of the righteous. Cf. xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcviii. 12, xcix. 4, 6, also xxxviii. 5.

13. After strife will follow rest and quiet possession of the earth. Cf. Isa. lx. 21, 22, lxv. 20–23.
a house . . . for the Great King. The temple, and also Jerusalem. *g* reads 'the house of the Great King shall be built'.

14. This verse may refer to the conversion of the Gentiles, as l. 2–5, xc. 30, 33, 35, cf. 14^{d}. Or it may refer to the open punishment by God of the wicked. Cf. 14^{c}.
the works of the godless shall vanish. Cf. x. 16, 20, 21.
the world . . . for destruction *m*, *β*: 'He shall write down (i.e. decree) the destruction of the world' *g*: 'He shall write down the world for destruction' *t*: > *u*: *q* = a corruption of *g* (?). This is to take place in the end of the tenth week.

15. **There shall be . . . angels** *a–t*. The structure of the stanza supports this text. *t*,*β–in* insert a gloss and read 'There shall be the eternal judgement. And it shall be executed on the watchers of the eternal heaven, The great (judgement) in which He will execute vengeance among the angels.'

16 And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,
And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.

17 And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

XCIV. 1–5. *Admonitions to the Righteous.*

94 1 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein ;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.

3 And now I say unto you the righteous :
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.

5 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts ;

For I know that sinners will tempt men to **evilly-entreat** wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may minish.

XCIV. 6–11. *Woes for the Sinners.*

6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression
And lay deceit as a foundation ;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.

7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin ;
For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
[And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

16. **a new heaven** (cf. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22 ; Ps. cii. 26), but no new earth. Cf. civ. 2 (note). For a new creation, cf. xlv. 4, lxxii. 1 (note).
sevenfold. Isa. xxx. 26, lx. 19, 20.
light. *mqt*, *β–ahk* add 'for ever'.
17. End of Apocalypse of Weeks.
And all *g*. > other MSS.

XCIV. Introduces the practical part of this section.
1. **love righteousness.** Cf. xci. 3.
worthy of acceptation *t*, *β* (cf. 1 Tim. 1. 15): 'worthy and acceptable' *gmq* : 'worthy' *u*.
paths of unrighteousness . . . destroyed. Cf. Ps. i. 6. On the 'Two Ways' see xci. 19 (note).
2. The revelations through Moses and the Prophets.
paths . . . of death. Cf. Prov. xiv. 12 ; Jer. xxi. 8.
3. **paths** *gmt*, *bx* : 'path' *β–bx*.
wickedness + 'and of violence' *β*.
draw not nigh. Cf. xci. 4, civ. 6.
4. **But seek.** *g* reads 'as those who seek evil' and connects with preceding verse.
And ye shall *gmq*. 'that ye may' *t*, *β*.
5. **to evilly-entreat.** Text = 'to make . . . evil' = κακοποιεῖν.
no place. Cf. xlii. 1.
6–10. Woes, cf. Isa. v. 8–25 ; Matt. xxiii. 13–33, &c.
6. **build.** Cf. xci. 5 ('structure').
have no peace. Cf. xcviii. 11, 16, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, also v. 4 (note).
7. **build their houses with sin :** from Jer. xxii. 13. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 13.
[And those . . . perish]. The subject of 'riches' comes in the next verse, and this clause spoils the stanza here.

8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.

9 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,
And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.

10 Thus I speak and declare unto you:
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

11 And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

XCV. *Enoch's Grief: fresh Woes against the Sinners.*

95 1 Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud †of waters†:
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

2 †Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness?
And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.†

3 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous;
For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.

4 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed:
Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.

5 Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil;
For ye shall be requited according to your works.

6 Woe to you, lying witnesses,
And to those who weigh out injustice,
For suddenly shall ye perish.

7 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous;
For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice,
And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

9. **day of slaughter,** &c. See xlv. 2 (note). Cf. James v. 1–5.
And the day of darkness. > *g*, *a*.
10. **your Creator will rejoice,** &c. Contrast Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11, and cf. Pss. ii. 3, 4; xxxvii. **12**, 13; 1 En. lxxxix. 58 and xcvii. 2.
11. This stanza is imperfect.

XCV. 1. **Oh that,** &c. From Jer. ix. 1. Quoted by 2 Bar. xxxv. 2.
[a cloud of] i.e. ענן a doublet for עיני 'my eyes' or a corruption of עין 'a spring'.
cloud †of waters†. Read 'cloud (pours) rain', i.e. זרם 'rainstorm' for מים 'waters'.
2. †**Who has permitted you** *g*, *β* (=מי נתנכם). But *a*–*g* read, and possibly rightly, 'Oh that ye were' (=מי יתנכם). Then, either omitting with *g* 'to practise', or emending it to 'become', and adopting the subjunctive in the next line with *β*, and not the indicative in *a*, we have:

Oh that ye were become a reproach and an evil,
And that so judgement might overtake you, sinners.

3. **again,** as in the first Maccabean victories. Though now even the Maccabean princes are Sadducees, the righteous will again prevail.
into your hands. Cf. xci. 12.
4. Cf. viii. 3. Magical practices and incantations are referred to, but the expression is strange.
which cannot be reversed *m*. For 'cannot' *gq* reads 'can': 'which you cannot reverse' *t*, *β*.
5. **requite . . . with evil.** Cf. Prov. xx. 22, xxiv. 29; Rom. xii. 17.
requited according to your works. Cf. c. 7; Judges i. 7.
7. **ye shall be delivered up** *g*. 'Ye shall deliver up' other MSS.
and persecuted *a*–*gt*, *β*–*a*. 'and shall persecute' *gt*, *a*.
its yoke *gmq*. 'their yoke' *t*, *β*.

XCVI. *Grounds of Hopefulness for the Righteous: Woes for the Wicked.*

96 1 Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.

2 [And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous,
And the sirens shall sigh because of you—and weep.]

3 Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.

4 Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.

5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink wine in large bowls,
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.

6 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain,
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

7 Woe to you who work unrighteousness
And deceit and blasphemy:
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.

8 Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous;
For the day of your destruction is coming.

In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement.

XCVII. *The Evils in Store for Sinners and the Possessors of Unrighteous Wealth.*

97 1 Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.

2 Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most High is mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

XCVI. The righteous are to hope for the coming Messianic kingdom.

1. **lordship.** Cf. xci. 12 (note), xcv. 3, 7, xcviii. 12.

2. Interpolation. The wicked will hide themselves, not the righteous, in the coming time; xcvii. 3, c. 4, cii. 1, civ. 5. But the first three lines may be original.
tribulation of the sinners. Is it suffered or caused by the sinners?
mount and rise. From Isa. xl. 31.
higher than the vultures. Cf. Jer. xlix. 16.
enter the crevices, &c. Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21, from the presence of the Lord, not as here 'before the unrighteous'—a clumsy insertion.
the sirens: 'as the sirens' *qt*, *β*. These may be satyrs or sirens—by the same word the Eth. version renders σειρῆνες in Isa. xiii. 21, Jer. xxvii. (l.) 39.

3. **a bright light.** See xxxviii. 4 (note).

4. Prosperity was a mark of righteousness, in the O.T. doctrine of retribution.

5. **The finest of the wheat.** Ps. lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14.
wine in large bowls, i. e. not in ordinary wine-cups. Cf. the flagons of the magnates in Samaria, Amos vi. 6. The text is corrupt = 'the strength of the root of the fountain' = כח עיקר עין which I emend to במזרקי יין = the phrase in Amos.

6. The self-indulgent life will fail, for want of the fountain of true life. Cf. Jer. ii. 13; Ps. xxxvi. 9.
drink water from every fountain. Text corruptly reads בְּכָל-עֵת for מִכָּל-עַיִן.
shall ye be consumed *mqt*. 'shall ye be requited and consumed' *g*, *β*. > *u* (defective).
forsaken. Cf. Jer. ii. 13.

7. Cf. xci. 8, xciv. 6, 9.

8. **many and good days:** a temporary Messianic kingdom, in which the righteous then alive will share.

XCVII. Woes of the wicked.

1. **the day of unrighteousness,** i. e. the judgement day. See xlv. 2 (note).

2. **angels . . . rejoice,** &c. Cf. xciv. 10 and contrast Luke xv. 10. **angels of heaven** *a–n*. 'angels' *β–n*.

3 What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom this word shall be a testimony:
"Ye have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord,
And for you the days of your judgement shall come.
6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One,
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say:
"We have become rich with riches and have possessions;
And have acquired everything we have desired.

9 And now let us do what we purposed:
For we have gathered silver,
9c And many are the husbandmen in our houses."
9d And our granaries are (brim) full as with water,
10 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away;
For your riches shall not abide
But speedily ascend from you;

For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. *Self-indulgence of Sinners: Sin originated by Man: all Sin recorded in Heaven Woes for the Sinners.*

98 1 And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.

2 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And coloured garments more than a virgin:
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3. **prayer of the righteous.** Cf. *v.* 5, and xlvii. 2, xcvii. 3, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3, and Rev. vi. 10.
4. **shall fare** *gqu*. *mt*, *β* read 'shall not fare'.
Against whom *g*. 'for against you' *t*. 'ye against whom' *mq*, *β*.
this word. Cf. xcvi. 4. Note the Pharisaic idea of separateness from the unrighteous.
5. **righteous** *a–g*, *β–afhikpv*. 'holy' *g*, *afhikpv*.
6. **all the words of** *mqt*, *β–a*. 'all' *g*.
shall be read out, from the books. See xlvii. 3 (note). Cf. Matt. xii. 36.
Great Holy One, g_1gmq, *n*. 'Great and Holy One' *tu*, *β–*n_1a. See i. 3 (note), xcii. 2 (note).
covered with shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10, lxiii. 11.
He will reject every work *gqt*. 'every work shall be rejected' *mu*, *β*.
7. **remembrance.** Cf. c. 10, 11, civ. 8.
8. Cf. xciv. 7, 8 (note); also Sir. xi. 19; Luke xii. 19.
with riches *mqt*, *β*. > *gu*.
9. **And many** g_1g, $_1b$. 'many' *qt*, *β–*$_1b$.
as with water $_1g$. Other MSS. prefix 'and'. Note the rejoinder in 10a.
10. A rejoinder to the boasting of the sinners.
your riches *u*. 'riches with you' *a–u*, *β*.
riches shall . . . ascend, &c. Prov. xxiii. 5.
all *gmt*, *β–n*. > $_1gqu$.

XCVIII. A new division begins, xcviii–cii. 3, a denunciation of the sinners' errors in life and doctrine. Their coming judgement.

1. **I swear.** Here first, but frequently after, in verses 4, 6, xcix. 6, &c.
wise and . . . foolish. xcviii–cii. 3 to the foolish; cii. 4–civ to the wise.
to the foolish *mu*, *β*: 'not to the foolish' g_1gqt.
2. Their personality will be lost in their possessions, as water is lost in the earth. Cf. Ps. xxii. 14 for the phrase.

3 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions;
And with all their glory and their splendour,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.

4 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,
And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.

5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

6 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.

7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see
8 that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. From henceforth
ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of
your judgement.

9 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise,
10 and so good hap shall not be your portion. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day
of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know
no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and
great shame for your spirits.
11 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood:
Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which
the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.
12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto
yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut
13 off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation
14 of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you. Woe to you who set at nought the words of
15 the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life. Woe to you who write down lying and godless
words; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their)
16 neighbour. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

3. **Their spirits**: cf. verse 10, ciii. 8. As incorporeal spirits the wicked are cast into the final place of punishment.
into the furnace of fire g_1g, β. $>$ *mqtu*.
4. Sin is of man's own devising. See lxix. 11 (note). Contrast c. 4. It is not original or unavoidable, but voluntary, and therefore punished. Cf. 2 Baruch xviii. 2, liv. 15.
mountain, הר is masc. in Heb. while נבעה='hill' is feminine.
5. The instance is an illustration of the general law. Cf. Hos. ix. 14.
barrenness *tu*, β–n^1: 'simulation', or 'excuse' g_1gmq, n^1.
6–8. God does concern Himself with men's deeds. Cf. Job xxii. 13; Ps. lxxiii. 11.
6. **Holy Great One,** *gqtu*. 'Holy and Great One' $_1gm$, β.
7. **recorded.** Cf. xcvii. 6, xcviii. 8, c. 10, civ. 7, 8.
8. **From henceforth,** after the publication of Enoch's book.
9. **transgress against** g_1g: 'know not' *m*: 'tend not' *q*: 'hearken not to' *t*, β.
10. **prepared.** xciv. 9.
no ransom. Ps. xlix. 7, 8, 9.
for ye $_1g$, β: 'and ye' *q*: 'ye' *mqt*.
day of the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
for your spirits, see verse 3.
11. **obstinate of heart**: c. 8.
who work: 2nd sing. in *t*, β: 3rd sing. in g_1gmq. But only β has 'eat' in 2nd sing.
eat blood. Cf. vii. 5; Jubilees vii. 28–32, xxi. 6; Acts xv. 29.
the Lord *a*–*m*. 'our Lord' *m*, β.
no peace. See v. 4 (note), also *v*. 16 below.
12. **into the hands of the righteous.** See xci. 12 (note).
13. No burial. Cf. Jer. viii. 2, xxii. 19.
shall be dug for you, 'of yours shall be seen' g_1g.
14. **no hope of life,** &c. Cf. xcviii. 10.
15. Cf. civ. 10. Note the literary strife here revealed between Hellenist and Pharisee.
act godlessly towards *gqtu*. β inserts a negative and this necessitates a change of rendering, 'not forget'.
neighbour *a*. 'folly' β.
16. **a sudden death.** Cf. xciv. 1, 6, 7, xcv. 6, xcvi. 1, 6.

XCIX. *Woes pronounced on the Godless, the Lawbreakers: evil Plight of Sinners in the Last Days: further Woes.*

99 1 Woe to you who work godlessness,
And glory in lying and extol them:
Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

2 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
And transgress the eternal law,
And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]:
They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

3 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.

4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

5 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

6, 7 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. And they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood ⟨and stone⟩ and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts
And through visions in their dreams.

9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshipped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them,
And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

XCIX. 1. Here the admirers of Hellenistic literature are denounced. Cf. xciv. 5, xcviii. 15.
to you *a*–$_1$*g*. 'to them' $_1$*g*, *β*. MSS. constantly confuses 2nd and 3rd person.
2. **to them** *g*$_1$*gm*. 'to you' *qtu*, *β*.
the eternal law, i. e. of Moses. Cf. v. 4, xcix. 14.
transform themselves, adopt Gentile customs, become apostates, and possibly undergo the operation mentioned in Ass. Mos. viii. 3.
[into sinners]. A gloss.
3. **your prayers.** See xcvii. 3 (note).
place them . . . before the angels. For angelic mediation cf. ix. 2–11, and in O.T. Job v. 1; Zech. i. 12; in N.T. only Rev. viii. 3, 4. See too my notes in T. Levi iii. 5; T. Dan vi. 2.
place them *a*. 'ye have placed them' *β*.
the Most High, in all sections of the book; ix. 3, x. 1, xlvi. 7, lx. 1, 22, lxii. 7, lxxvii. 1, xciv. 8, xcvii. 2, xcviii. 7, 11, xcix. 3, 10, ci. 1, 6, 9.
4. Wars, tumults, and the period of the sword. Cf. xc. 19, &c.
shall be *t*, *β*. 'are' *a*–$_1$*gt*.
shall arise *t*, *β*. 'shall raise up' *a*-*mt*.
5. **abandon them** *a*. 'abandon their children' *β*.
6—C. 6. Denunciation of idolatry.
day of unceasing bloodshed. See xci. 12 (note), xlv. 2 (note). Quoted by Tertullian *De Idol.* iv. See my Comm. on 1 En. *in loc.*
7. **⟨and stone⟩** inserted from Tertullian.
impure *β*. 'evil' *a*.
demons. Cf. xvi. 1, xix. 1, also Rev. ix. 20.
not according to knowledge, *gqt*($_1$*gu*), Tert.: 'in idols' temples' *β*.
8. Idolaters go from bad to worse. Cf. Wisdom xiv. 12, 27; Rom. i. 21.
10. Salvation is for those who accept the true wisdom.
of His righteousness *a*–*u*. 'of righteousness' *u*, *β*.

11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.

12 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

13 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.

14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.

15 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression,
And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.

16 For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse **His fierce indignation**
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

C. *The Sinners destroy each other: Judgement of the Fallen Angels: the Safety of the Righteous: further Woes for the Sinners.*

100 1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten
And brothers one with another shall fall in death
Till the streams flow with their blood.

2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons' sons,
And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother:
From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners,
And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places
And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin,
And the Most High will arise on that day of judgement
To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

11. **slain in Sheol.** Cf. cviii. 3—the extreme penalty of sin. Condemnation to Sheol is less severe than the slaying of the soul. Cf. xxii. 13. Sheol is here the eternal place of punishment. See lxxiii. 10 (note).

12. **measures** *a–mt, i*[1]. 'foundations' *t, β–i.*
cause bitterness *mt, β.* 'know' *gq.* tempt' $_1g$.

13. **build . . . toil of others.** Cf. Jer. xxii. 13; also 1 En. xciv. 7, xcvii. 8.

14. **the measure and eternal heritage,** the Mosaic law. Cf. *v.* 2.
whose souls follow after $_1gm$. 'and follow after the souls of' *guqt.* 'who cause their souls to follow after' *β.*
have no rest. Cf. the sufferings of the righteous, ciii. 13; also 'no peace', xciv. 6.

15. **to them** $_1gu$, *β.* 'to you' *gmqt.*
day of the great judgement. See xciv. 9, xcviii. 10, also xlv. 2 (note).

16. **His fierce indignation.** $_1g\beta$ read 'the spirit of His indignation' = רוח אפו corrupt for חרון אפו: *gmqt* read 'His indignation and His spirit'. 'His spirit' is nom. in *qt.* + 'into your hands' *g.*
holy and righteous g_1gmq. ∞ *t, β.*
remember your sins, and so hasten your destruction. See xcvii. 5 (note).

C. 1. **brothers one with another shall fall** *β.* *a* inserts 'and' after 'another'.
streams flow with their blood. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 3, 7; Ps. lviii. 10.

2. **his sons' sons** *β.* 'his son's son' *gmt.* $_1gq$ corrupt. + 'in compassion' *tβ.*
the sinner *t, β.* 'as for the sinner, he' *g, gmq.*
his honoured brother. Aristobulus slew his beloved brother Antigonus (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1, 2). On the internecine strife that was to initiate the kingdom cf. lvi. 7, xcix. 5, 6; Zech. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Hag. ii. 22; Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 21, 34, 35, xxiv. 10, &c.

3. **up to the breast.** Cf. Rev. xiv. 20.
to its height *m, β.* 'to the day of its (> $_1g$) height' (a dittograph of 'day'). 'it shall be filled to its height' *t.*

4. The fallen angels who brought down sin will be gathered from 'the secret places'.
the angels shall descend, &c. Cf. Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49.
brought down sin *a–t.* 'helped sin' *t, β.*
of judgement *a–tu.* > *tu, β.*
amongst $_1gmqu$. 'and amongst' *g.* 'on all the' *t, β.*

5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels
To guard them as the apple of an eye,
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.

6 And (then) the children of the earth shall see the wise **in security**,
And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them
In the overthrow of their sins.

7 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire:
Ye shall be requited according to your works.

8 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness:
Therefore shall fear come upon you
And there shall be none to help you.

9 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness has wrought,
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.

10 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute
11 judgement on the righteous. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they
12 shall be mindful of your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.
13 When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

5. The righteous souls in the place of the departed are guarded. Cf. the promptuaria of 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95; also 4 Ezra iv. 32, 40, vii. 32; 2 Bar. xxx. 2.

all 1°. $> gu$.

the apple of an eye. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8.

He makes an end of all g_1gmq^2. 'all has been made an end of' q^1tu,β.

the righteous sleep a long sleep. The writer of xci–civ did not expect the resurrection at the beginning of the temporary Messianic kingdom, which was to come at the commencement of the eighth week. The 'long sleep' seems to last till the end of the tenth week, and the resurrection of the righteous in xci–civ follows the final judgement.

6. I have transposed 'the children of the earth' from the second line to the first, and with $_1gq$ taken 'the wise' in the acc. and not in the nom. as gmt,β. 'The wicked see the bliss of the wise.' Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 85; Wisdom iv. 17, &c.

children of the earth, cf. cii. 3: the counterpart of 'the children of heaven' or the righteous, ci. 1.

in security. Text = πιστόν or πεποιθότα—a wrong rendering of בֶּטַח used pregnantly = dwelling in security. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

7. **on the day of strong anguish.** The MSS. wrongly transpose this into the next clause.

Ye who. MSS. read sôba = 'when', corrupt for 'ĕlla.

burn them with fire. Cf. 2 Macc. vii.

according to your works. Cf. xcv. 5.

8. **obstinate of heart** a. 'perverse of heart' β. Cf. xcviii. 11.

watch. Cf. Isa. xxix. 20.

9. **sinners** + 'for' $_1g,\beta$.

which your godlessness has wrought gmu: 'because of the work of your godlessness' t: 'which are the work of your godlessness' q: 'which as a work ye have godlessly committed' β.

in blazing flames . . . burn. Here $a–_1g >$ 'shall ye burn', and $_1g,\beta >$ 'burning'. The two texts seem to be complementary.

10. All the heavenly powers which witness the sins of the wicked testify against them. Cf. xcviii. 6–8, also xcvii. 7, civ. 1. Cf. the witness of stones and beams in their houses against the wicked, Hab. ii. 11.

in heaven. 'from heaven' g + 'and' $a–u$.

execute judgement on = ποιεῖτε κρίσιν μετά (so $gmqt$)—a Hebraism.

11. All the natural powers which minister to the earth's fruitfulness will testify against sinners, as they are withheld on account of their sins. Cf. lxxx (interpolation in lxxii–lxxxii): cf. Jer. iii. 3.

they shall be mindful $a–mt$. 'shall they not be mindful' mt,β (t,β 'watchful').

12. Ironically spoken.

that it may descend $g_1gt, bilopxy_1a_1b$. 'that it should not descend' mq. $> u,\beta–bilopxy_1a_1b$.

13. Even the punishment by the elements will be irresistible.

CI. *Exhortation to the Fear of God: all Nature fears Him but not the Sinners.*

101 1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him
2 and work no evil in His presence. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and
3 the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? And if He sends
His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent
4 words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. And see ye not the **sailors** of
the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are
5 in sore trouble? And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea
with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will
6 perish therein. Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most
7 High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? And at His
reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are
8 on the earth fear Him not. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?
Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?
9 Do not the **sailors** of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

CII. *Terrors of the Day of Judgement: the adverse Fortunes of the Righteous on the Earth.*

102 1 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you,
Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?
And when He launches forth His word against you
Will you not be affrighted and fear?

2 And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,
And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.

3 And all the †angels shall execute their commands†
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be cursed for ever,
And ye shall have no peace.

4 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

CI. 1. The same subject continued, but verse 1 contains an aside to the righteous.
children of heaven, equivalent to 'sons of God' i. e. righteous Israelites. See Test. Lev. iv. 2 (note); Wisd. ii. 13, 18. For 'children of heaven' cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 22.
2. Address to the wicked resumed, c. 11, 12.
If *gt, β-enx*: 'for', $_1$*gu, ex*: 'when' *mq, n*.
windows of heaven. Gen. vii. 11.
3. **if** g_1gtu, *β*: 'when' *mq*.
because of (+ 'all' $_1g$) **your deeds** *gm*: 'and upon (+ 'all' *β*) your deeds' *t, β*: 'your deeds' *gq*.
proud and insolent words: v. 4 (note); xxvii. 2. Cf. xcviii. 7, 8, cii. 6.
4–7. Sailors fear the sea: how much more should men fear God, of whom the sea is sore afraid. Cf. Ps. cvii. 23–27.
4. **sailors.** Text='kings', i.e. מלכי corrupt for מלחי.
6, 7. The sea is in the hand of God. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10, xxxviii. 8–11; Ps. lxxxix. 9, civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29.
has He not set limits to its doings *e* (but it reads 'aqama for 'aqama): *y* preserves the verb: *β-y* alter it to hataṃa='has sealed': *gmqt* read 'its doings and waters' (i. e. wamajâ, perhaps corrupt for 'aqama).
at His reproof . . . dries up. Isa. l. 2.
is afraid and dries up *a-*$_1$*g, x*: 'dries up and is afraid' *β-x*.
9. A pregnant summing up.
sailors. See *v.* 4 (note).

CII. 1–3. Whither they will flee on the terrible day of the Lord, when heaven and earth will be aghast and the very angels seek to hide themselves?
1. **a grievous fire,** i. e. hell. Cf. xcix. 11.
His word, i. e. of judgement.
3. **†angels . . . commands†.** Corrupt: for 'angels' read kings. Cf. Rev. vi. 15.
execute their commands. I cannot emend.
3. **the Great Glory** *a*. 'the Great in Glory' *β*. Cf. xiv. 10.
children of earth. Cf. c. 6.
have no peace. Cf. xciv. 6 (note).
4–CIV. 9. Discussion and condemnation of Sadducean views of the future life.
4, 5. The righteous are to be of good cheer, though their life and death be in grief.
4. **ye that have died** *m, cfhikln*$_1$*a*: 'they who have died' *gqtu*: 'the day of your death' *abdeox*$_1$*b*: 'the souls of those who have died' $_1$*g*: *q* adds 'ye who have died in righteousness' after 'grieve not' in the next line.

5 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness,
But **wait for** the day of the **judgement** of sinners
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.

6 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you:
"As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds?

7 Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we?
From henceforth we are equal.

8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."

9 I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and
10 acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner
11 of violence is found in them till their death? "Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

CIII. *Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners: fresh Objections of the Sinners.*

103 1 Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and
2 Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.
I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them:

3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

5. Strong in the belief in a blessed future for the righteous, the writer can concede the apparent equality of righteous and wicked in life and death.

if g_1g. Other MSS. 'that' or 'because'.

soul + 'into great tribulation and wailing and sorrow and' *t*, *β*.

Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note).

wait for. Here I emend ĕnka ba (='moreover on') into ṣenhû la='wait for'. Cf. cviii. 2.

judgement of sinners. Text='ye became sinners'. The next line requires this emendation here.

day of . . . chastisement. Hos. v. 9.

6–8. The Sadducean argument—the O.T. view of the retribution of the righteous in this life was interpreted as implying that men could be judged by their fortunes in this life, and that where there is no difference in this life there will be none in the next. Cf. Wisdom ii. 1–5, iii. 2–4; Eccles. ii. 14–16, iii. 19–21, &c.

7. **in grief and darkness.** The O.T. view of Sheol, lxiii. 10 (note).

8. **what will they receive** *mt*, *β*: 'how will they rise' g_1gq.

Behold a–$_1g$. 'For behold' $_1g$, *β*.

9–10. Answer of the writer. The distinction of righteous and wicked is not an outward, but a religious and ethical one. The wicked man's life is moulded by material and temporal aims only.

9. **see good days.** So LXX of Ps. xxxiv. 12.

10. **falls out** *a*. 'is peace' *β*.

death a–$_1g$. 'day of their death' $_1g$, *β*.

11. The wicked rejoin that Death awaits both alike.

spirits a–$_1g$. 'souls' $_1g$, *β*.

CIII. 1–4. The writer turns to the righteous, and assures them from the heavenly tablets and the holy books that every good thing is in store for them.

1. A more solemn oath than in xcviii. 1, 4, 6, &c.

by the glory . . . dominion *g* and almost $_1g$: 'by His great glory ('by the glory of the Great One' *qt*) and by His honoured kingdom' *mqt*: 'by His great glory and honour and by His honoured kingdom' *β*–*y*.

2. **a mystery** *a*–*t*. 'this mystery' *t*, *β*.

read *gqu*. 'read in' *mt*, *β*.

the holy books *gqt*. 'books of the holy ones' $_1gm$, *β*. Cf. cviii. 7, xlvii. 3. See also cviii. 3.

3. Where are these blessings to be enjoyed, in Sheol, or in the spiritual theocracy set up after the final judgement? There seems to be only a resurrection of the spirit.

for them $_1g$, *β*. > a–$_1g$.

the spirits of those who *mt*, *β*: 'your spirits which' *gq*.

manifold good $_1gmq$. 'things manifold and good' *gt*. 'with manifold good' *β*.

4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely.

5 Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins,
And those who are like you say regarding you:
"Blessed are the sinners: they have seen all their days.

6 And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life;
And they have died in honour,
And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."

7 Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol
And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.

8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your spirits enter;
And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world.
Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.

9 Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life:
"In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble,
And met with much evil and been consumed,
And have become few and our spirit small.

10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word:
We have been tortured [and destroyed], and not hoped to see life from day to day.

11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail:
We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil;
And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous,
And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.

12 They have had dominion over us that hated us† and smote us;
And to those that hated us† we have bowed our necks
But they pitied us not.

4. **spirits of you** g_1gq, β: 'spirits of them' *mt*.
who have died (2nd sing. in $_1g$, t^2 β). 'who have died' (3rd sing.) $a-_1g$.
rejoice + 'and be glad' g_1gm, β.
And their spirits shall not perish, nor *a*. 'their spirits and' β.
5–8. The wicked are not at an end after death. Darkness, chains and a burning fire await them.
5. **when ye have died** *a–u*. > β.
the wealth of *a–q*. > *q*, β.
7. **Sheol.** See lxiii. 10 (note). Here, unlike in cii. 5, 11, it is the final place of punishment. Our text is a development of Jub. vii. 29, as it adds to Sheol one of the characteristics of Gehenna. See *v.* 8a.
8. **of the world** *a*. 'unto eternity' β.
have no peace. See v. 4 (note); xciv. 6 (note).
9–15. An ironical description of the lot of the righteous. Cf. the Sadducean view in cii. 6, 7.
9. From this verse to the end of the chapter $_1g$ stands frequently alone, exhibiting nearly sixty variations, mostly between 1st and 3rd plurals. The MSS. evidence goes to prove that the 3rd person was original, for whereas $_1g$ gives the 3rd person in all but seven instances (these are confined to *vv.* 14 and 15), all other MSS. with few exceptions give the 1st person. Thus the wicked assume the rôle of the righteous and speak in their person in ciii. 9–15. Yet in civ. 1–6 the author addresses his reply not directly to the sinners who have just spoken but to the righteous (cf. ciii. 1), and returns to the sinners in civ. 7–9.
our troubled days t^2, β: 'their troubled days' gqt^1u: 'the days of their life with their troublous toil' $_1g$.
we. 'they' $_1g$, and so on except in 14–15.
been consumed: 'they have suffered from disease' $_1g$.
become few. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 62.
our spirit small. Not 'humble' but 'poor-spirited'.
10. **we . . . have not found any to help us even with a word** $a-_1gt$. So $_1g$ but with a change of persons. 'There has been none to help us in word or deed: we are powerless and have found nothing' *t*, β.
11. **We hoped** *a*. 'and we hoped' β.
to be the head. Deut. xxviii. 13.
laid their yoke, &c. Deut. xxviii. 48.
12. **had dominion . . . hated us.** Cf. Esther ix. 1.
to those that hated us. I think this is a dittograph from the line before, and 'that smote us' belongs to this line. Thus we have: 'They have had dominion over us that hated us, And to those that smote us we have bowed our necks, But they pitied us not.'

13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest,
But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.

14 And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
And cried out against those who devoured us,
But they did not attend to our cries
And would not hearken to our voice.

15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they had lifted up their hands against us.

CIV. *Assurances given to the Righteous: Admonitions to Sinners and the Falsifiers of the Words of Uprightness.*

104 1 I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great
2 One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for aforetime
ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven,
3 ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your
cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the
4 rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope;
5 for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not
have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal
6 judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. And now fear not, ye righteous,
when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them,
7 but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And,
although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless

13. **we desired** a–$_1g$. $_1g\beta$ prefix 'and'.

14. **cried out** + 'and made lamentation' g: $_1g$ inserts this clause before 'in our tribulation'.

14, 15. These verses help to fix the date of xci–civ. In lxxxiii–xc the rulers appear as the divinely appointed leaders of the righteous. Here they are shown as the aiders and abettors of the persecutors. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers. The righteous are the Pharisaic party. These issues only became clear in the Maccabean period, and after the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. 'Dispersed' and 'murdered' point to Jannaeus, and the date 94–79 B.C. Possibly it is later, 70–64 B.C., when for the last time Sadducees and rulers acted in concert.

15. **they helped** $_1g,\beta$: 'you have helped' gmt: 'thou hast helped' q.
the yoke of those that g_1gm, &c. 'their yoke but' qt, &c.

CIV. Again the writer replies, not to the wicked, but to the righteous, as in ciii. 1. The righteous have indeed no hope in this life, but must look for the blessed future awaiting them in heaven.

1. **unto you** + 'ye righteous' $t^2\beta$.
the angels remember you. For angelic mediation cf. xv. 2 (note), xl. 5–7, xlvii. 2, lxxxix. 76.
and a, i. $> \beta$–ei.
names are written: xlvii. 3 (note). The Great One: xiv. 2, ciii. 4.

2. **now:** used here of the impending future.
shine as the lights. Cf. Dan. xii. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.
ye shall shine $^{2°}$ a. $> \beta$.
portals of heaven. For the open gates cf. Rev. xxi. 25. There is no hope of a new earth. Cf. xci. 16 (note).

3. Their demand for justice, unheard on earth, ciii. 14, 15, will one day be satisfied. Cf. for the cry of the righteous xcvii. 3, 5 (note), xcix. 3, 16.
the rulers. Cf. ciii. 14, 15 (note).

4. **as the angels of heaven.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 30; 1 En. civ. 6.

5. **what shall ye . . . do** a–t, e. 'as for what ye shall . . . do' t, β–e.
day of the great judgement. Cf. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 4, xciv. 9, xcviii. 10, xcix. 15.
the eternal judgement. Cf. xci. 15, also xlv. 2 (note). This verse seems to imply no judgement for the righteous. Contrast li. 2.

6. **in their ways** g_1gmqt. 'in their lusts' β.
Note Pharisaic exclusiveness. Cf. xci. 3, 4. The hope of the righteous can be realized in heaven alone. The Messianic kingdom falls into the background.
be not a. 'and be not' β.
companions, &c.; cf. civ. 2, 4. In 2 Bar. li. 5, 10, 12 the righteous attain and even transcend the glory of the angels.
hosts. So β, reading ḥarâ. Cf. Luke ii. 13; Rev. xix. 14; $gmqt$ read ḫêrâna = τῶν ἀγαθῶν (corrupt for ἀγγέλων, Flemming).

7, 8. He warns the wicked that, though they know it not, their sins are recorded daily.

7. **All our sins . . . out.** So Beer and n. Other MSS. read 'ye shall not search out all our sins'. t, β give 'all our sins' in nom.: g_1gmq in acc.
be written down t, β. 'they ('he' $_1gq$; 'ye' mu) shall write' g_1gmqu.

8 they shall write down all your sins every day. And now I show unto you that light and darkness,
9 day and night, see all your sins. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your
10 idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin. And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning
11 their words. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully—all that I first testified
12 concerning them. Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the
13 wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.'

CV. *God and the Messiah to dwell with Man.*

105 1 In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.
2 For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

8. For the witness of natural powers cf. c. 10 (note).
9–13. Disclosures and directions regarding his own book.
9. The wicked are bidden not to alter or misinterpret the O.T. Cf. xciv. 5, xcviii. 14, xcix. 2.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
take account of g_1gq. 'praise' *mt*, *β*.
your idols. Cf. xcix. 7–9, 14.
10. A time will come when the words of revelation will be perverted, and books be written enforcing wicked and heathen doctrine.
sinners . . . in many ways g_1gmt. 'many sinners' *q*, *β*.
books *t*, *β*. 'my books' g_1gmq.
11. But the writings of Enoch will counteract these heathen teachings. The writer speaks here from Enoch's standpoint.
my words *tu*, *β*. 'words' g_1gmq.
their languages, i.e. Greek and Aramaic.
12. At last a righteous and wise generation will receive and understand his works (cf. i. 2). Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9, 10.
13. **recompensed**: i.e. find their reward in these books (xciii. 10, c. 6, civ. 12, 13, cv. 1), or perhaps in the Messianic kingdom thereupon set up.

CV. This chapter does not seem to belong to xci–civ. (1) Children of earth is used in a good sense. Contrast c. 6. (2) The Messiah is introduced, here alone in xci–civ. (3) The emphasis is on the finite life of the saints on earth (an idea of i–xxxvi), not on the immortal life in heaven, as in xci–civ.
1. **In those** *α–m*: 'and in those' *m β*.
and testify > *m*.
recompense. Cf. civ. 13.
2. **I and My Son**, i.e. the Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29, xiii. 32, 37, 52, xiv. 9. The righteous are God's children, and pre-eminently so the Messiah. Cf. the early Messianic interpretation of Ps. ii, also 1 En. lxii. 14; John xiv. 23.
in their lives, thus finite.
ye shall have peace. Contrast the curse of the wicked, xciv. 6 (note).

106 1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became
2 pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head †and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful†. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house
3 was very bright. And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and †conversed with† the Lord of righteousness.
4 And his father Lamech was afraid of him and
5 fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his coun-
6 tenance is glorious. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be
7 wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayst go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is
8 amongst the angels.' And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said unto him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, **wherefore** hast
9 thou come to me?' And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision
10 have I approached. And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the colour

LATIN FRAGMENT.

Factum est autem [cum esset Lamech annorum 1
tricentorum quinquagenta] natus est ei filiu(s) .
cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli autem ei*us* 2
candi(di)ores in septies niue corpori autem eius
nemo hominum potest intueri.

et surexit int*er* man*us* obstetricis suae **et** 3
adorauit d*ominum* uiuentem in secula [laudauit].

et timuit Lamech. 4
et uenit ad patrem suum Mathusalem **et** 5
narrauit illi om*nia*.

ne n*on* ex eo natus e*sset* nisi n*on*tius d*ei*. 6

dixit Mathusalem: Ego autem non possum 7
scire nisi eamus ad patrem n*ostru*m Enoc.

q*uu*m autem uidit Enoc filium suum Mathu- 8
salem uenientem ad se [et] ait. quid e*st* quod
uenisti ad me nate?

dix*it*: 9

q*uo*d natus e*st* filio suo [no*mine*] Lamech cui 10
oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli[s] eius candidiores
septies niue, corpori aut*em* eius nemo hominum
potest intueri

CVI–CVII. A fragment of a Noah Apocalypse. Part of this section has been preserved in a Latin Version which I print side by side with the text.

2. **and his long locks . . . beautiful.** The Latin does not mention these 'long locks', and the Eth. is easily emended into 'was white . . . and his eyes were like the rays of the sun'. Cf. the Eth. version in *v.* 5, and *v.* 10. In the Latin (*v.* 2) *septies* seems corrupt for *capitis*. Cf. *v.* 10.

as wool. Cf. xlvi. 1.

3. **And thereupon** $_1g$. Other MSS. 'and when'.

opened his mouth. Cf. *v.* 11. Latin defective here.

†conversed with†. Here tanâgara is corrupt for tagânaja = 'praised' = [*laudavit*] in the Latin, where, however, *adoravit* also occurs. See my Comm. *in loc.*

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xxii. 14, xc. 40.

5. **and** $^{2°}$ g_1g. > other MSS.

sons of the God of heaven. Cf. lxix. 4, 5, also lxxi. 1 (note).

6. **but from the angels.** The Lat. gives a different idea. Nontius = ἄγγελος. The Lat. of 6 follows 'Lamech' in *v.* 4.

7. Latin corrupt; observe *eamus*.

amongst the angels, i.e. at the ends of the earth, as in lxv. 2.

8. **wherefore.** So Latin *quid est quod* = διὰ τί. But Eth. = διότι, a corruption.

9. **cause of anxiety** g_1gmt. 'matter' β.

10. **And now** + 'hear me' $_1gm$.

colour of his body $_1g$. Other MSS. = 'his colour'. But *corpori* in the next clause in the Lat. and σώματα in Apoc. Petri support $_1g$.

of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and
1 thereupon lighted up the whole house. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened
2 his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven ; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayst make known to me the truth.'
13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him : 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the **angels** of heaven
14 transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them,
17 and have begot children by them. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the
15 earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and
16 a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him : when all mankind that are on the earth
18 shall die [he and his sons shall be saved]. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah ; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.
19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth ; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones ; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae eadem 11
hora, qua p*ro*cidit de utero matris suae. orauit
d*omin*u*m* uiuente*m* in secula et laudauit.
et timuit Lamech. 12

et dixit Enoc : nontiatum e*st* mihi fili q*uia* 13
post quingentos annos

mitt*et* de*us* cataclismu*m* aq*uae* ut deleat 15
omnem creatura*m* [XL.] ostendit oculis no*st*ris.

et erunt illi · III · filii [et erunt nomina filioru*m* 16
ei*us* · Sem · Cham · Iafeth]

et ipse uocabitur Noe q*ui* *inter*pre*t*atur requies 18
q*uia* requiem prestabit in archam.

the colour . . . rose, eyes . . . sun. Borrowed by Apoc. Petri.
11. **Lord of heaven.** Here only in Enoch. But note Lat. = 'dominum viventem in saecula.' Also cf. v. 1.
13. **do a new thing.** Num. xvi. 30 ; Isa. xliii. 19.
in the generation of . . . Jared. Cf. vi. 6.
some of the angels. Easily emended from Eth. = 'some from the heights'. *n* reads 'angels'.
14. **transgress the law**—of spiritual beings. Cf. xv.
17. I have restored this verse to its original place.
And $qt, x.$ > β–$x.$ g_1g are defective through hmt. here.
15. **one year.** Cf. Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 14.
16. **and** $^{1°}$ $g_1gq.$ > other MSS.
[he and his sons shall be saved] > $g_1gq.$ It is a repetition of the clause in *v.* 18.
18. **unrighteousness which shall** *mt*, β : g_1gq read 'unrighteousness of apostasy (which) shall'.
19. **the mysteries of the holy ones.** Either the secrets known to the angels, or the secrets relating to the righteous in the future.
heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

107 1 And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation
of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all
2 manner of good comes upon it. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this
3 son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.' And when Methuselah had
heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned
and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth
after all the destruction.

108 1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him,
2 and keep the law in the last days. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is
3 made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. And wait ye indeed till
sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the
holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they
shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and **in the fire shall they**
4 **burn**; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason
of its depth I could not †look over†, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining
5 mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me
and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing
6 fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.' And he said unto me:
'This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who
work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth
7 of the prophets—(even) the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above
in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners,

CVII. 1. The fresh growth of sin after the Deluge: its destruction and the advent of the Messianic kingdom.
till: *t*, *β*: 'that' g_1gmq.
3. The meaning of the name Noah given in Gen. v. 29 is here repeated.
everything in secret *a*: 'every secret thing' *β*.
returned and showed *m*. So *g* (but omits two letters through hmt.): 'returned after having seen' $t_1abcdloxy_1b$: $>_1gqu$.

CVIII. This final chapter forms an independent addition. The writer is acquainted with i–xxxvi and xci–civ, or at least with parts of those sections. But his acquaintance with i–xxxvi is very inaccurate. What in chapters xviii and xxi was the place of punishment for the disobedient stars becomes in cviii. 3-6 practically Gehenna. Note the Essene tone of this chapter, the high honour paid to asceticism, the scorn of silver and gold in 8–10, the blessed immortality of the soul but apparently not of the body, and the duration of light and darkness so prominent in 11–14.

This chapter is more akin to xci–civ than any other in the book. Its object is to encourage the righteous still to hope on despite the long delay in the coming of the kingdom.

1. **keep the law.** Contrast 'fall away from the law', xcix. 2.
2. The faithful are exhorted to further patience.
good g_1g. > other MSS.
shall wait g_1gmq. 'and are waiting' *t*, *β*.
3. **And** 1° *a*. > *β*.
blotted out of the book of life. Cf. xlvii. 3 (note).
out of the book of life and g_1g: 'out of the books of the living', *q*, *x*: 'out of the book and' *mt*.
holy books, *mqt*, e_1b (cf. ciii. 2). 'book of the Holy One' *g*. 'books of the holy ones' *β*–ex_1b. These contain the roll of the members of the kingdom. Cf. ciii. 2, 3.
spirits shall be slain. Cf. xxii. 13; xcix. 11 (note). It does not imply annihilation as the victims still 'cry and make lamentation'.
in a place. This chaotic flaming hell beyond the limits of the earth is the place of punishment for the angels in xviii. 12–16; xxi. 1–7.
chaotic. Eth. = ἀόρατος, the LXX rendering of תהו in Gen. i. 2.
in the fire shall they burn. So after xxi. 3 I emend the Eth. = 'in fire they have burnt' (g_1gmqt, *β*–*abcx*): 'in fire they shall burn' (*abcx*)—a different form of the verb.
4. Further description of this hell and its inhabitants in terms borrowed from xviii. 13; xxi. 3.
† **look over** †. We might emend to 'behold its height' or 'tell its circuit' (or 'size').
of fire g_1gu: other MSS. = 'of its fire'.
5. **one of the holy angels.** This phrase is borrowed from i–xxxvi: cf. xxvii. 2.
voice, &c. Cf. xviii. 13.
weeping and crying *a*: ∞ *β*.
6. This hell which is outside the earth is the final place of punishment for sinners and blasphemers and perverters of God's revelation through the prophets. In *vv.* 3–6 the writer has confounded places (i.e. Gehenna, and the hell of the disobedient stars) that are most carefully distinguished in i–xxxvi, and yet he has borrowed the phraseology of that section.
blasphemers. Cf. xci. 7.
spoken *mtu*, *β*: 'done' g_1gq.
the prophets. Here only expressly mentioned in Enoch.
7. **written and inscribed**—refers to the heavenly tablets. Cf. xlvii. 3. These records are also called the books of the holy ones, for their purpose is to let the angels know of the future: cf. ciii. 2. See also Asc. Isa. vii. 27.

and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed
8 by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither
gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to
9 torture. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything
as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were
10 found pure so that they should bless His name. And all the blessings destined for them I have
recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been
found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden
under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame,
11 yet they blessed Me. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation
of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed
12 with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who
13 have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour. And they shall be
resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful
14 He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. And they shall see those who were
15 born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall
cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed
for them.'

7–9. **the humble.** The עֲנִיִּים and עֲנָוִים of the Psalms. They constitute the true Israel as opposed to the proud, the selfish and the paganizers. Cf. Cheyne on Ps. ix. 13.

those who have afflicted their bodies . . . loved neither gold nor silver . . . longed not after earthly food. These phrases would apply well to the Essene party. Cf. xlviii. 7, cii. 5. These marks of the righteous have their counterpart in those of the wicked: cf. xcvi. 5–7, xcvii. 8–10, xcviii. 2.

8. **loved** *a*, *β*–*cdnoy*$_1$*b*: 'love' $_1$*g*, *cdnoy*$_1$*b*.

9. **Who** $_1$*gq* (*gmt* slightly corrupt): 'and' *u*: 'and who' *β*.

everything *u*. 'their bodies' $_1$*g*. 'themselves' *gmqt*, *β*. 'Bodies' is unsuitable, and 'themselves' would read better if the sinners were speaking: cf. Wisdom ii. 2–4. Cf. Job vii. 7, 8.

the Lord tried them much, &c. Cf. Wisdom iii. 5.

10. Enoch speaks, and refers his hearers and readers to his books.

their life in the world. Cf. xlviii. 7.

11. Verses 11 and 12 are spoken by God.

generation of light. Cf. lxi. 12 (note), xxxviii. 4 (note).

who were born in darkness. Of those who are born in darkness, i.e. heathenism, the faithful who were not recompensed with honour are transformed: but those who remain in their darkness are cast therein as their condemnation. Cf. *v*. 14.

were not recompensed with *a*–*gu*, *β*: 'did not seek' *g*.

12. **in shining light,** i.e. clad in it. Cf. Matt. vii. 15. Or we might render 'into shining light'. Cf. 2 En. xxii. 8–10, the garments of the blessed are composed of God's glory. In 1 En. lxii. 16, they are 'garments of life'. Really they are the spiritual bodies of the blessed. Cf. Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, &c.; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Asc. Isa. iv. 16, vii. 22, viii. 14.

throne of his honour *a*,*n*. 'throne of honour, of his honour' *β*–*n*. Cf. Matt. xix. 28; Rev. iii. 21, iv. 4; Asc. Isa. ix. 10, 18.

13. Enoch again speaks.

resplendent, &c.: cf. xxxix. 7, civ. 2, cviii. 14.

the habitation of upright paths *t*, *β*: 'the habitation and (> *q*) upright paths' *gq*: 'the habitation and uprightness' *m*: 'the upright paths' *u*.

14. **born in darkness.** See *v*. 11 (note).

led into darkness. Cf. ciii. 8.

led *gmq*. Cf. ciii. 8. 'cast' *t*, *β*.

15. Cf. Dan. xii. 2, 3.

resplendent *a*. 'shining' *β*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Book and its Fortunes.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written in Hebrew in the latter years of John Hyrcanus—in all probability after his final victory over the Syrian power and before his breach with the Pharisees—in other words, between 109 and 106. Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. The Maccabean dynasty had now reached the zenith of its prosperity, and in its reigning representative, who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king, the Pharisaic party had come to recognize the actual Messiah.

Won over by the purity of life, nobility of character, and pre-eminent gifts of the Maccabees as high-priests, civil rulers, and military commanders, the Ḥasids, or early Pharisees, had some decades earlier attached themselves to this new high-priesthood, though with many a misgiving on account of the break in the high-priestly succession.

The approval thus won from the reluctant Ḥasids, the Maccabees had deepened and strengthened by their achievements every year in every province of their activity, till the thought was begotten in many a breast, that at last the hope of Israel had come, and, in defiance of all ancient prophecy, was sprung from the house and lineage of Levi.

There are good grounds for regarding Psalm cx as the outcome of such an expectation, and as greeting one of the Maccabees as the long-expected deliverer of Israel. But, however this may be, there is no doubt that our author addresses two or more Messianic hymns to John Hyrcanus, in whom had culminated all the glories and gifts of this great family. The writer already sees the Messianic kingdom established, under the sway of which the Gentiles will in due course be saved, Beliar overthrown, sin disappear from the earth, and the righteous dead rise to share in the blessedness of the living.

Alas for the vanity of man's judgement and man's prescience. Our book had hardly been published, when Hyrcanus, owing to an outrage done him by the Pharisees, broke with their party, and joining the Sadducees, died a year or two later. His successors proved themselves the basest of men. Their infamy is painted in lurid colours by contemporary writers of the first century B.C., and by a strange irony the work, or rather, fragments of the work of one of these assailants of the later Maccabees, has achieved immortality by finding a covert in the chief manifesto that was issued on behalf of one of the earlier members of the dynasty.

This second writer singles out three of the Maccabean priest-kings for attack, the first of whom he charges with every abomination; the people itself, he declares, is apostate, and chastisement will follow speedily—the temple will be laid waste, the nation carried afresh into captivity, whence, on their repentance, God will restore them again to their own land, where they shall enjoy the blessedness of God's presence and be ruled by a Messiah sprung from Judah.

When we contrast the expectations of the original writer and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the chief value of his work would consist in the light that it throws on this obscure and temporary revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century. But this is not so. The main, the overwhelming value of the book lies not in this province, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord. This ethical teaching, which is very much higher and purer than that of the Old Testament, is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments.[1]

[1] That this ethical teaching belongs to the essence of the book is obvious to any careful student of the work. As such it forms alike its warp and woof. On the other hand, the *dogmatic Christian interpolations* are patches differing alike in colour and texture from the original material, stitched on at times where originally there was no rent at all, and at others rudely thrust in where a rent had been deliberately made for their insertion. See § 13.

INTRODUCTION

After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian.

The reappearance of the Testaments on the stage of history was due to the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, in the thirteenth century, who procured from Greece the MS. of this book, which is now in the University Library of Cambridge. This scholar took the book with all its Christian additions to be a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob.

It is perhaps needless to state that, when the critical instinct revived with the Reformation, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was summarily rejected. Nay more, as the book was regarded as the work of one writer, it was simply condemned as a Christian forgery. In the course of four centuries only one voice was raised against this mistaken verdict, and that in vain for about two hundred years. The twentieth century sees this book at last come into its own.[1]

§ 2. The Title.

The *general* title was in all probability 'The Testaments of the Patriarchs'. Such is the designation in use in the Armenian version. In the Greek MSS. the title varies. In *α* (= *chi*) *bd* it appears as Διαθῆκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριαρχῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακὼβ (+ τοῦ Πατριάρχου *α*), *a* αἱ διαθῆκαι τῶν ιβ′ πατρ. πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν. In the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Pitra, and others, the book is simply called Πατριάρχαι.

As regards the title of the individual testaments, it was no doubt simply 'The Testament of Reuben', 'The Testament of Simeon', &c. If the reader refers to my edition of the *Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xliv–xlvi, he will see that, whereas the *α* MSS. uniformly give one form of title, the *β* MSS. (with the exception of *adg*), that is, *bef*, give another, in which in addition to the name of the Patriarch the main subject of the Testament is given. Thus the title of Gad's Testament is διαθήκη Γὰδ περὶ μίσους. The titles in *d* are generally conflated from *bef* and *α*; in *a* simply the name of the patriarch is given, while as for *g*, it takes a line of its own. In the Armenian the titles agree partly with those given in the Greek MSS. *bef*, but oftener do not. From this short summary of the facts it follows that the titles in *bcf*, A are secondary. There remain now the forms in *α* and the single MS. *a*, and that found in the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, i. e. צוואת נפתלי בן יעקב 'The Testament of Naphtali the son of Jacob'. The form in *a* (i. e. simply the name of the patriarch) may be at once dismissed as an idiosyncrasy of this MS. In the *α* MSS. the title of the individual Testaments resembles closely that of the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, but the greater number of them are obviously inaccurate and therefore not original. That of Reuben and some others are accurate enough; thus *α* gives διαθήκη Ῥουβὴμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Λείας, which is true enough; but in the case of Naphtali we have the impossible διαθήκη Νεφθαλεὶμ τοῦ ὀγδόου υἱοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Βάλλας. Naphtali was the second son of Bilhah. If, however, we omit in each case the name of the mother, we arrive possibly at the original form of the titles of the individual Testaments. Possibly, I say; for the order of the Testaments is not chronological, but depends on the groupings of the patriarchs according to their respective mothers. Thus the first six patriarchs are the sons of Leah, the next two are the sons of Bilhah, the next two of Zilpah, and the last two of Rachel. Hence it is more than probable that the position of the patriarch as the first, third, or seventh son, was not mentioned in the original title. Thus we conclude that the evidence points to the following as the original form.

צוואת ראובן בן יעקב = διαθήκη Ῥουβὴμ υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ = 'The Testament of Reuben the son of Jacob'.

§ 3. The Greek MSS.

(*a*) Bodley MS. Baroccio 133. Quarto. This paper MS. contains several treatises by different hands of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Testaments occupy folios 179*a*–205*b*. Their general title and those of Judah and Gad are written in red. There are two copies of this MS. on paper, one in the Bodley MS. Smith 117, belonging to the close of the seventeenth century, and the second in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This MS. is remarkable for the large number of omissions, at times of entire chapters.

(*b*) University Library, Cambridge, ff. i. 24. Quarto. This parchment MS. contains four

[1] From the present writer's edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. xvi sqq.

works, of which the Testaments are the fourth, written on folios 203*a*–262*b*. It belongs to the tenth century. It is written in double columns, twenty lines in a column. The initials and titles are in red, except the first, which is in gold. It was from this MS. that Grosseteste's Latin Version was made.

(*c*) Vatican Library, Cod. Graec. 731. This is a small octavo MS. written on paper, with twenty-two or twenty-three lines on each page. Besides the Testaments it contains extracts from the Fathers. The Testaments are given on folios 97*a*–167*b*. The script of the latter belongs probably to the thirteenth century. This is the most important of all the MSS.

(*d*) Vatiçan Library, Gk. 1238. This is a vellum MS. in three volumes of the LXX belonging to the thirteenth century. On the close of the LXX follows the Testament of Job, folios 340*a*–349*b*, and on 350–380 of our present text. There are from 33–39 lines in each page. Strangely enough, above the general title of the Testaments, Διαθῆκαι τῶν ιβ πατριαρχῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ, appear the words Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως, which is one of the titles of the Book of Jubilees. That there was a close relation between these books we know independently.

(*e*) Mount Athos MS. This MS. is written in two columns of forty lines each in a good hand of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on folios 197*b*–229*a*. This MS. is of great interest, as it contains three large additions to the text: the first before καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους in T. Lev. ii. 3, consisting of a prayer of Jacob; the second after the word ἡμερῶν in T. Lev. xviii. 2, and the third after τῆς γῆς in T. Ash. vii. 2. The third consists of two and two-third columns of certain Christian disquisitions on love and the Trinity. The second is the remarkable Greek fragment, which I have printed in Appendix III in my edition of the Text, and which we show elsewhere to be a translation from a Hebrew work, which was probably an original source of the Testaments.

(*f*) Paris MS. 938. This is a beautifully written MS. of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on the first seventy-two folios. Each page contains twenty-three lines. On folio 1*a* there is a list of Old Testament names, including the twelve patriarchs, with their meanings. The Testaments proper begin on 1*b*. It is characteristic of this MS. that after the title of each Testament it adds the meaning of the proper name, and also that, at the conclusion of each Testament, it adds the number of years that the patriarch lived. In the latter feature it is followed by the first Slavonic Recension (S^1). After the Testaments follow the Testament of Job and other writings.

(*g*) MS. 411 in the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Patmos. It is a quarto MS. written on parchment, and assigned by H. C. Coxe to the sixteenth century.

(*h*) Mount Sinai MS. No. 547 in the Library of St. Catherine. See Gardthausen, *Cat. Codd. Graec. Sinaiticorum*, p. 132. This MS., 14·5 by 10·35 cm., was written in the seventeenth century. It contains seventeen lines on each page. It is incomplete and comes to an end with T. Jos. xv. 7. This MS. has the following peculiar introduction: Ἰωάννου τοῦ ποτε ἑβραίου εἴδησις τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν ιβ΄ υἱῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακὼβ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαικοῦ διαλέκτου εἰς Ἑλληνικήν. The statement is true, but where the scribe got it we cannot determine.

(*i*) Mount Sinai MS. This MS. was discovered accidentally in the Convent Library in the spring of 1906 by Mrs. Gibson. This MS. was written not earlier than the seventeenth century. It contains 21–23 lines on each page. It has the same peculiar introduction as *h*. See preceding MS.

§ 4. The Armenian MSS.

There are many MSS. of this version. The first five are designated by the symbols attached to them in the Venice edition of the text by the Mechitarist Fathers. The rest owe their designation to the present editor. When cited they appear as A^a, A^b, &c.

A^a. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, Venice, No. 345. This MS., five by seven inches, was written in the year 1220 on paper. It belongs to the first recension of the text.

A^{b*}. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 280. This MS. is the worst representative of the second recension of the Armenian version.

A^b. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. This MS., six by ten inches, was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, in double columns of twenty-six lines each, and consists of 679 folios. It belongs to the first recension.

A^c. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 229. This MS. Bible, eight by ten inches, was written on vellum in double columns of fifty lines each in the year 1655.

A^d. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 1366. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century on paper, in double columns of forty-three lines each.

A^e. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century and belongs to the London Bible Society.

A^f. This MS. Bible, which belongs to the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Edschmiadzin

in Armenia, was there photographed by Conybeare in 1891. The MS. is written in two columns of fifty lines each in a beautiful hand.

A^g. This MS. Bible, which was written in the seventeenth century, belongs to Lord Zouche.

A^h. Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. *c.* 30 (thirteenth century). Only five Testaments are found in this MS., and in the following order: Simeon (folio 168^a), Levi (173^a), Joseph (183^b), Benjamin (195^b), Judah (202^a). The MS. is written in two or more hands (latest eighteenth century), and there are two types of text. Fortunately the four first-mentioned Testaments and T. Judah i–xiv. $8^{a\,b\,c}$ (i.e. ἐὰν . . . αἰσχροῤῥημονεῖν) belong to the first recension, and only T. Jud. xiv. $8^{d\,e}$–xxvi. to the second. This MS. thus attests the same type of text as $A^{a\,b}$, but it is more closely related to A^a than to A^b.

All the preceding MSS. have been used by the present editor. There are three others, of two of which he has no knowledge.

A^i. A Vatican MS. of the Bible cited once by Conybeare. See *JQR* viii. (1896), p. 260. It belongs to the seventeenth century.

A^k. Mechitarist Library, Vienna, No. 126 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1895, p. 71, 411 sqq.), This MS. was written in the year 1388. On the first 105 folios it contains the history of Joseph and Asenath. Then follow the Testaments. Of these Reuben, Dan, Naphtali, are missing. The order of the remaining nine is peculiar, agreeing in the first five with that of A^h. Thus we have Simeon, Levi, Joseph, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad, Asher. A study of the titles of these Testaments given in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25, and the German translation of the T. Jud. xxiv–xxvi, and T. Benj. x. 8^b–xii, by Dr. Paul Hunanian, makes it at once clear that A^k belongs to the first Armenian recension, and furthermore, that A^k is more nearly related to $A^{a\,h}$ than to A^b, and to A^h than to A^a.

(A^l). The Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 11 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen HSS.*, p. 19, 1891).

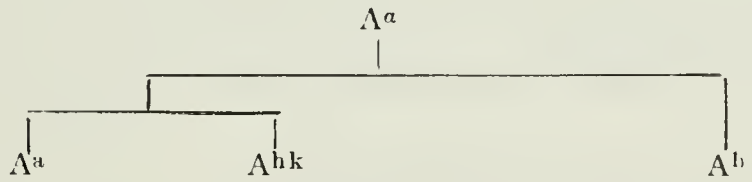
§ 5. The Slavonic Version and its two Recensions S^1, S^2.

This version is late and is based on the type of text represented by *acf*, and of these it attaches most closely to *f*; for S^1 always and occasionally S^2 agree in making the addition at the close of each Testament, that is to be found in *f* alone of the Greek MSS. This version, as I have shown in my edition, exhibits traces of the influence also of *a*.

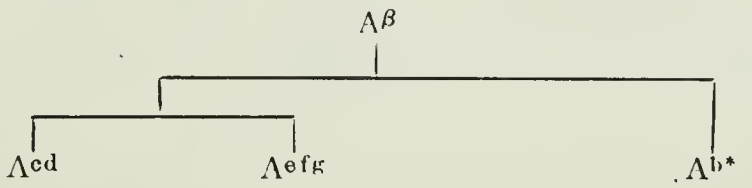
The two Slavonic recensions S^1 and S^2 are primarily taken from the so-called Palea (Greek Παλαιά), which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament. They are printed in Tichonravov's work entitled *Pamjatniki otrcchennoi Russkoi Literaturi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863).

§ 6. The Armenian Version in its two Recensions A^α, A^β. Value of this Version.

As we have already observed in § 4, there are two recensions of this version, A^α, A^β. A^α, which is found in non-Biblical MSS., includes four MSS., A^{abhk}. The relations of these MSS. can be represented as follows :—



A^β, which appears to be found only in Biblical MSS., includes $A^{b*cdefg}$. Of these A^{b*} stands aloof from the rest. Its idiosyncrasies are innumerable, but in a very few cases, where it diverges from the other representatives of this recension, it has the support of the best Greek MSS. The relations of these MSS are as follows :—



The variations between A^α and A^β are very numerous, but the greater part of them appear to have arisen from internal corruption, or from the attempt on the part of the scribe of A^α to abbreviate the text. But over and above these differences, there are certain important sections where the differences

between the two recensions go back to the Greek, as in T. Levi ii. 7–10, xiv. 1, where A^{α} agrees with α against β, and in T. Levi iii. 1–5, where A^{α} is less corrupt than α, and gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew archetype.

Exclusive of the sections just mentioned, A, taken as a whole, agrees with β S against α (see my edition of the Text, p. xv sq.). But within β there are two secondary types of text, to which *aef* and *bdg* belong respectively. All but universally A agrees with *bdg* where *bdg* differs from *aef*.

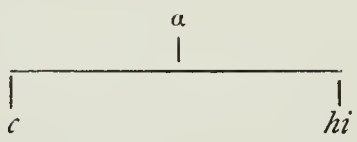
The value of A will be best understood when we come to deal with the Christian interpolations in the text. These are by no means absent from A, but they are present in a much less degree in A than in α and β. This is especially the case in the last two Testaments.

But, however valuable A is, it must be admitted that on almost every page it is guilty of omissions. These omissions are made obvious to the reader by the use of brackets. All words enclosed thus ⌜ ⌝ are omitted by A.

§ 7. The Greek Version in two Recensions α, β.

The Greek version is found in two forms, α and β. I do not call them recensions, since, as I have sought in my edition to prove, they very probably go back to distinct forms in the Hebrew.

α and its characteristics. α is represented by three MSS., *chi*. Their relations may be represented as follows:—



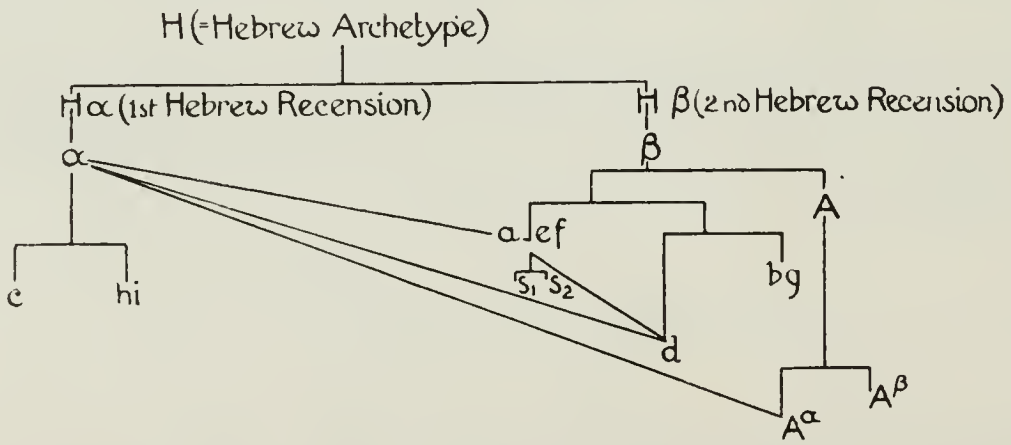
hi are derived from one and the same parent and show signs of a mixed ancestry (i.e. the influence of β), and herein diverge occasionally from *c*. α shows some omissions such as T. Reub. ii. 3^{b}–4^{a}, T. Jud. vi. 1–2, xii. 6–10, &c. Though much freer than β from Christian interpolations, it too has suffered from the Christian scribes' ill-directed activity.

β and its characteristics. β is represented by six MSS., *abdefg*, which represent two diverging types of text, *aef* showing affinities with α, and *bdg* with A. We have already pointed out (§ 5) that S is derived from *aef*. *aef* agree closely together, but not so *bdg*. Furthermore *bdg* are remarkable for large additions to the text in T. Zeb. vi. 4–6, vii–viii. 3, ix. 8^{cd}. These may have belonged to the original tradition.

Space will not admit of a description of *bdg*, but a few characteristics of *b* should here be noted. The variants of this MS. are sometimes due to deliberate emendation. Thus in T. Lev. xvii. 2 the priesthood of an ancient worthy is said to have been πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου, i.e. שלם עם יי, 'perfect with the Lord.' But the scribe of *b*, failing naturally to understand this Semitic idiom, wrote πλήρης μετὰ φόβου κυρίου. Not infrequently it alters the text against all the other authorities. Thus it adds καὶ ἐθαύμαζον in T. Jos. xvii. 5, ζήσεσθε in T. Jud. xvi. 2, changes συντρέχει into συνεργεῖ in T. Benj. iv. 5, συγγενῇ into συμπεισθῇς in T. Jos. vii. 3, and in iv. 5, &c. On the other hand, it possibly preserves two words καὶ νότου in T. Jud. v. 2, which have been lost in all the other MSS. Though a good representative of the type *bdg*, *b* cannot form a secure foundation on which to build a text.

d. This MS. exhibits peculiarities on every page. Though agreeing generally with *bg*, it attests readings of α and also of *aef* against *bg*.

The affinities of the various MSS. and Versions may be represented as follows:—



In this table all the main connexions are represented, but not the influence that in a few cases the descendants of β have exerted on *hi*.

§ 8. The Greek Version a Translation from the Hebrew.

Apart from Grabe, no notable scholar has advocated a Hebrew original till recently. Even Grabe, though he declared for a Hebrew original, advanced no linguistic arguments in support of his contention. It is remarkable that such a great Semitic scholar as Dillmann (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] xii. 362) could write: 'Since the publication of Nitzsch's study all are agreed that the book is not a translation, but was originally written in Greek.' Dr. Sinker in the Cambridge edition of the Greek text is still more pronounced.

To two Jewish scholars, Kohler (1893) and Gaster (1904) within the last twenty years belongs the honour of reopening the question of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, but the former did not advance any linguistic evidence, and the latter, though he brought forward a few good points, failed to establish his thesis. Shortly after the above articles were written the present writer began his study of the Testaments, in the course of which he early came to the conclusion, which he set forth in the *Encyc. Biblica* i. 241 (1899), that the bulk of the work was written before 100 B.C., and subsequently in full detail in *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1908. Since that date this thesis has been accepted by all Semitic scholars.

In what follows only a few specimens of the evidence for a Hebrew original can be given. A fuller statement of the evidence will be found in my edition of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlii–l (1908), and a nearly complete one in my edition of the *Greek Versions* (pp. xxiii–xxxix) above referred to.

1°. *Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the Greek language.*

T. Reub. i. 6 *ἀγνοίᾳ νεότητος* = 'sins of youth', i. e. פשע נעורים; iii. 8 *συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* = בן בתורה; iv. 6 *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = בלא עתם; vi. 11 *ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατό* = בו בחר.

T. Sim. ii. 12 *καίγε* = וגם in its adversative meaning = 'but'—a non-Greek use. Cf. Eccles. iii. 13, vi. 7; in iv. 4 *ἠγάπησέ με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου* (*α*) = אהבני עם אחי. In *β* we have the normal rendering *ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς*. v. 4 *ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσι* = בלוי יֵרֵעוּ; v. 5 *οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευί* = לא יכלו ללוי (the same Hebraism recurs in T. Iss. iv. 4; T. Dan v. 4); vi. 5 *σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ*. Here as in T. Lev. ii. 11 *ἐν αὐτῷ* (or *ἑαυτῷ*) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered simply by *αὐτός*. Cf. Midrash Wajjikra on Lev. xvii. 3 אנא בעצמי גואל אתחם.

T. Lev. viii. 8 *κλάδον . . . ἐλαίας πιότητος* = 'a branch of the oil-olive', i. e. זית שמן; cf. Deut. viii. 8; viii. 14 *ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν* = יקרא לו שם חדש.

T. Jud. vii. 1 *ὄχλος βαρύς* = חיל כבד 'a numerous army'; xii. 8 *ἕως τῆς ζωῆς μου* = בחיי 'so long as I lived'; xx. 4 *ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ*, which is absolutely unintelligible, is full of meaning in the Hebrew = בלב עצמו 'on his very heart'; xxv. 1 *ἔξαρχοι σκήπτρων* = 'chiefs of the tribes' (שבטים).

T. Ash. iii. 1 *ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτήν* = אלהים ישכן בה 'God hath his habitation therein'.

T. Jos. ii. 3 *ἔδωκέ με ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον* = נתן אתי לרחמים לפני (cf. Dan. i. 9), 'granted me to find mercy in the sight of'; xii. 3 *ποίησον μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν* = עשה משפט עמו.

T. Benj. x. 11 *κατοικήσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐν ἐμοί* = תשבו לבטח בי 'ye shall dwell *securely* with me'. The same mistranslation is found in Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 28, &c.

The above instances are sufficient in themselves to prove the derivation of the text from a Hebrew original. The bulk of the above expressions could hardly, on any hypothesis, have been written for the first time in Greek. But the evidence can be multiplied fourfold, both in quantity and conclusiveness.

2°. *Dittographic renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, and expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew MS. before the translator.*

In T. Naph. iii. 5 *ἀπὸ κατοικησίας . . . τάξας τὴν γῆν ἀοίκητον* is a clear instance of dittography. The original may have been מבלי יושב which is twice rendered in the Greek. In vi. 2 the impossible *μεστὸν ταρίχων ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν* is due to the same cause. *μεστὸν ταρίχων* = מלא מלוחים, a corruption of בלא מלחים = *ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν*. One more will here suffice. In viii. 4, 6 there are a strophe and an antistrophe. The latter consists of six lines, but the former of seven. Now if we compare them closely, we discover the six lines of the antistrophe correspond line for line to the first six lines in the strophe. Thus the seventh line is against the structure of the stanza. It is also against the sense. How then did it come to be here? We discover the reason the moment we retranslate into Hebrew. The genuine line *καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς* (cf. the corresponding line in the antistrophe *καὶ ὁ κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν*) = ואלהים יאהבכם which was written corruptly a second time as ומלאכים יאחזכם.

3°. *Paronomasiae which are lost in the Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*

We can recover more than a dozen of these by retranslation, the most of them having to do with the names of the patriarchs, i. e. on Simeon, Gershom, Kohath, Merari, Jochebed, Judah, Issachar, Gad, Zebulun, Naphtali, Bilhah, Asher, Benjamin. See my edition of the *Greek Versions*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

4°. *Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation.*

In T. Reub. iv. 9 *πολλὰ ἐποίησε αὐτῷ*, where the text is speaking of Potiphar's wife trying to ensnare Joseph, cannot be right. As Perles has pointed out, תרבה לו is corrupt for תארב לו, i. e. 'she lay in wait for him'.

In T. Sim. iii. 6 *καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ*
καὶ συγγινώσκει τοῖς †ἀγαπῶσιν† αὐτόν
καὶ οὕτως παύεται τοῦ φθόνου

cannot be right, and as Perles recognizes the error lies in *ἀγαπῶσιν* which is against the parallelism and sense. Here *τοῖς ἀγ. αὐτόν* = איביו, corrupt for אהביו 'those hostile to him'.

In T. Lev. ii. 8 the second heaven is said to be brighter and more brilliant than the first, *ἦν γὰρ καὶ ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον*. Clearly there is something wrong here. The greater brightness of the second heaven cannot be due to its greater loftiness. The error, therefore, lies in the *ὕψος*. This word = גֹּבַהּ, which is corrupt for גַּהּ = *φῶς* or *φέγγος*. Thus the brightness of the second heaven was due to a boundless light (*φῶς ἄπειρον*) that was therein. This light may have been physical, if we may adopt the Talmudic view, which represents the sun, moon, and stars as being in the second heaven (Chag. 12^{b}).

In T. Jud. ix. 3 *καὶ †ἤρθη† νεκρὸς ἐν ὄρει Σιείρ, καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐν Ἀνονιρὰμ ἀπέθανεν* (*β*, S^{1}), the words *καὶ . . . ἀπέθανεν* are omitted by *α* as unintelligible. But a comparison with the Midrash Wajjissau where the same incident is recounted shows that this clause belongs to the original text, and in the form in which it appears in *β*, S^{1}. Moreover these authorities help us to discover how the corruption in *νεκρός* arose. *νεκρός* = נבלה, whereas the Midrash has נחלה = *τετραυματισμένος*. Thus Esau was wounded on Mount Seir and died as he was passing over Anoniram.

T. Jud. xxi. 6 *οἱ μὲν †κινδυνεύουσιν† αἰχμαλωτιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλουτοῦσιν ἁρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια*. Here instead of *κινδυνεύουσιν*, we require a verb forming an antithesis to *πλουτοῦσιν*. Now *κινδυνεύουσιν* = יִסָּכְנוּ (late Hebrew) which in earlier Hebrew = *πτωχεύουσιν*.

T. Zeb. ix. 2 *ἐὰν δὲ εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθῶσιν, ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει αὐτά, καὶ γίνονται †εὐκαταφρόνητα†*. Here, as Perles has pointed out, *εὐκαταφρόνητα* = יִמָּאֲסוּ, which is either a corruption or secondary form of יִמַּסּוּ = 'melt away', 'vanish'. The same corruption underlies *ὡς ὕδωρ †ἄχρηστον†* (= 'as useless water') = כמים נמאסים, corrupt for כמים נמסים 'vanishing away as water'.

In T. Jos. xi. 7 *ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ †ἔργῳ†*(*α*). *β*, Λ omit *καὶ ἔργῳ* as unintelligible. But by retranslation the source of the corruption springs to light. *ἔργῳ* = עבדה, which the translator read as עֲבֹדָה = *ἔργῳ*, but which he should have read as עֲבָדָה = 'household servants'.

The above form a small part of the passages where the Greek text has to be retranslated in order to discover the source of the corruption. In all these passages there is no divergence between the MSS. and Versions. In the next section we shall discuss only those passages in the text where the MSS. and Versions attest different readings, *α* generally standing in opposition to *β*, A, S.

By means of the evidence thus forthcoming we hope to advance a stage further than we have yet reached. We have proved that our book is derived from an Hebrew original: we shall now try and prove that *α* and *β* did not originate in the Greek but are derived respectively from two distinct Hebrew recensions H$^{\alpha}$ and H$^{\beta}$.

§ 9. The two Greek types of text, *α* and *β*, appear to be derived from two Hebrew Recensions, H$^{\alpha}$ and H$^{\beta}$.

α and *β* are not, strictly speaking, Greek recensions; for their chief variations appear not to have originated in the Greek, but to go back to diverse forms of text already existing in the Hebrew, which we denote as H$^{\alpha}$ and H$^{\beta}$. Of these two recensions, H$^{\alpha}$ and H$^{\beta}$, sometimes one gives the correct text, sometimes the other. According to the most likely hypothesis H$^{\alpha}$ was first translated into Greek, i. e. *α*, and then H$^{\beta}$ was rendered into Greek by a translator who had *α* before him. In regard to the Book of Daniel the same hypothesis is necessary. The LXX version was undoubtedly made first, and subsequently that of Theodotion from a Semitic text diverging considerably from that used by the translator of the LXX version, not merely in individual readings but also in the subject-matter, especially in Daniel iv. Now in the case of the text before us the same phenomenon is repeated, but on a very much smaller scale. In T. Lev. ii. 7–iii, the description of the Three Heavens is more or less faithfully handed down in *α* A , whereas in the corresponding chapters in *β* there is an account of the Seven Heavens. There is no good ground for assuming that this divergence originated in the Greek and not in the Hebrew; for such duplicate accounts of the same event are found occasionally in the Hebrew books of the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments. Moreover, I will now give a few of the passages, where *α* and *β* undoubtedly presuppose variations in the Hebrew. The variants will be underlined.

T. Benj. xii. 2 (*α*) *ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνῳ καλῷ.* (*β*, A) *ἀπέθανε . . . ἐν γήρει καλῷ.*

Here H$^{\beta}$ (i. e. *β*, A) is undoubtedly right. In H$^{\alpha}$ שיבה (= *γήρει*) was corrupted into שינה = *ὕπνῳ*. The same

corruption was present in both H^{α} and H^{β} in T. Zeb. x. 6; T. Dan vii. 1 (*c*); T. Ash. viii. 1; T. Jos. xx. 4; whereas both Hebrew recensions were right in T. Iss. vii. 9. The above conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in the Hebrew Test. Naph. i. 1 we find בשיבה טובה. Though this Testament is not the original Testament of Naphtali, it preserves in several passages a more original text than the Greek.

T. Ash. vi. 6 (α) *εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.* (β, A) *παραμυθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ.*

Here H^{α} is right and not H^{β}. The angel of peace, who is mentioned earlier in the verse, conducts the good soul into eternal life. Here *εἰσφέρει* = ינחה, which in H^{β} was corrupted into ינחם. *ὁδηγεῖ* would have been the usual rendering of ינחה, as we find in T. Benj. vi. 1 *ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ὁδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.* The LXX implies the same corruption of ינחה into ינחם in 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18, and Symmachus the converse corruption in Job xxxix. 25.

T. Reub. iv. 1 (α) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν.* (β) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασιν.*

Here α, which is in part supported by A, is clearly right. *ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς* = במעשים ישרים, of which ישרים was corrupted in H^{β} into ושׂרים = *καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι.*[1]

T. Ash. vi. 5 (α) *ὅτε γὰρ πονηρὰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.* (β, A) *ὅτε γὰρ τεταραγμένη ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.*

Here רעושה (= *τεταραγμένη*) in H^{β} was corrupted in H^{α} into רשעה = *πονηρά.*

T. Jos. iv. 7 (*a aef*) *ἀντεφιλονείκει.* (*bg*, A) *ἐσιώπησε.*

Here H^{α} read התחרתה which was a corruption of H^{β} התחרישה.

T. Jos. iv. 3 (α) *τῆς δολιότητος αὐτῆς.* (β, A) *τῆς Αἰγυπτίας.*

Here H^{α} = מִמְּצֹדֶיהָ 'from her snares' (so Perles, but neither *δόλιος* nor its derivatives ever render this Hebrew word in the LXX): or = מתרמיתה and H^{β} ממצרית.

T. Zeb. iv. 3 (α) *ἀπεδόθη* = נמסר. (β, A) *ἐπράθη* = נמכר.

The above instances are sufficient to establish the existence of two distinct types of text in the Hebrew—H^{α}, H^{β}. For over thirty other passages in the Testaments where the variations postulate the same conclusion see Introd. to my Text, § 12.

§ 10. Date of the original Hebrew.

The date of the original Hebrew is not difficult to determine. Thus Reuben (T. Reub. vi. 10–11) admonishes his sons: 'Draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth . . . because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation.' Here a high-priest who is also king is referred to. Such a combination of officers naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. Moreover, the possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: 'And bow down before his seed; for on our behalf it shall die in wars visible and invisible and shall be among you an eternal king.' A similar statement is made in T. Sim. v. 5. Thus the high-priest is not only to be high-priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. That the Maccabean high-priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted. But the identification becomes undeniable as further marks and tokens of this priestly dynasty come to light. Thus it is said that this priesthood shall be called by a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14). Now the Maccabean high-priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title anciently borne by Melchizedek, and applied to the Maccabean high-priests in Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, Josephus, and the Talmud. A kindred title of the same significance is applied according to a growing body of expositors to Simon the Maccabee in Ps. cx. In due accord with these facts our text (T. Lev. viii. 14) declares that a new name should mark the new priesthood.

But the praises accorded in this book could not apply to all the Maccabean priest-kings; for, since it was written by a Pharisee, it could not have been composed after the breach arose between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees towards the close of the second century B.C. Thus the date of composition lies between 153, when Jonathan the Maccabee assumed the high-priesthood, and the year of the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees. But the limits can be determined more closely. To only one member of the Maccabean dynasty are the prophetic gifts assigned in our text (T. Lev. viii. 15) in conjunction with the functions of kingship and priesthood. Now in all Jewish history the triple offices were ascribed to only one individual, John Hyrcanus. Hence we conclude that the Testaments were written between 137 and 107 B.C. But the limits may be fixed still more

[1] Since *καλοῖς* would be the stock rendering of טובים, it is possible that this word stood in H^{α} and was corrupted into וטועים in H^{β}.

definitely. For the text refers most probably to the destruction of Samaria, T. Lev. vi. 11. In that case our book was written between 109 and 107 B. C. (see my edition, pp. l–liii).

§ 11. Integrity, Authorship, Sources.

The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, after the removal of the Jewish and Christian additions (§§ 12, 13), presents, it must be confessed, a certain want of coherence, and the parts dealing with the duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in at times very abruptly. Notwithstanding, I accept on the whole the unity of the book; for its two main characteristics—the strictly Ḥasid element in the book and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty—belong to the period to which our author belongs and to none other before or after. Furthermore, both these parts of the book are universalistic in tone. On the other hand, much of the unevenness of the book may be due to the use of sources and to faulty transmission of the text.

The author was a Pharisee of the early type. He was an upholder of the Law and of the Temple sacrifices: he looked for the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the body to a new life therein. He taught the duties of chastity, truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, and temperance. Our author has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions. He shows a wide acquaintance with the O.T., Sirach, and 1 Enoch, as well as of other ancient works—such as the account of the War of Jacob and his sons against the Amorites utilized in T. Jud. iii–vii, Jubilees xxxiv. 1–9, the Midrash Wajjissau (see my Text, pp. 235–8), and the Book of Jasher: the account of the war between Jacob and Esau utilized in T. Jud. ix, Jubilees xxxvii–xxxviii, and the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132.

Another very important source for the T. Levi has just been discovered in the lost Hebrew document, from which the Aramaic and Greek fragments are printed in my *Greek Versions of the Testaments*, pp. 245–56, and translated in my *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 228–35. This source deals with the temple ritual of the second century B. C. and is therefore of great importance from an historical standpoint.

Our author drew also upon a Hebrew document dealing with the 'Two Ways' in the T. Asher and upon Jewish tradition generally on a great variety of points.

§ 12. Jewish Additions to the Original Work.

A large body of these additions can be classed under one head, as interpolated at a certain period and written with a well-defined object. The period was about 70–40 B. C., and the object of the additions was the overthrow of the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century B. C. had become guilty of the most abandoned lewdness and baseness.

1°. *First century additions:—*
T. Lev. x, xiv–xvi.
T. Jud. xvii. 2–xviii. 1 (?), xxi. 6–xxiii, xxiv. 4–6.
T. Zeb. ix.
T. Dan v. 6–7, vii. 3 (?).
T. Naph. iv.
T. Gad viii. 2.
T. Ash. vii. 4–7.

In these passages the nation is declared to be guilty of apostasy; the laying waste of the Temple is predicted, and a second captivity: a redemption of the nation either by God Himself or by a Messiah sprung from Judah, and a blessed return to their own land. In all these respects these passages agree with the Psalms of Solomon, which belong to the same period.

Another characteristic of these additions is their frequent citation of the Enoch literature. The citations cannot be found in 1 Enoch, but bear a close affinity to certain passages in 2 Enoch, whence we may reasonably infer the existence of certain portions of that literature, which were subsequently embodied in some form in 2 Enoch.

2°. *Other additions of various dates:—*
T. Reub. ii. 3–iii. 2.
T. Lev. xvii. 1–9.
T. Zeb. vi. 4–6, vii–viii. 3.
T. Jos. x. 5–xviii.
On this section see my edition, pp. lvii–lxi.

§ 13. Christian additions.

These additions are found in nearly all the Testaments and were made at different periods. The dominant characteristic of all these additions (which are bracketed in the following translations, and a full list of which is given in my edition, pp. lxi–lxv) is their *dogmatic* character. They always import dogmatic Christian statements into a Jewish text, to which they are naturally alien in character. A few English scholars on the ground of these undoubted interpolations have proceeded to infer that all other passages common to the Testaments XII Patriarchs and the N.T. must have been interpolated in the former from the latter. But these scholars have failed to observe the characteristic differences between the two sets of passages in question. In the case of the first we have *dogmatic Christian statements* interpolated in a *Jewish work at variance not only with the teaching and character of that work as a whole, but also at variance with their respective contexts.* But in regard to the second, we have ethical sayings and teachings, *which are in harmony not only with the spirit of the book as a whole, but also with their respective contexts.* The ethical teaching, while very much loftier than that of the O.T., is yet its true spiritual child, and, though not so pure and sublime as that of the N.T., is a product of the school that prepared the way for the N.T.

It is hard to understand the mental attitude of those who regard these ethical teachings as Christian interpolations. Three-fourths of these teachings have no direct parallels in the N.T., and they stand practically on the same level as the rest, which are parallel to, or rather have exercised a direct influence on, the N.T. The only reasonable conclusion is that these ethical teachings belong to the original Testaments.

Fragments of an ethical tradition which was largely independent of the O.T. are preserved in the Story of Ahikar. That this story with its moral goes back to a very ancient date we now know, since Aramaic fragments of the fifth century B.C. have been recently discovered. For the account of this story the reader should consult Dr. Rendel Harris' study of it at the close of this volume. Now our author appears to have borrowed a few of his sayings from this story. Thus—

Ahikar, *Syr. Version* 28 (Syr. 28; Arab. 19^{b}, 58^{b}). '**If thine enemy meet thee with evil meet him** with wisdom' ('**with good**' Syr. Frag. 20).

T. Jos. xviii. 2 '**If any one seeketh to do evil to thee do him a good turn,** and pray for him, and so from all evil shall ye be redeemed of the Lord'. Cf. T. Benj. iii. 3.

Greek version preserved in Aesop. xxvi. 6 **τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε·** *φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις.*

T. Gad iii. 3 (*ὁ μισῶν*) **τῷ κατορθοῦντι φθονεῖ.** vii. 1 *ἐὰν δὲ εἷς ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς εὐοδοῦται μὴ λυπεῖσθε, ἀλλ' εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵνα τελείως εὐοδοῦται* (b d e g Λ S^{1}). 2 *καὶ ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον* **ὑψοῦται, μὴ φθονεῖτε.** T. Sim. iii. 6 **συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ.**

These parallels are close; but it will be observed how our author has touched to finer issues and glorified what he has borrowed, far above the highest imaginings of Ahikar.

Ahikar Syr. 19 (Syr. Frag. 7) '**My son, go not after the beauty of a woman:** and **lust not after her in thy heart.**'

T. Reub. iv. 1 **μὴ οὖν προσέχετε, τέκνα μου, κάλλος γυναικῶν.** Cf. T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4. T. Benj. viii. 2 **ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν καθαρὰν** (*β* S^{1}) . . . **οὐχ ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα εἰς πορνείαν.**

With the above we might compare Matt. v. 28 *πᾶς* **ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν** *ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν* **αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.**

Once more in T. Jos. iii. 5 the words, which Joseph uses with regard to himself, *ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει ὁ κύριός μου οἶνον οὐκ ἔπινον καὶ ἐλάμβανόν μου τὴν τροφὴν καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὴν τοῖς πένησιν,* seem to be used deliberately to contrast his conduct with that of Nadan the nephew of Ahikar, who acted in the opposite fashion, when he believed Ahikar was dead. As Drs. James and Harris have already pointed out, the story of Ahikar lies at the base of the Parable of the Wicked Servant, Matt. xxiv. 48–51 || Luke xii. 45–6.

§ 14. Influence on Jewish and Patristic Literature.

See my edition pp. lxxiv–lxxviii.

§ 15. Influence on the New Testament.

Since the influence of the Testaments on the N.T. has been very extensive only some of the chief instances of this influence can be touched on here. The reader can consult my edition, pp. lxxviii–xcii, where it is shown that the Sermon on the Mount reflects in several instances the

spirit and even reproduces the very phrases of our text: that many passages in the Gospels exhibit traces of the same, and that St. Paul seems to have used the book as a *vade mecum*.

1. **Forgiveness.** Matt. xviii. 15 ἐὰν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὕπαγε ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον.

xviii. 35 ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

T. Gad vi. 3 (β) ἐάν τις ἁμαρτήσει εἰς σε εἰπὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . καὶ ἐὰν . . . μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

vi. 6 ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς. v. 7 ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας.

With the above we must take Luke xvii. 3 ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot be reasonably denied.

2. **Duty of loving God and our neighbour.** Matt. xxii. 37–9 ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ . . . τῇ ψυχῇ σου . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

T. Dan v. 3 ἀγαπήσατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ †ζωῇ† ὑμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.

Our text, which enunciates the same duty twice elsewhere, T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6, is the first literatory authority to conjoin the two great commands of love to God and love to our neighbour. These commandments are given separately in Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18. In the latter passage and possibly in our text the sphere of neighbourhood is limited to Israelites, but in our Lord's use there is no limit of race or country.

3°. Various borrowings of ideas or diction.

Matt. xxv. 35, 36 ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν . . . ἠσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ ἤλθατε πρός με.

Luke ii. 19 συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

Acts xii. 11 ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρός.

John i. 9 τὸ φῶς . . . ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

v. 41 δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω.

T. Jos. i. 5, 6 ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διέθρεψέ με . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἤμην καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπεσκέψατό με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ θεός μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.

T. Lev. vi. 2 συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου.

T. Sim. ii. 8 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.

T. Lev. xiv. 4 τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου.

T. Benj. vi. 4 οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται δόξαν . . . ἀνθρώπων (β-a, S[1]).

4°. The Pauline borrowings are too numerous to be dealt with here. The reader can consult my text. There are over seventy words which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles, but which are not found in the rest of the N.T. Only a few of the most notable passages where St. Paul draws upon the Testament will here be appended:

1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ (+τοῦ θεοῦ D E F G, Itala. Vulg.) εἰς τέλος.

Rom. i. 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν.

xii. 21 νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐδὲν . . . ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα.

vii. 5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι . . . ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ.

2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται.

T. Lev. vi. 11 ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος.

T. Ash. vi. 2 καὶ πράσσουσι τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν (α).

T. Benj. iv. 3 οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικᾷ τὸ κακόν.

T. Iss. vii. 1 οὐκ ἔγνων ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν.

T. Naph. viii. 8 καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικός, καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ.

T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

§ 16. Theology, Forgiveness, the Two Great Commandments, Universalism, the Messiah, the Resurrection, the Antichrist.[1]

Forgiveness.—We have in our text a passage of truly epoch-making importance. Its importance cannot be grasped until we contrast the teaching of the New Testament with that of the Old on the question of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament from the first page to the last it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects, these two forgivenesses are seen to be one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted, without money and without price, to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the divine pardon, and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. David on his death-bed shows this unforgiving spirit when he charges Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commands him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to

[1] This section is reprinted in the main from my edition of the Testaments, pp. xcii sqq.

preserve his life. There is certainly the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later O.T. writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct therein as worthy of imitation. There is, of course, the noble passage on the subject of beneficence to one's enemy in Prov. xxv. 21, 22: 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink. For thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head, And the Lord shall reward thee.' But to show how far these words are from representing the attitude which the saints should adopt to those who wronged them, we have only to turn back to the preceding chapter (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18), where we receive this remarkable piece of advice, 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown: Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him, And He turn away His wrath from him.' Moreover, the righteous man can pray to God to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: 'Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, that I may requite them' (Ps. xli. 10). Thus we may conclude on the whole that in the Old Testament the saint as well as the sinner could indulge in resentful feelings or even in personal vengeance.

Now that we have grasped the conflicting attitudes of the Old and New Testaments on this great moral and religious question, we are able to appreciate the value of the contribution which the Testaments make in this direction. This contribution is found in T. Gad vi. 3–7 (see also § 26, p. lxxviii of my edition). These verses, as I have said in my notes, contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And it is likewise the essence of the divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But, though such is the meaning of forgiveness in the full sense of the word, our author is aware that it is often impossible to attain to such a perfect relation with the offender. Thus forgiveness comes often to be synonymous with banishing the personal feeling of resentment which rises within us when we suffer wrong, and which, when indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender the way is always open for his return to a right relation with us, and so far as we do so we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

For the further prosecution of the parallels the reader should consult p. 292. We now see the importance of our text. It shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics on the subject of forgiveness. By the early school of the Hasidim, or the pious ones of the Psalms, the best elements of the Old Testament had been taken up, studied and developed, and the highly ethical code of conduct deduced therefrom had been carried out in actual life by these ancient Quietists. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the Law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true successors of the early Hasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

Duty of loving God and one's neighbour.—It is remarkable that the famous command in the Gospels that embodies all duty in itself, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart . . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 30, 31)—is already found in the Testaments, though less emphatically and vigorously stated. Thus in T. Iss. v. 2 we have, 'Love the Lord and your neighbour'; T. Dan. v. 3, 'Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart'; and again in T. Iss. vii. 6, Issachar declares, 'I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart.'

Various ethical teachings.—The Testaments deal largely with the questions of hatred, lying, envy, hate, lust, covetousness and the virtues of long-suffering, truthfulness, love, purity, generosity, and the like. We can touch here only on a few of their pithy sayings on such subjects. Thus: 'Anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth' (T. Dan ii. 2). 'Hatred, therefore is evil; for it constantly mateth with lying' (T. Gad v. 1). 'Envy dominates the whole mind of man' (T. Sim. iii. 2), 'it has no rest while the object of it prospers' (iii. 3): 'Deliverance therefrom cometh through the fear of God' (iii. 4). Wherefore 'If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity' (T. Gad vii. 1). 'When envy goes a man's mind is lightened, so that he can enjoy the well-being of his former rival' (T. Sim. iii. 5, 6). A man is 'not to keep a ledger account of the evil done him' by his neighbour' (T. Zeb. viii. 5), a clause that St. Paul borrows in 1 Cor. xiii. 5, where λογίζεται τὸ κακόν

is wrongly rendered in A.V. by 'thinketh no evil', and misleading in R.V. by 'taketh not account of evil'.

As regards the questions of temperance and total abstinence, what better advice could be given than that of this old writer: 'If ye drink wine with gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and perish before your time' (T. Jud. xvi. 2–3). 'Be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth away the mind from truth and inspireth the passion of lust . . . and if the occasion of lust be present, he worketh the sin and is not ashamed' (T. Jud. xiv. 1–3).

Universalism.—Although the Testaments were written about the same date as the Book of Jubilees and both books were the work of Pharisees, the views of the two authors were widely sundered on some of the greatest questions, and particularly on that of the destiny of the Gentiles. The author of Jubilees taught that there was no hope for the Gentiles: God had placed them under angelic guardians with the object of accomplishing their destruction (xv. 31). Moreover, the Jew who intermarried with them should be put to death, and the man who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gentile should be stoned with stones (xxx. 7–17). How different the spirit of the author of the Testaments. A true son of the larger-hearted O.T. prophets, he proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles. The promised time has come. The kingdom is already established, and all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel. In the Judgement the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The teachings of the author on this question will be found in the note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

The first century B.C. additions are likewise characterized by the same Universalism. The Law was given to lighten every man, and the Gentiles were to be saved through the example and teaching of Israel (T. Lev. xiv. 4). The same view of the destiny of the Gentiles is found in the Pss. of Solomon (xvii. 32), though it is perhaps not as favourable as that in these additions. In other literature of the first century B.C. a harsher fate is predicted for the Gentiles, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi and the Assumption of Moses, and in 4 Ezra in the next century.

The Messiah.—In the original work the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah—in other words he is to be first of all priest, and then prophet and king. There are many passages expressing this view: T. Reub. vi. 7–12; T. Lev. viii. 14, xviii; T. Jud. xxiv. 1–3; T. Dan v. 10, 11; T. Jos. xix. 5–9. We have here the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hope of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first-century additions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears (T. Jud. xxiv. 5–6; T. Naph. iv. 5 (?)).

The prerogatives and powers ascribed to the priestly Messiah from Levi are very lofty. He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to walk in meekness and righteousness (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. viii. 14, emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. viii. 15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11, 12; T. Lev. viii. 14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. vi. 12; T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Dan v. 10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints (T. Dan v. 11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. xviii. 10; T. Dan v. 12), and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. xviii. 11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (xviii. 12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9).

It was the priestly character of the Maccabean priest-kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was also to be a priest as well as a king.

The Resurrection.—There is to be a resurrection, first of the O.T. heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous on the right hand and of the wicked on the left (T. Benj. x. 6–8). The scene of the future kingdom is to be the present earth. It is to last for ever.

Demonology.—The book represents a very developed demonology as a reference to 'Spirits' in Index II in my edition will show. The conception of Beliar in the Testaments is very advanced for this early date.

The Antichrist.—In the first century addition, T. Dan v. 6, we have the most ancient authority at present known to us for the view which connects the tribe of Dan with Antichrist, and helps to explain the exclusion of this tribe from the list of the Twelve in the N.T. Apocalypse.

§ 17. Bibliography.

(*a*) Editions of Greek Versions, i. e.

Of β. Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum*[2], i. 129–44, 335–74. The text here given is *b* with a few readings from *a*.

Sinker, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum ad fidem codicis Cantabrigiensis edita: accedunt lectiones cod. Oxoniensis*, Cambridge, 1869.

Appendix containing a collation of the Roman and Patmos MSS., 1879.

Of *a* and β. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, edited from nine MSS. together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and some Hebrew Fragments*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908.

The Armenian Version. H. Sargis Josepheanz, *The Treasury of the Old and New Fathers*, i. 27–151.

The Slavonic Version. Tichonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi Russkoi Literaturi*, 1863.

(*b*) Editions of the Hebrew Fragments.

Fragments of the T. Judah are found in the Midrash Wajjissau: see the Charles edition of the Greek Versions, pp. 235–8; and of the T. Naph. in the late Hebrew Test. of Naphtali, *op. cit.* pp. 239–44; Gaster, 'The Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *PSBA*, Dec. 1893, Jan. 1894.

(*c*) Critical Inquiries.

Grabe: see above and Sinker in his edition, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iv. 865-74.

Schnapp, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen untersucht*, 1884.

Conybeare, 'On the Jewish Authorship of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *JQR*, 1893, 375–98.

Kohler, *The Pre-Talmudic Haggada*, *JQR*, 1893, 400–6; 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *Jewish Encyc.*, 1906, xii. 113–18.

Charles, 'Apocalyptic Literature,' *Encyc. Bib.*, 1899, i. 237–41.

Hastings, *B. D.*, 1902, iv. 721–5; *Hibbert Journal*, 1905, 558–73; *Encyc. Brit.*, 1911, xxvi. 666–8.

Bousset, 'Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen' in *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 187-209, 344-6.

(*d*) Commentary.

Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, translated from the Editor's Greek Text and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, A. & C. Black, London, 1908.

For a complete bibliography see this volume.

§ 18. Brackets and Symbols and Abbreviations.

Brackets. The same brackets are used in this book as throughout the entire work; and in addition the brackets ⌜ ⌝ to signify that the words so enclosed are omitted by A.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

a, ℵ, c, d, e, f, g, h, i denote the Greek MSS.

a denotes the MSS. *c h i* of the first class.

β denotes the MSS. *a b d e f g* of the second class.

A denotes the Armenian Version.

A^{a}, A^{b*}, A^{b}, A^{c}, &c., denote the Armenian MSS.

A^{α} denotes the MSS. $A^{a\,b\,h\,k}$ of the first class.

A^{β} denotes the MSS. $A^{b*\,c\,d\,e\,f\,g}$ of the second class.

S^{1} denotes the first Slavonic recension.

S^{2} denotes the second Slavonic recension.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The Testament of Reuben, the first-born son of Jacob and Leah

1 1 The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons ⌜before he
2 died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life⌝. Two years after the death of Joseph ⌜his
3 brother⌝, when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And
4 he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And seeing
⌜there⌝ Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to
my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length
5 I am passing away. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and
6 do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father. in the commands which I give unto you. And
behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the sins of
7 youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. And
I tell you that he smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father
8 Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old
9 when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. And
10 after this I repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. And wine and
strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but
I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.

2 1 And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when

Title. So h i. c is corrupt: b e f add 'regarding thoughts'; $A^{a\,e\,f\,g}$ 'the Book of the Chronicles, the words of Reuben, First (> A^{a}) Testament'; A^{b} 'Testament and words of Reuben from the Book of the Chronicles'.

1. **hundred and twenty-fifth year.** This agrees with the Midrash Tadshe (viii. Eppstein's edition) which is itself based on Jubilees and the Testaments. It gives Reuben's age as 125, Simeon's as 120, Levi's 137, Dan's 125, Judah's 119 (?), Naphtali's 133, Gad's 125, Issachar's 122, Asher's 123, and Joseph's 110.

2. **Two years after the death of Joseph.** This agrees with Jub. xxviii. 11, 24, which says Reuben was born in 2122 A.M. and Joseph in 2135. As Joseph died at the age of 110, Reuben lived two years longer to attain the age of 125.

his brother. So *a* d only.

3. **go the way of my fathers.** Cf. Joshua xxiii. 14 'Go the way of all the earth'. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 2, 10.

4. **Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren.** Joseph alone of the other patriarchs addresses his brethren as well as his sons.

what things I have in my heart. T. S. ii. 1.

now at length, = *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*. Thus the LXX translates הפעם in Gen. xlvi. 30 אמותא הפעם. Cf. *ἀπ' ἄρτι* in John i. 51 in some MSS. Also *ἀπ' ἄρτι*, Matt. xxvi. 64 = *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, Luke xxii. 69.

5. **Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear.** So *a* A^{c} S^{1}. Cf. T. Jos. i. 2. This reading suits the context better than 'hear, my brethren, and give ear' *β*–d g $A^{d\,e\,g}$; or 'hear, my (> d) children, and give ear' d $A^{a\,b}$.

6. **I call to witness against you this day.** A reminiscence cf. Deut. iv. 26 where Moses calls heaven and earth to witness. *ἐπιμαρτύρομαι* is, however, unsuitable with 'God', and *ὁρκῶ*, 'I adjure,' is more so. Still we might compare Exod. xix. 21 *διαμάρτυραι*.

I was poured out. A classical use of *ἐξεχύθην*. Cf. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 4.

7. The importance of prayer is emphasized by our author. Jacob prays for Judah, T. Jud. xix. 2; for Gad, T. G. v. 9; for his ten eldest sons, T. B. iii. 6. Cf. T. S. ii. 2, 13; T. N. vi. 8; T. Jos. iii. 3, vii. 4, viii. 1; T. B. v. 5. Fasting accompanies prayer, T. Jos. iii. 3, iv. 8, x. 1, 2; T. B. i. 4.

8. **thirty years old.** Jub. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 1–5 says Reuben was only twenty-one.

9. The chastisement lasted seven months, the penance seven years.

10. **eat no pleasant food.** Cf. Dan. x. 3. Reuben practises abstinence for seven years, Simeon for two, T. S. iii. 4, and Judah till old age, T. Jud. xv. 4, xix. 2, in expiation of their sins. Joseph fasts seven years to preserve his chastity, T. Jos. iii. 4. Issachar in his righteousness and self-control abstains from wine all his life, T. Iss. vii. 3. The righteous man 'combines fasting with chastity', T. Jos. ix. 2: the double-hearted man superstitiously combines fasting and adultery, T. A. ii. 8, iv. 3.

such as had not been in Israel. So c and practically A. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

II. 1. **seven spirits of deceit.** Origen refers to this passage (*Hom. in Iosuam* 15^{b}, ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143, as from the Testaments of the XII Patr. as implying various 'Satanae'. Matt. xii. 45 speaks of seven evil spirits.

spirits of deceit. The Testaments contain a vast demonology. The chief of the demons is called Beliar *passim* (see T. Lev. iii. 3); the Devil, T. N. viii. 4; the Prince of Deceit, T. S. ii. 7; T. Jud. xix. 4; or your Prince (of Dan), T. D. v. 6. Beliar's works are opposed to God's law, T. L. xix. 1; T. Iss. vi. 1. He rules over disturbed souls, T. D. iv. 7, or those which yield to their evil inclination, T. A. i. 8. He flees, however, from the righteous and keepers of the law, T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4. The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take away from him the captive souls, T. D. v. 10; Beliar will be bound, T. L. xviii. 12, and cast into the fire, T. Jud. xxv. 3. The evil spirits in general are

2 I repented. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works
3 of youth. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his creation, that through them should be
4 done every work of man. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is
5 created. The second is the sense of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third is the sense of
hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given
7 to draw air and breath. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The
sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is
8 produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh is the power of procreation and
9 sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. Wherefore it is the last in
order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the
youth as a blind man to a pit, and as a beast to a precipice.

III 1 Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is brought about the trance of
3 nature and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error.] First, the
spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness,
4 in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of
5 obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The
fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying,
6 †in perdition and jealousy† to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. The

called spirits of deceit, T. R. ii. 1, 2; T. S. iii. 1; and *passim*: also wicked spirits, T. S. iv. 9; spirits of Beliar, T. Iss. vii. 7, &c.; unclean spirits, T. B. v. 2; angels of Satan, T. A. vi. 4. Their function is threefold as in 1 and 2 Enoch and the N. T., (1) to tempt men, (2) to accuse them when they fall, (3) to torment them. (2) is not a feature in this book, (3) is mentioned twice, T. L. iii. 2, spirits of retribution, and T. A. vi. 5, the evil spirit which a man serves waits for his soul as it leaves the body at death to torment it. (1) is their most prominent function in the Testaments. Of the tempting spirits, there are the seven spirits of deceit which attack youth, T. R. ii. 1–2, namely, those of fornication (cf., too, T. Jud. xiii. 3), insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, and injustice, T. R. iii. 3–6. T. Jud. xvi. 1 adds the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre. There are also the spirits of jealousy, T. Jud. xiii. 3; and of envy, T. S. iii. 1, iv. 7, which are wicked and poisonous spirits, T. S. iv. 9; the spirits of anger, T. D. ii. 4. There are angels, moreover, which stir men to murder, T. D. i. 7; and idolatry, T. N. iii. 3; and lust, T. Jos. vii. 4. The faithless and wicked fall an easy prey to them, but the spirits first require permission to tempt men, T. B. iii. 3 (cf. Job i. 12, ii. 6). If men yield, the devil makes them into his own instruments, T. N. viii. 6; but if they are single-hearted and do right, then neither the spirits of deceit nor Beliar have power over them, T. Iss. iv. 4; T. B. iii. 3; indeed, the devil and the spirits of Beliar and unclean spirits flee from them, T. N. viii. 4; T. Iss. vii. 7; T. B. v. 2. Nay, more, the righteous rule over them, T. S. vi. 6, and tread them under foot, T. L. xviii. 12, T. Z. ix. 8 (bdg). These spirits are punished on the judgement day, T. L. iii. 3.

2. **against man** + 'by Beliar' β A S.
leaders in the works. 'leader,' β–f g A^a S, which points to the singular ראש in Hebrew, which = 'poison' as well as 'leader'. Cf. 'poisonous spirit', T. S. iv. 9.

II. 3—III. 2. A late addition to the text, undoubtedly first made in Greek, and chiefly drawn from Greek sources. Not only does this passage intrude between the promise in ii. 1 and its fulfilment in iii. 3, 7, but it has no organic connexion with either. Moreover, the division of the bodily senses here given is based on Stoic theories, e. g. the peculiar meaning attached to *πνεύματα* as that of senses, organs, or appetites. The Stoics held that the soul had eight parts, namely, the five senses, the powers of reproduction and speech, and the dominant part or reason which ruled the other seven. They discharged themselves into the various parts of the body in the form of immaterial currents or *πνεύματα*. Cf. Plutarch, *De Plac.* iv. 21; also Zeller, *Stoics*, 214–15 (Eng. Trans.). For full quotations see my Comm. on the Testt.; also my note in Slav. Enoch xxx. 9. A parallel interpolation occurs in MS. 248 of Sirach xvii. 4, and precedes as here the Hebrew division of various powers.

3. **seven other spirits.** 'other' a, $>\beta$ S, 'again' A. This use of *πνεύματα* is confined to the Stoics, and has no parallel in the Hebrew רוּחַ. The Stoic division gives eight *πνεύματα*, but our text omits *ἀφή*, and replaces the eighth power *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν* by *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*.

4. **spirit of life.** Here *πνεῦμα* is used in its usual sense, cf. Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15. But the Hebrew usage would not imply more than life in an impersonal sense, whereas the Stoic parallel *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*, and the next phrase 'with which the constitution of man is created' suggest the power which gives vitality and life to the material organism and constitutes man's powers into a unity which is personal.

5. **sense.** *πνεῦμα*, and so in verses 5 and 7.
sight . . . desire. Cf. 1 John ii. 16 *ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.*
to draw air and breath. Cf. T. N. ii. 8 (note); also Arist. *De Spir.* 2.

6. **power.** *πνεῦμα.*

7. **and by it strength is produced,** *αὐτῷ* can refer only to *πνεῦμα.* Only d reads *αὐτῇ* (*γεῦσις*).

9. **as a blind man to a pit.** Cf. Matt. xv. 14.

III. 1–2. This reference to an eighth spirit, of sleep, is due to the interpolator himself, who has also inserted iii. 7. It is not found in Stoic teaching.

1. **trance of nature** (*ἔκστασις φύσεως*). Unlike the preceding bodily powers, sleep is not credited with any contribution to human activity.
the image of death. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231, &c.

2. An adaptation of ii. 3–iii. 1 to its present context.

4. **spirit of fighting, in the liver.** Cf. T. N. ii. 8.

5. **†in perdition and jealousy†.** Probably corrupt in the Hebrew text, בישואה וקנאה for לְשׁוֹנֵא וּמְקַנֵּא. Hence read 'to practise deceits on an enemy and a rival and concealments', &c.

seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfil the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts.
7, 8 [And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of
9 God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye ⌜the words of⌝ Reuben your father.
10 Pay no heed to the face of a woman,
Nor associate with another man's wife,
Nor meddle with affairs of womankind.
11 For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity.
12 For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not ⌜to sleep⌝ until I had
13 wrought the abominable thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her
14 chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought the impiety ⌜without her
15 perceiving it⌝, and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.
4 1 Pay no heed, therefore, ⌜my children⌝, to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did.
2 For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren,
3 because of the reproach. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my
4 impiety. And yet my father comforted me much, and prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have
5 been on my guard and sinned not. Therefore, my children, ⌜I say unto you⌝, observe ⌜all⌝ things
6 whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and under-

6. **fulfil** *a*. 'do' *β* A S.

7. An interpolation. See iii. 1 (note). Sleep is properly a natural power, not a vice like the other seven. *a a* e read 'which is error and fantasy'.

8. **darkening his mind.** Cf. Eph. iv. 18 *ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ*, also Rom. i. 21.
understanding the law. Here *συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* is a Hebraism.

9. **the words of.** So *a* a e f.

10. **Pay no heed,** &c. See iv. 1.
associate (*a*): 'be alone' *β*–g S^1. Cf. Sir. ix. 9, where the verb is *κάθου*, 'sit,' in the Greek, תטעם 'eat' in the Hebrew, and תרבה שיחה 'talk much' according to the Syriac (cf. Aboth i. 5). In Sanh. 100^b and Yebam. 63^b, where Sir. is quoted, we have אל תט אצלה 'turn not aside to her'. Cf. also Nedarim 20^a.
meddle with affairs, &c. Cf. Sir. xli. 21. For *πρᾶξιν* (a b f S), 'affairs', *a* reads *ὄψιν*, A ^{b*} *κάλλος καὶ πράξεις*.

11–15. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22; Jub. xxxiii. 1–9. Reuben's sin is denied in late works, e. g. Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22. See note on Jub. xxxiii. 2.

13. **had gone to Isaac.** Jub. xxxiii. 1.
Eder near to Ephrath. Gen. xxxv. 19, 21; Jub. xxxiii. 1.
Bilhah became drunk. Peculiar to our text. Hence the new turn to the story in *v.* 15.

14. **without her perceiving it** *a*: > *β* A S.
leaving her sleeping. Jub. xxxiii. 4–7 says Bilhah awoke and cried out. She also told the matter to Jacob on his return.

IV. 1. **Pay no heed . . . to the beauty of women,** &c. Cf. iii. 10; T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4; also Sir. ix. 8. Abodah Zara 20^b forbids a man to look on a beautiful woman if single, or a homely one if married.

singleness of heart, *ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας* = תֻּם־לֵבָב. Wisd. i. 1; Col. ii. 22; Eph. vi. 5. See note on uprightness in T. Iss. iii. 1.
on good works and. So a A. *ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι β* S. i. e. the *β* recension had a corrupt Hebrew בְּמַעֲשִׂים יְשָׂרִים וְשָׂרִים instead of בְּמַעֲשִׂים יְשָׁרִים.
your flocks. Cf. stress on husbandry, T. Iss. v. 3; vi. 2.

3. This is the first occurrence in Jewish literature of the conscience as a fully-developed conception. The LXX first uses the word in the technical sense in Wisd. xvii. 10 *ἀεὶ δὲ προσείληφεν τὰ χαλεπὰ (πονηρία) συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει*. See also T. Jud. xx. 2 (*a*). The action of the conscience is described (without the term) in T. Jud. xx. 5; T. G. v. 3.
impiety *a*. 'Sin' *β* S^1.

4. **that the anger of the Lord might pass.** Jub. xxxiii. 15 says 'Reuben was granted life and forgiveness'.
until now, *ἕως νῦν a*. *μετανοῶν*, 'repenting', d g A. *ἕως ἐννοιῶν*, '(even) in thought', a e f.

5. **I say unto you.** *a* only.

6–7. Cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, xviii. 2–6, on the evils of fornication.

6. A **pit,** *βόθρος*, *a* a f. *ὄλεθρος*, 'destruction' *β*–a f. שחת has both meanings.
separating it from God . . . near to idols. This recurs in T. S. v. 3. Cf. Kethub. 11^b 'Most idolaters are adulterers', also Wisd. xiv. 12 *ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας* (= spiritual unfaithfulness) *ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων*.

7 standing, and leadeth down young men into Hades before their time. For many hath fornication
destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, ⌜or rich or poor⌝, he bringeth reproach upon
8 himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. For ye heard regarding Joseph how he
guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in
9 the sight of God and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned
10 magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. There-
11 fore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. For if fornication
overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.

5 1 ⌜For⌝ evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use
2 wiles by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot
3 bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. ⌜For⌝ moreover, concerning them,
the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication
more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they
deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instil the poison, and then through the accom-
4 plished act they take them captive. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's
5 bearing she beguiles him. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and
your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman
6 who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the
Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them,
and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and
7 appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after
their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

6 1 Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every
2 woman. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure
3 in mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an
4 irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach. For in fornication
5 there is neither understanding nor† godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof. There-

leadeth down . . . to Hades. Cf. Prov. vii. 27, where LXX has *κατάγουσαι* as here.

before their time, *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = בלא עתם. Cf. T. Jud. xvi. 3.

7. **many hath fornication destroyed.** Cf. Prov. vii. 26; also Sir. ix. 8, where read *ἀπεκτάνθησαν* for *ἐπλανήθησαν*. So Sanh. 100^{b}, Yebam. 63^{b}.

or rich or poor. *a* only.

derision, *γέλωτα*, d e A S. *πρόσκομμα*, 'an offence' or 'stumbling-block', *a*, i.e. מוקש for שְׂחוֹק.

8. **For ye heard,** &c., 'for since Joseph guarded himself from every woman . . . he found', &c. *β* A S^{1}.

found favour in the sight of God ('of the Lord' *β* A S^{1}). Cf. T. S. v. 2; also 1 Sam. ii. 26; Luke ii. 52. Acts vii. 10 says of Joseph 'God . . . gave him favour'.

9. Cf. T. Jos. vi.

did many things unto = תרבה, perhaps corrupt for תארב, 'lay in wait for'.

10. **delivered him,** &c. Cf. Acts vii. 10.

evil, *a*. 'visible and' *β*-d A *β* S^{1}, i.e. ראוי for רע.

11. Beliar is powerless with the pure. Cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 6 (note); Eccles. vii. 26.

V. 1. **For.** *a* only.

evil are women. Cf. Eccles. vii. 27, 28.

by outward attractions, *ἐν σχήμασι*, i.e. figure, bearing, attire, and gestures.

2. **by outward attractions,** *διὰ σχήματος a. δυνάμεως* *β* A S^{1}, i.e. הון for הוד or חן.

3. **they plot.** Cf. Eccles. vii. 26, 27.

glance of the eye. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. B. vi. 3: also Prov. vi. 25; Sir. xxiii. 4.

4. **openly . . . beguiles him.** *a* only.

5. **adorn not their heads and faces.** Enoch viii. 1 says that the fallen Watchers taught women to beautify the face and wear precious metals. For Hebrew adornments see Isa. iii. 16.

reserved for eternal punishment, *εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται.* Cf. Jude 6 *εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν*; 2 Pet. ii. 4 *εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους*

6. **thus they allured the Watchers.** Jub. iv. 15 (see note) says the Watchers descended to instruct the children of men, and afterwards proceeded to take wives of the daughters of men (Jub. v. 1). See Chron. Jerahmeel xxv. 2–4. In xxv. 7, 13 Azazel is said to be 'appointed chief over all dyes and all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin'. Is this story in view in 1 Pet. iii. 3–5; 1 Tim. ii. 9?

Watchers. See Dan. iv. 13, 23; 1 En. vi–viii; Jub. iv. 15, v. 1; 2 En. xviii. 3.

lusted after them A b b* c d e g: 'lusted after one another' *a β*–g.

7. **reaching unto heaven.** Their height was 3,000 ells, 1 En. vii. 2.

VI. 1. **Beware . . . of fornication.** Cf. iv. 6; T. S. v. 3; Tobit iv. 12.

if you wish . . . guard *β* A S^{1}: 'be pure in mind: guard also' *a*.

2. Cf. iii. 10. Note that purity of heart is required. Cf. Matt. v. 27, 28.

3. **a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach** *a*: 'an eternal reproach of Beliar' *β* S^{1}: 'a great reproach' A.

4. **godliness,** *εὐσέβειαν*. Probably corrupt for *εὐλάβειαν*, 'discretion'.

jealousy. Cf. Num. v. 29; Prov. vi. 34.

5–12. Many passages in the Testaments set forth Levi's merits and claims. Cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. L. ii. 11, viii. 14,

fore, ⌜then I say unto you⌝, ye will be jealous ⌜against the sons of Levi⌝, and will seek to be exalted
6 over them; but ye shall not be able. For God will avenge them, ⌜and ye shall die by an evil death⌝.
7 For to Levi God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and
8 Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgement and shall sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times, as the **anointed** High Priest, of whom the Lord spake.
9 I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love
10 each one for his brother. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive
11 a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to
12 be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.

7 1, 2 And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. And they placed him in a coffin until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him ⌜in Hebron⌝ in the cave where his father was.

The Testament of Simeon, the Second Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the
2 hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, ⌜his brother⌝, died. For when Simeon

xviii. 1, 2; T. D. v. 4; T. N. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. The salvation of Israel is to come from both Levi and Judah jointly, T. S. vii. 1, &c. Only in T. G. viii. 1 (probably corrupt) is Judah placed before Levi. Levi is priest and king, T. R. vi. 7–12; T. L. viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2; as high-priest, T. S. vii. 2. Judah is king T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. i. 6, xvii. 5; T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt?). T. R. vi. 7^{b} and T. Jud. xxiv. 4–6 are additions.

5. **then, I say unto you** *a* only.

jealous against the sons of Levi. Cf. the charge against Simeon's sons, T. S. v. 4, and Dan's, T. D. v. 5. The purpose of this admonition is to establish the Maccabean hegemony.

6. **and ye . . . death.** These words are omitted by A.

7. Levi is to be king. The bracketed words are a foolish interpolation. Why 'to Dan' is not clear. In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 3 we have the non-Maccabean view: 'because thou (Reuben) didst sin, my son, the primogeniture is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.'

8. **shall know**: 'shall make known' A.

give ordinances for judgement, *διαστελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν* c β–b g S: *διατελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν* h g A, 'fulfil as regards judgement,' perhaps corrupt for *διατελέσει κρίσιν.*

all Israel (> 'all' *a*). The Twelve Tribes are considered as in Palestine by our author. John Hyrcanus, who is meant by our text, is to bless Israel and Judah, verse 11. The title 'Twelve Patriarchs' points to the same view. Cf. the letter of Aristeas, which says that Eleazar the high-priest sent six men from each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. The pre-Maccabean view (1 En. lxxxix. 72) was that the Northern tribes were still in captivity. The Maccabean view was due to the extensive sway of those native kings. With the failure of the Maccabees, the Messianic promises were again attached to Judah instead of Levi, and the idea of the Captivity of the Northern Tribes revived. See Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 34, 50; Ass. Mos. iv. 8, 9; Sib. Or. ii. 170–3; 4 Ezra xiii. 39–47; Apoc. Bar. i. 2, 3, lxxviii. 1, 5, 7, lxxxiv. 10. For the rejection of Dan see T. D. v. 6–7.

consummation of the times, *τελειώσεως χρόνων.* Cf. T. L. x. 2 (T. B. xi. 3) *συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων*; T. Z. ix. 8 *καιροῦ συντελείας.* This means the closing years of the age present to the writer, and the opening of a new era, possibly with no catastrophe, as in Jub. i. 29, v. 12, xxiii. 26–30 (see notes). Cf. Daniel's 'time of the end' (Dan. viii. 19, xi. 35, 40, xii. 49), עת־קץ. The LXX gives *ὥραν καιροῦ, ὥραν συντελείας, καιροῦ συντελείας.* Cf. 1 En. x. 13 *ἡμέρας τελεσμοῦ*, xvi. 1 *ἡμέρα τῆς τελειώσεως.* Also Ass. Mos. i. 18 'in consummatione exitus dierum'; x. 13 '(tempora) consummentur'; 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, &c. 'consummation of the times'; lvi. 2 'of the world'; lxxxiii. 7 'of the age'. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 5 and T. Iss. vi. 1 (note); also Matt. *συντέλεια αἰῶνος*, xiii. 39, xxiv. 3.

as the anointed High Priest. So emended from *ἀρχιερεὺς χριστοῦ* h: (times) 'of the anointed High Priest' c β S.

of whom the Lord spake. Ps. cx, originally written in honour of Simon, is here interpreted of John Hyrcanus. Cf. for reinterpretation Dan. vii. 7, 8 as explained in Dan. vii. 23–5, and interpreted anew in 4 Ezra xi. 1 ff.

9. **do truth** h i β S: 'walk in truth' A: 'speak truth' c, as also T. D. v. 2 (Zech. viii. 16; Gal. iv. 25).

entertain love. Cf. T. L. xix. 18; also T. S. iv. 7; T. D. v. 3.

10–11. Levi as priest and king. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41 concerning Simon, *ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα.*

receive a blessing. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15; Sir. l. 20.

11. **him hath the Lord chosen,** i.e. Levi: *ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο*—a Hebraism.

nation *a* f A: 'nations' β–f S^{1}.

12. Achievements of the Maccabean prince-priests. Most 'died in wars visible', cf. T. S. v. 5. As spiritual leaders they spent themselves in warfare against spiritual opposition. Cf. Ps. lxix. 9, cxix. 139.

eternal king ('kings' A). Cf. *ἱερεὺς εἰς αἰῶνα* 1 Macc. xiv. 41; Ps. cx. 4. 'Seed' and 'die', however, may be corrupt. If so, read זְרֹעוֹ for זַרְעוֹ and יעמד for ימות, and render 'Bow down before his might, for he will stand forth . . . a king for ever', of Hyrcanus.

VII. 2. Joseph's bones alone remained in Egypt till the Exodus. Cf. Acts vii. 16.

TITLE *a*: +'regarding envy' β–a d e A$^{e\ f\ g}$ S^{1}.

I. 1. **The copy of the words** h β–d e S^{t}: 'testament' c: 'copy of the testament' d e A$^{a\ b}$.

before . . . died > *a* d.

hundred and twentieth year β–d g A$^{b*\ c\ d}$. See T. R. i. 1.

Joseph died. Jub. xxviii. 13, 24 makes Joseph ten years younger than Simeon.

was sick, his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:—

II 1 Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father,
And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart.
2 I was born of Jacob as my father's second son;
And my mother Leah called me Simeon,
Because the Lord had heard her prayer.
3 Moreover, I became strong exceedingly;
I shrank from no achievement,
Nor was I afraid of ought.
4 For my heart was hard,
And my liver was immovable,
And my bowels without compassion.
6 Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. For in the time of my youth I was jealous ⌜in many things⌝ of Joseph, because my father loved him ⌜beyond
7 all⌝. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even
8 Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him
9 out of my hands. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to Dothan, where were our necessaries and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites.
10 And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father.
11 But on hearing this I was ⌜exceedingly⌝ wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and
12 for five months I continued wrathful against him. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld ⌜from
13 me⌝ the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy
14 ⌜and from all folly⌝. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.

III 2 And now, my children, ⌜hearken unto me and⌝ beware of the spirit of deceit and envy. For envy
3 ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him ⌜neither to eat nor to drink⌝, nor to do any good thing. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that
4 is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. Two years ⌜therefore⌝ I afflicted my soul with fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God.
5 For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened.
6 And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and forgiveth those who **are hostile to** him, and so ceaseth from his envy.

IV 1 And my father asked ⌜concerning me⌝, because he saw that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am
2 pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph.
3 And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly,
4 and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being

II. 2. **Simeon . . . heard her prayer.** Cf. Gen. xxix. 33 for this play on the name.
4. **liver.** Here the spirit of war dwells, T. R. iii. 4.
6. **jealous of Joseph.** Cf. iv. 2, 3; and Targum Ps.-Jon. which attributes Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20 to Simeon and Levi.
in many things *a* only.
beyond all *a* only.
7. **mind,** *ἤπατα*. See *v.* 4.
prince of deceit. See T. R. ii. 1 (note).
blinded my mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8.
8. **sent forth his angel and delivered.** Dan. iii. 28; Acts xii. 11. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.
9. **Reuben to Dothan.** Reuben's absence explains Gen. xxxvii. 21.
Judah . . . sold him. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 26–8.
10. **heard these things,** *ἀκούσας* c (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21): 'came' *β* A S^1, i.e. בשובו for בשמעו. Same corruption in *v.* 11.
restore c A = השיב: 'save' *β*-a f S^1 = הושיע.
13. **the Lord God** *a* d: 'the Lord' *β*-d A $^{b*\ c\ d\ e\ g}$ S^1: 'God' A $^{a\ b\ h}$.

III. 1. **spirit of deceit and envy** *a* A S^2. Cf. ii. 7. 'spirits' *β* S^1.
3. **and so long,** &c. Perhaps render 'And he that is envied flourisheth, and', &c.
4. **afflicted my soul with fasting.** Ps. xxxv. 15. Cf. T. R. i. 10.
6. **forgiveth,** *συγγινώσκει a* a e f S^1. *οὐ καταγινώσκει* b d g A $^{b*\ c\ d\ e}$.
are hostile to. The text has 'love' = in the Hebrew original אהביו corrupt for איביו.

IV. 4. Joseph is commended here and always in the Testaments except Naph. Cf. T. R. iv. 8–10.

compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his
5 brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of

heart,	β A S^1 soul and with good heart, keeping in mind Joseph your father's brother,

that God may give ⌜you also⌝ grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in
6 Joseph's case. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own
7 soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. Do ye also, my children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from
8 you. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causeth anger and war in the mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood,

a and leadeth the mind into frenzy,	β A^{β} S^1 and leadeth the mind into frenzy, ⌜and suffereth not prudence to act in men⌝; moreover, it taketh away sleep,

[and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body].

9 For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth, and with wicked spirits disturbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion; and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5 1 Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness
2 dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. And now, my children,
Make your hearts good before the Lord,
And your ways straight before men,
And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men.
3 Beware, therefore, of fornication,
For fornication is mother of all evils,
Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar.
4 For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication,
5 and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi;
6 for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer ⌜all⌝ your hosts. And they shall be few in number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our father prophesied in his blessings.

6 1, 2 Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. Now, if ye remove from you your envy and all stiff-neckedness,
As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus;
And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

5. **singleness of heart.** See T. Iss. iii. 2 (note).
of heart *a*. β A S^1 read 'soul and (> $A^{a\,h}$) with good ('pure' $A^{a\,h\,b^*\,c\,d\,e\,g}$ > A^{b}) heart, keeping in mind Joseph (> b) your father's brother ('brother' A)'. d is corrupt. The twofold recension obviously goes back to the Hebrew original.
6. **gave us riches,** &c. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11, 12.
7. **love each one his brother.** Cf. T. R. vi. 9.
will withdraw *a* &c.: 'put ye away' β–e g S^1. For 'withdraw' cf. iii. 5, 6.
8. **and suffereth . . . men** > $A^{b^*\,c\,d\,e\,f\,g}$: 'moreover . . . sleep' recurs T. Jud. xviii. 4 with a new verb.
[and causeth tumult . . . body], bracketed as a corrupt dittography of 8^{a}.
9. Sir. xl. 5–7.
poisonous. Cf. T. R. v. 3; also ii. 2 (note).

V. 1. **comely,** &c. Gen. xxxix. 6.
2. **grace before the Lord and men.** Luke ii. 52; T. R. iv. 8.
3. **Separating from God,** &c. See T. R. iv. 6.
4. **in the writing of Enoch.** Cf. T. L. x. 5, &c. Not in our Enoch: 2 En. xxxiv. 2 says similar things of the Antediluvians. Possibly a reference to Num. xxv. 6, 7, 14.
the sons of Levi. See T. R. vi. 5.
5. **wage the war of the Lord**—refers to the Maccabees, T. R. vi. 12.
6. **few in number, divided in Levi and Judah.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 7. 'I will divide them (Simeon and Levi) in Jacob and disperse them in Israel.' Levi is omitted from this curse here, yet Levi claims the credit of destroying Shechem in T. L. vi. 4, and is praised for it in Jub. xxx. 18–23. Cf. T. L. v. 3. Contrast the tone of Gen. xlix. 6–7 and later Rabbinic tradition.

VI. 1. **acquitted of your sin.** Cf. T. L. xiv. 2.

3 Then shall perish the seed of Canaan,
And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek,
⌜And all the Cappadocians shall perish⌝,
And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed.

4 Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people shall perish.

Then shall all the earth rest from trouble,
And all the world under heaven from war.

Restored Text	A^{abh}
5 Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify Shem, For the Lord God shall appear on earth, And Himself save men.	Then shall Shem (MSS. 'Seth') be glorified, For the Lord our God shall appear on earth [as man] And Himself saves again.

6 Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot,
And men shall rule over wicked spirits.

7 Then shall I arise in joy,
And will bless the Most High because of his marvellous works,
[Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men].

7 1 And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for
2 from them shall arise unto you the salvation ⌜of God⌝. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles
3 and] the race of Israel. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your children, that they may observe them throughout their generations.

8 1 And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an
2 hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to
3 Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. For the bones of Joseph
4 the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them, that on the departure of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding great plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother.

1, 2 And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. And they were in Egypt until the day of their departure by the hand of Moses.

3. The destruction of Israel's foes.

And all . . . perish > A. The Cappadocians seem to mean here the Caphtorim or Philistines. Cf. Deut. ii. 23, and note on Jub. xxiv. 29.

Hittites, either חתי 'Hittites' or כתים (i. e. Greeks, or Macedonians).

4. **all the people.** Which people? λαός generally refers to Israel, and so perhaps the Messianic ὠδῖνες are meant.

5–8. A Theophany. God Himself comes to save men, subdues the evil spirits, and raises the righteous.

5. For other Theophanies see T. L. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Z. ix. 8; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3.

the Mighty One of Israel. So β S A ^{b*cdeg} (in 2nd clause), while *a* reads μέγα τῷ Ἰσραήλ (in 1st clause).

shall glorify. Conjectured from ἐνδοξασθήσεται, all MSS., i. e. יְכַבֵּד corrupt for יְכַבֵּד.

Shem. So b d A ^{b*cdeg}: 'Seth' A ^{abh}: 'the sign' *a* β–b d S. Possibly σημεῖον = צִיּוֹן misread for צִיּוֹן = 'Zion'.

[as man] *a* β–a S, a Christian addition.

and Himself save men: lit. = 'and save in Himself the Adam' *a* β S. ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἑαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered by αὐτός. האדם defied translation into Greek, hence τὸν Ἀδάμ.

This third clause is wanting in A ^{b*cdeg} and corrupt in A ^{abh}.

For this primitive view of the Messianic kingdom as a visible Theocracy cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. It will be on this earth, and the righteous dead will rise to share in it.

6. Cf. Luke x. 19, 20 'to tread . . . on every power of the enemy', 'the spirits are subject unto you'. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12. Based on Ps. xci. 13.

7. [**Because God hath taken a body**, &c.] Cf. a like Christian interpolation in T. A. vii. 3; also T. D. v. 13^{d}, vi. 9.

VII. 1. **and Judah** c: 'and in Judah shall ye ('we' A ^{b*cdefg}) be redeemed' h β A S.

be not lifted up. Cf. T. R. vi. 5.

from them shall arise . . . salvation. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

2. Levi's supremacy is here (with the text of N. viii. 2) alone in this work limited to the priesthood.

all the Gentiles. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).

VIII. 2. **wooden coffin** *a* A ^{b*cdefg}: 'coffin of incorruptible wood' β–g A ^{abh} S.

during a war of the Egyptians β A S. See T. B. xii. 3 (note).

3. **tombs** *a*: 'treasure-houses' β A^{β} S. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 26 says, 'they embalmed him and placed him in a coffin and sank him in the middle of the Nile of Egypt.' Cf. Exod. rabba xx. 17. R. Nathan says Joseph was buried in Pharaoh's palace.

4. Reason for the guarding of Joseph's bones. Why should the darkness be chosen for mention out of all the Plagues?

IX. 1. **their father** + 'according to the law of mourning' β S.

The Testament of Levi, the Third Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that
2 they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement. He was sound in health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when they were gathered together he said to them:

2 1, 2 I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about
3 twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and law-
4 lessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the
5 Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and
6 I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.

a	A^{a}	$\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$
7 And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging.	7. And when I had entered into the first heaven. †and he escorted raised me† to the second. And I saw there a great sea hanging.	And I entered from the first 7 heaven into the second, and I saw there a sea hanging between the one and the other.
8 And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless **light** also therein.		And further I saw a third 8 heaven far brighter and more brilliant than these two; for there was also a boundless †height therein.
9 And I said to the angel, Why is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.	9. And I said unto him: What is this, Lord? And he said unto me:	And I said unto the angel: 9 Wherefore is it so? And the angel said unto me: Marvel not at these; for thou shalt see four other heavens more brilliant and incomparable,

TITLE. So *a*: 'Testament of Levi concerning the priesthood' *β*–a d e A S: +'and arrogance' b d e f $A^{b* c d e f g}$.

I. 1. **until the day of judgement.** This event is therefore conceived as near to the time of the writer.
revealed to him. Levi has several revelations.

II. 2. **about twenty years**; eighteen according to T. L. xii. 5. Jub. xxviii. 13, 14 makes Simeon two years older.
3. **Abel-Maul** = the Abel-meholah of the O.T. e.g. Judges-vii. 22.
corrupting their way. Cf. Gen. vi. 12.
unrighteousness had built . . . towers $\beta A^{c d e g} S^{1}$: 'sin was built upon a wall and unrighteousness sat upon towers' *a*. Cf. 1 En. xci. 5 'unrighteousness will come to an end, . . . and its whole structure will be destroyed'. Cf. also Zech. v. 8–11.
After 3 e makes a long addition, describing the call and purifying of Levi.
5. **and I was upon it** *a*. 'This is the mountain of the shield in Abelmaul' g $A^{b* f g}$. See T. L. vi. 1.

II. 7–III. The original passage described three heavens, but it has been worked up to include seven. The first heaven really has the great sea, as *v.* 8 in *a* shows, for the second heaven is further on. This second becomes the third in $\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$. Again in 9, 10 *a* speaks of 'another heaven'. $\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$ makes 'four other heavens' of it. In 10 the word 'thither' and the general effect require no more than one heaven. In iii. 1–4 *a* once more gives us three heavens, and God dwelling in the highest. $\beta A^{\beta} S^{1}$ makes four of the first two, and then passes at a leap to the highest, which in verses 5–8 we find has two or three others between it and the fourth or third heaven. *a* also has undergone alteration in verses 5–8 and mentions three other heavens.

The doctrine of the seven heavens was prevalent in Judaism before and after the time of Christ. See e.g. 2 En. iii–xxi; Talmud, *Chag.* 12^{b}; 4 Ezra vii. 81–7.

Christian apocalypses like Asc. Isa. followed Hebrew teaching on this point. Thus the redaction originated in Hebrew, and has been betrayed by the testimony of the first and better of the two independent Greek Versions—*a*. That they are independent is shown by iii. 2 *κρίσεως*, *a*: *προστάγματος*, *β*, iii. 6 *θυσίαν*, *a*: *προσφοράν*, *β*; iii. 9 *τρέμομεν*, *a*: *σαλευόμεθα*, *β*.

7. **a great sea**, i.e. the waters above the firmament, Gen. i. 7. Cf. Jub. ii. 4 and 1 En. liv. 8. For 'hanging' perhaps read 'in the firmament' ברקיע for מוקיע.

8. The 'second' in *a* becomes the 'third heaven' in *β*. Instead of the brightness iii. 3 mentions the avenging hosts in it.
light. Text = 'height' = גֹּבַהּ corrupt for גַּנַּהּ, 'light' or 'brightness'. So read גַּנַּהּ = *φέγγος* or *φῶς* instead of גֹּבַהּ = *ὕψος*.

9. Note that the one heaven in *a* becomes four in *β*.

a	A^a	$\beta A^\beta S^l$	
10 And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mysteries to men, And shalt proclaim †concerning Him that shall redeem† Israel.	10. When thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand before the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And his coming mysteries thou shalt declare unto men.	When thou hast ascended thither. ⌜Because⌝ thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And His mysteries shalt thou declare to men, And shalt proclaim concerning the redemption of Israel.	10

11 And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men,
⌜Saving every race of men.⌝
12 And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life,
And He shall be thy field and vineyard,
And fruits, gold, and silver.

a	A^a	$\beta A^\beta S^l$	
III. 1 Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which were shown to thee. The first heaven is for this cause gloomy unto thee, since it beholds the unrighteous deeds of men.	Hear, therefore, regarding the seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause gloomier, since it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1
2 And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on †men.	2. And the second hath fire and snow and ice made ready for the day of the ordinances.	The second has fire, snow, ice ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the lawless.	2
3 And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.		In the third are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. †And those in the fourth† who are above these are holy.	3

10–12. Levi has not yet ascended into the third heaven; in fact he does not do so till v. 1. The angel appears to anticipate in 10–12, and resumes his account in iii. 1. Otherwise 10–12 would follow naturally on iv. 2.

10. Levi is to be made priest on ascending into the third heaven. See v. 1, 2.

stand near the Lord, and shalt be His minister. Cf. Deut. x. 8, xviii. 11; Jub. xxxi. 14.

the redemption of Israel. A^β alone preserves the original reading. $a\beta$ S are all modified by Christian influence to 'Him that shall redeem Israel'. $> A^a$.

11. **by thee and Judah.** See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

appear among men. That God Himself would appear and dwell with men was the older Jewish view in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vi. 5 (note); T. L. v. 2; 1 En. xxv. 3.

Saving every race of men > A. See T. S. vi. 5 (note).

12. **from the Lord's portion.** See viii. 16 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxii. 9; Sir. xvii. 17, where Israel is the Lord's portion.

III. 1. **gloomy . . . in that it beholds,** &c. Cf. 2 Bar. liii. 5, lvi. 5, 7 'the black waters'. Cf. also 3 Baruch viii; Apoc. Esdrae; Apoc. Pauli 4; and see James, *Texts and Studies*, V. i. 67.

2. The first (a) heaven contains the instruments of God's retribution for sin. 2 En. iii. 3; v. 1 also holds, like a, that the treasuries of the ice and snow, and the great sea, are in the first heaven.

for the day of judgement. Cf. *εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἔκτισται*, Sir. xxxix. 29. Cf. also Sir. xxxix. 28, 30 and xl. 9, 10.

spirits of the retributions. Natural phenomena are the agents of punishment, but they are under the control of spirits or angels. Cf. 1 En. lx. 12.

on the lawless, 'on men' a, by textual corruption. Cf. Sir. xl. 10.

3. In the second heaven are the angelic armies in readiness to destroy Beliar. 2 En. xvii gives us an armed host, but in the fourth heaven and for a different purpose.

†And those in the fourth†. The β recension here cannot be cleared up by a, as it was independently altered by the redactor. Verse 8 in β naturally refers to the fourth heaven, which therefore need not be mentioned here. Perhaps we should read 'and the four heavens above these are holy', i.e. והארבעה for וישבריעי. This gives a point to the 'for' in *v.* 4 (β).

above them are the holy ones a. These are the angels. For the first passage in which the abode of the

a	A^a	$\beta A^\beta S^1$
4 And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	4. And †the Holy One of the holy ones† is above all holiness.	For in the Highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness. 4
5 In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;	5. And the hosts of the angels are ministering,	And in [the heaven next to] it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous. 5
6 Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	6. And praising the Lord,	And they offer to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering. 6
7 And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear †answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	7. Who also are messengers of the Godhead.	And in [the heaven below] are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. 7
8 An †in the heaven next to this† are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.		And in the heaven next to this are thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God. 8
$a\beta A^\beta S^1$		
9 When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty.	9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken.	

10 But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.

4 1 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men.
Because when the rocks are being rent,
And the sun quenched,
And the waters dried up,

blessed even after judgement is heaven is in 1 En. civ. 2, ciii. 4, 6, xli. 2, li. 4, i.e. between 100 and 50 B.C. The intermediate abode of souls—even of the righteous—is Sheol at this date, 1 En. xxii. 4–9, li. 1, c. 5 (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 41); 2 Macc. vi. 23.

4. **the Great Glory.** 1 En. xiv. 20, cii. 3. Cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, 7, xlvii. 3.

5–8. Even *a* here has been interpolated. The sixth, fifth, and fourth heavens are introduced, but there is still a gap between *v.* 3 and *v.* 8, as there is no third heaven mentioned in 3 (*a*). The descending order is a witness to the original text, which thus enumerated the angels in the third heaven.

5. **minister and make propitiation.** A sacrificial service in heaven is suggested by the heavenly patterns spoken of in Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Num. viii. 4, and was already a familiar idea. See my Commentary *in loc.* The intercession of angels occurs in Zech. i. 12; Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23, and especially in 1 En. ix. 3, xv. 2, lxxxix. 76. See T. D. vi. 2. Cf. too 1 En. xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, xl. 6, civ. 1. For λειτουργοῦντες cf. Heb. i. 14.

sins of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6; T. Jud. xix. 3; T. Z. i. 5.

6. **reasonable,** λογικήν. Cf. Rom. xii. 1. Cf. Origen, *De Orat.* xi λογικὴν ἱερουργίαν, of Raphael offering on Tobit's behalf.

bloodless offering. Cf. Essenes' objection to bloody sacrifices. Cf. Philo ii. 457.

7. How 'answers'? These are a lower order of angels. Perhaps we should render 'bear the answers for the angels of the presence', or 'of the angels', &c. (as g). The analogy of Rev. v. 8, however, would suggest תפלות 'prayers' instead of תשובות 'answers'. Cf. 3 Bar. xi–xii; Apoc. Pauli vii–x; Origen, *De Princ.* i. 8. 1.

8. **thrones and dominions.** Cf. Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; 2 En. xx. 1.

they offer praise. Cf. 2 En. xvii, xviii.

9. This verse and Sir. xvi. 18, 19 are independent versions of a lost Hebrew original. Moreover *a* and *β* differ. Thus *a* has τρέμομεν, *β* σαλευόμεθα, Greek of Sir. συνσείονται. For parallels cf. Judges v. 4; Isa. lxiv. 1; Judith xvi. 15; Ass. Mos. x. 4.

10. **no perception . . . sin.** Cf. 1 En. lxvii. 13.

IV. 1. **sun quenched.** Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24.

waters dried up. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

And the fire cowering,
And all creation troubled,
And the invisible spirits melting away;
And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High,
Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity.
On this account with punishment shall they be judged.
2 ⌜Therefore⌝ the Most High hath heard thy prayer,
To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son,
And a servant, and a minister of His presence.
3 The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob,
And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.
4 And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed,
Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.
5 ⌜And⌝ therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding,
That thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this;
6 Because they that bless †Him shall be blessed,
And they that curse† Him shall perish.

5 1 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon
2 a throne of glory the Most High. And He said to me: Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the
3 priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to the
earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me: Execute vengeance on Shechem because
4 of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at
5 that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. And I said to him: I pray
6 thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And he said:
I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly,
7 for every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High,
and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

And Hades taketh spoils. Cf. Isa. v. 14. Or a Christian addition—'and Hades is despoiled', *σκυλευομένου* being taken in a passive not middle sense.

visitations. A difficult but possible rendering of *πάθει*. If an interpolation, = 'passion'.

unbelieving and persist. Cf. Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21; 1 En. lxvii. 12, 13. For *ἀπιστοῦντες* β-d A^{β} S we have *ἀπειθοῦντες*, 'disobedient' *a* d.

2. **become to Him a son.** Already in the second century B.C. we find the individual Israelite viewed as a son of God. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 1, li. 10 (Syriac); Jub. i. 24 (note).

minister of His presence. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 14.

3. **The light of knowledge.** See xviii. 3 (note).

4. This 'blessing' is probably God's blessing on Levi, as Jub. xxxi. 13, not that pronounced by the priests (T. R. vi. 10, note), or the priestly privileges, T. L. v. 2.

Until the Lord shall visit. Cf. v. 2.

in His tender mercies. *a* β A^{β} S read 'in His Son's tender mercies'.

A^{a} reads in 4 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that God shall send [His Son] to save the created things [and thy sons shall lay hands on and crucify Him]'. *a* β A^{β} S also have the last clause—an obvious Christian addition.

6. For 'Him' read 'thee', as in Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 17.

V. 1. **opened to me the gates.** Cf. the opened door in Rev. iv. 1. Levi now enters the third heaven of ii. 9 (*a*).

the holy temple. With xviii. 6 and perhaps iii. 4 (β A^{β} S^{1}), the earliest reference to the heavenly temple. Cf. Rev. xi. 19, xvi. 17 and contrast Rev. xxi. 22.

and upon . . . Most High β A S: 'the Holy Most High One sitting upon a throne' *a*.

2. **until I . . . sojourn.** For the visible theocracy cf. iv. 4; T. S. vi. 5.

3. **a shield.** See vi. 1.

Execute vengeance. Yet Levi says 'we sinned' in vi. 7.

4. This verse interrupts the narrative.

heavenly tables β A^{β} S^{1}. See T. A. ii. 10, vii. 5 (β A S^{1}): 'tables of the fathers' *a*, perhaps better. Cf. Jub. xxx. 23.

6. **angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel.** See my Commentary *in loc.* *παραιτούμενος τὸ γένος* β-d: *προϊστάμενος τοῦ γένους* d: *παρεπόμενος τοῦ γένους a*: *φύλαξ τοῦ γ.* A: *σώζων τὸ γ.* S^{1}. *a* seems a bad rendering of פנע, as in D. vi. 2 *a*. d A S^{1} = 'protector'. For β-d cf. Asc. Is. ix. 23 (Latin and Slavonic) 'Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate'.

This angel then appears to be Michael. Cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. Also see 1 En. xx. 7, which limits his good offices to the righteous in Israel, cf. T. L. v. 7. He intercedes for Israel, 1 En. lxxxix. 76, helps Israel, xc. 14 and opposes the angels of the heathen nations in Dan. x–xii. God Himself is Israel's Patron in Deut. xxxii. 8–9 (LXX); Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31, 32; Hebrew T. Naph. ix. 5, and only the other nations have angel-patrons. Or it may be the angel of peace that is referred to here. Cf. T. D. vi. 5: Dan. x. 5–6, 11^{a}, 12–14, 19–21, xi–xii. See also T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, &c., for this angel as a guide. He is distinct from Michael, Dan. x. 13; 1 En. xl. 8–9.

utterly . . . attacketh it > *a*.

6 1 And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the
2 mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila. And I kept these words in my
3 heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor
not to be circumcised; for I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on
4, 5 my sister. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this my brothers
6 came and smote ⌜that⌝ city with the edge of the sword. And my father heard ⌜these things⌝ and
was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been
7 put to death, and in his blessings he †looked amiss upon us. For we sinned because we had done
8 this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for
evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah ⌜and Rebecca⌝ as they had done to Dinah our
9 sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a
stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his
10 house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their
11 wives by force, and they †banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the
uttermost.

7 1 And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord **despoil** the Canaanites, and will give
2 their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be
3 called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them. Because also
4 they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.

8 1, 2 And there again I saw a vision as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. And I saw seven
men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of right-
eousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the
3 turban of the †head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried (these things) and put
(them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for

VI. 1. **shield.** Prof. Sayce suggests this = שִׂרְיוֹן, i.e. Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9) which is 10 miles SE. of Abilene, but 40 miles from Gebal.

wherefore διό. ἐν ᾧ *a*.

2. **I kept . . . heart.** Cf. Dan. iv. 25 LXX (contrast LXX in vii. 28); Luke ii. 19.

3. **my brother** > c.

not c only. Jub. xxx. 1-4; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 21. 1 omit the circumcision of the Shechemites. Levi was opposed to their circumcision as he intended to avenge the insult done to his sister.

on my sister *a* A^a: 'in Israel' *β* A^g S^1.

4-5. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-7, where the other sons of Jacob 'came upon the slain and spoiled the city'.

6. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Jub. xxx. 25. Gen. says Jacob reproached Simeon and Levi.

looked amiss. *παρεῖδεν a*: 'did inequitably', *ἄλλως ἐποίησεν β*–d g $A^β$ S^1.

7. **he was sick** c b: 'I was sick' h *β*–b A S^1.

8. **upon Shechem** > *a*. **and Rebecca** > *a*. The Shechemites had done nothing to Sarah and Rebecca—for the incidents at Gerar see Gen. xx. 3, xxvi. 7.

9. Also not in Genesis.

10. **their wives** *β*–a f A S^1: *τὰς ξένας a* a f, i. e. wives of guests or strangers.

banished, a mistranslation of יריחון 'seduced them' (to idolatry), or 'forced them', as Prov. vii. 21. See Jub. xxx. 7–17, where intermarriage with heathen involves the death penalty, as in the case of the Shechemites. Marriage with a Gentile was considered equivalent to worship of the Gentile idols.

11. **of the Lord** *β* S^1: 'of God' *a*. This verse, adopted by St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. 16, seems to be based on Gen. xxxv. 5 and presupposes וַיִּגַּע חֲמַת instead of וַיְהִי חִתַּת. Jub. xxx. 26 reads the latter.

VII. 1. **Jacob** *a*: 'be not angry my (a f g: > A^a) lord Jacob (> d)' *β*–b A S^1.

2. **a city of imbeciles.** Cf. Sir. l. 26—of Shechem.

3. **wrought folly in Israel.** Gen. xxxiv. 7; Jub. xxx. 5.

4. **And we** +'took our sister' b e g.

came to Bethel. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 6.

VIII. 1. For this vision cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, where, however, Levi has already visited Isaac and returned to Bethel. See T. L. ix. 1.

2. **Seven men.** For the 'seven angels' cf. Ezek. ix. 2, and for their names see 1 En. xx.

robe of the priesthood, &c. See my Commentary *in loc.* Cf. Exod. xxviii. 4, 36-8, xxix. 5; Sir xlv. 8–12; Philo, *de Vita Mos.* iii. 11–14; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 1-6.

robe = כְּתֹנֶת or tunic of every priest.

crown = עֲטָרָה.

breastplate of understanding. Cf. 'breastplate of judgement', Exod. xxviii. 15; cf. Sir. xlv. 10.

garment—the long outer robe or *ποδήρης*.

plate = *πέταλον* or צִיץ. See *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3157.

turban of the †head. The *μίτρα* should have some virtue or power associated with it. So for ראש (*κεφαλῆς a*), and מופת (*σημείου* b d e g A^a, corrupted to *στηθίου* a f S^1), we must read מִישׁוֹר, 'uprightness'.

ephod of prophecy. Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10.

3. **a priest . . . ever** *β* A S^1. 'A priest, thou and all thy seed' *a*. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, which supports *β* A S^1.

4, 5 ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad
6, 7 me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The
8, 9 fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth
10 placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my
11 hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. And they said to me: Levi, thy
12 seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the
13 first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priest-
14 hood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall
15 establish a new priesthood, after the †fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.

16 Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed,
And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon,
And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.

17 And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes;
For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.

, 19 And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.

I, 2 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And
3 he would not come with us to Bethel. ⌜And when we came to Bethel⌝, my father saw a vision
4 concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. And he rose up early in the morning,
5 and paid tithes of all ⌜to the Lord⌝ through me. And ⌜so⌝ we came to Hebron to dwell there.
6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the

4. **of judgement** > *α*.

5. **bread and wine, (even) the most holy things** c i *β* S^1: 'holy bread and wine' h *A*. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18. Is Christian influence apparent here?

9–10. So *α β* S^1: 'And the sixth filled my hands with incense that I might serve as priest before the Lord' $A^α$: 'And the sixth placed a diadem of priesthood on my head and the seventh filled,' &c. A^{b*}: 'And the sixth and the seventh gave me a diadem of priesthood and again filled,' &c. A^{odefg}.

filled my hands. This = ordination. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41.

God *α*: > *β* A S.

11. These three offices filled by Moses (12), the Aaronitic priesthood (13), and the Maccabean princes (14, 15), are signs of the Messiah's coming.

12. **the first portion,** *κλῆρος*, is Moses. Text = *α*: +*πιστεύσας* (before *πρῶτος*) b d e g: 'And those who believe first shall have a great portion' A.

14. **the third,** the Maccabees, and in particular John Hyrcanus.

a new name: 'priests of the Most High God'. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 (Melchizedek); also Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Jub. xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16; T. L. viii. 15.

king. See 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Simon was *ἀρχιερεύς*, *στρατηγός*, and *ἐθνάρχης*.

in Judah, 'out of Judah' *α β*: 'in Judah' A, possibly.

new priesthood. Cf. xviii. 2.

after the fashion of the Gentiles, &c. *α β*-d $A^β$ S: 'a new priesthood to all the Gentiles' d. The bracketed words may go back to a dittography in the Hebrew. For 'after the fashion' read perhaps as in the note in my Commentary 'for a mediator'.

15. Verses 14–15 date this work in the time of the Maccabean dynasty. Verse 15 dates it under John Hyrcanus, who alone of the Maccabees is credited with the gift of prophecy, Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* i. 2. 8. Cf. refs. in T. L. xviii. 6 (note). Moreover, it must be earlier than his struggle with the Pharisees.

beloved *α* a f S^2: 'unutterable' *β*-a f A.

16. Cf. Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 16; also T. Jud. xxi. 5; Sir. xlv. 21.

17. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15.

guarded *β*–a f $A^β$: 'taken' a f (c h imply).

by their mouth = 'at their word'.

18–ix. 9. Cf. Aramaic Fragment, Appendix II in Commentary.

19. The first dream vision is also kept secret by Levi. Cf. vi. 2.

IX. 1. Here the visit to Isaac follows the dream vision of T. L. viii. In Jub. xxxi. 13–17 the visit and Isaac's blessing precede the vision at Bethel in xxxii. 1.

to Isaac. Isaac was living in Abraham's house (Jub. xxxi. 5) in Hebron (*v.* 5, Gen. xxxv. 27). Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. *v.* 11.

2. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 13–17.

he would not come. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 27.

3. **and when . . . Bethel** *α* b e g. In Jub. xxxii. 1 Levi, not Jacob, has this vision. If 'Jacob' be read there for 'Levi', the difference in order mentioned in ix. 1 (note) would be removed.

unto God *β* S^1: 'before the Lord' A: > *α*.

4. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 2.

5. At Hebron Isaac was living.

6–14. These instructions Abraham gives to Isaac in Jub. xxi. 1–23.

7 angel of the Lord showed unto me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices,
8 whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings. And each day he was instructing
9 me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: Beware of the spirit of
10 fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. Take, therefore,
to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of
11 strange nations. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the
12 sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees having leaves
13 offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast ⌜and bird⌝ offer a
14 sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the
Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

10 1 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have
2 heard from my fathers ⌜I have declared unto you. And behold⌝ I am clear from your ungodliness
and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the
world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the
3 Lord. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem
because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your
4 shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach
5 and for a curse there. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem,
as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

11 1, 2 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And
she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land.
3, 4 And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank. And Kohath was born in the
5 thirty-fifth year ⌜of my life⌝, towards sunrise. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high
6 in the midst of all the congregation. Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of
7 majesty and instruction]. And she bare me a third son, in the fortieth year of my life; and since
his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is, 'my bitterness,' because he also was

7. **law of the priesthood**, i.e. מִשְׁפַּט 'custom' or 'prerogatives' of the priests. Cf. Deut. xviii. 3. Cf. the peace-offerings and thank-offerings in Jub. xxi. 7–9.
8. **before the Lord** > *a*.
9. **beware of . . . fornication.** Cf. Jub. xxi. 21–2; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14, 16; T. R. i. 6, &c.
holy place, or 'holy things'.
10. **Take . . . a wife.** Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 17.
11. For these ablutions cf. Jub. xxi. 16; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 19, 21, 53.
wash, *νίπτου*, i.e. the hands and the feet, whereas 'bathe', *λούου*, refers to the whole body.
12. **trees having leaves** *a* g; 'evergreen trees' *β*–g A. See Aram. and Gk. Frag. 23–4; Jub. xxi. 12.
13. **and bird** > A.
14. **of . . . first fruits . . . the first.** Cf. Ezek. xliv. 30 (Heb.); Sir. xlv. 20 (Gk.).
as a sacrifice to the Lord God *a*: 'a sacrifice unto the Lord' a f: 'unto the Lord' d e g A^{β} S^{1}: > b.
and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt > *a*. Cf. Jub. xxi. 11; Lev. ii. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50.

X. This chapter belongs to the first century B.C., and is an attack on the later Maccabean high-priests. See xiv–xv (note).
1. **I have declared unto you** > d A.
2. **And behold** > *β* A.
[**against the Saviour . . . godlessly.**] A Christian addition. 'Christ' c only: 'acting godlessly' *β* A S^{1}.
stirring up . . . evils. Cf. Isa. x. 26, &c.
3. **together with Israel** *β* A S^{1}: 'in Israel' c.
the veil, *καταπέτασμα* c (h plur.); cf. Mark xv. 38. *ἔνδυμα* *β*–d A S suggests that *τοῦ ναοῦ* is an interpolation, and that the rending of garments is spoken of; cf. Isa. xxii. 8. A^{a} inserts *κόσμου* before *τοῦ ναοῦ*.
4. **there** + 'and a trampling under foot' *β* A S. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 18.
5. This verse seems to be an addition or at least an afterthought.
the house which the Lord shall choose. 1 En. lxxxix. 54 calls Jerusalem 'the house of the Lord'.
which the Lord shall choose. Deut. xii. 5, &c.
the book of Enoch. The references to Enoch in the Testaments are suspicious. See my Commentary, pp. 49–50. References occur in T. S. v. 4; T. L. x. 5, xiv. 1 (> *a*), xvi. 1 (> *a*); T. Jud. xviii. 1 (> *a*); T. D. v. 6; T. N. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1 (> A). Four of these belong to the first century B.C., and only in two, T. S. v. 4, T. N. iv. 1, of the others do all our authorities agree. S^{2} further refers to Enoch in T. A. ii. 10, vii. 1, 5.

XI. 1. See xii. 5.
Melcha. Gk. and Syr. Frag. 62 and Jub. xxxiv. 20.
2. **Gersam.** Cf. Gen. xlvi. 11.
sojourners. Cf. Exod. ii. 22: 'in a land of sojourning' *a*.
3. Cf. Gk. Frag. 64, 65. Gersam was born at sunset, and so was not to rise to honour.
4. **thirty-fifth**: 'thirty-fourth' Aram. (and Gk.?) Frag.
5-6. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 67, which also suggests a paronomasia of קהת and קהל 'congregation'. The brackets indicate a gloss. The Gk. Frag. 67 adds 'and his seed shall be *ἀρχὴ βασιλέων ἱεράτευμα*.' Cf. here *ἀρχὴ μεγαλείου καὶ συμβιβασμός*.
7. **my bitterness** > 'my' *a*. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 69.

8 like to die. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

2 2 And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath,
3 4 Ambram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli, and Mouses. And ⌜in the ninety-fourth year⌝ Ambram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one
5 day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took
6 a wife, and at forty-**eight** I went into Egypt. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation.
7 In my hundred and eighteenth year Joseph died.

3 1 And now, my children, I command you:
Fear the Lord your God ⌜with your whole heart⌝,
And walk in simplicity according to all His law.
2 And do ye also teach your children letters,
That they may have understanding all their life,
Reading unceasingly the law of God.
3 For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.
4 Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents,
And many men shall desire to serve him,
And to hear the law from his mouth.
5 Work righteousness, ⌜therefore⌝, my children, upon the earth,
That ye may **have (it) as a treasure** in heaven.
6 And sow good things in your souls,
That ye may find them in your life.
But if ye sow evil things,
Ye shall reap every trouble and affliction.
7 Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence;
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise **nought** can take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.
8 ⌜For if one keep oneself from these evil things⌝,
Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.
9 Whosoever teaches noble things and does them,
Shall be enthroned with kings,
As was also Joseph my brother.

8. **Jochebed . . . renowned**, a play on the name in Hebrew. Cf. the Frag. 71.

XII. 1–3. Cf. Exod. vi. 17–19.
5. **Eight years.** Cf. Syr. Frag. 'eighteen' Aram. Frag. 78: 'nine' Jub. xxviii. 14, xxix. 14.
eighteen years. So Syr. Frag. and Aram. Frag., also Jub. xxx. 2 with xxviii. 14, 23.
forty-eight: 'forty' text, 'forty-eight' Aram. Frag. 79. Cf. T. Jud. xii. 12 (note).
7. **hundred and eighteenth.** For a different calculation see Jub. xxviii. 14, 24.

XIII. 1. A poem in praise of the wise. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 9–11.
2. **teach . . . letters.** Cf. T. R. iv. 1. This verse > *a*.
4. **desire to serve him.** Cf. Sir. x. 25.
5. **righteousness** = alms. Cf. LXX in Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Ps. xxiv. 5.
have (it) as a treasure emended. 'find' β A^{β} S: 'be healed' *a*. Both תמצאו and תרפאו corrupt for תאצרו. Cf. Matt. vi. 20; Tobit iv. 8-9; Pea 15^{b}; B. Bathra 11^{a}; Pss.-Sol. ix. 6, 9; 1 En. xxxviii. 2. The treasure of good works occurs also in 4 Ezra vii. 77; 2 Bar. xiv. 12; Shabbath 31^{b}; and is the measure of the righteous' final reward, 4 Ezra viii. 33; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.
6. **sow evil.** Cf. Prov. xxii. 8.
7. **with diligence** β A^{β} S: > *a* A^{a}.
nought, οὐδείς, text.
the blindness of ungodliness. Cf. xiv. 4.
8. **For if . . . things** *a*: 'But if one keep these' d: > β-d A S.
9. **teaches . . . and does.** Cf. Matt. v. 19, vii. 24, 26.
noble *a*: 'these' β A.

a, A^a

14 1 Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.

β, A^β S^I

And now, my children, I have learnt from the 1
writing of Enoch that in the end ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness; and your brethren shall be put to shame because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.

2 For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].

a, A^a

3 For as the **heaven** is purer in the Lord's sight **than** the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.

4 But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

β S^I

3. The heaven is purer than the earth, and ye, the lights of Israel, are †as sun and moon.

4. What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgressions? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

A^β

My children, be ye pure as 3
the heaven is (purer) than the earth: and ye who are the lights of Israel, shall be as the sun and moon.

What will all the Gentiles do, 4
if ye be darkened through transgression? Yea, curses will come upon your race, and the light which was given through the law to lighten you and every man ye shall desire to destroy, and teach your commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.

5 The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions,
6 eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the command-

XIV–XVI. The groundwork and indeed the main narrative of the Testaments is pro-Maccabean, and exalts Levi and his posterity. Unquestioning obedience to them is required. But in x, xiv–xvi words fail to denounce the lewdness and baseness of the priests. The chief priests transgress, are covetous, corrupt the law, teach contrary to God's ordinances, profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. For this reason the Temple shall be laid waste and they shall go into captivity, a scorn to the Gentiles.

The date is not after A. D. 70, as the Temple prediction might seem to suggest, for the Sadducees, who are in view in xiv. 4 and xvi. 2, disappear after that date as a party. The Pharisees, moreover, were not the subjects of persecution after 63 B. C. when the Pharisaic Hyrcanus became a vassal king under the Romans. Nor were the high-priests immoral in the first century A. D. The sack of Jerusalem, if already enacted, would be more than a vague prophecy.

The charges of gross immorality and profanation and of persecuting the righteous apply alike to the Hellenistic priests of 200–170 B. C., and the Sadducean priests of 100–60 B. C. But the eating of sacrifices with harlots in public can refer only to Jannaeus. See xiv. 5 (note). As he died in 78 B. C., this passage cannot be much later. In any case it is later than Dan. ix. 24, which is the source of the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years as weeks of years in xvi. 1, and later too than 1 En. lxxxix. 54, which cannot be dated before 164 B. C.

XIV. 1. **learnt** +'from the writing of Enoch' β A S^1. The following words do not occur in Enoch; yet cf. 1 En. xci. 6, xciii. 9. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

transgress . . . wickedness +'against Him' *a*, a Christian addition: > 'all' *a*. We might render β A^β S^1 'stretching out hands against the Lord in all wickedness'.

2. **pure**, &c. Cf. T. S. vi. 1. The **chief-priests** are the Maccabean prince-priests, in particular Jannaeus.

[who shall lay, &c.], a Christian addition.

3. *a* gives the clearest version. Yet β S^1 and A^β lead us to correct 'sun' into 'heaven', and 'on' to 'than'. 'Sun and moon' in β A^β S^1 also may be original, and 'than all the Gentiles' may be due to *a*'s drawing upon the next verse.

4. The author connects sin closely with darkness of mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8; T. L. xiii. 7, xiv. 4, xix. 1; T. Jos. vii. 5; also T. Jud. xviii. 3, 6; T. D. ii. 4; T. G. iii. 3, vi. 2.

the light of the law. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 4; Prov. vi. 23; T. L. xviii. 3; Ps. cxix. 105.

light . . . to lighten every man. John i. 9.

teaching commandments contrary. Cf. incident of Jannaeus, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5; *Bell. Iud.* i. 4. 3, together with Talmud, Sukka 48^b. See also Pss. Sol. viii. 12, 13 for the Maccabean robbery of temple gifts, and approach when unclean to the altar. See also Jub. xv. 1.

5. This verse and 6 up to 'defile and' > A^a.

the offerings . . . rob. Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 12 *τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ διήρπαζον.* For the case of Simon ben Shetach see my Commentary, p. 57.

steal choice portions *a* a f. 'steal: and before sacrificing to the Lord ye shall take the choice portions,' b d e g A^β.

eating them contemptuously with harlots. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14. 2, of Jannaeus' savage celebration of his victory over the Pharisees: *Ἑστιώμενος ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων.*

6. **out of covetousness.** Cf. Mic. iii. 11, 'the priests teach for hire.' Cf. 1 Pet. v. 2.

ments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, [and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile]; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and
7 Gomorrah. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against
8 men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. For ye shall contemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

15 1 Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness,
2 and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye
3 shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God. And all who hate
4 you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

16 1 And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and
2 pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the
3 faithful shall ye abhor. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking
4 innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.] And your holy places shall be laid waste
5 even to the ground because of †him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

17 1 And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood.
2 For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be

wedded women, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 23, for like charges against the Sadducees.
and the virgins of Israel (Jerusalem b g) shall ye defile. β only. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14.
with harlots and adulteresses. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 23.
daughters of the Gentiles . . . wife. The prohibition of marriage with Canaanites in Deut. vii. 3 (cf. Gen. xxiv. 3, &c.) was suspended in the case of captives during war, Deut. xxi. 10–13. After Ezra (Ezra ix. 1–2, x. 10–11; Neh. x. 30) the prohibition was extended to all Gentiles. Contrast 1 Macc. i. 15 (the Hellenizing Jews), and the reaction again in Jub. xxx. 7, 10.
purifying . . . purification β A : $>a$. Lax observance of customary purifications may be meant, or it may be that any purification is unlawful, i.e. the prohibition is absolute.
like unto Sodom. Cf. Jude 7.
7. **lifting . . . men** $a\,\beta$ A^{α} : $> A^{\beta}$.

XV. 1–2. I take this to be a bona fide prediction.
1. **shall be laid waste** (cf. xvi. 4), as under Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. i. 39, iv. 38.
3. **hate** a a e f S : 'see' b d g A^{β}.
shall rejoice at your destruction a : 'shall flee from you' β A^{β}.
4. **our seed** c^1 A^{α} : 'your seed' h c^2 d A^{β} : 'my seed' β–d S.

XVI. 1. **I have learnt** + 'in the book of Enoch' β A^{β} S : 'and . . . that' $> A^{\alpha}$. The seventy weeks come from Dan. ix. 24. Cf. the seventy shepherd periods of 1 En. lxxxix. 59.
profane the priesthood. Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.
pollute the sacrifices, i.e. approach the altar when unclean. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 3, viii. 13, 26; Ass. Mos. vi. 1.
sacrifices. 'altars' a, cf. 1 Macc. iv. 38.
2. **make void the law**, &c. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2; civ. 9, 10.
persecute righteous men. A charge against the Sadducees in 1 En. ciii. 14, 15.
3. Is this verse a Christian interpolation, or is it recast by Christian scribes? If the latter, the Onias of Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 2. 1, 2 may be meant, who refused to pray for Hyrcanus II against Aristobulus II. Or possibly Onias III, alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22; 2 Macc. iv. 33-6. Cf. 1 En. xc. 8.
in the power of the Most High $a\,\beta$ S^1 : 'of the Most High' A^{β} : $> A^{\alpha}$.
a deceiver. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 63, of our Lord.
rush (upon him) to slay him a. Cf. Acts vii. 57, 58. 'slay as ye suppose' β A^{β} S : 'ye shall slay him' A^{α}. These variants seem to point to a dittography in the Hebrew.
dignity, *ἀνάστημα*, $a\,\beta$ S^1 : 'resurrection', *ἀνάστασιν* $A^{b\gamma}$ c d e.
taking innocent blood . . . heads. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.
4. **And** β–b A : $>$ b S^1 : 'and I say unto you' a.
†**him.** 'it' g.
laid waste a A^{α} : 'polluted' β A^{β} S.
5. **[through faith and water]** $a\,\beta$–e^1 A S : $> e^1$ A^{α}. Probably a Christian addition. But baptism was already in use among the Jews by the Christian era, while 4 Ezra ix. 7, xiii. 23, insist on the need and value of faith. See also 2 Bar. liv. 16, 21, lvii. 2, &c.

XVII. This chapter is unintelligible. Verses 1–9 seem to be an intrusion, or defective. Possibly they were added with x, xiv–xvi, or at a later time. Levi was apparently not the speaker.
1. There was no account of the seventy weeks in xvi: only a bare mention.
2. **jubilee**, should be forty-nine or fifty years. Where the seven begin or end is uncertain, also the duration of each.
the first who is anointed, Levi or Moses. For Levi cf. v. 2, vi. 2 ff.
speak to God as to a father. Cf. xviii. 6. Moses spoke with God as a friend. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world].
3 In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his
4 priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. And the third priest shall be taken hold
5 of by sorrow. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall **gather itself against**
6 him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. The fifth shall be taken hold of
7 by darkness. Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh shall be such pollution
8 as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they
9 be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.
10 And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the
11 Lord. And in the seventh week shall become priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money,
proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.

18 1 And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.
2 Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days.
3 And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.
Lighting up the light of knowledge **as the sun the day**,
And he shall be magnified in the world.
4 He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
And there shall be peace in all the earth.
5 The heavens shall exult in his days,
And the earth shall be glad,
And the †clouds shall rejoice;
[And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]
And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.
6 The heavens shall be opened,
And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,
With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
7 And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].
8 For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore;

perfect with the Lord. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, &c.
[and in the day . . . arise, &c.] An intrusion.
3. Aaron apparently, born during the oppression in Egypt.
5. **shall gather itself against him.** Restored from 'shall add to him' text. Perhaps should be 'shall be added unto him'. The references are most obscure.
10–11. Part of the original text, containing a division of some period into seven weeks. Their duration is uncertain, but the events referred to are clear.
10. Return of Ezra and Nehemiah, and re-dedication of the temple, about 516 B.C. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 72.
11. The Hellenizing chief-priests who with Antiochus Epiphanes opposed Judaism.
seventh β A^{β} S: 'seventieth' *a*.
adulterers *a*: 'contentious' β A^{β} S^{1}.
XVIII. The new priesthood, to follow the immoral Hellenizers of the Zadokite line.
2–15. A Messianic hymn.
2. **a new priest.** Cf. viii. 14.
3. **his star.** Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1, also derived from Num. xxiv. 17.
in heaven. In T. Jud. xxiv. 1, same passage recurs with 'in peace.'
lighting up the light of knowledge = Hos. x. 12 (LXX). Cf. Syr. and Targ. Jon. The Hebrew there reads 'till ye the untilled ground'. For our text cf. iv. 3; T. B. xi. 2; also Jer. iv. 3.
as the sun the day. So emended from texts, all corrupt. Cf. iv. 3.
in the world + 'until his ascension' β A^{β} S^{1}.
5. **And the †clouds,** perhaps read 'because of him' and omit 'shall be glad'. The bracketed words spoil the parallelism. Cf. 1 En. li. 4 (as emended).
6. **heavens shall be opened.** Cf. ii. 6, v. 1; T. Jud. xxiv. 2; also Ezek. i. 1. The voice from the opened heaven resembles Matt. iii. 16, 17, &c.
With the Father's voice. This seems to refer to Hyrcanus, whose receiving of a Bath Qol is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 3; Jer. Talmud, Sotah. ix. 12. Probably Hyrcanus had some attestation, at least in popular belief, such as Simon had in Ps. cx.
as from Abraham to Isaac, i. e. as son, in a Messianic sense.
7. **spirit of understanding.** Cf. Isa. xi. 2; 1 En. xlix. 3.
[in the water] > e only. A Christian addition.
8. **For** *a* only.
he, probably John Hyrcanus, and not God. Hence 'of the Lord' and not 'His own majesty'. On the other hand in *vv.* 10–12 'he' seems to mean God.
sons in truth = true sons, T. Jud. xxiv. 3.

And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever.
9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the lawless shall cease to do evil.
[And the just shall rest in him.]
10 And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
11 And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
12 And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.
13 And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,
And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.
14 Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,
And I will be glad,
And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.

9 1 And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the
2 darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And his sons answered him, saying,
3 Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. And their father said unto them, The Lord is witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word
4 of your mouth. And his sons said unto him: We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons; and he stretched out his feet ⌜on the bed⌝, and was gathered to his fathers, after he had
5 lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Testament of Judah, the Fourth Son of Jacob and Leah.

1, 2 The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered
3 themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them: ⌜Hearken, my children, to Judah your father⌝. I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob; and Leah my mother named
4 me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son ⌜also⌝. I was
5 swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honoured my mother and my
6 mother's sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying, Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

none succeed him, i.e. the office is secured to him and his descendants. Cf. Ps. cx; 1 Macc. xiv. 41 'a priest for ever', of Simon.

9. **grace of the Lord** + 'But Israel shall be minished through ignorance, and darkened through grief', all MSS. except b e. A Christian addition.

sin come to an end. For a gradual renewing of heaven and earth, ethically conditioned by Israel's conduct cf. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Jub. i. 29, iv. 26, xxiii. 26–8. Also 1 En. lxix. 29; Pss. Sol. xvii. 29; and 1 En. xcii. 5, xci. 8, 14, c. 5 for the disappearing of sin.

[**And the just . . . him**] > e. An interpolation.

10. **open . . . paradise**. If 'he' = the Messiah, this passage alone in Jewish literature ascribes the act to him. For the opening cf. 4 Ezra viii. 52; Sib. Or. iii. 769 ff.; also 4 Ezra vii. 36; 2 En. x.; 2 Bar. li. 11.

Adam, or 'man'.

11. **tree of life**, in Paradise, 4 Ezra viii. 52; eaten by the righteous, 1 En. xxvi. 5, 6; 4 Ezra vii. 123. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

12. **Beliar . . . bound**. In Isa. xxiv. 22, 23 God imprisons certain of the host of heaven. In Matt. xii. 29; Luke x. 19 Christ binds the strong man. In Rev. xx. 2, 3 an angel binds Satan. If the Messiah here binds Beliar, cf. his position in 1 En. lxii. 5 ff.; lxix. 27.

power . . . to tread upon the evil spirits. Cf. T. S. vi. 6, also Luke x. 19, and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).

His children = the righteous.

14. **joy** b e g A^b: 'righteousness' *a* a f S^1.

XIX. 1. **choose**, &c. Cf. Deut. xxx. 19.

the light . . . Beliar. Cf. T. N. ii. 6, and especially 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15 *τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ;*

2. **his sons**. Several MSS. here and in *v.* 3 have the 1st person, 'we', &c.

4. **on the bed** *a*: > β–d A S^1.

TITLE *a* + 'concerning courage and love of money (> e S^1) and fornication' (> f S^1) b e f S^1, also A generally.

I. 3. **hearken . . . father** *a*: > β–d A.

Judah . . . give thanks to the Lord. Cf. Gen. xxix. 35 for the play on words.

6. **blessed**, *ἐπεύξατο*. Cf. xvii. 5.

Thou shalt be a king. Cf. xxi. 5, xxii. 3; Ber. rab. lxxxiv. 16.

2 1, 2 And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. I know that
3 I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. And the roes
I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and
4 caught it and tamed it. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw
5 and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it ⌜as I ran⌝,
6 I tore it in sunder. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and
7 hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and
seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.

3 1 And when the two kings of the Canaanites came sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much
people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves
2 and dragged him down, and so I slew him. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he sat upon his
3 horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. Achor the king] a man of giant stature ⌜I found⌝,
hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds
4 weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. And I fought with (this) **other** for two
5 hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped off his feet, and killed him. And as I was
6 stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. And I wound
my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled.
7 And Jacob my father slew †Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high.
8, 9 And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore my father was free from
10 anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision ⌜concerning me⌝ that an
angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.

4 1 And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle
array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and

II. 2. **and he did eat** > β-g S.

3. **A wild mare . . . tamed it** β-a e S^1 : > *a* (defective).

4. **hurled** g A : 'let go' *a* a : both = שלחתי : 'rolled' b d e f.
and it was crushed *a* : 'and it was broken in pieces on them' d : 'and any beast that turned on me, I rent it like a dog' β A S^1.

6. **on the rocks and it was broken in twain** *a* : 'and it was broken on the coasts of Gaza' β-d A S^1. Gaza is 37 miles from Hebron. But cf. Judges xvi. 1-3. Was there a Hebron near Gaza? For the feat cf. T. G. i. 2.

III–VII. These chapters contain an ancient legend which tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem. Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22 'which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow'. See Jub. xxxiv. 2-8, which tells of an attack by seven Amorite kings. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, the Midrash Wajjissau (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 1-3), the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxvi, and especially the Book of Jashar (see French trans. *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-84).

III. Fighting near Shechem, according to Midr. Wajjis. and Book of Jashar.

1-5. Judah's slaughter of two kings, those of Hazor and Tappuah. 'Achor', *v.* 3, is corrupt.

1. > later accounts.
Canaanites, in Jub., &c. 'Amorites' : Jashar 'Canaanite and Amorite kings'.
against our flocks. Cf. Jub. Other authorities give as motive to exterminate Jacob's sons.
of Hazor. 'the other' *a*. See iv. 2 (note). This Hazor is near Shechem.

2-6. The Midr. Wajjis. gives 'And he slew at the outset Jashub king of Tappuah who was . . . riding on a horse and could hurl his javelins . . . from horseback in front and behind. When Judah saw . . . he took up a stone . . . weighing sixty shekels and hurled it . . . he (Jashub) clave the shield in twain . . . (Judah) cut off his feet . . . And while he was stripping him of his armour there came against him nine of his companions.' See my Commentary, pp. 70, 71 for full quotation.

2-5. There were seven kings in all (Jub. xxxiv. 2; Midr. Wajjis.) = king of Hazor, iii. 1; of Tappuah, iii. 2-5; four kings, iv. 1; of Shilo, iv. 7. Thus Achor is one too many. Besides, iii. 1 mentions two kings, not three. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar (ii. 1174-75) give the details in *vv.* 3 and 4 and assign them to Jashub.

2. [**I slew . . . people**]. An addition, necessitated by the corrupt reading 'Achor the king'.

3. [**Achor the king**], i.e. 'the other (אַחֵר) king' a dittography of *v.* 2.
I found *a* : > β A S^1.
before and . . . horseback β A S^1, Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., Jashar : > *a*.
smote A S^1 : 'have given' *a* a f g.

4. > *a*, through hmt.
other. Emended from Ἀχώρ β-e, Ναχώρ A^{β}.
clave his shield. The Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar make Jashub cleave Judah's shield.

5. **nine** $A^{e\,f\,g}$: Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar : 'eight' *a* β-g S^1 : 'seven' $A^{-e\,f\,g}$.

6. **four of them**; he killed the other eight, according to the Hebrew authorities, while Levi slew the king of Gaash.

7. **Jacob . . . slew.** The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar say Jacob slew four other kings.
†Beelesath e : corrupt for 'lord of Shiloh', given by Hebrew authorities.

9. **I should not be overcome** β A S^1 : 'none shall touch me' *a* = ינגע differently pointed.

IV. The fighting is now near Hazor, as Midr. Wajjis. explains.

1. **and four kings** β A S^1 : > *a*. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 2-8. They are the kings of Sartan, Gaash, Beth-horon, and Mahanaim. The Hebrew authorities ascribe the slaughter to Jacob, and give a different list.

3 four kings. And I went up upon the wall, and I slew four **mighty men**. And so we **captured Hazor**, and took all the spoil.

5 1 On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us
2 with death. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the
3 west. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, †were drawn down† against
4 us. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city.
5 while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them.

α	*β* A S¹
6 And as we were departing the men of Tappuah seized our spoil, and seeing (this) we fought with 7 them. And we slew them all and recovered our spoil.	And as we were departing the men of Tappuah 6 set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we slew them and burnt their city, and 7 took as spoil all that was in it.

6 2 And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of †Jobel came against us to battle. And we fought with them and routed them; ⌜and their allies from Shiloh we slew⌝, and we did not leave
3 them ⌜power⌝ to come in against us. And the men of †Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty
4 men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. And when we came to
5 their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

7 1 And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming
2 against us. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their
3 city. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three

2. **upon the wall.** Midr. W. adds 'of Hazor'.
four mighty men. So I restore from the Hebrew authorities. 'still other four kings' A: 'two other kings' *β* S¹: 'their king' (i.e. of Hazor) *α*. These four mighty men are distinct from the 'four kings' of iv. 1. See Midr. W., Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 6; Jashar (ii. 1176).

3. **captured Hazor** Midr. W.: 'freed Hebron' text. 'Hebron' is out of the context, and 'freed'=חפ"ש for תפ"ש.
all the spoil + 'of the kings' *β*–d A S¹.

V. The destruction of Sartan and Tappuah.

1. **Aretan** b e¹: Areta d A: *ἑτέραν α* a e² f S¹. Hebrew authorities give Sartan, cf. Saregan, Jub. xxxiv. 4, 7.
walled and inaccessible *β*–d g A S¹. Cf. Midr. W. 'mighty' *α*.

2. **I and Gad . . . on the east,** &c. The Midr. W., &c., give quite different dispositions.

3–4. Not in Hebrew authorities.

3. **were drawn down** *α β* S¹: 'prolonged the war' A. Perhaps emend to 'set themselves in array', i.e. ערכו misread as ארכו.

4. **climbed** > *α* A.
by stakes > *α*.
while the men knew it not > *α*.

5. **we set fire . . . it and them** *β*: 'we burnt (them) with fire and so we took them all and all their possessions' *α*. Midr. W. makes Judah slay 200 on the tower. Cf. Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7; Jashar gives two towers, ii. 1177.

6–7. *α* is more accurate but less full than *β* A S¹. In *α* we have a successful raid, and a recovery of the spoil: in *β* A S¹ an attempted raid, and the destruction of the city.
seized *α* e. Hebrew authorities. 'set upon' *β*–a e A S.

VI. The rout of the men of Arbela, and the destruction of Shiloh and Shakir.

1–2. > *α*: while A*β* omits 1.
Kozeba. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 22, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.
the men of †Jobel b: 'Arbelians', Jashar ii. 1178. Cf. 'Arbael', Midr. W.

2. **their allies from Shiloh we slew** *β*–f. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8.
power = *διέξοδον*, a dittography, or a rendering of the יד in Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

3. **†Makir.** 'Shabir' Midr. W.: 'Shakir' Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 9: 'camp of Shakir' Jub. xxxiv. 4 (Maanisakir).
to seize our spoil > *α*.
battle *β*–d f A S¹: 'sword' *α* f.
for there was . . . amongst them > a.

4. **women.** Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. mention only men.
rolled, 'hurled' Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

VII. 1. **king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host** *α* d: 'Gaash the city of the kings with a great host' a e f: 'the cities of the two kings with a great host' b S¹: 'Gaash a city with a powerful king' A.

2. **I therefore . . . allies** *β*–d e S¹: 'and I and Gad also proceeded to the Amorites and feigning ourselves to be their allies' *α*.

3. **all that was . . . down** > *α*.
three walls. Cf. Hebrew authorities.

4 walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings.
5 Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and
6 they kept slinging against me stones and darts. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would
7 have slain me. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by
8 another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. And we did to them no hurt,
9 and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. And I built Thamna, and my
10 father built Pabael. I was twenty years old when this war befell. And the Canaanites feared me and my brethren.

8 1, 2 And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. And when I went to him I saw Parsaba, king of Adullam; ⌜and he spake unto us⌝, and he made us a feast;
3 and **when I was heated** he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.

9 1 And eighteen years my father abode in peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after
2 that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong
3 people. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up **wounded** on Mount Seir, and
4 as he went he died at Anoniram. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter ⌜into it⌝, and we encamped around, and
5 besieged it. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder ⌈in the sight of all⌉ and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assault of stones, upwards of three
6, 7 talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. Then they asked from us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as
8 tributaries. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred measures of wine, ⌜until the famine⌝, when we went down into Egypt.

10 1 And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram.
2 Now Er was wicked, and he †was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land
3 of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. ⌜And he had not known her
4 according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. In the

4. **Thamna**, i.e. Timneh. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50.
substance: 'refuge' b g.
5-6. These incidents are told of Gaash, not Thamna, in the Hebrew authorities.
5. The Hebrew authorities give the occasion of the insult.
against them to the summit = לראש עליהם. Midr. W. 'upon the wall the first' = ראשון לחומה.
kept slinging. Cf. Midr. W.
6. Jacob rescues Judah in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11.
7. **he made peace with them** β–a f S^1 Midr. W.: 'they made peace with him' *a* a f.
8. **they became tributary to us** *a*. Cf. Midr. W.: 'we made a truce with them' β A S^1.
we restored. Midr. W. and Jashar make the Amorites restore the spoil to Jacob's sons. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 7-9.
9. β A S^1: 'and we built also their city' *a*. See Jub. xxxiv. 8 'Robel (i.e. Arbela, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) and Tamnatares', also Midr. W.
10. **twenty years.** Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxiv. 1.

VIII. 1. **Iram.** Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 1.
2. **he spake unto us** *a* only.
when I was heated. Conjectured for παρακαλέσας. Cf. Isa. lvii. 5 (LXX). Cf. T. Jud. xi. 2, xiii. 5-7, xiv. 3. For the offence of this Canaanite marriage cf. Jub. xxxiv. 20.

IX. 1. The war between Jacob and Esau. For fuller accounts see Jub. xxxvii-xxxviii. 1-14; Midr. W., and Chron. Jer. xxxvii, and a different one in Jashar, ii. 1235-6.
2. **in the fortieth year of my life.** Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxvi. 21, xxxvii. 14. > *a*.
3. **Jacob smote Esau**, &c., *a*. Jub. xxxviii. 2; Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.: 'he fell by the bow of Jacob' b g A S^1.
wounded. So I restore in accordance with Midr. W. for text = 'dead'. But cf. Jub. xxxviii. 8 'slain'.
and as he went . . . Anoniram > c h.
Anoniram β–b d A: 'Aduram' Jub. xxxviii. 9: 'Arodin' Midr. W. This is the Adora which Hyrcanus took and forced to accept circumcision, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xxii. 15. 4.
4. **with walls of iron and gates of brass** β–d A: 'strong' *a*. Cf. v. 1.
5. **sustaining . . . stones.** Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. assign this feat to Naphtali and Gad as well.
upwards . . . weight > *a*.
7. **as tributaries.** Cf. vii. 8 and Midr. W. > *a*.
8. **five hundred** *a* a f S^1: 'two hundred' b d e A.
baths, 'ephahs' seem to be implied by *a* a f.
the famine when *a*: > β S^1.

X. 1. **daughter of Aram**, i.e. a Semite. Cf. Jub. xli. 1, and *Opus Imperfectum* on Matt. i. 3.
2. **he was . . . night** > *a*.
†**was in need**, or 'difficulty', perhaps corrupt in Hebrew for 'put to shame'. Cf. Jub. xli. 2.
3. > A through hmt.
for . . . by her > *a*. The *Opus Imperf.* says: 'Mater autem eius cum esset Chananaea hortaretur eum accipere ex genere suo: ille consilio matris usus non contigit eam. Propter quod percussit eum Deus malignantem.'

days] of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not,
5 though he spent with her a year. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled
the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness.
6 And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it; [for she wrought evil
against Tamar], because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.

XI. 1 And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my
2 mind. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine I was deceived, and
3 took her although my father had not counselled (it). And while I was away she went and took for
4 Shelah a wife from Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of
5 my soul. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.

XII. 1 And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up
2 to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. [For
it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days
3 by the gate]. Therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her; and her beauty deceived
4 me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto
thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the
5 diadem of my kingdom [in pledge]. And I went in unto her, and she conceived. And not knowing
6 what I had done, I wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And
when I called her, I heard also the secret words which [I spoke] when lying with her in my drunken-
7 ness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in
8 subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. But I came not again near her while
9 I lived, because I had done [this] abomination in [all] Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city
said there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the
11 gate. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into
12 Egypt [to Joseph], because of the famine. And I was forty and six years old, and seventy and three
years lived I in Egypt.

XIII. 1 And now I command you, my children, hearken [to Judah your father], and keep my sayings to
2 perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. And walk not after your
lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds
3 and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. Since I also gloried that
in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reproved Reuben my brother concerning
Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against

4. β A S^1: 'And I gave her to Aunan my second son, and behold the Lord slew him' *a*.
5. > *a*.
6. **his mother** *a*: 'my wife Bathshua' β A S. Cf. Jub. xli. 7.
against Tamar b d e S.

XI. 2. **pouring out wine** > A S^1.
owing to the intoxication > *a*.
took her *a*: 'had intercourse with her' β S^1.
not counselled. Cf. xiii. 3.
3. Jub. xli. 7 only says that Bathshua stopped Shelah's marrying.
5. **through her . . . sons** *a*: 'through the wickedness of her sons' β A S^1.

XII. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12–26; Jub. xli. 8–23.
1. **adorned.** Jub. xli. 9; also LXX, Syr., Onkelos of Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. has 'enwrapped'.
Enaim c e. A proper name as in Gen. xxxviii. 14 (LXX, not Targums or Syriac).
gate +'of the inn' *a*.
2. **about to marry** β S^1: 'a widow' *a*. Cf. the bride's sacrifice to Mylitta, Herod. i. 199.
seven days by the gate > *a*.
3. +'at the waters of Kozeba' β–d f A $^{a\ h\ b^*\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g}$ S^1 at the beginning of verse.
4. **staff . . . girdle . . . diadem.** Gen. xxxviii. 18 has also 'signet' as *a* here.
girdle > *a*, wrongly, see xv. 3. Cf. Jub. xlvi. 11.
diadem, is not in Gen.
in pledge > β A S^1.
5. **wished to slay her** > *a* d g.
but she . . . shame. 'I sent to receive the pledge' *a*.
6–10. > *a*, but substitutes an abbreviation of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24–30, LXX.
7. Explains 6^a.
9. **harlot,** lit. 'temple prostitute'. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 18.
12. **forty-six.** 'forty-three' in Jub. xxviii. 15, xlv. 1. Cf. T. L. xii. 5 (Aram. Frag.).

XIII. 1. Text = *a*. Other MSS. vary.
2. **walk not** β A S^1: 'be not evil' *a*.
nor in the imaginations of your thoughts > *a* a g. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. See T. A. i. 3 (note).
3. **enticed** β A: 'met' *a* S^1, i.e. ὑπήντησε for ἠπάτησε.

4 me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. For I said
to my father-in-law: I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he
was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was
5 a king. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the
6 feast †with the beauty of women.† And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my
7 heart. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the
8 Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me
according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

14 1 And now, my children, ⌜I say unto you⌝, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away
2 from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of
fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the
3 mind of man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts
⌜leading to fornication⌝, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be
4 present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is the **inebriated** man, my children; for he
5 who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of
the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought
6 a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. After I had drunk wine I reverenced
7 not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. For much discretion
needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine a man
8 may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit
attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be
ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and to account himself honourable.

15 1 He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put
2 to dishonour. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his
3 kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. For I gave my staff, that
is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my
4 kingdom. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor
5 did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over
6 king and beggar alike. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his
might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the (right) limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits—of
2 lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest in the
fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and
3 shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in
words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God,
4 and ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as

I lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*, β A S^1: *συνετέλεσα εἰς*, *a*.
4. **he was unwilling, but** > β–d A S^1.
5. **†with the beauty of women†** > c A^b. Read 'with the ornaments of women', or the words may be corrupt for 'in the women's apartment'.
7. **lay with**, *συνέπεσα εἰς*. See xi. 2, xiii. 3 (notes).
fathers. 'father' *a*.

XIV. 1. **I say unto you** h: 'I say' c: > β A S^1.
be not drunk with wine. Cf. xvi. 1 and Eph. v. 18.
2. **mind of man** *a* $A^{a\,b}$: 'might of man' β $A^{b\,b*\,c\,d\,e\,g}$ S.
3. The translation follows β A S^1. *a* has 'thou drinkest . . . thy mind . . . and to fornication heateth, &c.'
carnal union, 'pleasure' *a*.
and if . . . present > *a*.
4. **the inebriated man**, *πάροινος*, emended from *πονηρός*, *a* a f: *πόρνος*, e: *οἶνος*, b A S.
7. **much** > β A S^1.
a man may, 'that a man should' β–d g A S^1.
8. **glory in his shame.** Cf. Phil. iii. 19.

XV. 1–2. Cf. T. R. iv. 7.
2. **stripped of** +'and goes forth from' β A.
3. **girdle** *a* a d f: omit next seven words through hmt.
4. **joy,** 'folly' c.
5. **for ever** > *a*.
alike +'and in them there is no advance of life' *a*.

XVI. 1. For this verse and xix. 1 cf. Col. iii. 5 'covetousness is idolatry'; Eph. v. 5; also Eph. v. 5 for 'profligacy' or 'excess'. See xiv. 1, xxi. 1. .
2. **For if . . . departeth** e f A S^1: 'for if ye drink without modesty and the fear of God departeth' b: > *a*.
3. **if ye would live soberly** *a*: 'what say I?' a e f: 'I tell you, if it is possible for you' d: 'it is a good thing (not to)' A.
before your time. Cf. T. R. iv. 6.
4. **God and men** +'to aliens' b $A^{a\,b\,b*\,d}$.

I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish
5 woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

17 1 And now, I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite.
2, 3 [For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which
4 the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my
5 father; for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed
6 me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

a	*β* A S^1
18 1 And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.]	For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye will do in the last days.]

2 Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication, and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father.

3 For these things withdraw you from the law of God,
And blind the inclination of the soul,
And teach arrogance,
And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour.

4 They rob his soul of all goodness,
And oppress him with toils and troubles,
⌜And drive away sleep from him⌝,
And devour his flesh.

5 And he hindereth the sacrifices of God;
⌜And he remembereth not the blessing of God,⌝
He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh,
And resenteth the words of godliness.

6 ⌜For he is a slave to two contrary passions,
And cannot obey God,
Because they have blinded his soul,
And he walketh in the day as in the night⌝.

19 1 My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness.
2 For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, ⌜and my humiliation⌝, and
3 the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers

5. > *a*.

XVII. 1. **nor to gaze upon.** Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

XVII. 2—XVIII. 1. Bracketed as a later addition. xviii. 2 resumes xvii. 1.

2. **wickedness** *β* S^1: 'perdition of fornication' *a*: 'fornication' A.

3. **because of my obedience.** See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 328 for various reasons for Judah's headship.

4. **caused grief to Jacob** *a* a A^b: 'caused grief to the word of Jacob' *β*–a g S^1. Perhaps the Hebrew original was 'I disobeyed the word of J.'

5–6. For Judah's kingship cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. xxi. 5, xxii. 3.

5. **Isaac** d A: 'Abraham' *a β*-d S (and therefore c reads 'great-grandfather').
blessed me to be king. Supply λέγων after 'blessed me' and render 'saying I should be king.' Cf. i. 6.
Jacob *a* d: 'Isaac' *β*–d A S^1.

XVIII. 1. **the books of Enoch,** an interpolation. See T. L. x. 5 (note), and cf. T. A. vii. 2 for 'I know'.

2. Resumes xvii. 1.

3. **blind,** &c. Cf. xiii. 7.

4. **drive away sleep from him** *a*: 'put away his sleep' *β*-d g S^1. Sir. xlii. 9. Cf. T. S. iv. 8.

6. **For . . . obey God** *a* f: 'for being a slave to the passions contrary to the commandments of God' a e S^1. Cf. Matt. vi. 24.
walketh in the day. Cf. Rom. xiii. 13.

XIX. 1. **love of money . . . idolatry.** Cf. Col. iii. 5; Eph. v. 5; Shem. rab. 121 'qui opes suas multiplicat per foenus, ille est idolatra'; cf. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 2 and Matt. vi. 24 for Mammon as a god.

2. **my repentance** *a*: 'the repentance of my flesh' *β*–f A S.
my humiliation *a*: 'the humiliation of my soul' *β* S^1.
prayers of my father. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 3; T. G. v. 9.
been accepted, †συνέδραμον, *a*: > *β* S^1: ἔσωζον, A^{-b}. Probably Heb. was עזרו 'helped', or נרצו 'were acceptable'. See T. G. v. 9 (note).

4 had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I sinned as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; ⌜and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible⌝.

20 1 Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit
2 of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will.

3 And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth.

4 And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been
5 written down ⌜before the Lord⌝. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and the sinner is burnt up ⌜by his own heart⌝, and cannot raise his face ⌜to the judge⌝.

21 1 And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and ⌜exalt not yourselves
2 against him⌝, lest ye be utterly destroyed. ⌜For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the
3 priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the
4 earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is
5 dominated by the earthly kingdom⌝. For ⌜the angel of the Lord said unto me⌝: The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table ⌜and to offer Him the first-fruits⌝ of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.

6 And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about, ⌜some taken into captivity while some are enriched⌝, so also shall every race of men be in thee: some shall be **impoverished**, being taken captive, ⌜and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of others⌝.

7 For the kings shall be as sea-monsters.
They shall swallow men like fishes:
The sons and daughters ⌜of freemen⌝ shall they enslave;
Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder:
8 And with the flesh of many shall they ⌜wrongfully⌝ feed the ravens and the cranes;
⌜And they shall †advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted,†⌝
9 And there shall be false prophets ⌜like⌝ tempests,
And they shall persecute all righteous men.

22 1 And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions ⌜one against another⌝.

3. **had mercy on me** *a*: 'the compassionate and merciful pardoned me' *β* S^1. Cf. Jub. xli. 25, and 1 Tim. i. 13 *ἠλεήθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα*. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 9, xvii. 6.

4. **as flesh.** Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

XX. 1–3. Here *a* is without *v.* 1, has four words in 2, and last clause of 3.

1. **the spirit of truth.** Cf. John xv. 26; also T. A. i. 4.

2–5. A striking description of man's attitude to good and evil. He can will either (*v.* 2), and the results are written on his heart or character, ever open to the eyes of God (3–4).

2. The 'understanding' seems to mean the will: *a* reads 'conscience'.

3. **written upon the hearts.** God (Jer. xxxi. 33) and man (Prov. iii. 3) can write thus on the heart.

4. Text as *β*–a g A^{β} S^1.
on the heart itself = *ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ*, a Hebraism. **on** > *a*.

5. **testifieth all things and** > *a*. Cf. John xv. 26.
testifieth . . . accuseth. Cf. Rom. ii. 15, where the conscience is still the judge of past actions, and not the deciding power as to present policy.
burnt up . . . heart. Cf. T. G. v. 3.

XXI. Levi's pre-eminence is enforced as in T. R. vi. 5–12, &c.

1. **exalt . . . him.** Cf. T. R. vi (note).

4. **As the heaven is higher than the earth** > *a*. Cf. T. L. xiv. 3.

5. **the angel . . . unto me** > *β* A S^1.
to eat of His table. Cf. T. L. viii. 16 (note).
to offer Him > *β* A S^1.
king of Jacob. Cf. xvii. 5–6.

XXI. 6—XXIII. An alien section, possibly a polemic against the kings (xxi. 6–8) Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (70–40 B.C.). Cf. xxii. 1–2. But the visitations of xxiii. 3–5 suit the Babylonian or Syrian conquests of 588 and 168 B.C.

XXI. 6. **amongst** *a* e f g: 'to' a b.
and unjust > *a* a f.
impoverished. Text reads 'in danger', owing to wrong punctuation in the original Hebrew.
the possessions of others > *β* A S^1.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11–17.

8. **†advance in evil.** Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 13.

XXII. 1. **divisions one against another**, i.e. the civil wars of Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, 70–40 B.C. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2–4.

And there shall be ⌜continual⌝ wars in Israel;
2 And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end,
Until the salvation of Israel shall come,
⌜Until the appearing of the God of righteousness⌝,
That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace.
3 And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever;
For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed for ever.

23 1 Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries which ye shall practise ⌜against the kingdom⌝, following them that have familiar spirits, diviners, and
2 demons of error. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in
3 the abominations of the Gentiles. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, [the burning of the temple of God,] the
4 laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. And they shall make some of you eunuchs for their wives.

a

5 Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect heart ye repent and walk in all His commandments, and He bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

a β S¹

24 1 And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace,
And a man shall arise [from my seed], like the sun of righteousness,
Walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness;
And no sin shall be found in him.

β A S¹

Until ye turn unto the Lord with perfect heart 5
repenting and walking in all the commandments of God, and the Lord visit you with mercy and bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

A

And after these things shall arise the star of 1
peace,

And he shall walk with men in meekness and righteousness.

continual wars. From Alexander's death to Herod's accession this holds good.

2. **my kingdom . . . end,** i. e. in 40 B. C., with Herod's accession.
[and all the Gentiles] > A. An interpolation, as this section is not universalistic.

3. **He would not . . . for ever** *a* A (>'from my seed' c). The other MSS. vary much. For the idea cf. xvii. 5-6, and Gen. xliv. 10.

XXIII. A general denunciation of Israel as a whole and its future judgements, if 'against the kingdom' is an interpolation.

1. **them that have familiar spirits,** *ἐγγαστρίμυθοι*, cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27; Isa. xix. 3.

2. **your daughters . . . harlots.** Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15.
the abominations of the Gentiles. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, ii. 13, 14, viii. 14.

3. **famine,** &c. Cf. Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2.
sword A + 'avenging' *a β*.
beleaguering by enemies. Cf. Jer. xix. 9. + *καὶ κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν*, *a β*–a before *ἐχθρῶν*, added from Jer. xv. 3 (LXX).
friends + 'destruction and blighting of the eyes' text: > h i A: emend to 'destruction of bribes', or possibly to 'destruction of children' (dittography of next phrase). Or, like *κύνας*, &c., regard it as an intrusion.
the rape of wives > *a*.
[the burning of the temple of God], not realized in Maccabean times (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7 (gates only consumed); 1 Macc. iv. 38) or in the first century B. C.
enslavement . . . Gentiles. Cf. the captivities of Apollonius, 1 Macc. i. 29-40; 2 Macc. v. 23-6: and of Pompey, Philo, *De leg. ad Caium*, 23; Pss. Sol. ii. 6, xvii. 14; T. Z. ix. 6: of Cassius Longinus in 49 and 43 B. C., Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 11. 2.

4. **eunuchs.** Cf. 2 Kings xx. 18. Herod also had some, but we are not told that the Seleucids had any.

5. **the Lord visit you, when . . . ye repent.** National repentance is the condition of Israel's restoration. Cf. Jub. i. 15-17, 23; Ass. Mos. i. 18; 1 Bar. iv. 28-37; 2 Bar. lxxviii. 6, 7; also Dan. ix. 4-19.
from captivity. Cf. *v.* 3 (note); 1 En. xc. 33; Sir. xxxvi. 11; Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 50.

XXIV. Two Messianic fragments. Verses 1-3 speak of a Messiah, probably from Levi, as 'from my seed' is an interpolation. Cf. both for diction and matter, T. L. xviii, the hymn in honour of John Hyrcanus. Thus cf. 1^a here with 3^a there, 2 with 6, 1^b with 4^a, 1^c with 9^a, 3^a with 8^a. Verses 5, 6 start afresh and refer directly to a Messiah from Judah. Verse 4 is a marginal gloss.

1. **a star . . . from Jacob.** Cf. Num. xxiv. 17; T. L. xviii. 3.
in peace. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3 'in heaven'.
a man shall arise. Cf. LXX of Num. xxiv. 17 ('a sceptre shall arise' Hebrew).
sun of righteousness. Mal. iv. 2. Cf. T. L. xviii. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.
Walking with the sons of men. See T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 13; and especially 1 En. lxii. 14.
meekness and righteousness. Ps. xlv. 4, interpreted of the Messiah by Targum and LXX. Cf. too Zech. ix. 9

$\alpha\ \beta\ S^1$	A
2 And the heavens shall be opened unto him, To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of the Holy Father ;	And the heavens shall be opened unto him, 2 And the blessings of the Holy Father shall be poured down upon him.
3 And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon you ; And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth, And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.	And He will pour down upon us the spirit of 3 grace. And ye shall be His true children by adoption, And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.
4 [This Branch of God Most High, And this Fountain giving life unto all.]	[Then a branch shall go forth from me.] 4
5 Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth ; And from your root shall arise a stem ;	And the sceptre of my kingdom shall shine 5 forth ; And from your root shall arise a stem ;
6 And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles, To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.	And from it shall grow up the rod of righteous- 6 ness unto the Gentiles, To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

25 1 And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes ⌜of Israel⌝: Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, 2 Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the Presence, me ; the powers of glory, Simeon ; the heaven, Reuben ; the earth, Issachar ; the sea, Zebulun ; the mountains, Joseph ; the tabernacle, Benjamin ; the luminaries, Dan ; **Eden**, Naphtali ; the sun, Gad ; the moon, Asher.

3 And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue ;
And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of ⌜Beliar⌝,
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.

4 And they who have died in grief shall arise ⌜in joy⌝,
⌜And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich⌝,
And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake ⌜to life⌝.

5 And the harts of Jacob shall run ⌜in joyfulness⌝,
And the eagles of Israel shall fly ⌜in gladness⌝ ;
And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.

26 1 Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold 2 fast unto His ways. And ⌜he said to them : Behold⌝, I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and

'Thy king cometh to thee, righteous and lowly', and Zeph. ii. 3. Meekness is not an attribute of the Messiah in Jewish literature 200 B. C.—A. D. 100. See T. D. vi. 9.

2. See T. L. xviii. 6 (note).
And the heavens. Cf. 1 En. xi. 1.

3. **pour . . . grace.** Cf. Ps. xlv. 2.
And ye shall be . . . walk. 'in truth' *a*.
sons in truth. Cf. T. L. xviii. 8.
first and last. Cf. e. g. 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

4. A marginal gloss.
This Branch. Cf. Isa. xi. 1 ; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15.
this Fountain, &c. *a* (*β* S^1) : > A. Cf. John iv. 14. Cf. Prov. xiii. 14, &c.

5-6. A new Messianic fragment, added by the inserter of xxi. 6-xxiii.

5. **a stem.** 'a fountain' *a*, corruptly. Cf. Isa. xi. 1.

6. **rod of righteousness.** Cf. Ps. xlv. 6.

XXV. A Resurrection to a renewed life on the present earth.

1. **tribes**, *σκήπτρων*, i. e. שבטים. Cf. Matt. xix. 28 'In the regeneration . . . judging the twelve tribes of Israel'.

2. **Eden.** Text *ἡ τρυφή* = עֵדֶן. Cf. Gen. ii. 15 (LXX).

3. **one tongue**, i. e. Hebrew. Ber. rabba 18 ; Shabb. 12^b ; Jub. iii. 28 (note).
be there *a* : 'be no more' *β* S^1 ; 'be among you' A.

4. **rich** + 'and they who have been in want shall be filled, and they who have been weak shall be strong' *a* b a f S^1. Cf. Matt. v. 6.

5. **Jacob** a b g A S^1 : 'Joseph' *a* d e f.
And the eagles . . . gladness *a β* S^1 ; 'And the heifers of Israel shall leap' A + 'But the ungodly shall lament and the sinners shall weep' *a β* S^1.

XXVI. 1. **hold fast unto** *a* : 'direct' *β* S^1, i. e. מישרים for ישמרים.

2. **Behold** > *β* A S^1.
before your eyes > *a*.

3 nineteen years old. Let no one bury me ⌜in costly apparel⌝, nor tear open my bowels, ⌜for this
4 shall they who are kings do⌝; and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and they buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

The Testament of Issachar, the Fifth Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them:
Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father;
Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord.
2, 3 I was born the ⌜fifth son to Jacob⌝, by way of hire for the mandrakes. For Reuben ⌜my brother⌝
4 brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and
5 at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these (mandrakes) were ⌜sweet-smelling⌝ apples
6 which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. And Rachel said: I will not give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. ⌜For the Lord hath despised me,
7 and I have not borne children to Jacob⌝. Now there were two apples; and Leah said ⌜to Rachel⌝:
8 Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? And Rachel said
9 ⌜to her⌝: Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes ⌜of thy son⌝. And Leah said to her:
10 Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself; for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years.

a	*β* A S
11 And had not craft increased on the earth and the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.	What shall I do to thee? for the craft and the subtlety of men are increased, and craft prospereth on the earth—if it were not so, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob. 11

12, 13 For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. And my father deceived me, ⌜and removed me on that night⌝, and did not suffer ⌜Jacob to see me; for⌝ had I been
14 there, this had not happened ⌜to him⌝. Nevertheless, for the mandrakes I am hiring Jacob to thee
15 for one night. And Jacob knew Leah, and she ⌜conceived and⌝ bare me, and on account of the hire I was called Issachar.

2 1 Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch
2 as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons; for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord
3 visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and
4 not for lust of pleasure. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the man-
5 drakes, therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. For though she desired them, she eat them not, but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who was at that time.

nineteen *β* A S^1: 'eighteen' *a*, wrongly.
3. **nor tear open . . . kings do** > *a*.
with you. 'where are my fathers also' *a*.

I. 1. Title *a*: +'concerning simplicity' b f S^1: 'concerning goodness' e.
the words of him who is beloved c i a e f A: 'the words beloved' h d S^1: '(my) words, ye beloved' b g.
2–14. Cf. Gen. **xxx.** 14–18.
3. **my brother** > *β* A S^1.
5. **which were . . . Haran** *a* ('Canaan' h i): 'which the land of Aram produced on a height' *β* S^1: 'and they were produced in the wood in Aram' A.
6. **For the Lord . . . to Jacob** *a*: > *β* A S^1.
7. **to Rachel** > *β* A S^1.
8. **to her** > *β* A S^1.
9. **Jacob is mine, for I** *a*: 'Boast not nor vaunt thyself; for Jacob is mine, and I' *β* A S^1.
10. **Boast . . . thyself**: 'How so?' *β* A S^1.
11. *β* A S version is due to dittography.
13. **Jacob** *a* only. **to him** *a* only.
14. **Nevertheless . . . mandrakes** *a*: 'And Rachel said: Take one mandrake and for the other' *β*–d g S^1: *β* A S^1 mention the second mandrake in ii. 4; d after i. 15: Leah gave Rachel both, ii. 2.

II. 1. **Two** b $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d}$ S^1: > *a* a e f: d omits the clause: g omits the entire chapter.
4. **Jacob** + 'in order that she might receive the other ('still another' $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,f}$) mandrake' *β* d g $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,f}$ S^1.
5. **priest of the Most High** *β* $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,f}$ S^1 +'God' A^b: 'priest' *a*.

3 1 When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to
2, 3 their season. ⌜And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him⌝. And
4 I was not a busybody in my doings, ⌜nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. I never slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye⌝.
5 Therefore, when I was thirty-⌜five⌝ years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; ⌜but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me⌝.
6 And my father ⌜always⌝ rejoiced in my rectitude, ⌜because I offered through the priest to the Lord
7 all first-fruits; then to my father also. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my
8 hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart⌝.

4 1 And now, hearken to me, my children,
And walk in singleness ⌜of your heart⌝,
For I have seen in it ⌜all⌝ that is well-pleasing to the Lord.
2 ⌜The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold,
He overreacheth not his neighbour,
He longeth not after manifold dainties,
He delighteth not in varied apparel.
3 He doth not desire to live a long life,
But only waiteth for the will of God⌝.
4 And the spirits of deceit have no power against him,
For he looketh not on the beauty of women,
⌜Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption⌝.
5 There is no envy in his thoughts,
[No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,]
Nor **worry** with insatiable desire **in his mind.**
6 For he walketh in singleness ⌜of soul⌝,
And beholdeth all things in uprightness ⌜of heart⌝,
Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world,
Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.

5 1 Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God,
And get singleness,

III–VI. Issachar is here held up as the single-hearted husbandman (iii. 1, v. 3, 5) who scorns luxuries and wealth (iv. 2), is free from envy, malice, and greed (iii. 3, iv. 5), shuns lust (iv. 4), offers freely to God and his father (iii. 6), and to the poor (iii. 8). Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 15 *ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός*, 'he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork' (Heb.). The Targums interpret this labour as in the law; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 32.

III. 1. **uprightness**, *εὐθύτητι*, ישר. As this work was translated into Greek between the completion of the LXX and A. D. 50 it employs more frequently than the LXX the late Greek word *ἁπλότης* = תם The MSS. waver between the two at times, probably because *ἁπλότης* was not yet so popular a term as it later became. See my Commentary, p. 103, and cf. T. G. vii. 7, T. Iss. iv. 6.
according to their season > *a* a f.
2. > A.
rectitude, *ἁπλότης* = wholeness, integrity. Cf. Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 32.
3. **busybody.** Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13.
4. **singleness of eye.** Cf. Matt. vi. 22; T. Iss. iv. 6 (note).
5. **five** > b d g A.
sleep. Perhaps read 'old age'. Cf. T. Z. x. 6.
6. **because,** 'for on whatsoever I laboured' *β* S^1.
all first-fruits + 'all the choicest fruit and all the firstfruits' *β* S^1.
7. **ten thousandfold** *a*: 'twofold' *β* S^1.
8. **bestowed . . . singleness of heart.** Cf. Rom. xii. 8. Hence the meaning 'disinterested generosity' in 2 Cor. ix. 13, *ἁπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτούς*.

IV. 1. **heart** c g: 'soul' h i a e f.
in it b d g A: 'in you' *a* a e f S^1.
2. **coveteth not . . . neighbour** b d e g S^1: 'gaineth not gold wrongfully' *a* a f.
3. **doth not desire to live** S^1: *οὐκ ἐπιγράφει τοῦ ζῆν a β* S^2, i.e. מְחַקֶּה, perhaps corrupt for מְחַמֵּד.
4. **looketh not on the beauty,** *οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι* (*ἐπιλέξασθαι* f g A: > S^1) *κάλλος*. Perhaps there was a dittography in the original Hebrew בחר בחן = *ἐπιλέξασθαι κάλλος*. Cf. T. R. iv. 1.
5. **is . . . in** *a*: 'can . . . invade' *β* S.
[No malicious person, &c.] An interpolation > A: 'malice . . . not' b d g S.
Nor worry . . . his mind, emended from *οὐδὲ περισπασμὸν ἐν ἁπλοτείᾳ ἐννοεῖ a β* S^1 to . . . *περισπασμὸς . . . ἐν νοΐ*.
6. **singleness of soul** *a*: > 'of soul' A: *β* S read 'uprightness of soul' and so 'singleness of heart' below.
eyes . . . evil. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23 'eye . . . single; eye . . . evil', i.e. ethically unsound. In Matt. xx. 15 = 'envious.'

⌜And walk in guilelessness,
Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour,
2 But love the Lord and your neighbour,
Have compassion on the poor and weak⌝.
3 Bow down your back unto husbandry,
And toil in labours ⌜in all manner of husbandry,
Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving⌝.
4 For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, ⌜even as He blessed all the saints
5 from Abel even until now⌝. For no other portion is given to you ⌜than of the fatness of the earth,
6 whose fruits are raised by toil⌝. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of
7 first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom.
8 And do ye therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].

6 1 Know ye therefore, my children, that in the last times
Your sons will forsake singleness,
⌜And will cleave unto insatiable desire;
And⌝ leaving ⌜guilelessness, will draw near to malice;
And forsaking the commandments of the Lord,
They will cleave unto Beliar.
2 And leaving⌝ husbandry,
They will follow after their own ⌜wicked⌝ devices,
And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles,
And shall serve their enemies.
3 And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more
4 quickly return to the Lord; For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into their land.

α	*β* A S^1
7 1 Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of committing any sin.	I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and 1 I am not conscious of having committed any sin ⌜unto death.
2 Except my wife I have not known any woman⌝. I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my ⌜eyes⌝.	
3 I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby;	
I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.	
4 Guile arose not in my heart;	
A lie passed not through my lips.	
5 If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his,	

V. 1. **busybody with** + 'the commands of God and' *β* S^1.
3. **Bow . . . husbandry.** Gen. xlix. 15 (Heb.).
labours *α* + 'of the earth' *β* A S^1.
5. **to you** g A: 'to thee' *β*–a g S: 'to us' a: > *α*.
whose fruits are raised by toil b g S^1: 'through the toils of fruits' *α* a e f: > d.
6–7. A is defective and confused.
7. **to Levi . . . to Judah** c: 'to the one . . . to the other' h *β*.
8. [**for** (*β* A S^1: 'and' *α*) **unto Gad . . . Israel.**] Probably out of place, and belonged to T. Gad originally, preceded by a phrase like 'and she called his name Gad'. Cf. Gen. xlix. 19.

VI. 1. **in the last times.** Cf. T. L. x. 2, xiv. 1; T. G. viii. 2 (*β* A S); T. Z. ix. 5 (b d g); T. D. v. 4; T. Jos. xix. 10 (c *β* S); also T. Z. viii. 2, ix. 9. The phrase = the close of the present age—present, that is, from the writer's standpoint.
2. **dispersed.** Cf. T. L. xvi. 5: T. A. vii. 2, 6: T. Jos. xix. 2.
serve their enemies. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3: T. N. iv. 2.
4. **bring them back.** Cf. T. D. v. 9; T. A. vii. 7.

VII. **hundred and twenty-two** *β* A S = Midrash Tadshe. See T. R. i. 1 (note).
am not conscious, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4; T. Z. i. 4.
sin unto death *β* A S. Cf. Num. xviii. 22; Jub. xxi. 22, xxxviii. 18; 1 John v. 16.
2. *α* omits *οὐκ ἔγνων* through hmt. It reads 'woman except my wife'.
the uplifting, *μετεωρισμός*. Cf. T. B. vi. 3; Sir. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 9; Prov. vi. 25.
4. A has 'And guile arose not through my lips, and I lied not to my neighbour'.
5. Cf. Sir. vii. 34; Rom. xii. 15.

And I shared my bread with the poor.
I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth.

α	β S^1
6 I loved the Lord ; Likewise also every man with all my heart.	⌜The Lord I loved with all my strength : 6 Likewise also every man I loved more than my own children,

7 So do you also these things, my children,
And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you,
And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you ;
And every wild beast shall ye subdue,
Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth
(And) walk with men in singleness of heart⌝.
8 And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron,
9 and bury him there in the cave ⌜with his fathers⌝. And he stretched out his feet and died, at a good old age ; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.

The Testament of Zebulun, the Sixth Son of Jacob and Leah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons ⌜before he died⌝ in the
2 hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them :
3 Hearken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I, Zebulun, was born a good gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks
4 and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. I am not conscious that I have sinned
5 all my days, ⌜save in thought⌝. Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph ; for I **covenanted** with my brethren not to tell
6 my father what had been done. But I wept ⌜in secret⌝ many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my brethren, ⌜because they had all agreed that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain⌝.
7 But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much ⌜with tears⌝ not to be guilty of this sin.
2 1, 2 For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph ⌜to kill him⌝, and he said unto them with tears : Pity me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father : lay not upon me your hands
3 ⌜to shed innocent blood⌝, for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, with chastening chastise me, ⌜my brethren⌝, but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our
4 father. And as he spoke these words, ⌜wailing as he did so⌝, I was unable to bear his lamentations, and ⌜began to weep⌝, and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was †loosened.

shared my bread. Cf. Prov. xxii. 9.
with the poor + ' I never eat alone, I moved no landmark ' β S^1.
kept truth α : ' did truth ' β–b e S^1 : ' and I walked in holiness ' A + ' I loved godliness ' c.
7. **shall flee.** Cf. T. N. viii. 4.
walk with men . . . heart h i e f (' his heart ' h i) : ' walking with men in the singleness of His heart ' c (= Messiah, cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1) : ' walking with men of (or ' in ') singleness of heart ' β–e f.
8. **in the cave** > α g.
9. **and died . . . sleep.** ' and slept at a good old age the eternal sleep ' a.
the eternal sleep. This does not preclude Resurrection. T. Jud. xxv. 1 ; T. B. x. 6 ff.

TITLE α + ' compassion and mercy ' (' almsgiving ' d g) β–a S^1.
I. 1. **before he died** c d.
fourteenth h i β–a S^1, cf. Jashar ii. 1248 : ' fourth ' c : ' fiftieth ' a : ' twenty-fourth ' A.
two years. See Jub. xxviii. 11–24 (notes).
3. **Zebulun, a good gift.** Gen. xxx. 20.
straked rods. Cf. Gen. xxx. 37 ff.
he had : ' I had ' α d.
4. **am not conscious,** &c. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 1.
5. **sin of ignorance.** Cf. T. R. i. 6 ; T. L. iii. 5 ; T. Jud. xix. 3.
which I committed > α.
covenanted with = ברתי emended from כסיתי ' concealed for ' b g A : ' confirmed to ' α β–b g S^1.
7. **I adjured** : ' I summoned ' h i : c omits rest of verse and ii. 1^a to ' kill him ' through hmt.

II. 1. **Simeon** + ' and Dan ' h. Cf. iii. 2.
against Joseph : ' with anger ' g. + ' with anger ' d e S^1.
and he said . . . tears : ' and falling on his face Joseph said to them ' β–a f S^1.
2. **upon me** > α.
3. **upon me** : ' to slay your brother ' α.
4. **wailing as he did so** > β A S^1.
I was . . . lamentations α : ' I pitied him ' β S^1.
poured out d g. Cf. Lam. ii. 11 : ' melted ' α β–d g S^1.
was †loosened α + ' within my soul ' β A S^1. Perhaps emend to ' was troubled ', as Lam. i. 20, ii. 11.

5 And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, ⌜and the joints of my body trembled⌝, and I was
6 not able to stand. And when ⌜Joseph⌝ saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to
7 slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. But meanwhile Reuben arose and said: ⌜Come⌝, my brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged
8 and found no water. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order that Joseph should be preserved. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

} 1, 2 For in his price I had no share, my children. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and their wives, ⌜and their children⌝,
3 saying: We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, ⌜and so let us see what will become of
4 his dreams⌝. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise
5 up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit in his face. And the brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the
6 sandal which they wore against ⌜Joseph their brother⌝. For when they came into Egypt ⌜they were unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the
7 fashion of King Pharaoh. And⌝ not only did they make obeisance to him, but ⌜were spit upon also,
8 falling down before him forthwith, and so⌝ they were put to shame before the Egyptians. For after this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

a

4 1 And after he was †sold my brothers sat down
2 to eat and drink. But I, through pity for Joseph, did not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush
3 off and slay him. But when they saw that I did not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was
5 sold to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning, said: How shall I look on the face of my father
6 Jacob? And he took the money and ran after the merchants, but as he failed to find them he returned grieving. But the merchants had left the broad road and marched through the Troglodytes by a short cut.

β A S[1]

And after they had cast him into the pit ⌜my 1
brethren⌝ sat down to eat. ⌜For I through two 2
days and two nights eat nothing, through pity for Joseph⌝. And Judah eat not with them, but watched ⌜the pit⌝; for he feared lest Simeon and Gad should run off and slay him. And when 3
they saw that I also eat not, they set me to watch him until he was sold. And he spent in 4
the pit three days and three nights, and so was sold famishing. And when Reuben heard that 5
while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he rent his clothes, and mourned, saying: How shall I look in the face of Jacob my father? And he 6
took the money and ran after the merchants, and found no one; for they had left the main road, and journeyed through the Troglodytes by a short cut.

7 ⌜But Reuben was grieved⌝, and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said:
8, 9 Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay

5. **my heart sounded.** Cf. Jer. iv. 19.
joints of my body, &c. Cf. Dan. v. 6.
6. **beseeching them**: 'beseeching (me) to help him' *a*.
7. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 22.
found no water. See Jub. xxiv. 25 (note).
9. **they did so** *a* d g A: 'the Lord did so' *β*-d g S[1].

III. 2. **Gad . . . brethren**: 'Dan and Gad and their children' *a*.
bought sandals. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28; Pirke R. El. xxxviii; also Amos ii. 6.
3. **the price of . . . blood.** Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6.
let us see, &c. Gen. xxxvii. 20.
4–7. An attempt to explain certain customs of the Levirate Law.
4. **law of Moses** *a*: 'law of Enoch' *β* S[1].
whosoever will not, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxv. 10; Ruth iv. 1.
7. **forthwith,** *παραχρῆμα*, b d f S: *παρὰ σχῆμα*, *a* a e g.
before *β*-d A S[1]: 'by' *a* d.
β S[1]: 'for they heard the evils that they had done unto him' *a*.

IV. 1. †**sold** *a*: *πραθῆναι* corrupt for *βληθῆναι*.
sat down *a* d only. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.
2. **Dan** (*a*). See ii. 1.
3. **to the Ishmaelites** (*a*). Cf. T. S. ii. 9; T. Z. ii. 9.
4. > *a*, possibly through hmt.
5. **How shall I look . . . Jacob?** So Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxvii. 30.
6. **Troglodytes**: 'Indokolpitae' in T. Jos. xi. 2. See LXX of 2 Chron. xii. 3.
9. **slay** b d A + 'with the sword' *a β*-b d S[1].

10 a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is
11 this the coat of thy son? And they did so. ⌜For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave⌝. Now Simeon took the coat, and would not give it up, ⌜for he wished to rend it with his sword⌝, as he was angry that Joseph lived and that
12 he had not slain him. Then we ⌜all⌝ rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we
13 will say ⌜to our father⌝ that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. And so he gave it unto them, and they did even as Dan had said.

5 1 And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, ⌜and to show mercy to your neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts.
2 For all this thing's sake the Lord blessed me⌝, and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped with-
3 out sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him.
4 For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, ⌜because they
5 showed not mercy in their hearts⌝; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.

6 1 I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding ⌜and
2 wisdom therein⌝. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright
3 piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my father until we came to Egypt.

Verses 4–6 found only in b d g.

4, 5 [And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. And if a man were a stranger, or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man
6 had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold
7 more from the Lord.] For five years I caught fish [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw,
8 and sufficed for all the house of my father]. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter I kept sheep with my brethren.

vii–viii. 3 found only in b d g.

7 1 [Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and
2 gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with
3 a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for
4 him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in compassion.

8 1 Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the
2 Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send
3 His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the

let us send . . . saying *a*: 'and we will say' β A S^1.
10. **his coat** *a*: 'the coat of our father' β –d g S^1.
11. **Joseph lived and** > *a*.
12. **to our father** *a* g.
in Israel. *a* only.

V. 3. **even as a man,** &c. Cf. viii. 3; Judges i. 7; Matt. vii. 2.
4. **in their hearts** β S^1: 'to them' c.

VI. 1. **the first to make a boat.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 13.
2. **rudder,** lit. 'a piece of wood'.
3. **catching fish** g: 'and I caught fish' b d A: 'in' *a* f: > a.
4–6. The sections peculiar to b d g, i.e. vi. 4–6, 7^b, vii–viii, go back probably to a Hebrew original. viii. 3, though a saying attributed to Gamaliel II or Gamaliel of Jabneh (80–105 A.D.), is virtually the same as v. 3.
6. **satisfied,** ἐνέπλησε, d: ἐποίησε, b g, wrongly.
neighbour +'with all willingness' d.
7. [**and gave . . . father**] b d g only.
whom I saw b g: 'what sufficed' d.

VII. 1. **my father's house** d: 'my house' b g.
2. **show . . . mercy without hesitation.** Cf. Jude 22, if μή is restored before διακρινόμενοι there.
3. **needeth,** or 'asketh', χρήζοντι. Cf. Matt. v. 42.

VIII. 2. **last days.** See T. Iss. vi. 1 (note).
3. See v. 3 (note) and vi. 4–6 (note). Cf. Sifre, Deut. 96; Shabb. 151^b.

4, 5 Lord also upon him.] And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, ⌜approve yourselves without malice, and⌝ love one
6 another ; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. For this breaketh unity and divideth ⌜all kindred, and troubleth the soul⌝, and weareth away the countenance.

9 1 Observe, ⌜therefore⌝, the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees,
2 earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up,
3, 4 and they **vanish away**. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two
5 hands, two feet, and all the remaining members. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that

Ye shall be divided in Israel,
And ye shall follow two kings,
And shall work every abomination.

6 And your enemies shall lead you captive,
And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles,
With many infirmities and tribulations.

α

7 And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent,

And He shall have mercy upon you, for He is merciful and compassionate.

And He setteth not down in account evil against the sons of men,

Because they are flesh, and are deceived through their own wicked deeds.

α a e f A S[1]

8 And after these things shall there arise ⌜unto you⌝ the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

β A S[1]

And after these things ye shall remember the 7
Lord, and repent,

[And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate.

And He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh,

And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds.

b d g

And after these things there shall arise unto 8
you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

[And healing and compassion shall be in His wings.

He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar ;

And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down] ;

And he shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him.

4. Resumes vi. 3.
And when. b d g read 'for when', which supports the originality of vii–viii. 2.
against us + 'but when he saw me he had compassion' b g.
5. **approve . . . malice and** > *α* a e f A.
set not down in account, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 5.
evil against c A : 'the evil of' *β* S[1].
6. **and weareth away the countenance** ('possessions' a e f A (?) S[1]) *α* : 'for he who beareth malice hath no bowels of mercy' b d g.

IX. Written at a time of national divisions, e.g. Hyrcanus II's struggles with Aristobulus II.
1. **and other things** *α* : 'sand' *β*–b d A.
2. **vanish away.** So I emend with Perles ; the text has 'become of no account', i.e. יִמָּאֲסוּ corrupt for יִמַּסּוּ. See 1 Sam. xv. 9.
4, 5. **two heads** = Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.
5. **writing of my fathers.** See T. L. x. 5 (note). +'that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord and' b d g.
kings : 'kingdoms' *α* a e f S[2].
abomination + 'and worship every idol' h i *β* S[1].
6. **be evil entreated** : 'dwell' c b d.
tribulations + 'and anguish of soul' b d g.
7. **repent** : *ἐπιστρέψετε α* : *μετανοήσετε β* A S[1] : both = תשובו.
cause . . . to return *β* A S[1]. Or *ἐπιστρέψει* may be rendered 'return' if we omit *ὑμᾶς*. Cf. T. D. v. 9[a].
setteth not down in account. Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.
Because . . . flesh. Cf. Gen. vi. 3 ; T. Jud. xix. 4.
8. b d g appear to be a Jewish expansion of *α* a e f A S[1]. Thus 8[b] comes from Mal. iv. 2, suggested by 'light of righteousness', 8[c] = T. D. v. 11[a], 8[d] = T. L. xviii. 12 or T. S. vi. 6.

a a e f A S¹	b d g
And ye shall return unto your land. And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, ⌜for His name's sake⌝.	And ye shall see [God in the fashion of a man] (the place) which the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem is its name.

9 And again ⌜through the wickedness of your works⌝ shall ye provoke Him to anger,
And ye shall be cast away ⌜by Him⌝ unto the time of consummation.

10 1 And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my
2 end. For I shall rise again in the midst of you, ⌜as a ruler in the midst of his sons⌝; and I shall
rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as shall keep the law of the Lord, ⌜and the commandments
3 of Zebulun their father⌝. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them
4, 5 throughout all generations. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. But
6 do ye fear the Lord ⌜our God with all your strength all the days of your life⌝. And when he had
7 said these things he fell asleep, ⌜at a good **old age**⌝. And his sons laid him in a ⌜wooden⌝ coffin. And
afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

The Testament of Dan, the Seventh Son of Jacob and Bilhah.

1 1 The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and
2 twenty-fifth year of his life. For he called together his family, and said: Hearken to my words, ye
3 sons of Dan; and give heed to the words ⌜of your father⌝. I have proved in my heart, and in my
whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well pleasing to God, and that lying and anger
4 are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children,
5 that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph ⌜my brother⌝, the true and good man. [And
6 I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] For the spirit of jealousy
7 and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar **stirred** me
up, saying: Take this sword, and ⌜with it⌝ slay Joseph: so shall thy father love thee when he is dead.
8 Now this is the spirit of anger that persuaded me to **crush** Joseph as a leopard **crusheth** a kid.

a	*β* A S¹
9 But the God of my fathers did not suffer him to fall into my hands, so that I should find him alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to be destroyed in Israel.	But the God of Jacob our father did not deliver him into my hands that I should find him alone, nor suffer me to work this iniquity, lest two tribes should be destroyed in Israel. 9

2 1 And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.

c	*β* A S¹
2 For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth.	There is blindness in anger, my children, and no angry man seeth the face with truth. 2

3 For though it be a father or a mother, ⌜he behaveth towards them as enemies⌝; though it be
a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though

see Him *a*: 'see the Lord' a e f A S¹.
(the place) . . . its name b: 'whom the Lord shall choose in Jerusalem for His name's sake' g: 'and His name shall be called the angel of great counsel' d.
9. **by Him** *a*: > *β* S¹: 'among the Gentiles' A.

X. 1. **be cast down**, *συμπίπτετε*. Cf. T. Jos. vii. 1.
2. Cf. T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. B. x. 7.
3. Cf. Ps. xi. 6.
throughout all generations: 'from the children of Israel' A.
6. **good old age**: 'good sleep' text. שינה was misread for שיבה. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. D. vii. 1, &c.
wooden *a*: > *β* A S¹. Cf. T. S. vii. 2.

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning anger ('wrath' d g) and lying' b d e f g S¹: + 'concerning arrogancy and hatred' A.
I. 3. **just dealing**. We expect longsuffering here, as in ii. i, vi. 8.
4. **resolved** *a*: rejoiced *β* (A) S¹: i. e. שמחתי for שמתי. For Dan's design, see T. Z. ii. 1.
5. Bracketed, as it breaks the connexion of 4 and 6.
7. Cf. T. Z. ii. 1, iii. 2.
stirred me up = יעיר. Text = 'helped me' = יעזר.
8. **to crush . . . a kid** *β*-a d f A: *a* has the order different.
crush = רצץ: emended from 'suck' = מצץ.
9. Why 'a second tribe'? *β* A S¹ seems to have the better reading.

II. 2. **angry man**: > 'angry' a e f A S¹.

4 a righteous man, he regardeth him not; ⌜though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him⌝. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying
5 darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

α	*β*-a A S^1
3 1 For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself.	For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it 1 becomes a soul to the soul itself.

2 And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and
3 it bestoweth upon the body ⌜power that it may work all⌝ iniquity. And when the body does all
4 these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. Therefore he that is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his
5 own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath
6 he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying ⌜at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying⌝ his works may be wrought.

1, 2 Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is †vain. For it first of all giveth provocation by word; then by deeds it †strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his
3 mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved
4 either to delight or to disgust]. For first †it pleaseth the hearing†, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the **grounds for provocation**; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry.
5 If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, ⌜be not afflicted⌝; for this very spirit maketh (a man)
6 desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. And if ye suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath ⌜with lying⌝.
7 Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord,
And keep His law;
Depart from wrath,
And hate lying,
That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.
2 Speak truth each one with his neighbour.
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.

4. **spirit of anger . . . deceit**: 'spirit of deceit . . . nets of luxury' A.
5. **And . . . his eyes.** A reads 'And then it encompasses (him) with its own eye, and surrounds.
with hatred . . . brother *α*: 'with hatred of heart and it giveth him its own heart ('a heart hostile' A: 'a heart' S^1) so as to be envious of his brother' b e A S^1. Cf. d f.

III. 1. **it troubleth even** *α*: 'it becometh a soul to' *β*-a g S^1, perhaps better.
2. **power** *α* g: 'its own power' *β*-g S^1.
3. **when the body . . . aright** *α*: 'when it doeth aught, the soul justifieth . . . seeth not' *β* A S^1.
4. **a mighty man** + 'in body' *α*.
having . . . evil: 'having the natural power of his body and of his own agency working' *β* A S^1.
5. **yet hath he . . . by nature** *β* A S^1: 'the passion of anger springeth up in him with twofold power' *α*.
6. Bracketed words > *α* A.

IV. 1. **†vain.** Read 'a destroyer'.
2. **giveth provocation**: 'is provoked' *α* a e f.
†strengtheneth. Read 'embittereth' or 'inciteth'.
3. The bracketed words are out of the context.
4. **†it pleaseth the hearing†.** Read 'the thing said giveth provocation'.
the grounds for provocation, reading *τὸ ἐρεθίσαν* for *τὸ ἐρεθισθέν* *α* *β*-d g S^1.
5. This spirit deceives in order to irritate. But A reads, 'the spirit of error desired to do this thing, and to accomplish the ruin.'
affliction, *πάθους*, *α*. 'longing', *πόθου*, *β* S^1.
7. **Moreover . . . lying**: > *α* f g through hmt.

V. 2. **Speak truth,** &c.: from Zech. viii. 16. Cf. T. R. vi. 9; Eph. iv. 25.
God of peace. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xv. 33; Phil. iv. 9.
war. Perles suggests 'enemy' *πολέμιος* for *πόλεμος*. Cf. Jer. i. 19; xv. 20.

3 Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart.
4 I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord,
And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger,
And fight against Judah;
But ye shall not prevail against them,
For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both;
For by them shall Israel stand.
5 And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits
6 of wickedness work ⌜in you⌝. [For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will **conspire** to attend constantly on the sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord.
7 And my sons will draw near to Levi,
And sin with them in all things;
And the sons of Judah will be covetous,
Plundering other men's goods like lions.]
8 Therefore shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity,
And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt,
And all the evils of the Gentiles.
9 And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy,
And He shall bring you into His sanctuary,
And He shall give you peace.
10 And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord;
And he shall make war against Beliar.
And execute an **everlasting** vengeance on our **enemies**;
11 And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints],
And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.
12 And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice,

3. Earliest literary authority for conjoining love to God and love to one's neighbour. Cf. Matt. xxii. 37, 39.
through all your life: 'with all your soul' h d. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 6; Sir. vii. 29, 30.
4. **Levi . . . Judah**, &c. Cf. T. R. vi. 5–12; T. S. v. 5.
5. **spirits of wickedness** *a* f: 'spirits of fornication' b e A S^1, i. e. *πορνείας* for *πονηρίας*. Cf. *v.* 6.
6–7. Contradict *v.* 4, where Dan opposes Levi and Judah, who are led of God. These two verses refer to the demoralization under the later Maccabees, like T. L. x, xiv–xvi; T. Jud. xxi. 6–xxxiii; T. Z. ix.
6. The earliest authority we have for the connexion of Dan and the Antichrist. Dan in the O.T. was idolatrous, Judges xviii. 30; 1 Kings xii. 29; according to Ps.-Jon. on Deut. xxv. 18 Dan was the 'hindmost' and 'feeblest', referred to in that verse; while Jer. viii. 16 is interpreted by Irenaeus v. 30. 2 of the Antichrist (and so Dan is omitted Rev. vii. 5–8). Cf. Ber. rab. xliii on Jer. viii. 16.
book of Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
righteous +'and I have known' ('found' h i) c h i.
is *a* *β*: 'will be' A S^1.
all > *a* f.
conspire = יקשרו, emended from יקשיבו = 'obey' in the text.
7. **sin with them**. Levi was to lead Israel astray, T. L. x. 2.
sons of Judah, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxi. 6, 7.
8. **led away**. Cf. T. L. x. 4; T. Z. ix. 6.
[with them], added by interpolator of 6–7.
evils of the Gentiles. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. N. iv. 2.
9. **when ye return . . . mercy**. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
He shall bring you, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 5; T. Iss. vi. 3; T. A. vii. 7.
give you peace. Cf. Haggai ii. 9; 1 En. lxxi. 17.
10. **arise . . . salvation of the Lord**. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3; T. Jud. xxiv. 1; T. Z. ix. 8, &c.
the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi: The singular, 'tribe,' necessitates one name only. Only T. G. viii. 1 (corrupt) puts Judah before Levi, and only T. Jud. xxiv. 5–6 (first century B. C.) and T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt) derive the Messiah from Judah.
war against Beliar. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12.
everlasting. So I emend text = 'of victory', which is due to a wrong rendering of נצח in Hebrew.
our enemies = אויבינו. So I emend from text = 'our fathers' = אבותינו.
11. **the captivity** = 'disobedient hearts' enslaved through sin. Brackets show a Christian addition.
turn disobedient, &c. Cf. Luke i. 17; and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).
12. **Eden**. Cf. T. L. xviii. 10.
the New Jerusalem b g A S^1: 'the kingdom of J.', c; 'the new Holy J.', h i. This is the earliest occurrence of

And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever.
13 And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation,
Nor Israel be led captive;
For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men],
And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].

6 1, 2 And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the 3 peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager 4 to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the day on which Israel shall 5 repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. For the very angel of peace shall 6 strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the lawlessness of Israel, that the Lord will **not** depart from them, but **will transform them into** a nation 7 that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. And His name shall be in every place in Israel, ⌜and among the Gentiles⌝.

8 Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
And cast away wrath and all lying,
And love truth and long-suffering.

9 And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye ⌜also⌝ impart to your children [that the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and 10 teacheth by his works the law of God]. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. And bury me near my fathers.

7 1, 2 And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. And his sons buried him, And after that they carried up ⌜his bones⌝, and placed them near Abraham, and 3 Isaac, and Jacob. [Nevertheless, ⌜Dan⌝ prophesied unto them that they should forget their God, and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance ⌜and from the race of Israel⌝, and from the family of ⌜†their seed.†⌝]

The Testament of Naphtali, the Eighth Son of Jacob and Bilhah.

1 1 The copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred 2 and thirtieth year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the 3 first day of the month, while still in good health, he made them a feast of food and wine. And after

the expression in Jewish literature. Cf. 1 En. xc. 29; also Ezek. xl, xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12, lx. 1; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2. Here it is Jerusalem rebuilt, *v.* 13.

and it shall be unto: 'which is' *a*.

13. Brackets indicate Christian additions, though for the Messiah's humility cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1 (note).

VI. 1–7. A section complete in itself. Israel is between the opposing spiritual forces of God and of Satan. The reign of evil will end when Israel repents, therefore Satan seeks to destroy those who call upon God. Even in Israel's lawlessness, the angel of peace is with them, to transform them into a nation doing the will of God.

2. **intercedeth for you**: 'followeth with you' c: 'followeth us' h i. Cf. T. L. v. 6 (note).

mediator between God and man. Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here of Michael cf. Jub. i. 29; Apoc. Mos. (ed. Tischendorf, p. 1); Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, vi. 75; Jalk. Chad., f. 120. Later, about the time of Christ, Moses was regarded as mediator, Ass. Mos. i. 14, iii. 12.

stand up. Cf. Dan. xii. 1.

against the kingdom of the enemy b g (A) S^1: 'before the kingdom of God' *a* d e f.

4. **repent** *a*: 'believe' β(A) S^1. If all Israel repent, redemption will come, Pesikt. 163^b, &c. See my Comm., p. 132.

5. **angel of peace.** Cf. T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5. See T. L. v. 6 (note).

strengthen: 'convert and strengthen' c.

that it fall not, &c. Cf. T. L. v. 6.

6. Two corrections have been made: i. 'not' restored before 'depart'; ii. 'will go over to' (= יהפך intransitive) emended to 'will transform them into' = יהפך (transitive).

doeth: 'seeketh' c.

7. **Gentiles** + 'Saviour' β S^1.

8. **all**: > *a*.

9. **that the Saviour . . . receive you.** A Christian addition. The rest may be Jewish. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1.

10. **the righteousness of** + 'the law of' β S^1.

and your race > b.

VII. 1. **old age**: 'sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6. For 'eternal sleep' β A S^1, cf. T. Iss. vii. 9.

3. A later addition.

their God *a* S^1: 'the law of their God' b d A.

†their seed† *a*: 'and so it came to pass' β.

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning natural goodness' b d e f $A^{a\ f}$.

I. 1. **hundred and thirtieth** h a e f A S^1: 'hundredth' c g; 'hundred and thirty-second' b d. Cf. T. R. i. 1 Jub. xxviii. 11–24 (note in large edition).

2. **while . . . health** > *a*.

and wine > *a*.

4 he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. And as he
5 glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. And he began
6 then to say: Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from Bilhah, ⌜and⌝ because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in place of herself to Jacob, and she
7 conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, ⌜therefore she called my name Naphtali. For Rachel loved me very much because I was born upon her lap⌝; and when I was still young she was wont
8 to kiss me, and say: May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. Whence
9 also Joseph was like unto me ⌜in all things⌝, according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and
10 the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-
11 fearing, free-born, and noble. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban; and he gave him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name
12 of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying: My daughter hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to suck it.

2 1 And I was swift ⌜on my feet⌝ like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages,
2 and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of
3 the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the
4 creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For
5 there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image.

a	*β*–a g A
6 For as a man's strength, so also is his work; as his †eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar.	As a man's strength, so also is his work; and 6 as his mind, so also is his skill; ⌜and as his purpose, so also is his achievement; and as his heart, so also is his mouth;⌝ as his †eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word, either in the law of the Lord or in the works of Beliar.

7 And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; and it is not to be said that the
8 one is like the other either in face or in mind. ⌜For⌝ God made all things good in their order, the five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for **excrement**, and the stomach for

4. **grew strong** *a*: 'affirmed' *β* S^1.
that . . . he should die *β* S^1: 'after . . . my body died' *a*.
5. > S^1.
6. For the play on the words cf. Gen. xxx. 8.
conceived and > *β* S^1.
7. **May I have** A: 'may I see' *β*–g S^1: *a* is corrupt.
prayers b d A: 'blessings' *a* a e f S^1.
9–11. The aim is to show that Bilhah was of Semitic descent. Cf. e. g. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29.
11. **Zilpah**, here a sister of Bilhah, as in Jub. xxviii. 9, and Ps.-Jon., &c.
12. **Bilhah . . . hastens**, i. e. בלהה נבהלה.
for . . . to suck it > *a* a d g.

II. 1. **as a deer . . . blessing**. See Gen. xlix. 21.
2. **accordingly** h a e f: 'unto it' c d.
3. **was all the creation made** *a*: 'was every creature of the Most High' b A: 'was every creature exalted' d e f. For the weighing and measuring of all, cf. Job xxviii. 25; Isa. xl. 12; 1 En. xliii. 2; 4 Ezra iv. 36; also Wisd. xi. 20; Pss. Sol. v. 6.
4. **beginneth** b d A: 'cometh' *a* e f.
5. **inclination**, *πλάσμα* = יֵצֶר. See T. A. i. 3 (note).
created . . . after His own image. Cf. Sir. xvii. 3. Earliest quotation (with Sirach) of Gen. i. 26, 27.
6. **as his †eye, so also is his sleep**. Something is wrong. Perhaps for 'eye' read 'maw', as in Berach. 61^b.
8. **the five senses**. See T. R. ii. 3—iii. 1 (note).
and He joined . . . head > *a* S^1. Compare the lists of man's powers and faculties in (1) Berach. 61^{ab}, (2) and (3) Othioth of 'R. Akiba' (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 42, 43), (4) Hebrew T. Naph. x. 6, least akin to our text.
heart for understanding, in (1) (2) (3) and practically (4).
belly for excrement, in (2). I read *διαχώρησιν* for *διάκρισιν*. Perles neatly suggests that the Heb. was לְפֶרֶשׁ = 'for excrement', which the translator took for = לִפְרֹשׁ = *εἰς διάκρισιν*.

(grinding), the **windpipe** for **taking in** (the breath), the liver for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins ⌜for prudence, the muscles of the loins⌝ for power, the lungs for drawing
9 in, the loins for strength, and so forth. So ⌜then⌝, my children, let all your works be done in order
10 with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

1 Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold
2 fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. Sun and moon and stars change not their
3 order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of
4 deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which
5 changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

1 These things I say unto you, my children, for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and
2 ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and ⌜there⌝ shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and
3 tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your
4 land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of
5 their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.

1 For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem,

stomach for ⟨grinding⟩ ('grinding' supplied from (2)) = (1) (2) (3).
windpipe for taking in (text, = 'reed for health', corrupt) = (2) (3). Cf. (1) (4), 'sending out.'
liver for wrath (1) (2) (3) (4). Cf. T. R. iii. 4.
gall for bitterness > (2) (4): (1) (3) 'the gall sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it.'
spleen for laughter (1) (2) (3) (4).
reins for prudence (*πανουργία*, as Prov. i. 4, viii. 5, LXX): 'reins for counsel' (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). (1) and (2) tell us that the reins give both good and bad counsel. Cf. Eccles. x. 2.
muscles of the loins for power. No parallel; a dittography.
lungs for drawing in (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). But our text is corrupt. *πλευρὰν εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν a*: *πλευρὰν εἰς θήκην* β–g S^1. Read *πλεύμονα*, ריאה לשאוב.
loins for strength. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11.
9. **while in darkness . . . light.** Cf. John iii. 9.
works of light. Cf. Eph. v. 9, 'fruits of light.'

III. 1. **with vain words to beguile.** Cf. Eph. v. 6.
Beliar *a* d: 'the devil' β–d A^{ab}.
2. Cf. Sir. xvi. 26–8, xliii. 6 ff.; 1 En. ii. 1; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11–14.
change β S^1: 'hide' *a*: 'hinder' A.
3. **stones** *a* + 'having followed after' β A S^1. *a* regards the stocks and stones as spirits of deceit.
4. **as Sodom.** Cf. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude 6 speaks of the angels who kept not *τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν*.
5. **the Watchers.** Cf. 1 En. vi ff.
without inhabitants. 1 En. ix. 2 (not Gk.), lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5.

IV. A first-century B.C. passage like Zeb. ix. The reference to Enoch and *v.* 4 support this view.
1. **I have read** b d g A S^1: 'I have known' *a* a e f. So *a* did not at first mention Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
2. **there.** Cf. T. Dan. v. 8: > d A S^1.
be bowed down A: 'be covered' b g S: 'dwell' *a* a d e f.
affliction and tribulation. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; Ps. cvii. 39.
3. **become minished and** > *a*.
bring you back. Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 25; T. Z. ix. 7.
4. **again forget.** Cf. T. Z. ix. 9. Renewed apostasy under Seleucids or later Maccabees.
5. **the compassion of the Lord**: 'the Lord' A^{ab} (+ 'with compassion' $A^{b*\,c\,d}$). Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
a man working righteousness, the Messiah, not a Maccabee.
afar off. Isa. lvii. 19.

V–VII. The hatred of Joseph here reflects Jewish hatred of Samaria.
V. 1–5. This vision is hardly intelligible. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii.
1. **a vision** > β A S^1.

2 that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to
us; Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; ⌜and to him that seizeth them
3 will the sun and moon belong.⌝ And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and
Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them.
4 And when Levi became as a sun, ⌜lo⌝, a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm;
5 and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [And the two, Levi and
6 Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] And lo, a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an
7 eagle's wings upon its back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. But Joseph came, and
8 seized him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy
writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in
captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.

6 1 And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were
2 with him. And behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written
3 upon the ship, The Ship of Jacob. And our father said to us: Come, let us embark on our ship.
4 And when he had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and
5 our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. And we, being tost with the tempest, were
borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves,
6 **until** it was broken up. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, ⌜and we were all divided upon nine
7 planks⌝, and Levi and Judah were together. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth.
8, 9 Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased,
the ship reached the land ⌜as it were⌝ in peace. And, lo, our father came, and we all rejoiced with
one accord.

7 1 These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their
season, after that Israel hath endured many things.

2 Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see ⌜always⌝ that the Lord
numbereth him with you.

3 And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou
seest not Jacob that begat thee.

4 He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that
⌜Joseph⌝ had been sold, but I feared my brethren.

8 1 And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the last times, how everything shall come to pass in
2 Israel. Do ye also, ⌜therefore⌝, charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah;
For through **them** shall salvation arise unto Israel,
And in **them** shall Jacob be blessed.

2–3. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii. 2–4, which adds 'nine stars'. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 9.

4. This obscure verse is given differently in Heb. T. Naph. ii. 4–6.

5. Dittography of $3^{a\,b\,c}$. β A S^1 read 'ran to each other and laid hold of each other'.

6–8. In the Heb. T. Naph. Joseph holds aloof (ii), but finally (iii) mounts a great bull and rides for four hours (the 400 years until the division of the kingdoms). In the end a storm disperses the tribes (the captivity). Our text in *7*. 8 goes on to the Syrian (Seleucid) rule.

6. **a bull**, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17.
eagle's wings: like a stork's, according to Heb. T. Naph. iii. 1.

7. **came and seized** *a*: 'got ahead and took' β.

8. **for I was there** *a* β-d S^1: 'for we were ('that he was' A) in paradise' d A.
Persians + 'Elamites, Gelachians' ('Chelkaeans' a e f) β.
[**Chaldeans**]. In the wrong order. It should be before 'Medes'.

VI. 1. **days** *a*: 'months' β $A^{a\,b}$ S^1.

2. **sailing by** + 'full of salt fish' β A = מלא מלוחים, a corrupt dittography in Heb. of בלא מלחים = 'without sailors'.

4. **departed** *a* β–b g S^1: 'flew away' b g A: 'was hidden' Heb. T. Naph. vi. 1.

5. **pounded . . . waves** β–d f A S^1: 'borne along' *a*: 'and the waves of the sea smote it to the rock' Heb. T. Naph. v. 5.
until: text has 'so that'.

6. **Joseph** = Samaria.
nine *a*: 'ten' β S^1.

7. **of the earth** > β-d S^1.

8. **for us all** > *a*: 'for us' A.

VII. 1. The repeated dream showed the matter was established, Gen. xli. 32; Heb. T. Naph. vii. 1–5.

3. **Ah me** > β A S^1.

4. **me**: 'us' β A S^1.
Joseph > β A S^1.

VIII. 2. **united to Levi and to Judah**. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. i. 8. Cf. T. D. v. 10 (note).
through them . . . in them: text = 'through Judah . . . in him'. But salvation comes through Levi and Judah jointly. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

3 For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.
4 If ye work that which is good, my children,
⌜Both⌝ men and angels shall bless you;
And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,
And the devil shall flee from you,
⌜And the wild beasts shall fear you⌝,
And the Lord shall love you,
[And the angels shall cleave to you].
5 As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance;
So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God.
6 But him that doeth not that which is good,
⌜Both⌝ angels and men shall curse,
And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him,
And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument,
And every wild beast shall master him,
And the Lord shall hate him.
7 For the commandments of the law are twofold,
⌜And⌝ through prudence must they be fulfilled.
8 For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife,
And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer.
9 So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring ⌜very
o great⌝ sin ⌜upon men⌝. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God,
⌜my children⌝, and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every
word, that the Lord may love you.
1 And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should
2 remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. And when he had
3 eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to
all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

The Testament of Gad the Ninth Son of Jacob and Zilpah.

1 The copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-
2 fifth year of his life, saying unto them: ⌜Hearken, my children⌝, I was the ninth son born to Jacob,
3 and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. Accordingly I guarded ⌜at night⌝ the flock; and whenever
the lion came, ⌜or the wolf⌝, or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and ⌜overtaking (it)⌝
4 I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone's throw, and so killed it. Now Joseph
⌜my brother⌝ was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being young, he fell sick

3. **their tribes**: text = 'his tribe', a Christian alteration.
God appear. Cf. T. S. vi. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.
[dwelling among men]: a Christian interpolation?
the righteous from amongst the Gentiles, or 'the righteous of the Gentiles', i.e. conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. x. 21, xc. 9–16, 18, 30. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).
4–6. Verses 4 and 6 are antithetic, so bracket 4^{g}.
4. **Both** > *a* A.
devil . . . flee: James iv. 7.
And the Lord shall love you: e g $A^{b*\ c\ d\ e\ f}$ S: > *a* a b d f. But cf. 6^{f}, while 4^{g} looks like a dittography in the Hebrew.
6. **And God . . . through him** > *a*.
8. Cf. Eccles. iii. 5 and 1 Cor. vii. 5—'a season . . . unto prayer'.
9. **there are two commandments**: 'the two (commandments) of God are' *a* e f.
very . . . men *a*: 'sin' *β* A S^{1}.

TITLE *a*: +'concerning hatred' *β*–a d (A) S.

I. 1. **hundred and twenty-fifth**. So Midrash Tadshe; Shemoth rab. i. 5; Jashar (ii. 1246).
3. Cf. Judah's feats, T. Jud. ii.
Accordingly *a*: > *β* S.
came +'or leopard or bear' b e g A S^{1}.
or any wild beast > a.
overtaking . . . seized *a*: 'seizing' *β* A S^{1}.
hurled . . . throw *a*: 'whirling it round I stunned it, and having hurled it over two furlongs' *β*–d S^{1}. For Gad's strength cf. Ber. rabba xcv. 4.
4. **young** *a* S^{1}: 'delicate' *β* A.

5 by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him,
6 because he loved him greatly. And Joseph told our father that the sons of ⌜Zilpah and⌝ Bilhah
were slaying the best ⌜of the flock⌝ and eating them against the judgement of Reuben and Judah.
7 For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of a bear, and put the bear to death; but
8 had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. And
9 regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph ⌜until the day that he was sold. And the spirit of hatred
was in me⌝, and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes,
because he rebuked us to our faces ⌜saying⌝ that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For
whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.

2 1 I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from
2 my heart. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land
of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field.

α	*β* A S[1]
3 And Judah sold him secretly to the Ishmaelites.	Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ishmaelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren]. 3
	And thus through covetousness we were bent on slaying him. 4
5 Thus the God of our fathers delivered him from our hands, that we should not work great lawlessness in Israel.	And the God of my fathers delivered him from my hands, that I should not work lawlessness in Israel. 5

3 1 And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the
Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of
2 men. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abominateth him: and though a man worketh the law of
the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is
3 righteous, he loveth him not. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospereth, he welcometh
evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I †also ⌜then⌝ looked† on Joseph.

4 1 Beware, therefore, my children of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness ⌜even⌝ against the Lord Him-
2 self. For it will not hear ⌜the words of⌝ His commandments concerning the loving of one's neigh-
3 bour, ⌜and⌝ it sinneth against God. ⌜For if a brother stumble⌝, it delighteth immediately to proclaim
it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death.
4 And if it be a servant it stirreth him up against his master, and with every affliction it deviseth against
5 him, if possibly he can be put to death. For hatred worketh with envy also against them that
prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth.
6 For as love would quicken ⌜even⌝ the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to
die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live.
7 For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to
men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the
salvation of men.

6. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 2 says Joseph reported that Zilpah and Bilhah's sons were eating flesh cut from the living animal.
7. **eaten it** + 'and he told our ('his' A[b]) father' b A[b].
9. **to hear.** A only.

II. 1. **from my heart** *α* A: *ἕως ψυχῆς* β-g S[1].
2. Cf. T. D. 1. 7.
to lick. Cf. Num. xxii. 4 and T. D. i. 8: 'to blot out' d A (? a g).
3-5. β A S[1] show Christian influence, e.g. the thirty pieces. Gen. xxxvii. 28 gives 'twenty pieces of silver'.
3. **Simeon** β-b A S[2]. Cf. T. Z. iii. 2 and T. S. iv. 2. 'Judah' *α* b S[1]. Cf. T. S. ii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 26.
of gold: LXX of Gen. alone.
4. **we were** β-b g S[1]: 'I was' b g A.
5. **delivered.** Cf. T. S. ii. 8.

III. 2. **Whatsoever a man doeth . . . him** β-f g S: 'Whatsoever the hater doeth is abominable' *α* A.
3. **envieth.** Contrast 1 Cor. xiii. 4.
prospereth, or 'doeth right'.
I †also looked on†. Read perhaps 'it blinded me also in regard to'.

IV. 3. **For . . . stumble** β S. Cf. Gal. vi. 1. > *α* A.
delighteth β A S[1]: 'hasteneth' *α*.
4. **stirreth . . . up against** *α* β S[1]: 'slandereth' A.
it deviseth against b S[1]: 'it rejoiceth over' *α* β-b. Perhaps omit 'with' before 'every affliction'.
5. **also against,** or 'and with regard to'; connecting with following words.
7. **hastiness of spirit.** Cf. LXX on Exod. vi. 9; Pss. Sol. xvi. 11.

1 ⌈Hatred, therefore, is evil⌉, for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it
maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet
bitter, and teacheth slander, and ⌈kindleth⌉ wrath, and ⌈stirreth⌉ up war, and violence and all covet-
2 ousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. These things, ⌈therefore⌉, I say to you
from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to
3 the love of God. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just
and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, ⌈being reproved not of another⌉, but of his own heart,
4 because the Lord looketh on his inclination. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear
5 of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any
7 man, even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. For
true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and
8 enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. And
9 those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought
upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had
10 hardly failed but my spirit had departed. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also
11 is he punished. Since, ⌈therefore⌉, my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too
I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry
against Joseph.

1 And now, my children, ⌈I exhort you⌉, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from
2 your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. For in the
presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred
darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him.

α	*β* A S[1]
3 Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him.	Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; 3 and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.

4 But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take

V. 1. **mateth with lying.** Cf. Sir. xx. 25.
causeth . . . darkness. Cf. Isa. v. 20.
kindleth: 'disturbeth' *α*: > *β* A S[1].
stirreth up > *β* A S[1].
2. **God** c i d A: 'the Lord' h *β*–d S.
3. **envy** *α* g A[b*]: 'hatred' a b e A[a b c d e f] S.
the Lord looketh on. Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.
his inclination *β*–d A S[1]: 'his soul' *α*.
4. **God** c *β*–b e: 'Most High' b A S[1].
overcometh hatred *β* A S[1]: 'dwelleth in him' *α*, by corruption in the Hebrew original.
5. **wrong . . . even in thought.** Cf. T. Jos. ix. 2; Matt. v. 21, 27.
7. **repentance after a godly sort . . . salvation.** Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10; Sir. iv. 22. Bracketed words are a gloss: > A.
8. So *β*–a f S[1]. 'and it hath not learnt this from man, but it knoweth how to receive those who return through repentance' *α*. For 'it . . . repentance' A reads 'repentance knoweth'.
9. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 4; T. Jud. xix. 2.
of Jacob > *α*.
succoured me, ἐβοήθησάν μοι, *α* A: > *β*–a S: ἔφθασαν a. Cf. T. Jud. xix. 2 (note).
10. Cf. Jub. iv. 31, 32. For the popularity of the doctrine of retaliation in the second century B.C. cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32, 33. Cf. Col. iii. 25.
also > *α*.
11. **eleven months** *β* A S: 'ten periods' *α*.
Joseph + 'until he was sold' *β* A S.

VI. 1. **in the inclination of the soul.** Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18.
3–7. A unique passage in ancient literature on the subject of forgiveness. It shows remarkable insight, and the diction and thought are closely parallel to Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15. Forgiveness is perfect when we gain our offending brother, and restore him to communion with ourselves. But we can at least cast out our own anger, even if he is not reconciled.
3. **if a man sin.** Cf. Matt. xviii. 15; Luke xvii. 3. On the duty of rebuke, cf. Lev. xix. 17.
the poison *β* A S[1]. Cf. *v.* 4.
peaceably . . . not guile. Contrast Jer. ix. 7.
if he . . . repent, forgive. Cf. Luke xvii. 3.
4. **catching the poison from thee,** in text follows 'intent' in *v.* 5, i.e. was separated from its context by the interpolation, *v.* 5.

5 to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal
strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for
6 ofttimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] And
though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he
who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear
7 and] be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so
forgive him from the heart, and leave ⌜to God the avenging.

7 1 If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him⌝, that he may have
2 perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious ⌜of
him⌝, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and
3 profitable to all men. Seek out the judgements of the Lord, and thy mind will **rest** and be at peace.
4 And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jeal-
5 ous; ⌜but⌝ wait for the end of the Lord. For if he taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil
6 means He forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. For
the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because
7 he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one
another with uprightness of heart.

8 1 Do ye also therefore tell these things to your children, that they honour †Judah and Levi†, for from
2 them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [For I know that at the last your children shall
depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.]
3 And when he had rested for a little while, he said again; My children, obey your father, and bury
4, 5 me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. And after five years
they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

The Testament of Asher, the Tenth Son of Jacob and Zilpah.

1 1 The copy of the Testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and
2 twenty-fifth year of his life. ⌜For⌝ while he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of the Lord.

5. Cf. Prov. xxv. 8–10; Sir. xix. 8–9.
addresseth *a* b f g: 'slayeth' d e A S.
6. **reproving** *a*: 'bringing forth' *β* (S¹).
repent. Cf. T. B. v. 4.
so as not . . . wrong: 'of having wronged' *a*.
yea . . . at peace: 'and he may [fear and] be at peace' *a*.
[**fear and**]. 'fear' = יחרד a corrupt dittograph of יהרר = 'honour'.
7. **leave to God the avenging.** Cf. Rom. xii. 19. A is here defective.
leave, lit. 'give'.

VII. 1–7. High ethical teaching like vi. 3–7. We must banish envy, when a rival prospers.
1. **have perfect prosperity**: 'be perfected' *a* f.
3. **rest**, emended: 'shine' *a*: 'not (> b f) leave' *β*–a.
5. **wealth** A: 'them' other texts, corruptly.
wealth gotten by evil means. Cf. Prov. xiii. 11 (Peshitto, Targum, and LXX).
is reserved *a* (A): 'he reserveth' b d e f g S¹.
for eternal punishment d A: 'for ever the punishment' *a* b e f g, which requires 'for the unrepentant as in b d e f g S¹.
6. **the poor man if free** *a*: 'the man who is poor and free' *β*–a A S¹.
pleaseth *a*: 'giveth thanks to' *β*–a A S¹.
blessed = אשר: texts have 'rich' = עשר. Cf. Pirqe Aboth iv. 3.
travail of vain men, *a*: 'evil travail of men' *β* A S¹. Cf. Eccles. i. 13, iv. 8, v. 13.
7. **jealousy**: 'hatred' text.
uprightness. See T. Iss. iii. 1 (note).

VIII. 1. **†Judah and Levi†.** Read 'Levi and Judah'. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note); T. D. v. 10; T. B. xi. 2.
Lord raise up salvation (+ 'unto you' h i) h i g A: 'Lord the Saviour arise unto you' a d e f: 'Lord raise up a Saviour' b S: 'Lord, salvation, arise unto us' c.
2. First century B.C. addition.
I know. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 1; T. A. vii. 2.
at the last > *a*.
before: 'from' *a*.
4. **drew up his feet** *a β*: 'kissed his sons' A.
5. **five years.** If Gad lived 125 years (i. 1), and was born 2131 A.M. (Jub. xxviii. 20), he died in 2256, and was buried 2261 A.M. But Benjamin was buried in the 91st year after Israel went down into Egypt (T. B. xii. 3) in 2172 A.M. (Jub. xlv. 1), i.e. in 2263, which is also the date of the war between Egypt and Canaan (Jub. xlvi. 9; T. S. viii. 2; T. B. xii. 3). Is b then right, in T. G. i. 1, in reading 127 years?

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning the two faces of vice ('duplicity' A) and virtue' b d e f A S¹.
I. 2. **upright**, a play in Hebrew on ישר and אשר.

3 Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, ⌜and two kinds of action, and
4 two modes (of action)⌝, and ⌜two⌝ issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the
5 other. ⌜For⌝ there are two ways of good and evil, and †with these are the two inclinations in our
6 breasts discriminating them†. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its
7 actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth
8 the sin. But **if it incline to the evil inclination**, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good,
9 he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.

1 A person then may with words **help** the good for the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action
2 leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in
3 evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. And there is a man that loveth him that worketh evil, because he would prefer ⌜even⌝ to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work.

α	*β* S¹	
†Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked who concealeth what is evil for the sake of the good name†, but the end of the action tendeth unto evil.	Though indeed there is love, yet it is wicked as it concealeth what is evil; now this thing seemeth good in name, but the end of the action tendeth unto evil.	4

5 Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this ⌜too⌝
6 hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and sweareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the
7 law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. He ⌜defileth the soul, and⌝ maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
8 whole is evil. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and **notwithstanding**

3. **Two ways.** Earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. Cf. Jer. xxi. 8 and 2 En. xxx. 15 (my note).
two inclinations. The oldest reference to the good yeṣer. See my Commentary *in loc.*, also my ed. 2 Bar. 92–93. For the evil yeṣer cf. Hebrew Sir. xv. 14, Sir. xxi. 11, xxvii. 5–6. The good impulse is free from Beliar's power (T. B. vi. 1), admits no evil desire (T. R. iv. 9), receives no glory from men (T. B. vi. 4). God knows (T. N. ii. 5) and tries it (T. Jos. ii. 6), rewards according to it (T. Jud. xiii. 8). The yeṣer is blinded by fornication (T. Jud. xviii. 3), and the evil yeṣer blinds the mind (T. Jud. xi. 1).
4. **all things are by twos.** Cf. v. 1; Sir. xxxvi. 15, xlii. 24; Eccles. vii. 14.
5. **†with these are . . . discriminating them†**, perhaps a Hebraism for 'and these . . . discriminate.'
6. The right of choice belongs to the soul, as to the 'spirit of the understanding of the mind' in T. Jud. xx. 1.
in the good *β* A S¹: 'to walk in goodness' *a*.
all its actions are: 'it does all its actions' *a*.
7. The modes of the good yeṣer's action.
8. **if it incline to the evil inclination**: 'if the inclination incline to evil' text. But the subject here should be 'the soul' as in *v.* 6. So 'its' (actions) = *αὐτῆς*, not *αὐτοῦ*.
cleaveth to c h: 'receiveth' *β* A S¹.
ruled by Beliar. The evil tendency is identified with Satan in Baba Bathra 16ᵃ, and is a strange god, Shabbath 105ᵇ.
9. **to do**: 'as though to do' *β* A S¹.
into evil for him *a*: 'into evil doing' *β*–b A S¹.
treasure of the inclination, a play on words, i. e. אוצר יצר. Cf. Matt. xii. 35 'evil man . . . evil treasure'.
is filled with: 'is born from' g.
an evil spirit: 'the poison of the evil spirit' *β*–d g: 'evil poison of the wickedness of the spirit' A.

II. 1. **help.** So I emend for various corrupt readings, e. g. *ἀφιστῶσα*, *a*.
the issue . . . leadeth, or 'it (the soul) leadeth the issue'.
2. **him . . . evil**: 'those who serve his turn' *a*.
3. **worketh evil**: +'which thing is wickedness' *a*: +'since he also ('likewise he' b e g) is in wickedness' b d e f g A S¹.
for his sake > *a* A.
4. A has 'Though they love, yet are they evil', &c.
concealeth: read 'loveth', unless a sentence has been lost before 4.
6. **the law** > *a*.
7. **but the whole is evil** c *β*–b A: > h b.
8. **adultery . . . abstaineth from meats.** Contrast T. Jos. ix. 2.
and fornication > h i.
the power of his wealth: 'his power and his wealth' b d g A.
notwithstanding: texts read 'after'.

his excessive wickedness he doeth ⌜the⌝ commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
9 whole is evil. Such men are hares; clean,—**like those that divide the hoof**, but in very deed are
10 unclean. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.

3 1 But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but
2 cleave unto goodness only, for God hath his habitation therein, and men desire it. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

4 1 For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double-
2 faced to sin, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil;
3 but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the ⌜whole⌝ work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he
4 accepteth not the seeming good **as** the genuine good. Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is
5 good. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because ⌜they walk⌝ in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.

5 1 Ye see, my children, how that there are two ⌜in all things⌝, one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: ⌜in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter
2 grief, in wedlock profligacy⌝. Death succeedeth to life, ⌜dishonour to glory⌝, night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, ⌜unjust things under
3 death⌝;] wherefore also eternal life †awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor
4 right wrong; for all truth is under the light, ⌜even as all things are under God⌝. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.

6 1 Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth
2 with singleness of face. For they that are double-faced are **guilty of a twofold sin**; ⌜for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it⌝, following the example of the spirits of
3 deceit, and striving against mankind. Do ye, ⌜therefore, my children,⌝ keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all

9. **are hares** *a* S^1. Cf. Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7. 'are like swine' b d g A (+'hares' b d g).
clean like those that divide the hoof. Texts read *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμισείας καθαροί*. Here *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμισείας* = כי מפרם corrupt for כמפרסים. Cf. Ber. rab. xxii. 13. Cf. Perles, who, however, wrongly rejects *καθαροί*.
10. **tables of the commandments**: 'heavenly tablets' *β* A S^1. Cf. T. L. v. 4; T. A. vii. 5 (*β* A S^1).

III. 1. **God**: 'Lord God' *a*.
2. **destroying . . . by your good works.** Master the evil tendency by obedience to the law. Cf. Sir. xxi. 11.
the (evil) inclination. See notes on i. 3–9, and cf. T. Jud. xi. 1. 'the devil' *β* A S^1. See Sir. xxi. 27.
serve not God, but: 'are not Gods, but serve' *a*.

IV. 3. See ii. 5, 8.
this, too, hath a twofold aspect: 'he also is double-faced' *a* d g.
accepteth: 'expecteth' *a*.
as the genuine good, emended from 'with the genuine good' ('evil' *β*) *a* $A^{a\,b}$.
4. Asceticism is bad in itself.
a good day. Cf. Esther viii. 17: 'good days' c: Pss. xxxiv. 12 (LXX).
5. Seems corrupt.
Lord *a*: 'God' *β* A S^1.
what God . . . commandments h *β*–g S^1: 'what God hateth' c: 'what God also ordereth them through His commandments to hate' A.
warding e f: 'and they ward' b d S^1: 'and to ward' A: c a omit this and the following words: h g defective.

V. 1. See i. 4 (note).
in wealth . . . covetousness > *a*.
profligacy *a*: 'intemperance' a e S^1: > f.
2. Brackets indicate intrusions.
eternal life. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 En. xxxvii. 4, xl. 9, &c.
†awaiteth, we expect 'followeth on'.
4. **with singleness . . . good** > *a*.

VI. 2. **are guilty of a twofold sin**: 'are chastened doubly' text. Cf. 1 En. v. 9.
for they both do . . . it > b g A. Rom. i. 22. Cf. T. A. ii. 3, iii. 2.
following . . . striving: 'evil spirits hate ye which ('because they' d) strive' b d g A.
of deceit and striving *a*: 'of evil which strive' a e f S^1.

4 commandments of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. For the latter
ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they **meet** the angels of the
5 Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which
also it served in lusts and evil works.

a	*β* A S[1]
6 But if he is peaceful with joy he **meeteth** the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life.	But if peacefully ⌜with joy⌝, he **hath met** the 6 angel of peace, he †comforteth him with life.

7 1 Become not, my children, as Sodom, which sinned against the angels of the Lord, and perished for
2 ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies ; ⌜and⌝ your
land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four
3 corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion **vanishing away** as water. Until
the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and break-
ing the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in
4 the person of man]. [Therefore do ⌜ye also, my children⌝, tell these things to your children, that they
5 disobey Him not. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act
ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted
6 through wickedness. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall
7 know not your lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His
tender mercy, ⌜and⌝ for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]'

8 1 And when he had said these things unto them, he commanded them, saying : Bury me in Hebron.
2 And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and
they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

4–6. A man's latter end reveals his true character. The idea that good or evil angels meet the soul at death as it leaves the body occurs here first in Jewish literature. Cf. Kethuboth 104[a], and see my Comm. 168, 169.

4. **when they meet** = יועדו : text corrupt. 'and are known to' = יודעו ל *a* (cf. T. A. vii. 1) : 'and they know' = ידעו A. Cf. *β* S[1].
the angels : 'the law' A.
Satan : 'Beliar' *a*.

5. **troubled** *β* A S[1] : 'evil' *a*.

6. **with joy** > A S[1]. Possibly a corruption for 'departs', or else read with following words.
meeteth : 'shall know' *a* : 'knew' *β* A S[1].
angel of peace. Cf. T. D. vi. 5.
leadeth *a*. Cf. T. B. vi. 1.
†comforteth *β* A, corrupt for 'leadeth'. Cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 4 ; Isa. lvii. 18.

VII. 1. **sinned against.** The LXX uses *ἀγνοεῖν* to translate אשם, רשע, שגה. (Perles.)

2. For like predictions see T. S. v. 3 ff. ; T. L. x, xiv-xvi ; T. Jud. xxiii ; T. Iss. vi. 1, 2 ; T. Z. ix. 6 ; T. D. v. 8 ; T. G. viii. 2.
delivered . . . enemies. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 2 ; T. Z. ix. 6.
holy places destroyed. Cf. T. L. x. 3, &c.
scattered : T. A. vii. 6 ; T. L. x. 4, &c.
vanishing away as water. Text is *ὡς ὕδωρ ἄχρηστον* = כמים נמאסים corrupt for כמים נמכים. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2. So Perles.

3. A Theophany followed by the destruction of the primeval foe, the dragon. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 13.
breaking c : 'in peace breaking' h *β* A S[1].
in g A[c f g] : 'through' *a β*–g.
all the Gentiles. For this universalism cf. T. B. ix. 2 (note) ; Jer. iv. 2, &c. ; Isa. ii. 2–4, &c. ; Ps. xxii. 27–31 ; lxv. 2.

4–7. First century B.C. addition. Cf. T. G. viii. 2.

5. **known** : 'read' b d g A + 'in the heavenly tablets' *β* A S[1]. Cf. ii. 10.
disobedient c + 'unto him' h i *β* A S[1].
ungodly + 'towards him' *β* A S[1].
being . . . wickedness > a b : 'being carried away by sheer wickedness' d e g.

6. **as Gad and Dan.** See T. G. viii. 2 ; T. D. v. 8, vii. 3.
and ye *a* : 'who' *β*.

7. **the Lord** *β*–e A S[1] : 'He' *a* e.
through + 'the hope of' *β* A S[1].

VIII. 1. **good old age** : 'good sleep' text. See T. Z. x. 6 (note).

2. **to Hebron** > *β* A S[1]. At end + 'Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the second son of Zilpah, and he lived 126 years' f S[1] (g).

The Testament of Joseph, the Eleventh Son of Jacob and Rachel.

1 1 The copy of the Testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them:—

2 My brethren and my children,
Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel;
Give ear, my sons, unto your father.

3 I have seen in my life envy and death,
Yet I went not astray, ⌜but persevered⌝ in the truth of the Lord.

4 These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me:
They wished to slay me, but the God of my fathers guarded me:
They let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again.

5 I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free:
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.

6 I was alone, and God comforted me:
I was sick, and the Lord visited me:
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me;
In bonds, and He released me;

7 Slandered, and He pleaded my cause;
Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me;
Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.

2 1, 2 And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from
3 the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, ⌜I was mocked⌝; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison.

4 For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him,
Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities.

5 For God is not put to shame as a man,
Nor as the son of man is he afraid,
Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted.

a	*β* A S¹	
6 But in all those things doth He give protection,	But in all places He is at hand,	6
And in divers ways doth He comfort,		
(Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul.		

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning sobriety' b e f S¹: + 'concerning envy' $A^{b\ h\ o\ f\ g}$.

I—X. 4. In this Testament there appear to be two independent writings, i—x. 4 and x. 5—xviii. Yet in historical sequence x. 5—xvi should be read after i. In i—x. 4 the theme is chastity; in x. 5—xviii it is brotherly love. In i—x. 4 Potiphar is called 'the Egyptian man' (iv. 5), but Pentephri(s) in x. 5—xviii (e. g. xii. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 6). In i—x. 4 his wife is called the Egyptian woman (and *β*–d wrongly in xvi. 1), while in x. 5—xviii she is known as the Memphian woman (so, too, the conflate reading in iii. 6). We find also recurring phrases like 'Joseph the son of a mighty man' (x. 6) and 'I held my peace lest I should put to shame' (x. 6, &c.) in the later section. Joseph also transgresses the Testament's rule of truthfulness in it.

1. 2. **my sons . . . father**: 'the words of my mouth' *a*.
3. **but persevered** > b g A.
5. **into slavery** *a* A: 'to be a slave' *β* S.
captivity, hunger. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35, 36 for this and the next verse. The resemblance to our Lord's words is very striking.
6. **and God . . . prison** > c h.
Lord a e f: 'Most High' b d g S: 'God' A.
my God $A^{b*\ c\ d\ f\ g}$: 'Lord' S^{1}: 'the Saviour' *a β* S^{2}.
In bonds and He released me > d. Without it stanzas 4–7 are symmetrical. Yoma 35^{b} says Joseph used the words to Potiphar's wife.
7. **by the Egyptians**: 'for (my) dreams' *a*.
Envied . . . slaves: 'a slave' *a*: > $A^{c\ d\ e\ f\ g}$.

II. 1. **this chief captain of Pharaoh**: 'the eunuch of Pharaoh' *β*–b: 'so Petaphres' ('Photiphar' $A^{b\ c\ d\ f\ g}$) A.
2. **Israel my father** b e f g: 'my father' h $A^{b*\ c\ d\ f\ g}$: 'my father Jacob' a d: 'my fathers' c.
3. **granted me . . . mercy**, &c. Cf. Dan. i. 9.
4. **doth** *a* d A: 'will' *β*-d S.
5. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29.
[weak or]. An addition.
affrighted *a*: 'rejected' *β* A S^{1}, corruptly.
6. **doth He give protection**, *προίσταται*, *a*: 'He is at hand', *παρίσταται*, *β* S^{1}: 'is' A.
departeth *a*: 'departing' *β* A. Isa. liv. 7.

7 In ten temptations He showed me approved,
And in all of them I endured;
For endurance is a mighty charm,
And patience giveth many good things.

3 1 How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often did she give me over
to punishment, and then call me back and threaten me, and when I was unwilling to company with
2 her, she said to me: Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in my house, if thou wilt give thyself
3 unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. But I remembered the words of my father, and going
4 into my chamber, I ⌜wept and⌝ prayed unto the Lord. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared
to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face.
5 And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did I take my food, but
6 I gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of
Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence
of visiting me.

α	*β* A S[1]
7 And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son.	And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child. 7

8 And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; †but later, she sought to draw me
9 into fornication. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out,
I came to myself, and lamented for her many days, because I recognized her guile and her deceit.
10 And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.

4 1 Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my
2 chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. ⌜For⌝ she lauded me
openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded con-
3 cerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. Owing to
all these things I lay upon the ground, and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her
4 deceit. And when she had prevailed nothing ⌜thereby⌝, she came ⌜again⌝ to me under the plea of
5 instruction, that she might learn the word of God. And she said unto me: If thou willest that
I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and
6 we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those who
reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery,
7 ⌜but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips⌝. But she held her peace,
8 longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the
Lord might deliver me from her.

5 1 ⌜And⌝ again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my
2 husband by poison; and take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my

7. **ten** *β* A: 'eleven' *a*. See Jub. xvii. 17; xix. 8.
patience: 'to those who endure' A.

III. 1. **and when . . . her, she** *a*: 'when . . . her! And she' *β*-a A[a] S[1].
2. **in my house** *a*: 'mine' *β* A S[1].
3. **father** c (+ 'Jacob' d g A). Cf. Jub. xxxix. 6: 'fathers' h a e f S[1]: 'fathers of my father Jacob' b.
4. **seven**: 'ten' in Jub. xlvi. 3.
Egyptians c: 'Egyptian' rest of MSS.
fast . . . beauty of face. Dan. i. 15.
5. Cf. Luke xii. 45. Cf. for Joseph, Zeb. 118[b].
lord *a* (A?): > B S[1].
6. **Egyptian woman of Memphis,** conflate text.
7. **and so . . . child** *β* A S[1], disturbs the context.
8. **knew it not.** Cf. xiv. 4.
†**but later** *a*: 'that' a: 'finally' b e S[1]: 'later' f: 'and after this' A.
9. **came to myself.** Cf. Luke xv. 17.

IV. 1. **Often therefore** *a*: 'how often' *β*-a A S[1].
3. **ground** + 'in sackcloth (+ 'and ashes' A) *β* A S[1].
her deceit *a*: 'the Egyptian woman' *β*-a A S[1].
4. **God** *a*: 'the Lord' *β* A S[1].
5. **my husband** *a* A: 'the Egyptian' *β* S[1] (+ 'Potiphar' S[1]).
in the law of *β* A S[1]: 'before' c: 'in the name of' h.
6. **but in those** *a* only.
7. **held her peace** b g A: 'was angry' *a β*-b g.

V. 1. **my husband** *a*: 'the Egyptian' *β* A S[1]. Cf. iv. 5.
by poison and *a*: 'and so lawfully' *β* A S[1], by corruption in Hebrew.

garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be
3 destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. She therefore, being
4 afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. And she departed soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6 1. 2 And ⌜afterwards⌝ she sent me food mingled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and
3 I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. And ⌜when he had gone out⌝ I wept, nor did
4 I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food,
5 and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her: It is because thou hast filled it with ⌜deadly⌝ enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to
6 idols, but to the Lord ⌜alone⌝. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayst see and repent.

α

7 But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate.

β A S^1

But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness 7
of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity, I took of it and ate before her, saying: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham shall be with me.

8 And ⌜when she saw this⌝ she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

α

7 1 But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing **deeply** she became downcast, though she was not sick.

β A S^1

But (d A 'nevertheless') her heart was still set 1
upon me with a view to lewdness, and sighing she became downcast.

2 And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said ⌜unto him⌝: I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so
3 he comforted her who was not sick. Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff,
4 if thou wilt not lie with me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto
5 the Lord, and said unto her: Why, ⌜wretched woman⌝, art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival,
6 will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life ⌜and my children⌝, and
7 I expect that I shall enjoy my desire ⌜also⌝. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake

2. **unto her** > *β*–d A S^1.
God *α* f: 'the Lord' *β*–f A S^1.
know . . . device *α*: 'I will declare thy ungodly device' *β* A S, i. e. רע 'wicked' for ידע 'know'.
3. **this device** *α*: 'to any one her wickedness' *β*–g A S.
4. **sending . . . men** *β*–d A S^1: 'every delight' *α*.

VI. 2. **(her) scheme . . . beguile me** *α*: 'this ('her' b) scheme . . . beguile (+'the soul' b)' *β*–d $A^{a\,b\,h}$ S^1: 'it was a scheme of Satan and to beguile (my) soul' d.
5. **deadly enchantments** *α*: 'death' *β* A S^1.
6. **His angel** *α* A: 'an angel' *β*–d g.
7. **angel of Abraham.** Is this Michael or the angel of peace?

VII. 1. **deeply,** *συντόμως*, *α*, corrupt for *συντόνως*.
became downcast, *συνέπιπτε*, cf. T. Z. x. 1: +'in countenance' d (cf. *v.* 2): +'in spirit' A.
set upon me . . . lewdness b d g A: 'set upon lewdness' a e f S^1 (cf. *α*).
2. **her husband** *α* $A^{-b\,f\,g}$: 'the Egyptian man' *β* $A^{b\,f\,g}$ S^1.
who was not sick: 'in words' *α*, corruptly.
3. **Then . . . opportunity** *α*: 'then' *β*–d S^1: 'one day' d: 'and when I was passing' $A^{a\,b}$: 'and on the second day' $A^{b*\,c\,d}$ g.
over a cliff *α* a e f S^1: 'into a well' $A^{a\,b}$ (+'or over a cliff' b (d) g $A^{b*\,c\,d}$).
5. **Asteho** *α*: 'Asitho' e f $A^{b*\,g}$: 'Setho' b.
thou wilt *α* *β*–b g S^1: 'she will' b g (A).
6. **let this suffice me: only strive for** *α*: 'this (> *β*–d S^1) alone (> A) suffices me that (> a f) thou strivest for' *β* A S^1.
and I *α*: > *β*–a d g S^1: 'if I' a: 'I therefore' d g A.
7. **my lord:** 'God' b d S^1, against context.

8 thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

I 1 I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all day, and all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping 2 the while and praying for a release from her. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connexion with her.

α A

3 When, ⌜therefore⌝, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked.

α

4 And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

α

5 And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered **from the lustful desire** of the Egyptian woman.

β S

When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast by force to my garment, I fled away naked.

β–d A S^1

And she falsely accused me to her husband, 4 and the Egyptian cast me into prison in his house, and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

β–d A S^1

And when I was in fetters, the Egyptian was 5 sick with grief, and she heard how I sang praises unto the Lord in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing, glorified God only that I was delivered **from the lustful desire** of the Egyptian woman.

II 1 And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent to ⌜fulfil my desire⌝, and I will release thee 2 from thy bonds, ⌜and I will free thee from the darkness. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of wickedness combines fasting with chastity, rather than 3 the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this 4 also upon me. How often⌝, though she were sick, did she come down ⌜to me⌝ at unlooked for times, 5 and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. ⌜For⌝ when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, ⌜that I might lie with her; for she was⌝ very beautiful, ⌜splendidly adorned⌝ in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

I, 2 Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. So

8. **that passion** *α*: 'the passion by which (> 'by which' A) he is vanquished' *β*–a g A S^1.
to his *α* A: 'to the' *β* S^1.

VIII. 1. **and all** *α*: 'together with all' *β* A S^1.
her *α*: 'the Egyptian woman' *β*–d A S^1.
2–4. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12–14, 16.
3. **garment**, *χιτῶνα*, *α*: *ἱμάτια*, *β*.
left it behind + 'and shook it off' *α*: > A^f g.
by force *β*–a e f g S.
5. **was sick**, *ἠσθένει*, *β*–d A S^1: 'was oppressed', *συνείχετο*, *α*.
from the lustful desire = מתאוה. So I emend 'through a pretext' = בתאנה *α β* S: 'from the pretexts' A. For a like corruption **cf.** Prov. xviii. 1.

IX. A omits much in ix.
2. **fasting with chastity.** Contrast T. A. ii. 8.
fasting *β*–a f S^1: 'believing' a f: 'faithfulness' *α*.
the man . . . chambers *β*–b d S^1: 'the king ('man' b) who in chambers' b c d.
3. > d.
and if a man ('but he' c b S^1) . . . **chastity** a e f (g): > h.
and 3° > *α*: 'and if' b.
5. **and breasts** > *α*.
lie with = *συμπέσω*. See T. Jud. xiii. 3 (note).
adorned. Cf. Yoma 35[b].

X. A new section begins.
1. **prayer with fasting.** Cf. iii. 4, iv. 8.

ye too, ⌜if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of
3 heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befalleth (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only⌝ delivereth him from evil, ⌜but also exalteth him even as me.
4, 5 For in every way the man⌝ is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren knew how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself ⌜in my mind⌝: although I was a child,
6 ⌜I had the fear of God in my heart⌝; for I knew that all things would pass away. And I did not raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was a son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.

11 1 Do ye also, my children, ⌜have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and⌝ honour
2 your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And when I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And
3 I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But
4 I said that I was ⌜their⌝ slave. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of
5 them should buy me and take me. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt
6 with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord
7 gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And God blessed
8 him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver ⌜and in **household servants**⌝. And I was with him three months and five days.

12 1 And about that time the Memphian woman, the wife of Pentephri, came down ⌜in a chariot⌝, ⌜with
2 great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me⌝. And she told her husband that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly
3 been stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.

13 1 And Pentephris was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him: What is this that I hear ⌜concerning thee⌝, that thou stealest persons out of the land
2 of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying:
3 I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. And Pentephris said unto him: Whence, then,

2. **prayer with fasting** > β S¹.
3. **envy . . . befalleth (a man)** *a*: 'a man fall into envy . . . slander or darkness' β S¹. For ver. cf. i. 7.
4. Text = β–b g S¹: with *συνεπαίρεται* (d) for *συνέρχεται*, a e f: *συνέχεται*, b g S¹: (*πάντας γὰρ ἀνθρώπους*) *συνέρχεται*, *a*. But d transposes *v.* 4 after 'mind' in *v.* 5.
5. **I had . . . heart** > A. Cf. xi. 1.
6. **I did not . . . intent** c (? 'not'): 'I measured myself' β A S¹. Perhaps read 'I did not exalt myself' = *v.* 5. If the 'not' is omitted we may conjecture the original Hebrew word was דממתי as in Ps. cxxxi. 2 'I kept myself quiet', which LXX reads as רממתי.
   even > β A S¹.
   telling +'my race' β A S¹.
   Jacob > c $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,g}$.
   mighty β A S¹: 'just' *a*. Cf. נָדִיב, Prov. xvii. 7 = *δίκαιος* LXX.

XI. 1. **before your eyes** > h b.
2. **came . . . Ishmaelites** β–d S¹: 'was coming with the Ish.' *a*: 'came with them to the Indocolpitae' A.
   saying . . . slave *a*: +'or a freeman' A: > β S¹. Jashar (ii. 1187) says his brethren sold Joseph as being their slave.
   a home-born *a* a f: 'their home-born' b d e A S¹.
   I might not put . . . shame. Cf. x. 6, &c.
3. **manifest** +'concerning thee. And he threatened me ⌜unto death⌝.' β A S¹.
4. **which of them,** &c. *a* β S¹.
6. **gave me favour.** Gen. xxxix. 21.
7. **God** *a* a f: 'the Lord' β–a f A S¹.
   and in household servants: 'and in work' *a*: > β A S¹. *ἔργον* is a mistranslation of עֲבֹדָה.
   five days > *a*.

XII. 1. **came down** *a*: 'passed' β A S¹.
   in a chariot > b g A S¹.
   with . . . me: 'she looked and saw me' A.
   she . . . eunuchs *a*: 'her eunuchs had told her' β S¹.
2. **that the merchant** *a*: 'concerning the merchant that he' β A S¹.
3. **to thy house** a e f S¹: 'to our house' *a*: 'to be thy steward' b d g (A).

XIII. 1. **to be brought** b d g S¹: 'to come' *a* a e f: 'to bring' A^{b}.
2. **But . . . at his feet** *a* g: 'therefore ('and' A) . . . on his face' β–d g A S¹.
3. **And . . . him** *a*: 'but he said' (>'said' a e f) β A S¹.

is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him unto me until they should return.
4 But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted
5 in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did
6 obeisance to Pentephris (for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). And he took me apart
7 from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A slave. And he said:
8 Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites'. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And
9 I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he said unto me: ⌜Truly⌝ thou liest; and
⌜straightway⌝ he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.

4 1 Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window ⌜at me while I was being beaten, for
her house was near, and she sent unto him saying⌝: Thy judgement is unjust; for thou dost punish
2 a ⌜free⌝ man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I made no change
in my statement, ⌜though I was beaten⌝, he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners
3 of the boy should come. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the
4 captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and be waited upon? For
5 she wished to see me out of a desire ⌜of sin⌝, but I was ignorant concerning all these things. And
he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take that which belongeth to others before
6 proof is given. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be
imprisoned.

5 1 Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob ⌜my father⌝
2 was mourning ⌜much⌝ concerning me. And they came and said unto me: How is it that thou saidst
that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of
3 Canaan, and thy father ⌜still⌝ mourneth for thee in sackcloth ⌜and ashes⌝. ⌜When I heard this my
bowels were dissolved and my heart melted⌝, and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself,
that I should not put my brethren to shame. ⌜And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave⌝.
4, 5 Then, ⌜therefore⌝, they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they
feared my father, lest he [should come and] execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had
6 heard that he was mighty with God and with men. Then said the merchant unto them: Release
7 me from the judgement of Pentiphri. And they came and requested me, saying: ⌜Say⌝ that thou
wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.

6 1 Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they
are selling him.

c	β A S^1
2 And straightway she sent a eunuch to the 3 Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. But	And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and 2. asked them to sell me. The chief captain, there-

is *a*: 'hast thou' β–f A S^1.
4. **be brought** *a* b d g: 'answer' a e f S^1.
5. **Pentephris** *a*: 'the chief of the eunuchs' β S^1: 'him' A.
third . . . Pharaoh *a*. Cf. Dan. v. 7. 'his rank was second to P.' A: 'third in rank with P., (as) officer of all the eunuchs, having wives and concubines and children' β.
6. **And I said** > *a* to 'and I said' in *v.* 8.
9. **Truly** *a* only.
straightway *a* g.

XIV. 1. **at me** > b e f.
for . . . near > β A S^1.
him *a*: 'her husband' β S^1.
Thy: 'the' β–b $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,f\,g}$.
thou dost punish . . . as . . . transgressor: 'to punish unjustly' *a*, corruptly.
2. **me**: 'us' d e f g.
owners of the boy: 'his ('my' d $A^{b\,f\,g}$) owners' d g A.
3. **her husband** *a*: 'him' β A S^1.
in bonds > β A S^1.
be waited upon *a*: 'wait upon thee' β A S^1.
4. Cf. iii. 8.
5. **her** c: 'the Memphite woman' β–a d A^{-b}.

XV. 1. **for . . . heard** *a*: 'and having heard' β A S^1: + 'when they were in the land of Canaan' d A.
3. **When . . . melted** *a* only.
5. **my father** *a*: 'Jacob' β A S^1.
grievous = *κινδύνου*.
God *a* g: 'the Lord' β–g A S^1.
7. **and he will set us**: 'and he set us' b d g: 'and the merchant set' (+ 'us' $A^{a\,b\,h}$) A.

XVI. 1. **said . . . youth** *a*: 'instructed ('sent to' A) her husband to buy me' β–d A S^1: h omits from 'buy' to the end of the Testament of Benjamin.
2. **The chief . . . sell me** > c b d g.

c

since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave.

βA S¹

fore, called the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. ⌜And since he did not agree (to their 3
price) he departed⌝. But the eunuch, ⌜when he had made trial of them⌝, made known to his mistress that they asked a large price ⌜for their slave⌝.

4 ⌜And she sent another eunuch⌝, saying: Even though they demand two minas, ⌜give them⌝, do not spare ⌜the gold⌝; only buy the boy, and bring him to me.

c

5 The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and† he received me†; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred.

β–d A S¹

And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for 5
me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred pieces had been given.

6 And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.

17 1 Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to
2 shame. Do ye also, ⌜therefore⌝, love one another, ⌜and with long-suffering hide ye one another's
3 faults⌝. For God delighteth ⌜in the unity of brethren, and⌝ in the purpose of a heart that takes
4 pleasure in love. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their
5 money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. And after the death of Jacob my father I loved them ⌜more abundantly⌝, and all things whatsoever he commanded I did ⌜very
6 abundantly⌝ for them. And I suffered them not to be afflicted in the smallest matter; and all that
7 was in my hand I gave unto them. ⌜And⌝ their children were my children, and my children as their servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, ⌜and all their sickness
8 was my infirmity⌝. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not myself among them ⌜in arrogance⌝ because of my ⌜worldly⌝ glory, ⌜but I was among them as one of the least⌝.

18 1 If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there,
2 and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. ⌜And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you,
3 do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil⌝. [For], behold, ye see that ⌜out of my humility and long-suffering⌝ I took unto wife the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made
4 them to serve me. And He gave me also beauty as a flower beyond the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me ⌜unto old age in strength and⌝ in beauty, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

3. **since he . . . But the eunuch . . . made known** b e g S¹: 'since the eunuch . . . and made known' a f.
4. **minas** c + 'of gold' β A S¹.
give them c a d: 'take care' b e f g.
to me c: > β A S¹.
5. **†received me†,** corrupt for 'for me'.
6. **put to shame** c: 'be tortured' a e f A S¹.

XVII. 3. **a heart** β A S¹: 'a good heart' c.
love β–a: 'the good' c a $A^{h\,b*\,c\,d\,g}$. Read perhaps 'brotherliness'.
4. **Egypt** + 'when' β A S¹.
5. **my father** > β–d g $A^{b\,f\,g}$.
he ('they' A) **commanded** β–a d A S; 'they wished' c a.
7. **their . . . my** β S¹: 'my . . . their' c A.
My . . . land > c a e f.
their . . . my c d g: 'my . . . their' b e f S¹.
8. **I was . . . least.** Cf. Luke xxii. 27.

XVIII. 1. A has 'walk ye also, therefore, in the same path, my children (+ 'with me' A^b) and God ('Israel Shaddai' $A^{b*\,c\,d\,f\,g}$) will glorify you and exalt you for ever.'
He . . . bless you: 'God (> a f) will exalt you' c a f.
2. Cf. T. G. vi-vii; Ahikar. Syr. Frag. I. 20 'if thy enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good'.
3, 4. > a.
my humility and c: > β S¹.
priest of Heliopolis c. Cf. Jub. xl. 10 (note). 'of my masters' (β–a A S¹).
talents. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1211).
4. A has 'And (+ 'Asenath my wife' A^b) was beautiful as a flower, and (+ 'I was' A^b) beautiful beyond ('all' A^b) the chosen ones of Israel (+ 'and temperate and humble' A^b), beyond Levi and Judah and Naphtali. He preserved me in beauty ('I was more beautiful than they' A^b) because I was like Jacob in all things.'
as a flower > c.
like . . . to Jacob. See Gen. rabba lxxxiv. 6; Num. r. xiv. 16.

c β S¹

1 And hear ye, my children, also the vision
2 which I saw. There were twelve harts feeding: and the nine were (first) dispersed over all the earth, and likewise also the three.

8 And I saw that [from Judah was born] a †virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her] was born a lamb, [without spot]; and on his left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the beasts rushed against him, and the lamb overcame them, and destroyed them and trod them
9 under foot. And because of him the angels and
10 men rejoiced, and all the land. And these things shall come to pass in their season, in the last

A

Hear ye, therefore, the vision which I saw. 1
I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them 2
were dispersed. Now the three were preserved, but on the following day they also were dispersed. And I saw that the three harts became 3
three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He brought them forth into a flourishing and well-watered place, yea He brought them out of darkness into light.

And there they cried unto the Lord until 4
there gathered together unto them the nine harts, and they became as twelve sheep, and after a little time they increased and became many flocks. And after these things I saw and behold, 5
twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which produced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the twelve flocks and innumerable herds.

And the horns of the †fourth bull went up 6
unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks, and in the midst of the ⌜two⌝ horns there grew another horn. And I saw a bull calf which 7
surrounded them twelve times, and it became a help to the bulls wholly.

And I saw in the midst of the horns a †virgin 8
[wearing a many-coloured garment, and from her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb overcame them and destroyed them. And the bulls 9
rejoiced because of him, and the cow [and the harts] exulted together with them. And these 10
things must come to pass in their season. And 11

XIX. Here the Armenian version comes to our aid. It alone has 3–7, and 8 and 11 in it are fairly pure.

1. **saw** β: 'know' c.

2–4. A vision concerning the nine tribes and the three, their captivity and return. The nine are regarded as back in Palestine.

2. **harts.** See note in Commentary, p. 191. Used of the princes of Judah, Lam. i. 6.
feeding + 'in a place' c.
all > b S¹.
were preserved A[a b* c d f g]: 'fed with each other' A[b].

3. **three harts.** Cf. 'three sheep', 1 En. lxxxix. 72. For their change into lambs, cf. 1 En. xc. 38, where the sheep become oxen.
and He: 'and the Lord' A[b h].
out of darkness into light. Cf. Ps. cvii. 14; Isa. ix. 2, xlii. 16, lviii. 10. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

4. **the nine.** Cf. 'nine tribes', Ethiopic version, 4 Ezra xiii. 40. For nine and a half tribes cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5 (note).

5–9. This second vision introduces the person of the Messiah. The date is the second century B. C., as the Twelve Tribes are regarded as in Palestine. So 'in the midst of the horns' implies that the Messiah is to arise from the Maccabees (cf. *v.* 11 Levi and Judah). Judah was to help—the lion on the left hand in *v.* 8.

6. †**fourth**, i.e. tribe = Judah. Is this a Christian alteration of 'third' = Levi?
two > A[e f g].
another horn. Perhaps Mattathias.

7–9. Is the bull-calf the same as the lamb of *v.* 8? If so, Judas would be both; if not, the lamb is Hyrcanus.

7. **a bull . . . times**: 'twelve oxen which surrounded them' A[b* d]. For 'surrounded' read perhaps 'protected'.
a help. Cf. Dan. xi. 34, 'little help.'

8. [**from Judah was born**]. A Christian addition. A omits it, and a definite name is here out of place. A 'virgin' also clashes with the animal symbolism. So read 'And I saw that in the midst of the horns a bull-calf became a lamb'. For 'wearing' cf. Rev. xii. 1.
a lion = Judah.
all the beasts, i. e. the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. xc. 12, 16.

9. The Greek text interprets 'cow' aright as = Palestine; but the 'bulls' are the tribes, not 'angels and men'.
[**and the harts**] > the Greek texts. They have no place in this vision.
the cow . . . harts A[b* c d g]: 'the descendants of the three harts' A[a b]: 'two of the three harts' A[h].

c β S¹

11 days. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise ⌜unto you⌝ [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel.

12 For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.

A

do ye, my children, honour Levi and Judah, for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.

For my kingdom which is among you shall 12
come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which will not appear after the summer.

20 1 ⌜For⌝ I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will
2 bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; ⌜for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians⌝.

c A b* c d g

3 And carry ye up Aseṇath your mother ⌜to the Hippodrome⌝, and near Rachel your mother bury her.

β S¹

And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and 3
nigh to Bilhah by the Hippodrome lay her near Rachel.

4, 5 And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good **old age**. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning.

c

6 And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.

β S¹

For he felt even for the Egyptians as though 6
a member (of their nation), and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.

The Testament of Benjamin, the Twelfth Son of Jacob and Rachel.

1 1 The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived
2 a hundred and twenty-five years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham
3 in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had
4 no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve years ⌜after she had borne Joseph⌝; and she prayed the Lord ⌜with fasting twelve days, and she
5 conceived and bare me⌝. For ⌜my father⌝ loved Rachel dearly, ⌜and prayed that he might see two
6 sons born from her⌝. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

11. **Levi and Judah** c A. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note). 'Judah and Levi' β S¹.
from them β A S¹: 'from their seed' c.
unto you β S¹: 'unto us' c: > A.
[**the Lamb**, &c.] Christian additions.
who taketh . . . world c: 'by grace' β S.
12. Dan. vii. 14.
pass away c β–a b: 'be shaken' a b S¹.
watcher's hammock. Isa. i. 8, xxiv. 20.

XX. 2. Cf. Gen. l. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.
3. **Asenath your mother** c d: 'Zilpah your mother' b e f A b* c d g S¹: 'your brother' A a b h: 'brothers' A a.
[**to the Hippodrome**] > A. Cf. LXX in Gen. xlviii. 7 (? = Ephrath). Rachel was buried near Ephrath, Gen. xxxv. 16 ff., xlviii. 7.
nigh to Bilhah β S¹. Jub. xxxiv. 16 says she was buried near Rachel.
4. **good old age.** So I emend 'good sleep' c (cf. T. Z. x. 6): 'eternal sleep' β S¹: cf. Jer. li. 39; T. Iss. vii. 9: > A.
6. **as though . . . nation** a e f: 'as for his own members' b g: +'Joseph the eleventh son of Jacob and first son of Rachel lived one hundred and ten years' f S¹.

TITLE c: +'concerning a pure mind' β–a g S¹: +'to love one's neighbour' g.
I. 1. **words**: 'Testament' d A.
2. **old age** c d: 'hundredth year' β–d A. Cf. Gen. xxi. 2, 5. Jashar (ii. 1172) gives the same date for Benjamin's birth. See, however, Jub. xix. 13.
3. **my mother** > β–d A a b* c d g S¹.
4. **twelve years**: 'eleven' in Jub. xxviii. 24, xxxii. 33.
twelve days > c. For the prayer and fasting cf. Num. rabba xiv. 8.
6. **Benjamin, a son of days.** Cf. Gen. xliv. 20 'a son of old age'; Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 15. A b reads 'son of a right hand'. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 17, 18. Jashar explains Benjamin as ='son of the south' (ii. 1172).

1 And when I went into Egypt, to †Joseph, and my brother recognized me, he said† unto me:
2 What did they tell my father when they sold me? And I said ⌜unto him⌝, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat.

c

3 And he said unto me: Even so, brother, when they had stripped me of my coat they gave me to the Ishmaelites, and they gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run.
4 And as for one of them that had beaten me with a rod, a lion met
5 him and slew him. And so his associates were affrighted.

β S¹

3. And he said unto me: Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4. And as he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him. 5. And so his associates were affrighted, and sold me to their companions.

A

And Joseph said unto me: 3
Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force. And it came to pass that as 4
they went on their way they concealed my garment, as though a wild beast had met me and slain me. And so his 5
associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. And they did not lie 6
in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said: Do not tell my father what ye 7
have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. And 8
let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

1 Do ye also, therefore, my children, ⌜love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments⌝, following the example of the good and holy man ⌜Joseph⌝.

c β S

2 And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right seeth
3 all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even
4 as they had not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of
5 Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour.

A

For until his death he was not willing to tell 2–5
regarding himself; but Jacob, having learnt it from the Lord, told it to him. Nevertheless he kept denying it. And then with difficulty he was persuaded by the adjurations of Israel.

6 For Joseph also besought our father ⌜that he would pray for his brethren⌝, that ⌜the Lord⌝ would

II. 1–2. Jashar (ii. 1222) makes Benjamin the first to recognize Joseph.
1. **to †Joseph and** c: 'and Joseph' β–d A S. If x. 1 belongs to this context, we might read it before ii. 1, and emend here to 'and I recognized Joseph'.
2. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31–2; T. Z. iv. 9.
3–5. The text of c alone agrees with the context, but T. Z. iv. 10 makes his brothers give him the loin-cloth. β S¹ and A differ from the context and the biblical account.
5. **to their companions** β S¹: 'to the Ishmaelites' A. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1187–90).
8. **And let** +'not' $A^{a\,b}$.

III. 1. **and earth** c d: > β–d S.
holy e β S¹: 'true' A.
3. **spirits of Beliar claim.** Cf. Luke xxii. 31.
claim β S¹: 'dement' c.
to afflict with every evil: text = 'unto every evil of affliction'.
they not c: 'no evil of tribulation' β S¹.
4. **spirit** c +'of the air' β S¹. Cf. Eph. ii. 2.
5. **by the Lord . . . love** g (cf. c): 'by the love' (+'of the Lord' β–d g S¹) β–g S¹.
6. **Joseph** > b $A^{a\,b*\,c\,d\,g}$ S¹.
father +'Jacob' b S¹.
his brethren c: 'his sons' β–b: 'our brethren' b.

7 not impute to them as sin ⌜whatever evil they had done unto him⌝. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying:

c β S^1

8 In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], and that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants].

A

In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of 8 heaven, which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men.

4 1 See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his ⌜compassion, there-
2 fore, with a good mind⌝, that ⌜ye also⌝ may wear crowns of glory. For the good man hath not
3 a †dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. ⌜And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God⌝;
4 and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; ⌜on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises⌝.

c A

5 And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

β–a S^1

As for him who hath the fear of God, he pro- 5 tecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

5 1 If, ⌜therefore, ye also⌝ have a ⌜good mind⌝, then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you ⌜and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from
2 their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If
3 ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you⌝; and the beasts will dread you. ⌜For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him.⌝
4 ⌜For⌝ if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for ⌜the holy man⌝ is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace.

c

5 And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

β–a S^1

And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and 5 the righteous man, though he prayeth, be humbled for a little, yet not long after he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

as sin c g A: > β–g S^1.
done unto c: 'devised regarding' β S^1.
7. **And thus Jacob** cβ–d: 'then Joseph' A.
child + 'Joseph' b g A.
8. For vicarious suffering, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 38 in pre-Christian times.
a sinless β S^1: 'the sinless' c A.
in the blood of the covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.
IV. 1. **end** cβ S: 'mercy' A.
crowns of glory: earliest reference. Cf. Rev. ii. 10; Jas. i. 12; Asc. Is. vii. 22.
2. **hath not a† dark eye.** Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23. But read perhaps 'hath a compassionate eye': cf. T. Iss. iv. 6.
3. **devise with evil intent** β S^1: 'wish not well' c.
by doing good he c a d e f: 'he that doeth good' β S^1.
overcometh evil. Cf. Rom. xii. 21; T. Jos. xviii. 2; T. G. vi, vii.
righteous β A S^1: 'unrighteous' c.
4. **laudeth** A: 'loveth' c: 'trusteth and laudeth' β–a f.
singeth praises β: 'feareth' c.
5. **helpeth** b: d e f g read 'runneth with' corrupt for 'hath pleasure in', cf. Ps. xlix. 18 (LXX).
V. 1. **have . . . mind** cβ S^1: 'are good' A.
covetousness + 'which they had' c.
2. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4.
3. **reverence . . . light** c: 'light of ('reverence for' b) good works' a b e f S^1: 'light, a good work' d: 'a pure light' g.
4. **holy**: 'true' A.
repenteth. Cf. T. G. vi. 6.
5. A has 'and if a man insult a righteous soul, he is sorry, because he hath seen him humiliated, and hath repented, as was Joseph my brother'.

1 The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the
2 angel of peace guideth his soul. ⌜And⌝ he gazeth not ⌜passionately⌝ upon corruptible things, nor
3 gathereth together riches ⌜through a desire of pleasure⌝. He delighteth not in pleasure, ⌜[he grieveth not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes⌝, for
4 the Lord is his portion. The good inclination receiveth not glory ⌜nor dishonour⌝ from men, and it knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his
5 soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of cursing, of contumely and ⌜of honour⌝, of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one ⌜disposition⌝, uncorrupt and pure, concerning all
6 men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, ⌜or speaketh, or
7 seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. And he cleanseth his mind that he may not be condemned by men as well as⌝ by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold, and there is no singleness in them.

c β S^1	A
1 Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to them that obey him.	Flee, my children, malice [and fornication]; 1 for it giveth a sword to them that obey it.

c b g	β-b g S^1	A
2 And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar,† and first there is **bloodshed**; secondly ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, **destruction**.	2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar: and sometimes it brings forth first, **bloodshed**; secondly, ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, captivity; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, **destruction**.	And the sword is the mother 2 of seven evils, and it receiveth (them) through Beliar. And first there is **bloodshed** (&c. as in c β S^1).

3 Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him.

c	β A
4 And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year	When he was two hundred years old he began 4 to suffer, and in his nine-hundredth year he was

VI. 1. **inclination.** See T. A. i. 3 (note).
angel of peace. See T. D. vi. 5 (note); T. A. vi. 6.
3. Perhaps A is right in the omissions.
uplifting, &c. See T. Iss. vii. 2 (note).
Lord is his portion. Cf. T. Lev. ii. 12.
4. **receiveth not glory . . . from men.** Cf. John v. 41.
knoweth not > c.
lighteth up his soul. Cf. T. G. v. 7.
rejoiceth . . . alway. Cf. Phil. iv. 4.
5. **tongues of blessing and of cursing.** Cf. James iii. 10.
of sorrow and of joy > c.
[of poverty . . . wealth] > A.
7. **he cleanseth . . . God.** Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.
in like manner. 'and whoso doeth' A.
works + 'of God and' A.
in them > β–a A S^1.

VII. 1–2. See my Commentary *in loc.*, p. 206. Read either (1) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for the mind conceiveth through Beliar, and is the mother of seven evils; and first,' &c., or (2) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to those who obey him. And the sword' (&c. as A).
For the seven compare the eight plagues of Sir. xl. 9; and seven of Pirke Aboth, v. 11.
1. **giveth a sword to**: 'is a sword in the hands of' A^a.
him c: 'it' β S^1.
2. **the mind . . . Beliar** c β–d g S^1: 'the mind conceiveth wickedness through the malice of Beliar' d.
sometimes a f S^1: 'what . . . is' d e.
bloodshed. Read *φόνος* for *φθόνος*. Cain's first evil was murder.
ruin . . . We expect 'panic' here. See notes in Commentary, p. 207.
destruction: text reads 'desolation'.
3–4. Gen. iv. 15, 24 tells of a sevenfold vengeance on Cain's slayer. Here the sevenfold penalty is transferred to Cain himself. Contrast Jub. iv. 1. 31, which puts his death in his 860th year. Is Lamech here regarded as Cain's slayer? Cf. Book of Adam and Eve ii. 13; Jalkut i. 38, &c.
4. **two hundred years.** Cain was thirty to thirty-five when he slew Abel, according to Jub. iv. 2.

c

he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven.

β A

destroyed [at the Flood], on account of Abel, his righteous brother. With the seven evils, therefore, was Cain judged, but Lamech with seventy times ⌜seven⌝.

5 Because for ever those who are like Cain ⌜in envy and hatred of brethren⌝, shall be punished ⌜with the same judgement⌝.

c β S¹

8 1 And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness
2 and love. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him.

A

Do ye, therefore, my children, flee evil-doing 1
and cleave to goodness. For he that hath it 2
looketh not on a woman with a view to fornication, and he beholdeth no defilement; for there resteth upon him a holy spirit.

3 For ⌜as⌝ the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, ⌜but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell⌝; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather **cleanseth** (them) and is not itself defiled.

9 1 And I believe that there will be also evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for straightway He shall take it away.

c β S¹

2 Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of an †only-
3 begotten prophet. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon
4 a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gen-

A

But in your portion shall be His inheritance. 2
And on account of the temple of the Lord, Jacob exalted me that I should be glorified through it. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the Gentiles. [And the Lord shall be treated 3
with outrage and set at nought. And He will 5
depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]

[at the Flood], impossible on any chronology; even the Samaritan (1307 A. M.).

With the seven evils a d g A: 'in the 700 years' b e f. Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. iv. 15 (contrast on *v.* 24) say he was punished for seven generations. See my Commentary, p. 208.

VIII. 1–2. A seems more original, though shorter.

2. Cf. Matt. v. 28.

hath . . . in his heart c β S: 'beholdeth' A, not so good.

3. **by shining on** f: προσέχων c β–f A S¹.

cleanseth: text corruptly reads 'buildeth up'.

IX. 1. **that . . . among you**: 'also doings' c, defective.

from . . . righteous c β–d S¹: 'for I have learnt from the book of the words,' &c. d: 'for I have heard from the words of our fathers' A.

shall renew wanton deeds: 'and again ye (> A) shall be renewed unto . . . deeds' ('unto . . . deeds' > c) c A.

straightway He β S¹: 'the upright' (εὐθεῖς) A$^{a\,b\,h}$: 'an upright man' A$^{b*\,c\,d}$ (i.e. David shall take the kingdom from Saul): > c.

2. The text of c β S¹ is better. The second temple is more glorious (cf. Haggai ii. 9), and under John Hyrcanus the twelve tribes met there in worship.

the temple . . . in your portion. See Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. xlix. 27.

all the Gentiles. The Maccabean triumphs lead to the hope of a general conversion of the Gentiles in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vii. 2. See my Commentary, pp. 210, 211. The Testaments are strongly tinged with universalism. God understands all men, T. N. ii. 5 (cf. Sir. xvii. 3). The Law is given to lighten every man, T. L. xiv. 4. Michael guards all the righteous, T. L. v. 7 (β A$^{\beta}$ S¹).

Apart from Christian interpolations like T. Jos. xix. 11, the salvation of the Gentiles is taught in T. L. iv. 4, viii. 14, ii. 11; T. S. vi. 5; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3; T. D. vi. 7; T. Jud. xxv. 5; T. B. ix. 2, x. 5.

an †only-begotten prophet β–b: 'His only begotten Son' c. Read 'beloved' for 'only begotten', as T. L. viii. 15, 'beloved as a prophet of the Most High.'

3–5. Christian additions. Cf. Luke xviii. 32; Mark ix. 12.

4. **veil of the temple**, &c. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51.

pass on to c β–b d: 'ascend' b S¹: 'descend' d.

c β S¹

5 tiles as fire poured forth. And He shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth into heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]

A

1 Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his figure ⌜and the form of his countenance⌝; and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the daytime, even his entire figure exactly as he was.

2 ⌜And when he had said these things, he said unto them⌝: Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying.

c

3 Do ye, therefore, truth each one to his neighbour, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments.

β A S¹

Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness ⌜each 3
one to his neighbour⌝, and judgement unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments.

4 For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, ⌜therefore⌝, give them to your
5 children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. For all these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord
6 shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. ⌜And⌝ then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness.

c β S¹

7 Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth
8 shall rejoice with Him]. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame.

And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him
9 not]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [as many as believed Him not when He appeared
10 upon earth]. And He shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved Esau through the Midianites, who †deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated from God], becoming therefore children in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

A

Then shall we also rise, each over our own 7
tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly King.

Then shall we all be changed, some into glory 8
and some into shame; for the Lord judges Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed.

And then so (shall He judge) all the Gentiles. 9

And He shall convict Israel through the 10
chosen Gentiles, as He convicted Esau through the Midianites who loved their brethren. Be ye therefore, my children, in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

5. **Hades** c b d g: 'people' e f S¹.
And I know . . . heaven > c A^{b*cdeg}.

X. 1. > c. Restore to beginning of ii. 1.

3. **and judgement unto confirmation** > a A^{abh}; 'and judgement unto faith in the Lord' A^{b*cd}.

4. **leave** c: 'give' A: 'teach' β S¹.

5. **Keep . . . of God**: 'So do ye' A.
to all Gentiles: 'in all the earth' A.

6–7. The Testaments give a primitive view of the resurrection to this present earth (cf. 1 En. vi–xxxvi, lxxxiii–xc), transformed gradually to sinlessness (T. L. xviii. 9), of the righteous. Note the order of resurrection. Cf. *v.* 8; cf. also T. Jud. xxv. 4; Dan. xii. 1, 2. The risen enter Eden, and eat of the tree of life, T. L. xviii. 10, 11, and dwell in the New Jerusalem, T. D. v. 12.

6. **Shem** β–d S¹: 'Seth' c. Cf. T. S. vi. 5.
on the right hand β A S¹: 'on His right hand' c. Cf. Matt. xxv. 33, 34.

7. **over our tribe** > c.

8. **shall rise** c β S: 'shall be changed' A.
some unto shame. Cf. Dan. xii. 2. Contrast 1 En. lxxxiii–xc; 2 Macc. vi–vii where the righteous alone are to rise.
their unrighteousness c: 'the unrighteousness (done) unto Him' β–d S¹.
God in the flesh c + 'a deliverer' β.

10. Israel is judged by Gentile standards. c omits this verse.
And . . . Gentiles > A^{abh}.
as He convicted . . . loved. A has the better text. The corruption and addition n β S¹ refers to Num. xxv.
therefore a A: 'not' β–a, corruptly.

11 If ye ⌜therefore, my children⌝, walk in holiness ⌜according to the commandments of the Lord⌝, ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

c

11 1 And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord distributing food to them that work what is good. 2 And there shall arise in the latter days] one beloved of the Lord, [of the tribe of Judah and Levi], a doer of His good pleasure in his mouth, [with new knowledge enlightening the Gentiles].

β S¹

1. And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. 2. And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times] one beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice], and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge, bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles.

A

1 And I shall no longer be called a †captain of robbers, and a† wolf, on account of your ravages. But one beloved of 2 the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.

β

3 Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their 4 rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both 5 his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

c

12 1 And when he had said these things he stretched 2 out his feet. And died †in [a beautiful] and 3 good sleep†. And his sons did as he had enjoined them, and they took up his body and buried it 4 in Hebron with his fathers. And the number (of the days) of his life were a hundred and twenty-five years.

β A S¹

1 And when he finished his words, he said: I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my 2 fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first 3 year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned 4 from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

11. **according . . . of** c: 'before the face of' β S¹.
securely: 'in hope' text, wrongly as LXX in Ezek. xxviii. 26, &c.

XI. A is original and refers only to Benjamin. c adds a prophecy of the Messiah descended from Judah and Levi. β S¹ transfers it to Paul. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* v. 1 (on Gen. xlix. 27).

1. **I**: 'he' A.
a worker . . . what is good > A.
distributing food. Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 27, and 'dabit escam', Tertullian *l. c.* There the Mass. has 'divide the spoil'.

2. **one beloved of the Lord.** Deut. xxxiii. 12, of Benjamin. Here c twists it into a reference to the Messiah. For 'the Beloved' = Christ. See my ed. Asc. Isa. i. 4 (note).
of His mouth: 'in his mouth' c: 'of His will' β A$^{a\,h}$ S¹. Cf. Eph. i. 5.
bursting in b e g (d f): 'shining' a.

5. **through them . . . my father** f: 'because of him', &c., e: 'because of him Jacob my father instructed me' b: > a d: 'because of this he puffed me up' g.
fill up that which lacketh. A phrase of St. Paul. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, &c.
tribe b g: 'belly' d e f.

XII. Here β A S¹ is the better text.

2. **at a good old age** β A S¹: 'in a beautiful and good sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6.

3. See T. G. viii. 5 (note).
entrance . . . into: The text absurdly reads 'exodus . . . from'.
Canaanitish war β A S¹. See T. S. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 5.

4. f S¹ add at the close: 'Benjamin, the twelfth son of Jacob, the second son of Rachel, lived 125 years.'

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A LATE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, WHICH CONTAINS FRAGMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL TESTAMENT

These fragments are in italics, and their parallels in the original Testament given in the margin.

THIS IS THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, SON OF JACOB.

1 1 The Testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, *whom Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, had borne him [1] [*the wrestlings of God*].[2] When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good T. Naph. old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he i. 6 began to command his children, and he said unto them, 'My children, come and draw near and 2 receive the commands of your father.' And they answered and said unto him, 'Lo, we hearken to 3 fulfil all that thou commandest us.' And he said unto them, 'I do not command you *concerning* T. Jos. *my silver, nor concerning my gold*, **nor all my substance*[3] that I leave unto you here under the sun, xi. 6 nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to 4 you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil.' And his sons answered and replied a second time, 5 and said, 'Speak, O father, for we listen.' He said unto them, 'I give you no command save in 6 regard to the fear of the Lord: Him shall ye serve, and to Him shall ye cleave.' They said unto him, 'What need hath He of our service?' He said unto them, 'It is not that He hath need of any creature, but that all creatures of the world have need of Him. But He hath not created the world for nought, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour 7 what he doth not like for himself.' They said unto him, 'Our father! hast thou forsooth seen us 8 departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' He said unto them, 'The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread that which is T. Levi to come, lest ye go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of xix. 3 the peoples of the lands, and lest *ye join* the children of Joseph instead of *the children of Levi and* T. Naph. 9 *the children of Judah*.' They said unto him, 'What dost thou see that thou commandest us in this vii. 2 10 wise?' He said unto them, 'Because I know that one day the children of Joseph will depart from the Lord, the God of their fathers, and cause the children of Israel to sin, and to be banished from the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through his being a bond-servant in Egypt.

2 1, 2 'Further, I will tell you *the vision* I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. I saw, and lo, my T. Naph. twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field; and lo, *our father* came and *said to us*, "My v. 1–3 3 children, *run and seize ye, each* **before me*,[4] what comes to his portion." We answered and said unto 4 him, "What shall we seize? lo, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars." *He said unto them, "⟨Take hold⟩ of them."[5] When Levi heard it he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon 5 *the sun* and sat and rode thereon. And when Judah saw it, he did likewise; and he *seized* a staff, 6 and sprang upon *the moon*, and rode thereon. So did *all the[6] tribes; each rode upon his star and 7 his planet in the heavens; and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth. Jacob our father said unto him, "My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?" He said unto him, "My father, what have they[7] that are born of woman to do in the heavens, as in the end they must needs stand upon the earth?"

3 1 'Whilst Joseph was speaking, *lo*, there stood near him a huge *bull with great wings like the wings* T. Naph. 2 *of a stork, and his horns were huge* like the horns of the Reëm. And Jacob said to him, "Get up, v. 6 3 my son Joseph, and ride upon him." And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob 4 our father departed from us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull—at times he walked and ran, at times *he flew* up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the v. 7 5 standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. Judah said to him, "My

[1] only in P. [2] A gloss from Gen. xxx. 8. [3] J; also in A in a corrupt form.

[4] For לפניי read with T. Naph. v. 2, *κατὰ δύναμιν*, לפי כח. The כח could fall out before the following כל אחד.

[5] PJ. > A. [6] A. 'the nine' PJ. [7] PJ. 'he' A.

6 brother, why dost thou smite me?" He said unto him, "Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve
7 staves, and I have only one; *give me ten,[1] and there shall be peace." But Judah refused to give
them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and only two were
8 left with Judah. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, "Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi?
9 Depart from them and follow after me." When his brothers heard Joseph's words, they departed
from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin
10, 11 and Levi. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of trouble of spirit. Joseph said
12 to Benjamin his brother, "Benjamin, my brother! Art thou not my brother? Come thou also with
me." But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother. And it came to pass when the day
drew to an end, lo, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that
13 no two were left together. When I beheld this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said
unto me, "My son, it is only a dream, which will neither ascend nor descend, for it hath not been
repeated."

4 1, 2 'But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision. Whilst we stood all together with Jacob T.
our father on the shore of the Great Sea, behold a ship came sailing in the middle of the sea vi.
3 without a sailor and a man (pilot). Our father said to us, "Do ye see what I am seeing?" We
4 said unto him, "We see it." He said unto us, "Do what ye see me doing." Thereupon Jacob our
5 father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. And the first
6 were Levi and Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them. And behold in that
7 ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob our father said unto them, "Look at what
is written on the mast; for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written
8 on the mast." Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold there was written, "This ship
9 belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein." When Jacob our father heard that,
he rejoiced very much, and bowed down, and thanked God. He said, "Not enough that He has
10 blessed me on earth, He has blessed me on the sea too!" Then he said unto us, "My children,
11 quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that shall be his share." Thereupon
12 Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it. The second after him, Judah, also leapt
13 to the second mast, which was next to Levi's mast, and he also sat thereon. And the rest of
my other brothers took each his oar, and Jacob *our father grasped the two rudders* to steer the vi.
14 ship by them. And Joseph was left alone. Our father said unto him, "My son Joseph, take
15 thou also thine oar." But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take
his oar, he said unto him, "Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in
16 my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land." And
he taught each one of us, and said unto us, "Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be
afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they shall arise against you."

5 1, 2 'And when he had made an end of commanding us, *he disappeared* from us. And Joseph took
both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and the rest of my brothers were
3 rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. And Levi and Judah sat upon the two
4 masts to look out which way the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind,
and Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and[2] the
5 ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and
Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the teaching
of Judah; and the ship went a wrong course, and *the waves of the sea dashed it* on a rock, *so that* T.
the ship was broken up. vi.

6 1 'Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escape for their lives, and as for the rest of
2 the brothers, we escaped for our lives to the shore. And behold there came Jacob our father, and
3 found us dispersed, one here, and another there. He said unto us, "What is the matter with you,
4 my sons? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, (even) as I commanded you?" And
we said unto him, "By the life of thy servants, we have not departed from anything that thou hast
commanded us; but Joseph transgressed against the command; for he did not steer the ship
according to thy command, and as he was instructed by Levi and Judah, for he was jealous of them."
5 And he said unto us, "Show me the place (of the ship)." And he saw, and behold the tops of the
6 masts were visible, and behold it was floating upon the surface of the water. And my father
7 whistled, and we all gathered round him. And he cast himself into the sea as before, and he
8 repaired the ship. And he reproved Joseph, and said unto him, "My son, thou shalt not again
deceive (nor) be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee."

7 1 'And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his
2. 3 eyes shed tears. And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spake no word to me. So I took the

[1] PJ. 'Come now, give them to me', A. [2] A'; >APJ.

hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him, "Oh servant of the Lord! why do
4 thine eyes shed tears?" He said unto me, "My son, because of the repetition of thy vision my
heart has sunk within me, and my body is confounded by reason of Joseph my son, for I loved him
above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will
5 be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both one and the same vision.
6 Therefore I *command you* not *to unite* with the sons of Joseph, but only *with Levi and Judah.*" viii. 2

3 1 'Further, I tell you my lot shall be in the best of the middle of the earth, and ye shall eat and be
2 satisfied with its delights. I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to (Deut.
3 oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of His earth. And do not xxxii.
forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; Who was chosen by our father Abraham when 15.)
4 the nations were divided in the time of Phaleg. For at that time the Lord, blessed be He, came down
from His highest heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael at their
5 head. He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Noah
6 seventy languages. Forthwith the angels descended and did according to the command of their
Creator. But the holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and
Eber, and in the house of Abraham our father, who is one of their descendants.

9 1 'And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to the seventy nations, to each
2 nation separately: "You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into
which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose to-day whom you will
3 worship, and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven." Nimrod the wicked answered
and said, "For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my people in one hour the
4 language of Kush." In like manner also answered Put, and Migraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and
Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of
5 the Lord, blessed be He. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, "Abram, whom dost
thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?" Abram answered, "I choose and select only Him
who said, and the world was created; Who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body;
Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him I will cleave, I and my seed, all the
days of the world."

0 1 'Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and apportioned and allotted to every nation its share
2 and lot. And from that time all the nations of the earth separated themselves from the Lord, blessed
be He; only the house of Abraham remained with his Creator to worship Him; and after him Isaac
3 and Jacob. Therefore. my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than
4 Him whom your fathers have chosen. For know assuredly that there is none like unto Him, and
no other who can do as He or like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none who can do
5 wonders like unto His mighty deeds. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of
6 man; how many notable wonders are there not in him? He created him from head to foot; with
his ears he hears, and with his eyes he sees, and with his brain he understands, and with his nose he
smells, and *with his wind-pipe* he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and T. Naph.
drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes (?); with his hands he does ii. 8
his work, and *with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry*;
and his maw grinds, and with his feet he walks, and *his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins he*
7 *is counselled*. And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own. It is
8 therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, Who hath created him, and Who it is that
hath wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop[1] in the womb of the woman, and Who it is that bringeth
him out into the light of the world, and Who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of
the feet, and Who causeth him to stand upright, and bringeth him nigh to his Creator and to His
place, and hath prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight, and hath poured into him a
9 living soul and a pure spirit from Himself. Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit
of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator
as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it (to him).'

10 Thus far are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, with which he admonished his sons, *with
words sweeter than honey.[2]

[1] The phrase is found also in the Pirke Aboth, iii. 1.

[2] Emended. See my Text.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF AN ORIGINAL SOURCE OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI AND THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Cambridge Aramaic Fragment.

Col. *a*.

1 . . . from . . . daughter . . . that all . . . to do according to right in . . . Jacob my father, and saw
. . . and we said to them . . . they desire our daughter, and we will be all br(ethren) and companions.
2 Circumcise the foreskin of your flesh and appear (like us), and be sealed like us in the circumcision
of . . . and we will be to y(ou) b(rethren).

Col. *b*.

3 . . . my brother at every time, . . . that were in Shechem . . . my brother and Dan showed . . . in
Shechem and what . . . (doers) of violence, and Judah showed them . . . that I and Simeon my
brother went to him . . . to Reuben our brother, who . . . Judah (?) before (that he le)ft the sheep . . .

Bodleian Aramaic Fragment.

4 [Col. *a*] . . . peace, and all the desirableness of the first-fruits of the earth, all of it for food and for
dominion; the sword, fighting and battle and slaughter and trouble and rage and murder and famine.
5 Sometimes thou shalt eat, and sometimes thou shalt be hungry; sometimes thou shalt labour, and
sometimes thou shalt rest; sometimes thou shalt sleep, and sometimes the sleep of the eye shall
6 depart. Now behold how he has made thee greater than all, and how I give thee the greatness of
7 everlasting peace. And two weeks passed from me, and I *awoke from my sleep.* Then I said: *The* T.
one vision is even as the other. I wondered that all the vision should be (given) to him. *And I hid* viii.
8 *this also in my heart and revealed it to no man.* And I went to my father Isaac, and he also in like viii.
9 manner (blessed) me. Then when Jacob saw (in regard to the twelve) all that should happen to him
according to his vow, (and how that) I was first at the head of (the priesthood), and to me of all his
sons he had granted the offering, (he gave thanks) to God, and clothed me with the garment of the
priesthood, and (*fil*)*led my hands*,[1] and I became a priest to God . . . , and I offered all his offerings, viii.
10 and blessed my father in my life, and blessed all my brethren. Then they all blessed me, and father
11 also blessed me, and I finished [Col. *b*] offering his offerings in Bethel. And we went from Bethel,
12 and *lodged* in the castle of Abraham our father, *with Isaac our father.* And Isaac our father saw us ix.
13 all, and he blessed us and rejoiced. And when he knew that I was priest of the Most High God,
the Lord of heaven, he began to charge me, and to *teach me the rights of the priesthood*, and said to ix.
14 me, 'Levi, take heed to thyself, my son, my son, against all defilement and all sin. Thy rights are
15 greater than those of all flesh. And now, my son, I will show thee the rule of the truth, and will not hide
16 from thee any matter to inform thee in the rights of the priesthood. First, *take heed to thyself*, my ix.
17 son, against all lust and uncleanness, and against all *fornication. And do thou take to thyself a wife* ix.
of my family, and defile not thy seed with harlots; for thou art a holy seed, and holy is thy seed
18 like the holy place, for a holy priest art thou called among all the seed of Abraham. *Thou art nigh* ii.
to (*God*) and nigh to all His holy ones. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every defilement of all (Jub
men. 16)
19 [Col. *c*] *And when thou* risest up to *enter the* **house of God*,[2] *wash thyself* with water, and then ix.
20 clothe thyself with the garment of the priesthood. And when thou art clothed, again wash thy
21 hands and thy feet, before thou offer anything on the altar. *And when thou* takest to *offer* all that
22 is fitting to offer on the altar, again *wash* thy hands and thy feet. And offer the split logs, and
prove them first (free) from worms, and then offer them; for thus I saw Abraham my father taking
23 heed. Of all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the ix.
24 altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. And these are their names:—cedar, and bay, and
almond, and fir, and pine,[3] and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, (Jub
12)

[1] So Jub. xxxii. 3, 'His father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands.'
[2] Gk. Frag. and T. Lev. ix. 11 give 'the sanctuary'.
[3] Text reads 'thorns' (שוחא) corrupt for שִׁיטָא = 'pine'.

and aspalathus.[1] These are they which he told me it was right to offer under the sacrifice on the altar. And when (thou hast placed) of the wood of these (trees) on the altar, and the fire begins to kindle [Col. *d*] them, then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. And again wash thy hands and thy feet from the blood, and begin to offer up the limbs, salted. Offer the head first, and upon it spread the fat, and let there not be seen on it the blood of the offering of the bull. And after it the neck, and after the neck its forelegs, and after its forelegs the breast with the side, and after the legs the thigh with the spine of the loin, and after the thigh the hind-legs washed together with the entrails. And let all be salted with salt as is fitting for them according to their need. And after this the meal mingled with oil, and after it all, wine of the drink-offering; and burn on them frankincense; and let all thy works be in order, and all thy offerings be pleasing (?), for a sweet savour before the Most High God. And whatsoever thou doest, do it in order by measure and weight; add nothing which is not fitting, and fall not short of the account of what is fitting (?) concerning (?) the logs that are fitting to offer for all that goes up upon the altar. For the great bullock a talent of wood by weight; and if the fat alone is offered, six minas; and if it is a bull-calf[2] which is offered . . . .

Verses 32ᵇ–66 (found only in the Greek).

And for the second bull fifty minas; and for the fat alone, five minas. And for a great bullock (*μόσχον*) forty minas. And if it be a ram or a he-goat that is offered, for such thirty minas, and for the fat three minas. And if it be a lamb or a kid twenty minas; and for the fat two minas. And if it be a lamb without blemish of the first year, or a kid of the goats, fifteen minas; and for the fat half a mina. And sprinkle[3] salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh, and offer it on the altar. One measure is fitting for the bull. And where there is a superfluity of salt, salt therewith the hide. And for the second bull five-sixths of the measure. And for the bullock (*μόσχον*) the half of the measure. And for the ram half a measure, and for the he-goat the like measure. And for the lamb and the kid the third of the measure. And the meal that is fitting for them. For the great[4] bull and for the second bull and the bullock a measure of meal. And for the ram and the he-goat two-thirds of a measure, and for the lamb and for the kid a third part of a measure, and the oil. And the fourth of the measure for the bull mingled with this meal. And for the ram the sixth of the measure, and for the lamb the eighth of the measure †and of the lamb†. And as for the wine, pour a libation according to the measure of the oil on the bull and the ram and the kid. Of frankincense six shekels for the bull, and the half thereof for the ram, and the third thereof for the kid, and (let) all the meal (be) mingled. If you offer this not upon (?) the fat, let there be offered upon it a weight of two shekels of frankincense. And the third of the measure is the third of the ephah. And the two parts of the bath and the weight of the mina are of fifty shekels. And of the shekel the fourth part is a weight.[5] The shekel comes to be about sixteen thermoi (*θερμοί*) and of one (and the same) weight. And now, my son, hear my words and give ear to my commands, and let not these my words depart from your heart throughout all thy days, because thou art a holy priest of the Lord. And all thy seed shall be priests. And to thy sons so give commandment that they do according to this use[6] as I have shown thee. For so my father Abraham commanded me to do and to give commandment to my sons. And now, my son, I rejoice that thou hast been chosen to the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord Most High, as it is befitting to do according to that which is ordained for Him. When thou takest a sacrifice to offer before the Lord of any flesh, according to the reckoning of the wood so receive (it) as I command thee, and the salt and the meal and the wine and the frankincense receive at their hands for all the animals. And always wash[7] thy hands and thy feet when thou goest to the altar, and when thou goest forth from the sanctuary let no blood touch thy garments. Thou shalt not †kindle it the same day†. And thy hands and thy feet wash continually from all flesh. And let no blood be seen upon thee, †and every soul,† for the blood is the life (soul) in the flesh. And if thou preparest for thyself[8] any flesh at home to eat, cover its blood first in the earth before thou eatest of the flesh, and thou shalt not eat of the blood. For so my father Abraham commanded me; for so he found it in the writing of the Book of Noah concerning the blood. And now, as I tell thee, my beloved son, thou art beloved of thy father and holy unto the Lord Most High, and thou shalt be loved beyond all thy

Jub. xxi. 16–18 = verses 53–56

Jub. xxi. 1

[1] The list in the Aramaic practically agrees with that in Jub. xxi. 12. The Greek fragment diverges in omitting the almond and the olive, and adding the *σχῖνος*. See my text of the Testaments, 249.

[2] The Greek has 'the second bull' here and in verses 38, 41.

[3] Emended. See my Text.

[4] See verse 32.

[5] Here follows in the text *θερμὸν δ'* corrupt for *θερμῶν δ'* = 'of four thermoi.'

[6] *κρίσιν* = משפט.

[7] Verses 53–6 agree almost verbally with Jub. xxi. 16–18.

[8] MS. reads *ουσης σεαυτον*, which may possibly be emended into *ποιῇς σεαυτῷ*.

brethren. †By thy seed shall be blessed in the earth,† and thy seed shall be enrolled in the book of the memorial of life unto all ages. And thy name and the name of thy seed shall not be blotted out unto all the ages. And now, my son Levi, thy seed shall be blessed upon the earth unto all the generations of the ages.' And when four weeks were fulfilled in the years of my life, i. e. *in my twenty-eighth year, I took unto myself a wife* of the lineage of my father, even *Milcah*, the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. And *she conceived and bare me a* first *son*, and I called his name Gershom; for I said that my seed would be sojourners in the land where I was born. *We are sojourners as . . . in the land . . .* And *in the case of the lad I saw* in my vision that he would be cast out, he and his seed from the chief priesthood . . . . Thirty years old was I in my life when he was born, and in the tenth month he was born towards sunset. And again she conceived and bare me about the time that is fitting with women, *and I called his name Kohath.*[1] T. vi. xi. xi. xi. xi.

Cambridge Aramaic Fragment.

[Col. *c*] (And it happen)ed about the ti(me of women that I was with her, and she concei)ved again (and bare me another son, and) I (call)ed his name (Kohath. And I saw) that to him (would b)e *the gathering of all* (the people, for) his would be the high-(priest)hood (over all Is)rael. *In the fo(ur and thirt)ieth year of my life was he born*, in the fir(st) month, (on the fir)st day of the mo(nth), at sunrise. And again I was wi(th her), *and she bare me a third son and I called his name Merari, for it was bitter to me concerning him* exceedingly, for as soon as he was born he died; and it was very bitter to me concerning him, *because he was like to die*, and I besought and prayed for him, and it was in all bitterness. *In the fortieth year of my life she bare*, in the third month. And again I was with her, and she conceived and bare me a daughter, and I made her name *Jochebed*, (for) I sai(d), as she hath borne to me honour, she hath borne for me *glory* to Israel. *In the sixty-fourth year of my life she bare*, in the first day of the seventh month, after that [Col. *d*.] we entered Egypt. In the sixte(enth) year we entered the land of Egypt, and to my sons (were given) the daughters of my brothers at the time . . . to them sons. The names of the sons of *Gershon* (*Libnai and*) *Shimei;* and the names of *the sons of Ko(hath, Amra)m and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel;* (and the names of) *the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushai.* (*And*) *Amram* (*took*) *to him as wife Jochebed my daughter*, while I was yet living in the 9(4)th year of my life. And I called the name of Amram, when he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born, this (child) (shall br)ing out the people from the (land of Eg)ypt. Therefore his name was called the exalted people. *On one day (were they born he) and* Jochebed *my daughter. Eighteen years old was I when I went in(to the l)and of Canaan, and (nine)teen years old when I slew She(chem)* and destroyed the workers of violence. *And I was nineteen years old when I became priest, and twenty-eight years old when I took to me a wife. And eight and forty years old was I when we went into the land of Egypt*, and eighty and nine years I lived in Egypt. xii. xii. xii. xii. xii. xii. xii. xii.

[Col. *e*] And all the days of my life were 1(3)7 *years*, and I saw my *sons of the th(ird generation)* before I died. And *in the (hundred and eigh)teenth (year) of my life*, that is, the y(ear) in which *Joseph my brother died*, I called (my) so(ns) and their sons, and began to charge them with all that was in my heart. xix. xii.

And I answered and said to (my) sons:
(Hear) the word of Levi your father,
And hearken to the commands of God's beloved;
I give you a charge, my sons, xiii.
And I show you the truth, my beloved.
Let the sum of your works be truth, (Ps. xii. 160
And (let) righteousness abide with you for ever.
And the tr(uth) . . .
And to them the harvest is blessed.
He that soweth good, reapeth good; xiii.
And he that soweth evil, his seed returneth upon him.
And now, my sons, a book of instruction in wisdom *teach your sons,* xiii.
And let wisdom be with you an everlasting honour.
He that learneth wisdom, *she is an honour to him,* xiii.
And whoso despiseth wisdom is given over to contempt.
My sons, behold *Joseph my brother,* xiii.
Who gave instruction in the writings and discipline of wisdom. xiii.

[1] This verse is indeed found in the Aramaic, but I have given the translation of the Greek, as the Aramaic is for the most part wanting.

APPENDIX II

[Col. *f*] . . . man . . . and increased (?) . . . to every co(untry) and city . . . to him brother . . . was xiii. 3
in it, *he is* (*not like*) *a stranger in it*,* and not li(ke to) a stranger (in it),[1] and not like an alien in it;
for they all give him honour in it, for all *desire* to learn of his wisdom. xiii. 4
His friends are many,
And they that salute him are great ones.
And on a seat of honour they place him,
To hear the words of his wisdom.
Great wealth of honour is wisdom.
And a goodly treasure to all that *get* her. xiii. 7
If there come mighty kings and much people,
And an host and many horsemen and chariots with them.
And take . . country and city,
And spoil all that is in them,
The treasures of wisdom they shall not spoil
Nor find out her hidden things
Nor . . .

[1] The form in the Aramaic varies. We have here duplicate renderings of the same Hebrew original.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Sibylline Oracles in General.

The collection of verses known as the Sibylline Oracles was originally comprised in fifteen books and various fragments. Three books (ix, x and xv) are entirely missing, and there are gaps in some of those that remain, but with a total of some 4,240 lines their bulk is still very considerable. The greater part of this collection, however, is late and of comparatively little intrinsic worth, and the present study deals only with those of the fragments which are preserved in Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, and together form a kind of prelude or Proem, and with the earlier books iii, iv and v. But it will be necessary to give some preliminary sketch of the problem presented by the Sibylline literature in general.

It is a common feature of early peoples to look for oracular utterances of divine or quasi-divine inspiration from the mouth of old women, such as are represented by the witch of Endor in the Old Testament, the Pythian priestess among the Greeks, and, possibly, the nymph Egeria among the Romans; and it added immensely to the prestige of such utterances if they were ambiguous or difficult to understand. It was from a common feeling such as this that the Sibylline Oracles took their rise, but they are pre-eminent among all similar literature in the authority which they wielded and the fascination which they exercised over the minds of men. Their power they owed chiefly to their claim to remote antiquity, and to the obscurity in which they were always wrapped. Of Greek origin, and written principally, if not exclusively, in Greek, it was at Rome where they were chiefly venerated and had the most direct influence. In times of special difficulty they were frequently consulted, apparently with satisfactory result. There can be little doubt that the ingenuity of the custodians of the Sibylline rolls supplied sometimes a suitable response to the question under discussion.

A brief account of these oracles among the Romans is given below, but it is not with them that we have to deal. They have nearly all perished, and have left little more than a name and a history behind. But their great interest lies in the fact that the success which they achieved in their day led Jews and, later, Christians, seeking to defend or propagate their faith, to compose or adapt verses which they put forth under the name and authority of the ancient mysterious prophetesses known as the Sibyls, and in which lessons of monotheism and the like were put forth as the real teaching of the inspired teachers of the most hoar antiquity. With the morality of such a proceeding we have not here to deal: it is closely bound up with the question of the ancient idea of copyright, which was, as is obvious, radically different from ours. But of the success of this method of proselytising there can be little doubt, and indeed most Christian writers down to the time of Augustine accept without question the genuineness of these verses.

The Sibylline Oracles, therefore, which we possess are a compilation of old and new oracles worked up by Jewish or Christian authors who lived at various times between *c.* 160 B.C. and the fifth century, or even later, A.D. Their chief interest for us lies in (i) their date and interpretation, (ii) their relation to other apocalyptic literature, (iii) the side-lights thrown on history.

The above brief sketch must now be somewhat amplified, in order to explain the peculiar authority exercised by this form of oracle over Pagan, Jewish and Christian thought alike. And it will be necessary to go into a little more detail as to the Sibyl herself and the history of the Sibylline literature.

§ 2. The Sibyl.

The name 'Sibyl' first attracts attention. It has been maintained by some scholars (especially by R. H. Klausen in *Aeneas und die Penaten*) that the word is not a proper name but implies a sound issuing from a subterranean oracle, conveyed either by the rustling of the wind, as in the case of the oaks of Dodona, or by the splash of water. But there seems to be little justification for this, and it is better to follow the universal testimony of antiquity in regarding Σίβυλλα as a proper name. Nor

is there any inherent improbability in deriving the name from Θεός and *βουλή*, for there is sufficient evidence to show that among the Aeolians and Dorians Θεός appeared as Σιός, and in an inscription from Cumae *βολλᾷ* is found for *βουλῇ*. Σίβυλλα, therefore, means the counsel of God (cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6).

Early writers know of only one Sibyl. So Heraclitus (ap. Plutarch), Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle. But in course of time many more were recognized, though the exact number differs widely among various writers. The earliest mention of a plurality of Sibyls seems to emanate from a certain sophist named Sopater, who is quoted by Photius as the author of a work on Prophetic women 'which include the so-called Sibyls'. Other writers, e. g. Solinus and Ausonius, recognize at least three: Pausanias and Aelian speak of four: Clement of Alexandria mentions nine, and Varro's list (cf. Lact. *l. c.*) includes ten. The names given to the various Sibyls vary considerably, but there is convincing testimony that the earliest and most famous was the Erythraean, of whom Clement preserves a detailed but somewhat confused account. He gives her date as prior to Orpheus, whereas others, including Augustine, make her contemporary with the siege of Troy, and Suidas puts her nearly five centuries later. The Erythraeans believed her to be the offspring of a shepherd and a nymph. According to an early and widespread tradition she was connected with Apollo. This is referred to in 'Constantine's' *Oratio ad Sanctos*, preserved in Eusebius, where it is said that she was at an early age consecrated by her parent against her will to the temple of that god. At his hands she is said to have met her death after surviving nine generations of men, and her grave-stone was for long shown on the Erythraean shore, while her image or token is regularly found on the coins of that town.

Before long the claims of Erythrae to be the birthplace of the Sibyl were challenged by Marpessus, a town said by Pausanias to lie in Trojan Ida. Erythrae based her claims on the testimony of the Sibyl herself as contained in the lines (Orac. in Pausanias x. 12. 3):

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητῆς τε Θεᾶς τε
νύμφης τ' ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ' αὖ κητοφάγοιο
μητρόθεν Ἰδογενὴς, πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή.

But Marpessus alleged that Ἐρυθρή was merely an adjective, and that the next line,

Μαρπησσός, μητρὸς ἱερή, ποταμὸς δ' Ἀϊδωνεύς,

had been suppressed by the Erythraeans.

Connected alike with Erythrae and Marpessus is the Sibyl of Cumae, whose fame early rivalled that of Erythrae. Justin Martyr paid a visit to Cumae, and relates how he saw there the cave made out of the single massive rock from which the oracles were given, and the three cisterns in which the Sibyl was said to wash. It was this Sibyl who, in the famous story told by Varro and Livy, came to Rome and offered the nine fateful books to Tarquin, and on being refused her price came back with six books and then with three. Various notices of her are preserved by Virgil and Ovid. The former represents her as having lived 700 years and having 300 yet to run, while Ovid relates that being offered by Apollo any boon she chose, she took up a handful of sand and asked that she might live as many years as there were grains in it.

These are the more famous Sibyls. It will not be necessary to do more than enumerate the various others connected with Tibur, Samos, Colophon, Rhodes, Ephesus, Babylonia, Egypt, Libya, and Sicily.

§ 3. The Earliest Sibylline Verses.

The first reference to the oracles of Sibyls is found in a quotation from Heraclitus, preserved in Plutarch (*De Pyth. Or.* 709 C): he says that the poems contained many gloomy matters, and specifies 'many revolutions and upheavals of Greek cities, many appearances of barbarous hordes and murders of rulers'. Aristophanes mentions the Sibyl more than once and always with some tinge of respect (*Pax* 1095, 1116), and Plato speaks of her with reverence: Aristotle lays stress on her melancholy character and dismisses her more summarily. More details are given by Suidas, who summarizes the writings of the various Sibyls which he knows. Servius in his commentary on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv, mentions that the Cumaean Sibyl divided up the ages under the names of metals and showed which god was ruler in each (*quis quo imperaret*). But there is nothing to show exactly when collections of such verses came to be made. If we may believe the story of the Sibyl who appeared to Tarquin there was already a collection of nine books, but they must have been small in compass if a woman could carry them in the cumbrous form of rolls. It is probable that there were a great number of detached oracles, sometimes consisting of a line or two, current in the Greek-speaking world, and there may have been many private collections. After the destruction of the official Sibylline books in the burning of the Capitol in 82 B. C., a commission was dispatched to collect

oracles from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor, and a large number were brought back (including 1,000 lines from Erythrae), from which a collection was made. After this the numbers increased so rapidly that Augustus commanded 2,000 spurious volumes to be destroyed. But with their increase in bulk their credit began to diminish, and the Emperor found it necessary to carry out a similar process of weeding.

§ 4. The Jewish Sibylline Verses.

The beginning of the Maccabean revolt revived the enthusiasm of the Jews in every department of life. Among other things the missionary side of their faith aroused greater interest, and a serious attempt was made to place its claim on intellectual grounds more clearly before the world. At the same time eschatology began to exercise more and more influence on men's minds, and the conception of a final setting aright of all apparent injustice by the direct judgement of God appealed with increasing force to the more thoughtful of the Jews. The former tendency may be illustrated by the attempt of Aristobulus, a Jew living at the court of Ptolemy VII about 160 B.C., to prove that the best literature of Greece was in reality indebted to a large extent to Jewish inspiration: the latter point by the composition of the books of Daniel and Enoch. Both these tendencies combined to suggest to a cultivated Jew living in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C., that, if he could use the authority of the ancient and revered Sibyl, he might by means of verses written in the Sibylline style gain a very much wider audience for the propagation of his faith. The example of the book of Daniel was in all probability before him, and he would recognize no moral fault in the use of such means, especially if collections of Sibylline Oracles were from time to time receiving large additions. His method was not pure invention: he took ancient oracles and pieced them together, adding passages of his own which breathed strong monotheism and the glorification of the Jewish people. It is probably to this [1] unknown author that we owe the greater part of the third book. His example could hardly fail to inspire imitators both among Jews and later among Christians. Nor did the feeling of the day see anything incongruous in the ancient Sibyl denouncing idolatry and singing the praises of the happy land of Judaea. Indeed the new collection of oracles achieved very considerable success.

§ 5. The Sibyllines in later history.

The burning of the Capitol in 82 B.C. resulted in the complete destruction of the official collection of Sibylline Oracles. Seven years later the Senate dispatched three commissioners to Erythrae to fetch from thence any that could be discovered, and as a result of their efforts some 1000 verses were collected from that place while a considerable number were added from elsewhere. It is not improbable that the interest aroused by this search inspired the manufacture of many spurious oracles, some of which may have been of Jewish origin. From the materials thus collected a selection was made by the Quindecemviri, and the accepted verses were kept in greater secrecy. Nevertheless some knowledge of them was public property. Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 54) remarks on the art displayed in them as exemplified by their [2] acrostic form and throws some suspicion on their genuineness. Virgil in his famous description of the Golden Age in *Eclogue* iv quotes from Sib. iii. 785 ff. But the publication of oracles took away the main point of their sanctity, and we find the Emperors diligent in preserving them, as far as possible, inviolate. So Augustus instituted a searching inquiry into them and destroyed all except a small collection which was stored under the base of the Palatine Apollo. A further investigation was carried out on similar lines by Tiberius.

In view of these facts, it is obvious that the wide knowledge of Sibylline verses among early Christian writers points to there having been many collections over and above the official collection of Rome. It is possible that the oracles rejected by the scrutiny of the Quindecemviri instead of being destroyed merely found a wider audience, being incorporated with various subsequent additions. Inasmuch as 'the official collection,' which was finally burned by order of Stilicho in the reign of Theodosius, 'was, as far as we know, never published,' it would appear that the verses which we possess were all preserved in private hands.

There is no evidence that the Sibylline Oracles enjoyed any great popularity with later Jewish writers. Josephus (*Ant.* i. § 4) indeed alludes to Sib. iii. 97 ff., but the early appropriation of the Sibyl by Christian writers seems to have militated against extensive Jewish use. Among the early Fathers allusions and quotations are very frequent. Hermas alludes to the Sibyl in Pastor 2, § 4. Clement of Rome (cf. Justin, *Resp. ad Quaest.* 74) speaks of the Sibyl's prophecy that the world should

[1] The suggestion that the writer was Aristobulus himself is a tempting one and was put forward by Alexandre (*Exc. ad Sib.*).

[2] The only Sibylline acrostic which we possess is the Christian one in Sib. viii. 217–50, which is of considerably later date.

perish by fire. Justin refers without reserve to Books iii and iv, Athenagoras and Theophilus to the Proem and Book iii. Clement of Alexandria quotes freely from all the Jewish books and even represents St. Paul as appealing to the Sibyl (Strom. vi), and Celsus (*ap. Orig.* v, § 4) is moved to ridicule by their frequent use in Christian writers. Origen himself only once mentions the Sibyl (*c. Cels.* v, § 61), while Tertullian, though speaking of the Sibyl as anterior to all literature (*ad Nat.* 2), never makes use of the testimony of the Sibyl in his apologetics. Lactantius uses less reserve:[1] he quotes freely from all the Jewish books and his writings are a perfect mine of Sibylline verses. His view of the Sibyls was that, though in themselves they were prophetesses of false gods, yet from time to time filled with Divine inspiration they poured forth precious truths. Ambrose has but one quotation from the Sibyllines: Augustine is aware of a prejudice against them, but in discussing their claims he finds nothing in them pertaining to the worship of false gods and he gravely admits the Sibyl to the number of those who belong to the City of God (*de Civ. Dei* xviii. 23).

§ 6. Introduction to the Jewish Books.

The two considerable fragments which are usually printed at the end of the book, together with the three lines of Fragment ii, are preserved to us in the treatise of Theophilus *ad Autolycum* (end of first century A.D.) in which the writer attempts to justify to an educated heathen the Christian idea of God and the doctrine of the Resurrection. From Fr. i. 30, Alexander has deduced a Christian origin for them, but their tone is rather Jewish than Christian and their main purport is to vindicate the unique sovereignty of the Holy Invisible God as against the undignified stories of polytheism on the one hand, and the worship of animals and idols on the other. In character they are closely similar to iii. 1–45 and all seem to originate from Egypt. There is no distinctive mark of date, but the Fragments are most probably prae-Christian. They are ascribed to the Erythraean Sibyl by Lactantius and Clement of Alexandria. From the way in which Theophilus introduces these lines (*ad Aut.* ii. 36 Σίβυλλα δέ, ἐν Ἕλλησιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν γενομένη προφῆτις, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς προφητείας αὐτῆς ὀνειδίζει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος λέγουσα . . .) the inference has been drawn that they stood originally at the beginning of the third book.

Book III has been variously divided. Friedlieb divides into three main sections 1–294: 295–488: 489–828, but these sections are not entirely homogeneous.

The following is an analysis:

1–7 is an introduction expressing the pain of the Sibyl under the Divine compulsion.

8–45 express the Jewish hatred of idolatry and give a description of the true God the Creator of the World.

46–62 an eschatological passage describing the reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. Lines 46, 47 and 52 give an indication of date, which, however, is not easy to fix. It may be as early as *c.* 168 B.C., at which time Rome first interfered decisively in the affairs of Egypt by the embassy of Popilius Laenas. Then the three men of l. 52 who are to afflict Rome would be, perhaps, the Gracchi. Or the date may be *c.* 96 B.C. when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed by will his kingdom of Cyrene to the Roman people. In this case the three men would be Marius, Sulla, and Cinna.

Or it may be as late as *c.* 51 B.C. when Ptolemy Auletes bequeathed his kingdom to his Roman creditors. Then the three men would be the Triumvirs, whether the First (so Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.*, p. 47), or the Second (so Friedlieb, Intr. p. xxvii). The middle date is, on the whole, to be preferred. Alexandre would refer the 'holy king' of l. 49 to Vespasian and the 'three men' to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, but this is quite improbable.

62–92. The destruction of Beliar: a late passage probably from the latter part of the first century A.D. Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 87, 100, considers the passage to be Jewish, but Jülicher, reviewing him in *Theol. Litt.-Zeitung*, 1896, maintains its Christian origin, and Geffcken is of the same opinion. The question largely turns on the meaning given to Σεβαστήνων in 63. The idea that the whole world should come under the dominion of a woman recurs in viii. 200. The most probable explanation is that the woman is Rome.

93–6. Four lines of transition usually regarded as Christian, but not necessarily so.

97–294. A section derived primarily from the Erythraean Sibyl relating to the building of Babylon, the story of the Titans and the birth of Zeus, with a short summary of history dealing specially with the history of the Jews. The antiquity of the section is attested by the references to

[1] Detailed references are given in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinorum quae apud Lactantium reperiuntur*, 1817) and Alexandre (*Excursus ad Sibyllina*, 254 ff.). Also in Vervorst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud Sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844) and Besançon (*De l'emploi que les Pères de l'Église ont fait des oracles sibyllins*, Montauban, 1851).

it in Alexander Polyhistor (80–40 B.C.) and Abydenus (first or second century B.C.) and by the frequent quotations in Christian writers. There are two main marks of date: (1) the reference to the seventh king of Egypt in 192, 193 (cf. 318, 608) who is, in all probability, Ptolemy Philometor 182–146 B.C.; (2) the description of Rome in 175 ff., which would suit the years immediately following the battle of Pydna 168 A.D. A date circ. 160 A.D. would seem to be the most probable. The working up of old heathen oracles by a Jew would then be closely parallel to the attempt of Aristobulus about the same date to prove that the Old Testament was the primary source of the best works of ancient Greek literature. The Sibyllist takes not only the Erythraean Sibyl, but also extracts from the Babylonian (97–104), and perhaps the Chaldaean (218–30). But the latter section is also ascribed by Lactantius to the Erythraean Sibyl.

295–488 contain for the most part a collection of various oracles of different dates. Many of them are of a general character and cannot be historically identified. But the following passages contain some note of time.

314–18 seems to refer to the internal struggles in Egypt between Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes which ended with the capture of Euergetes in Cyprus in 154 B.C.

323–33 may refer to the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C.

350–5 probably refers to the Mithradatic war of 88–84 B.C.

388–400 is best explained as depicting the events of 162–142 B.C.

464–9 appears to have reference to the Social war of 89–88 B.C.

483–8 mentions the capture of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C.

The section contains some ancient oracles, e.g. 364–6; 401–30.

The passage about Alexander 381–7 is referred to by Varro as coming from the Persian Sibyl; while the Scholion on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 ascribes it to the Chaldaean Sibyl.

Lines 414–33 are ascribed on the authority of Pausanias and Varro to the Erythraean Sibyl.

489–829. This long section begins with woes on various lands, and especially on Greece, which is to be subjugated by a barbarian power. Then follows praise of the Jews and a reference to the attack of Antiochus Epiphanes on Egypt in 170 B.C. (611–15). An eschatological passage comes next, leading up to the description of the coming of the Messiah, to be followed by a time of ideal peace and prosperity for the Jews. This is interrupted by a short passage (732–40), which appears to celebrate the capture of the Acra of Jerusalem from the Seleucid troops. Another Messianic passage (767–95) is followed by a short description of the signs that are to precede the end (796–808) and the book ends with an Epilogue, which in itself seems to be composite, 819–29 being apparently a later addition.

The marks of date then in this last section are as follows:—

508–11. Refers to the Gaulish invasion of Asia Minor in 280 B.C.

520–61. Subjugation of Greece especially after the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.

573–85. Prosperity of the Jews in Maccabean times *c.* 140 B.C.

608–15 refer particularly to 180–179 B.C.

732–40 represent the feeling of *c.* 140 B.C.

It should be noticed that l. 776 bears marks of having been at least worked over by a Christian hand.

Taking the book as a whole there is no adequate reason for doubting that lines 97–819 are, with the exception of a few passages (e.g. 350–5, 464–9, 776) either composed or incorporated by a Jew, probably living in Egypt about 140 B.C. The Egyptian colouring is marked e.g. by the interest in Egyptian history, 159, 161, 314–18, 348, 608–15; but the writer has frequent references to Rome and Greece, and, to a lesser degree, to Asia Minor.

An attempt has been made (by Friedlieb) to show that lines 97–808, together with the Proem, comprised the poem that went under the name of the Erythraean Sibyl, and is said by Lactantius[1] to comprise about one thousand lines. It is a further suggestion of Bleek that lines 1–45, 819–29 may be ascribed to the author of Books I and II. These suggestions have the merit of providing a comprehensive framework for the first three Sibylline books, but they cannot be regarded as more than tentative. It is probable, for instance, that iii. 97–104 comes from the Chaldaean Sibyl, or possibly a Hebrew Sibyl (Josephus, *Ant.* i. § 4) and the frequent notice of Egypt to which reference has been made would suggest that parts at least of the poem are from another source. At the same time, it is obvious that the Erythraean Sibyl became by far the most noted, and it is quite possible that other ancient oracles which bore no special mark of authorship were collected under her name.

The fourth book does not present any such difficult problems. Its plan is fairly simple. After

[1] *Div. Inst.* i. 6.

a description of God as the source of inspiration (1–23) the writer proceeds to draw a picture of the joy of the righteous and the fate of the ungodly (24–46). He then proposes a sketch of the history of the ten generations of the world, but after two generations he breaks off into a series of oracles against various countries and towns in the dismal Sibylline style (47–151). Then follows an eschatological passage (152–92) interrupted by an exhortation to repentance (162–78).

The book is, therefore, in all probability a unity, and its date can be fixed with considerable certainty.

107–8 speak of the restoration of Laodicea after the earthquake of 60 A.D.

115–18 speak of the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege in 69 A.D.

125–6 speak of the destruction of the Temple.

119–24 speak of the disappearance of Nero, the expectation of his return, and the struggles of 69 A.D., and a similar expectation recurs in 138 f.

128, 129, 143, 144 speak of a great earthquake in Cyprus, which is fixed by a notice of Eusebius in 76 A.D.

The date then is after 76 A.D., but not long after, and at a time when the stirring events of the years 69–70 were fresh in men's minds, and the expectation of the return of Nero was real and vivid. So by general consent the book is ascribed to about the year 80 A.D.

There is some uncertainty as to whether the writer is a Jew or a Christian. In favour of the latter supposition is adduced the outlook on temples (28) and sacrifices (29), the mention of the folly of the Jews (117), and the stress laid on repentance (168). But none of these ideas would be unnatural in a thoughtful Jew of 80 A.D., and as there is nothing specifically Christian in the book, so it ends with an eschatological outlook which seems distinctly Jewish in character.

The fifth book presents problems of its own. It is obvious at once that lines 1–51 stand by themselves. They give a brief sketch of history up to the time of Hadrian, or, if l. 51 be genuine, up till the time of Marcus Aurelius.

The rest of the book consists, in the main, of the proclamation of troubles in various lands; in Egypt (52–114), Asia (115–36), Greece, Italy, and other lands (137–78), Egypt, India, Corinth, &c. (179–227), Asia, Thrace, &c. (286–343), Babylon, &c. (434–83), Egypt, &c. (484–511). This fills up the main bulk of the book, but, interspersed among these conventional Sibylline outpourings, there are sections on other subjects which merit attention. Such are an ode to *ὕβρις* (228–46), which seems Eastern in character, and in which Hildebrandt claims to have discovered a direct quotation from the Avesta; an ideal description of Judaea (247–55, 260–85); a Christian fragment (256–9); an eschatological passage (344–85); a denunciation of evil livers (386–402); a hint of an attack on the Holy Land and of a Divine vengeance (403–33); and a description of a coming battle of the stars (512–31).

Passages which bear upon the question of the date are as follows. In the first section the extravagant praise of Hadrian (48, 49) would be inexplicable in a Jewish writing except in the earlier years of his reign, or at any rate before the revolt of Bar Cochba and the erection of Ælia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem. But l. 51 speaks of three successors of Hadrian, one of whom (by which Marcus Aurelius is probably meant) should reign late in life. There is good reason to suspect this line to be a later interpolation.

In the main section, 52 to end, the chief indication of date lies in lines 411–13, which seem to speak of Titus as doomed to death as soon as he reached Italy on his return from the capture of Jerusalem. The expectation, which appears to have been somewhat widely held, was, of course, falsified by history, and so this section at any rate, if the emendation proposed be accepted, is fixed for the year 70 A.D. For the rest the expectation of the return of Nero appears in 34 f., 104 ff., 139 ff., 215 ff., 363 ff., as a conviction deeply held, although he is by this time half identified with the Antichrist.

The general conclusion leaves the date more or less uncertain. But there is no real reason to separate 1–51 from the rest of the book, and if we except lines 51 and 411–13 we may fix the date as somewhere in the reign of Hadrian before 130 A.D.[1]

The author seems undoubtedly to be living in Egypt. So the Sibyl calls herself (if the text be not corrupt) sister of Isis (53), and has much to say about Egypt and its towns (60–114, 179–99, 458–9, 484–511).

Opinions are much divided as to whether the author is a Jew or a Christian. The adjective

[1] The minute dissection of a 'Higher Criticism' may be illustrated by the following table taken from Zahn's *Apokalyptische Studien*:—

(*a*) A. D. 71, 111 (or 115)-78; ? 200-5; 228-46; 361-433; 484-531.
(*b*) *c.* A. D. 120, 1-49^{a}, 50^{b}; 52-110; 179-99; 206-27; 247-360 (or, at any rate, 247-85; 328-82); 434-83.
(*c*) *c.* A. D. 150, 49^{b}-50^{a}; 51; 257; 413, and probably many isolated verses.

θεοχρίστους in l. 68 seems to stamp the section to which it belongs as Christian, and 256–9 are unmistakably the same. But for the rest of the book the outlook is more Jewish than Christian. There is no reference to a New Testament writing, with the possible exception of l. 158 (cf. Apoc. viii. 10).

§ 7. Manuscripts.

Special service in the collation of MSS. has been rendered by A. Mai, Keil, and Rzach. The results are given at length in the introduction to Geffcken's edition. The MSS. fall into three main classes, to which the terms Ω, Φ, and Ψ are conventionally given. The following are the only MSS. which contain the Jewish portions:—

In class Ω:

V. Codd. Vaticani 1120, 743, both fourteenth century, contain iv.
Cod. Monacensis 1541 contains iv.

In class Φ:

A. Cod. Vindobonensis hist. gr. xcvi. 6, fifteenth century, contains all our sections.
P. Cod. Monacensis 351, fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the first part of the Prologue.
S. Cod. Scorialensis 11 Σ 7 contains all our sections.
B. Cod. Bodleianus Baroccianus 109, end of fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the Prologue and iii. 1–106.

In class Ψ:

F. Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus plut. xi. 17, fifteenth century, contains iii with the subscription στίχοι [1] αλδ (1,034 lines), iv with subscription ρπά [2] (181 lines), v with subscription στίχοι φλη [3] (538 lines).
R. Cod. Parisinus 2851, end of fifteenth century, contains iii (with similar remark στίχοι αλδ), iv (στίχοι ρπα), v. 1–106.
L. Cod. Parisinus 2850: 1475 A.D. contains the same three books with the same remarks; only Book iii is called λόγος τέταρτος and Book iv λόγος πέμπτος.
T. Cod. Toletanus, a MS. recently discovered in the Library of Toledo Cathedral, written about 1500, containing all our sections except v. 482–end. It has Latin notes both in the margin and between the lines, but Geffcken regards it as of no particular value.

Besides the MSS. the following extracts have been found:—

Cod. Parisinus 1043 contains iv. 179–85, 187, 189, 190; v. 93–111.
Cod. Vat. 1357 contains viii. 217–50.

The citations in the early Fathers are also of great service in restoring the text.

Geffcken calls attention to the extreme difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory text. It is not infrequent to find lines in which no MS. gives a metrically possible text, and then it becomes necessary to have recourse to conjecture. In other instances a composite text has to be formed out of several different versions. But Geffcken arrives at two conclusions that are of definite value. First, the Ω text is on the whole preferable to Φ and Ψ; and secondly, Φ and Ψ seem to have branched off from an earlier and better text, and of the two Φ is to be preferred, though not by any means in every instance.

As regards the date of the different classes of MSS., Geffcken would put the Ω in the third or fourth century, and would find a kind of Ψ before the end of the fifth century.

§ 8. Theology.

The main object of the Jewish Sibyllists is to maintain the unity and sovereignty of God. God is one Being, invisible, self-sprung, without beginning or end. Idolatry is condemned in terms of unmeasured scorn; the heathen gods are nothing, lifeless and powerless; the sacred animals of Egypt are merely deceptions; Isis and Sarapis will be found ineffective to help their worshippers in the

[1] Our present third book contains only 829 lines. But there is good reason to suppose that originally it contained considerably more than this.
[2] Our book contains 192. But Ψ omits 86, 94, 95, 112, 113, 115, 148, 153, 154, 182, 183, 186, 191.
[3] Our book has only 531.

time of bitter distress. Phoebus himself, the inspirer of the heathen Sibyl, is a mere delusion. All idolaters, of whatever class, are people who have mistaken the true highway of life and wandered off into tortuous by-ways. They have failed to recognize the true God, Who although so lofty and majestic, has yet revealed Himself to men, and Who keeps a constant watch over all that goes on on earth. The ignorance and wilful transgressions of purblind man are inevitably storing up for the world volumes of wrath that will burst forth in terrible destruction.

The doctrine of God, then, is a fairly full one: again and again stress is laid on His unique position as existing from all time and owning no Creator. The terms which express this idea (*αὐτοφυής, αὐτογένητος, αὐτολόχευτος*) are themselves open to misconstruction, but they seem to imply nothing more than God's eternal existence, as contrasted with the idols that are the works of men's hands and the gods of mythology concerning whose birth so many tales were rife. In three respects His intimate connexion with the visible world is vindicated: He is the Creator and Sustainer of all, sending rain and fruitful seasons. and manifesting His wrath in hailstorms and earthquakes. He has also revealed Himself to man, and although the means of His self revelation are not actually stated they are probably regarded as lying in the visible phenomena of nature. And again God is finally to judge the world, sending the just either to a fresh life of happiness on earth or to the abode of bliss, while the wicked are condemned to the woes of Tartarus. It may be noted that stress is laid on the conception of God Himself being the Judge (cf. iv. 41, 183) as though in protest against the Christian idea of Christ as the Judge of all, whereas the work of Creation is carried out through the medium of the Word (iii. 20, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6).

With regard to worship there are varying conceptions. The older passages speak freely of the offering of sacrifices (e.g. Frag. i. 21 : Bk. iii. 576 ff.), but in the fourth book we find a repudiation of all animal sacrifices (28 ff.) and even of a visible temple (8 and 28). This book seems to be tinged with Essene thought which manifests itself also in the stress laid on Grace before meals (25 f.) and lustrations (165).

The middle of the second century B.C. was a time when men's minds were very full of the thought of the coming judgement of God, and the literature of that age influenced deeply the thought of successive generations. So although the main eschatological portions of the Sibyllines occur in the third book, echoes of them are not lacking in other parts. The wrath of God as it culminates in judgement on the earth is depicted in scenes of bewildering complexity. A principal element is fire, which is to burn up the world. Sometimes it is in the form of a rushing stream (ii. 54), sometimes as an essence (iii. 72), sometimes it comes in form of a sword (iii. 672, 798, iv. 174). A mighty darkness is to envelop the earth (v. 349); the sun, moon, and stars are to fail (iii. 801, v. 346); the very heavenly bodies are to come crashing down (iii. 80 ff.); a star is to be one of the agents of the destruction (v. 158 ff.). God himself is to appear in the clouds (v. 65 f.). The destruction of the earth is sometimes represented as complete (e.g. iii. 84 ff.). More generally it is only the ungodly who are to be destroyed, the righteous being reserved for a blessed life (v. 375–85). The signs of the end are manifold. There is to be a great increase of wickedness and presumption; in the later books this is usually connected with the return of Nero. A comet is to herald the end (iii. 334). Various portraits are to be seen, e. g. a battle among the clouds (iii. 805. v. 212). There is to be great distress among nations (ii. 556 ff., v. 225). Beliar is to appear and lead men astray with various lying wonders (ii. 63 ff.). Nero is to return in pride and arrogance, the world is to fall under the dominion of a woman (iii. 75 ff.).

It is noticeable that the destruction of the world is not strongly distinguished from judgements that are to affect merely certain localities. The universal and the particular shade off very easily into one another. Similarly in some passages the judgement is merely a prelude to the establishment of a blessed kingdom among the godly on earth (e. g. iii. 767 ff.). The Messiah himself is to come from heaven to assume the kingdom (v. 414 ff.). Under his rule the godly are to enjoy great peace (iii. 702 ff.); the earth is to bring forth her fruits in extraordinary abundance (iii. 741 ff.); the rough places of nature are to be made smooth (iii. 777 ff.), and even the animal world is to share in the universal peace and goodwill (iii. 785 ff.). Jerusalem is to become the fairest spot on earth (v. 420 ff.); the temple is to be resplendent once more with the gifts of varied peoples (iii. 657, 772).

It will be seen that the greater part of these idyllic conceptions are not in themselves unique or peculiar, but their fullness and variety make the Sibylline workings conspicuous among similar literature. They testify to the deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the present conditions among the most loyal spirits of the Jews, and the confident hope that the apparent injustice of God's dealings in the world as shown in the triumph of His enemies, would be righted within no very long time by the vindication of His Divine purpose for men.

§ 9. Bibliography.

(*a*) Chief Editions of the Text.

Betuleius, Xystus, *Sibyllinorum Oraculorum Libri Octo*, Basel, 1545.
Opsopoeus, Joh., Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί, Paris, 1599.
Gallaeus Servatius, Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί, Amsterdam, 1687–9.
Mai, Angelo, Σιβύλλης Λόγοι ιδ[1], Milan, 1817.
Alexandre, C., Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί, Paris, 1841, 1853.
Friedlieb, J. H., Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί, Leipzig, 1852.
Rzach, Aloisius, Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί, Vienna, 1891.
Geffcken, J., *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, Leipzig, 1902.

(*b*) Chief Critical Enquiries and Editions.

Schwally, 'Sibyllae' in *Real-Encyklopädie der klass. Altertumswissenschajt.*
Thorlacius, B., *Libri Sibyllistarum veteris ecclesiae crisi subiecti*, Havniae, 1815.
Bleek, F., 'Ueber die Entstehung und den Zusammenhang der uns in acht Büchern erhaltenen Sammlung sibyllinischer Orakel,' *Theol. Zeitschr.*, 1819, 1820.
Gefrörer, *Kritische Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1831.
Volkmann, *De Oraculis Sibyllinis*, Leipzig, 1853.
Alexandre, *Excursus ad Sibyllina*, Paris, 1858.
Ewald, H., *Abhandlung über Entstehung, Inhalt und Werth der sibyllinischen Bücher*, Göttingen, 1858.
Klausen, R. H., *Æneas und die Penaten*, Göttingen, 1858.
Reuss, 'Les Sibylles chrétiennes,' *Nouvelle Revue*, 1861.
Badt, B., *Ursprung . . . und Text des* 4. *Buches der sibyllinischen Orakel*, Breslau, 1878.
Hilgenfeld, *Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857.
„ 'Die jüdische Apokalyptik und die neuesten Forschungen,' *Zeitschr. der wiss. Theologie*, 1860.
„ 'Die jüdischen Sibyllen und der Essenismus,' *Z.W.T.*, 1871.
Larocque, J., 'Sur la date du troisième livre des oracles sibyllins,' *Revue Archéologique*, 1869.
Hildebrandt, 'Das römische Antichristentum zur Zeit der Offenbarung Johannis und des V. sibyllinischen Buches,' *Z.W.T.*, s. 57–95, 1874.
Zahn, T., 'Ueber Ursprung und religiösen Character der sibyllinischen Bücher iv, v,' *Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wiss. und kirchl. Leben*, 1886.
Diels, K., *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890.
Fehr, E., *Studia in Oracula Sibyllina*, Upsala, 1893.
Geffcken, J., 'Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina,' *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1902.

The literature which touches on the Sibylline Books is a very large one, and only a selection has been given above. A fuller Bibliography (up to 1900) will be found in Terry's translation. Of the works mentioned Alexandre's *Excursus ad Sibyllina* is a mine of information upon which the present writer has drawn freely. Friedlieb's edition, with its spirited translation into German hexameters, contains many useful suggestions. Rzach's text is furnished with a good *apparatus criticus*, but it is on the whole inferior to Geffcken's which forms the basis of the present translation. Schürer has some serviceable remarks in his *History of the Jewish People* (English translation, Edinburgh, 1886), and sidelights may be gleaned from various books on Jewish History and Eschatology, notably R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*; Bousset, *Religion der Juden im N.T. Zeitalter*; and Volz, *Jüdische Apokalyptik*.

(*c*) Translations.

The following are noted in the very full Bibliography in *The Sibylline Oracles translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse* of M. S. Terry.

(*a*) English.

J. Floyer, *The Sibylline Oracles*, translated from the best Greek copies and compared with the sacred prophecies, especially with David and the Revelation, and with as much history as plainly shows that many of the Sibyl's predictions are exactly fulfilled. With answers to objections made against them, London, 1731.
Terry, M. S., *op. cit.*, New York, 1890.

(*b*) French.

Champier, S., *Oracles de la Sibylle*, tracduits par Simphorien Champier et Jean Robertet, 1702, 1703.
Bouché-Leclerq, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vols. vii, viii, ix.

(*c*) German.

Nahrung, J. C., *Neun Bücher sibyllinischer Prophezeiungen* aus der griechischen in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt, Halle, 1819.
Friedlieb, J. H., *Die sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollständig gesammelt*, nach neuer Handschriften-Vergleichung, mit kritischem Commentare und metrischer deutscher Uebersetzung, Leipzig, 1852.
Blass, F., 'Die sibyllinischen Orakel' (in *Apokr. u. Pseudep. des Alten Testaments*), Tübingen, 1900.

(*d*) Italian.

Antolini, V., *Oraculi Sibilini tradotti dal Greco in versi Italiani*, Viterbo, 1775.

(*e*) Latin.

Castalio, S., *Sibyllina Oracula de Graeco in Latinum conversa et in eadem annotationes*, Basel, 1546.
Mai, Angelo, as above, Milan, 1817, 1828.

(*f*) Spanish.

Poreno, Baltasar, *Oráculos de las doze Sibilas. Profetisas de Christo nuestro Señor entre los Gentiles*, Cuenca, 1621.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

FRAGMENTS

i

(1) O ye mortal men of flesh who are nought, (2) why do ye so quickly exalt yourselves, having no eye unto life's end? (3) Do ye not tremble at nor fear God, who overlooks you? (4) the Most High who knows, who looks on all, who witnesses all, (5) who nourishes all? the Creator who has planted his sweet Spirit in all, (6) and made him a guide to all mortals? (7) There is one God, sole Sovereign, excellent in power, unbegotten, (8) almighty, invisible, yet seeing all himself. (9) Yet he himself is beheld by no mortal flesh. (10) For what flesh can see visibly the heavenly and true (11) God, the Immortal, whose abode is the heaven? (12) Nay not even face to face with the sun's rays (13) are men able to stand, being mortals, (14) mere veins and flesh wedded to bones. (15) Worship him, who is alone Prince of the World, (16) who alone exists from age to age, (17) self sprung, unbegotten, holding all in sway through all time, (18) giving to all men their testing time in the common light. (19) But of your evil counsel ye shall have the fitting reward, (20) for that forsaking the honouring of the true and eternal God, (21) and the offering to him of sacred hecatombs, (22) ye have made your sacrifices to the deities in Hades. (23) In insolence and madness ye walked, and, forsaking the straight high-road, (24) ye turned aside and were wandering through thorns (25) and stakes. Cease, vain mortals, (26) roaming in darkness and in black murky night, (27) and leave the darkness of night and take hold of the light. (28) Behold he is plain unto all and such as cannot be missed. (29) Come, pursue not ever darkness and murkiness! (30) Behold, the sweet-eyed light of the sun shines brightly forth. (31) Conceive wisdom in your hearts and have knowledge. (32) There is one God who sends rain and winds and earthquakes, (33) lightnings, famines, pestilence and sad cares, (34) and snow and hail: why should I detail them one by one? (35) He is Lord of heaven, Sovereign of earth, the one Existence.

ii

(1) But if the gods have offspring and yet remain immortal, (2) there would have been more gods born than men, (3) nor would room have been found for mortals to stand.

iii

(1) But if any thing brought into being wholly perishes, God could not have been fashioned (2) from the loins of a man and from the womb. (3) But God is one, most exalted of all, who has made (4) the heaven, the sun, the stars, and the moon, (5) the fertile earth too, and the swellings of the sea-water, (6) and the lofty mountains, and perennial founts of springs. (7) Again he brings into

i. The whole Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 36. The first line is quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 3. 14. The strong monotheism of the passage is probably Jewish rather than Christian, but Fehr (*Stud. in Or. Sib.*, p. 16 ff.) points out its close similarity with Orphic writings.

5, 6. Cf. Wisdom xii. 1. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 as coming from the beginning of the Erythraean Sibyl. In 6 Lact. has *θεόν* for *βροτῶν*, but this is probably a Christian alteration.

7–9. Quoted by Justin, *Coh. ad Graec.* 16.

10. Cf. iii. 17; Deut. v. 26.

12. Geffcken quotes a similar thought ascribed to Socrates in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vi. 71.

14. The rendering follows the restoration of Nauck.

18. **testing time**, *κριτήριον*, is of doubtful meaning. Geffcken quotes Philo, *De Opif. Mund.* 20, p. 14, in which it appears to mean 'discrimination'. The phrase 'common light' is probably of Stoic origin. It recurs in iii. 494.

22. For the idea that the heathen gods are dead cf. iii. 545 ff., viii. 393.

28–35. Quoted in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* viii. 37. Line 28 is also quoted in *Strom.* v. 14. 116.

30. Alexandre supposes the 'sweet-eyed light' to refer to Christ. But the thought is more of the actual sun declaring the glory of God.

ii. The second Fragment is also found in Theophilus (*ad Aut.* ii. 3. 2), and is alluded to specifically in [Constantine's] *Or. ad sanct. coet.* 4. It appears to be closely connected with the following Fragment.

iii. The Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 36. 29. The first and the second lines are quoted in Hipp. *Philos.* v. 16, and in Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 8. 3, and alluded to in Justin, *Cohort. ad Graec.* 23. 6.

being the multitudes countless in number of the creatures of the water, (8) and He keeps alive the reptiles that move on the earth, (9) and the manifold species of winged things, twittering with clear voice, (10) brown birds with liquid trill, beating the air with outstretched wings; (11) and in the mountain glades he has set the wild race of beasts, (12) and to us mortals he has subjected all domestic creatures. (13) He has constituted man as the Divinely appointed ruler of all, and (14) to him he has subjected every variety of things, and things that cannot be understood. (15) For what mortal flesh can know all these things? (16) Nay, none knows them save He who from the beginning has made them, (17) the incorruptible Creator, the Eternal, dwelling in the sky (18), putting before the good much greater reward of good (19) but for the evil and unjust raising up wrath and anger, (20) and war and pestilence and tearful woes. (21) Ye men, why do ye vainly exalt yourselves—to be rooted out? (22) Be ashamed of making gods of cats and beasts. (23) Does not madness and frenzy take away the sense of the mind, (24) if gods purloin dishes and carry off pots: (25) and in place of dwelling in the golden **limitless** sky (26) they look moth-eaten and are woven with thick spiders' webs. (27) Ye witless folk, worshipping serpents, dogs and cats, (28) ye reverence winged creatures and animals that creep on the earth, (29) and images of stone and statues made with hands, (30) and stones piled together by the roads. These things ye reverence (31) and many other vain things which it is a shame even to mention. (32) These are gods **who lead on** weak-willed men **by guile,** (33) from whose very mouth deadly poison is poured. (34) But to Him Who is both life and deathless, endless light, (35) and who pours forth upon men gladness sweeter than ⟨**luscious**⟩ honey, (36) to Him alone bend thy neck, (37) and †incline† thy path among the blessed lives. (38) All these things ye left and quaffed the full goblet of justice, (39) unadulterated, strong, fortified, in no wise tempered, (40) yea all of you with spirit frenzied by folly. (41) And ye will not wake to soberness and come to a temperate mind, (42) and know the King, the God Who oversees all things. (43) Therefore the gleam of blazing fire is coming upon you. (44) Ye shall be burned with torches the livelong day throughout the age, (45) being ashamed of your lying futile idols. (46) But they who honour the true and everlasting God (47) inherit life, throughout the aeonian time (48) dwelling in the fertile garden of Paradise, (49) feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven.

BOOK III

(1) O thou who thunderest from on high, blessed heavenly one, who hast the Cherubim (2) as thy throne, I pray thee give me a short respite from mine unerring oracle, (3) for my soul within me is weary. (4) Nay, why did my heart again flutter, and why is my soul, (5) lashed with a spur from within, compelled to announce my message (6) to all? So again I will proclaim all (7) that God bids me proclaim unto men.

8. **keeps alive.** The verb *ψυχοτροφεῖται* is apparently found nowhere else. The middle is a little awkward, and Opsopoeus' reading, *ψυχοτροφεῖ τε* (from M), is not reliable.

12. Cf. Ps. viii. 7, 8. Philo, *De Opif. Mundi* 28 (the whole chapter should be read).

17–19. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* xxii. 7, as from Erythraean Sibyl.

18, 19. Cf. Sirach xxxix. 25.

21. The question is a highly compressed one. For the thought cf. iii. 57 ff.

22. The mention of cats as objects of worship points to an Egyptian source cf. iii. 30.

25. **limitless,** *ἀπείρονα*, an emendation of Wilamowitz.

26. **look moth-eaten.** The phrase *σητόβρωτα δέδορκε* is scornfully modelled on the heroic idiom *πῦρ . . . δεδορκώς* (Odyss. xix. 446, &c.). The sarcasm is very effective. The deified cats pilfer savoury morsels, and the images are covered with spiders' webs.

32. **who lead on . . . by guile,** *δόλῳ ἡγητῆρες* is Wilamowitz's suggestion for *δολοήτορες*.

35. This line and the next are deficient. There is nothing to show how they should be filled up.

37. †**incline**†. The verb is uncertain. MS. reading is *ἀνακλινοῖ*. Rz. alters to *ἀνακλίνοις*, but the optative is awkward after the imperative. Perhaps read *ἀνακαίνου*, 'renew.'

38. The metaphor of the cup is probably derived from Isa. li. 17.

45. MS. 'being ashamed of lies in the futile idols'.

46–48. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* ii. 12. 19.

47. The phrase **inherit life** recalls Matt. xix. 29, but is not exclusively a Christian conception.

49. **sweet bread.** This is probably manna, which is to be the food of the blessed. Cf. Sib. iii. 746 and 2 Baruch xxix. 8.

III. 1–7. *Introduction. The Divine compulsion.*

1. The line needs emendation to make it scan. Read *ὑψίβρομε, μάκαρ, οὐράνιε ὃς ἔχεις τὰ Χερουβίμ*. The scansion goes more by accent than by strict rules, and indeed in all this section there are metrical abnormalities.

3. The Sibyl regularly represents herself as speaking under Divine compulsion, cf. infr. l. 295. The Fathers distinguished her inspiration from that of the Hebrew prophets by its unwilling character.

(8) Ye men that bear the form that God did mould in his image, (9) why do ye wander at random and walk not in the straight path, (10) being ever mindful of the eternal Creator? (11) There is one sovereign God, ineffable, whose dwelling is in heaven, (12) self sprung, unseen yet seeing all himself alone. (13) No mason's hand did make him, nor does some model formed from gold (14) or ivory by the varied skill of man represent him. (15) But he, himself Eternal, hath revealed himself (16) as One who is and was before, yea and shall be hereafter. (17) For who, being mortal, can gaze on God with his eyes? (18) Or who could bear even to hear the mere name (19) of the mighty, heavenly God, the World-Ruler? (20) Who by his word created all, both heaven and sea (21) and tireless sun and moon at full (22) and twinkling stars, mighty mother Ocean, (23) springs and rivers, fire immortal, days and nights. (24) Yea it is God Himself who fashioned four-lettered Adam, (25) the first man fashioned, who completes in his name (26) morn and dusk, antarctic and arctic. (27) He too both established the fashion of the form of mortal men (28) and made the beasts and things that creep and fly. (29) Ye do not worship nor fear God, but wander at haphazard, (30) bowing down to serpents and doing sacrifice to cats, (31) and to **dumb** idols and stone statues of mortal wights, (32) and sitting down before the doors of godless temples (33) **ye weary** the God who ever is, who guards all (34), taking your delight in miserable stones, forgetting the judgement (35) of the Eternal Saviour Who created heaven and earth. (36) O race that delights in blood, crafty, wicked race of godless men, (37) liars and double-tongued, immoral, (38) adulterous, idolatrous, of wily devices, (39) within whose heart is evil, a frenzied spur, (40) snatching for **yourselves**, having a shameless mind! (41) For no man of wealth endowed with goods will give any part to another, (42) but miserable meanness shall be among all mortals, (43) and faith they shall never keep at all, (44) but many widowed women shall have other secret lovers for lucre's sake, (45) and gaining husbands shall not keep hold of the rope of life.

(46) But when Rome shall rule over Egypt as well, (47) †as she **still** hesitates to do,† then the mightiest kingdom (48) of the immortal king over men shall appear. (49) And a holy prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world (50) unto all ages of hurrying time. (51) And then there shall be inexorable wrath on Latin men. (52) Three with piteous fate shall bring ruin on Rome, (53) and all its people shall perish in their own dwellings, (54) whensoever a cataract of fire shall flow from heaven. (55) O wretched me! when shall that day arrive, (56) even the judgement of the eternal God, the mighty King? (57) Yet for the present be ye founded, O ye cities, and adorned all of you (58) with temples and race-courses, with markets and statues (59) of gold and silver and stone, that ye may come to the day of bitterness. (60) For come it will, whenever the odour of brimstone pervades (61) all mankind. But I will tell out in particular (62) all those cities in which men are to suffer woe.

8–45. Praise of God and denunciation of idolatry. The passage is similar to Fr. i. and iii. Cf. also Isa. xl. 18 ff.; Wisdom of Solomon xiii. 10 ff.

12. **seeing . . . alone.** There is no need to alter *ὁρῶν μόνος* (*φ*, *ψ*) into *ὁρώμενος*. For the thought cf. *Orph. Frag.* iv. 9 f. *οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν εἰσοράει θνητῶν αὐτὸς δέ τε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*

14. **by the varied skill.** *τέχνῃσ'* is a conjecture of Wilamowitz. It is possible to translate the MSS. *τεχνῆς*, 'no model of the art of man . . .'

17. Cf. Exod. xxxiii. 20; Judg. xiii. 22, &c.

20. For God's word as the agent of Creation cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6. It is not yet personified as in Philo.

24. The letters of Adam are represented as giving the initials of East, West, South, and North. In 2 En. xxx. 13 an acrostic is formed on this name. The same idea recurs in an anonymous writing, *De Montibus Sina et Sion* 4, and in Aug. *Tract. in Ioh. Evang.* ix. 14.

25. **in his name.** For *καὶ οὔνομα* it is necessary to read *κατ' οὔνομα*.

30. The objects of worship are specially Egyptian. Cf. *Frag.* iii. 27.

31. **dumb.** *ἀλάλοις*. So Alexandre emends from *ἄλλοις*.

33. **ye weary.** The MSS. reading *τηρεῖτε* can hardly be translated. Read *τείρετ' ἀεί*. Cf. Isa. xliii. 24.

34. **forgetting.** *ἐκλαθέοντες* does not occur elsewhere in the active with this meaning. Mein. suggests *ἐκλελαθόντες*, but this is usually causative in meaning.

37. The restoration of the text is due to Castalio.

40. **for yourselves.** For *αὐτοῖς* it seems necessary to read *αὑτοῖς*.

42. **meanness,** *κακίη* in the special sense of *stinginess*. Cf. Rom. i. 29.

44–5. In 1 Tim. v. 11, 12 regularly constituted church widows are forbidden to marry again. Here the objection seems to be against second marriages in general.

45. **rope of life.** This is probably a nautical metaphor.

46–62. The reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. For the question of the date see Introduction, p. 371.

46. A Rabbinic guess as to the time of the coming of the Messiah was nine months after the empire of Rome had extended over the whole world. Cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 169 (with notes).

47. †**as she still hesitates to do**†. The text is uncertain, and various emendations are possible. In Geffcken's text *εἰσέτι* (for MSS. *εἰς ἓν*) *δηθύνουσα *τότε δή** it seems necessary to omit *δή*. Buresch and Fehr suggest *εἰς ἓν δ' ἰθύνει*.

49. **a holy prince.** He must be the Messiah, and not as Alexandre suggests, Vespasian.

54. Possibly a reference to the burning of the Capitoline Juppiter in 84 B.C., in which the Sibylline Books perished, or to the destruction by lightning of the statue of Juppiter on the Alban Mount in 57 B.C.

60. For **brimstone** as a feature of the Judgement cf. infr. 462; 1 Enoch cxvii. 6.

(63) From the stock of Sebaste Beliar shall come in later time (64) and shall †raise† the mountain heights and raise the sea, (65) the great fiery sun and the bright moon, (66) and he shall raise up the dead and shall perform many signs (67) for men: but they shall not be effective in him. (68) Nay, but he deceives mortals, and many shall he deceive, (69) Hebrews faithful and elect and lawless too, and other (70) men who have never yet listened to the word of God. (71) But at whatsoever time the threatened vengeance of the Almighty God draws near, (72) and fiery energy comes through the swelling surge to earth, (73) and burns up Beliar and the overweening men, (74) even all who have put their trust in him, (75) then the world shall be under the dominion of a woman's hands (76) obeying her every behest. (77) Then when a widow shall reign over the whole world (78) and cast both gold and silver into the godlike deep, (79) **and the brass and iron** of shortlived man (80) cast into the sea, then the elements of the world one and all (81) shall be widowed, what time God Whose dwelling is in the sky (82) shall roll up the heaven as a book is rolled. (83) And the whole firmament in its varied forms shall fall on the divine earth (84) and on the sea: and then shall flow a ceaseless cataract of raging fire, (85) and shall burn land and sea, (86) and the firmament of heaven and the **stars** and creation itself (87) it shall cast into one molten mass and clean dissolve. (88) Then no more shall there be the luminaries' twinkling orbs, (89) no night, no dawn, no constant days of care, (90) no spring, no summer, no winter nor autumn. (91) And then the judgement of the Mighty God shall come into the midst (92) of the mighty aeon, when all these things shall come to pass.

(93) O for the watery tracks and all the dry land, (94) when the sun arises which never sets again. (95) All shall obey him as he ascends again upon the world, (96) for as much as he first **fashioned** them, and his might.

(97) But whensoever the threatened vengeance of the Mighty God is brought to pass, (98) that vengeance with which once he threatened mortals when they made a tower (99) in the Assyrian land—Now all were of one tongue (100) and they desired to ascend into the starry heaven. (101) But straightway the Eternal laid great stress (102) upon the blasts: then the winds dashed down the great

63–92. The coming and destruction of Beliar. In P. this section is introduced with the following words: 'After this she proceeds in her discourse about the deceiving devil, the Antichrist, and speaks as follows.'

63. Sebaste is Samaria, and the reference is probably to Simon Magus regarded as Belial or the Antichrist. But 'the stock of Sebaste' may refer to the Emperors (Augusti), and, if so, Beliar is Nero represented as returning. So R. H. Charles (*Asc. Isa.* p. lxviii).

64. **raise.** The use of the verb στήσει is difficult. Possibly it alters its meaning from 'bring down' in this line to 'raise up' in l. 66. Or in l. 64 we might read στρώσει.

67. In Acts of Peter with Simon xxviii ff. Simon Magus resuscitates a dead body, but only in appearance. When he departs the charm vanishes, and it is St. Peter who actually performs the miracle. The unreality of the miracles is alluded to in Ps. Hippol. xxiii. 106. 14.

70. The reading of φ οὔπω Θεοῦ λόγον need not necessarily be altered.

71. The idea that the world would be destroyed by fire appears among the Romans as a Stoic doctrine. Probably it was derived from Heraclitus. Among the Jews it was possibly suggested by Oriental influences.

75. For the idea of the dominion of a woman cf. viii. 200. It has been suggested that Cleopatra is intended, transformed into a demoniacal personage. Bousset sees a recollection of the mythical Sea Monster, originally regarded as feminine.

79. **the brass too and iron.** Καὶ χαλκόν τε σίδηρον. Emend with Wilamowitz into σὺν χαλκῷ τε σίδηρον.

81. **be widowed.** Probably, as Blass suggests, 'bereft of living things'.

82. Cf. Isa. xxxiv 4; Ps. cii. 26; Apoc. vi. 14, and frequently in later literature, e.g. Armenian Apoc. of Daniel, 240. 13 (cf. Bousset-Keane in *Antichrist Legend*, p. 242).

84. **cataract of . . . fire.** Cf. Secrets of Enoch x. 3.

86. **stars,** σήματα, a conjectural emendation for ἤματα.

89. The cessation of seasons is paralleled in Secrets of Enoch xxxiii. 2; cf. also 4 Ezra vii and Sib. ii. 325.

90. **winter.** There is no need to alter the MS. reading χειμών to χειμῶν'.

92. **the mighty aeon** (αἰὼν μέγας) was originally a Stoic conception.

93–6. The lines are usually regarded as Christian, but there is nothing distinctively Christian in them. The reference to the sun probably goes back to Malachi iv. 1, 2. It is possible, indeed, that Justin is referring to these lines in *Cohort. ad Graec.* 38, and if so he understood them to be Christian in interpretation. But that does not prove that they are of Christian origin.

96. **fashioned** (ἐπήγνυε) for MSS. 'knew' (ἐπέγνω).

97–294. A long section from the Erythraean Sibyl beginning with twelve lines adapted from the Babylonian Sibyl. The passage is widely quoted or alluded to: cf. Euseb. i. 23, 24, who quotes from Alexander Polyhistor (fl. 80–40 B.C.); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3. Eusebius preserves also notices in Abydenus and Eupolemus (cf. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 14, xvii). Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6 explicitly refers the section to the Erythraean Sibyl, but a notice in the *Scholia* on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 B ascribes the account of the tower and the giants to the Hebrew Sibyl.

100. There appears to be some confusion of the story in Genesis with the legend of the giants piling Pelion on Ossa. Homer, *Od.* xi. 304 ff.: Virg. *Georg.* i. 280 ff.

102. The wind is not mentioned in Genesis, but the allusion occurs in Jubilees x. 26; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

tower from on high, (103) and incited mortal men to mutual strife. (104) Therefore men named the city Babylon.

(105) But when the tower was fallen and men's tongues (106) divided off with divers kinds of sounds, then the whole (107) earth began to be filled with separate kingdoms. (108) Then came the tenth generation of articulate men, (109) since the flood came upon the men of yore. (10) And Cronos, Titan, and Iapetus were kings, (11) the goodliest children of Gaia and Ouranos, whom men called (12) Earth and Heaven, dubbing them so (13) because they were the first of all articulate men. (14) Threefold were the divisions of earth in the portion of each, (15) and each was king in his own sphere, nor did they fight, (16) for oaths had been made to their father, and the shares were just. (17) Then their father's full time of age arrived (18) and so he died. And his sons in monstrous transgression of their oaths (19) stirred up strife against one another (20) as to who should reign over mortals in possession of royal honour. (21) And Cronos and Titan fought against each other. (22) But them Rhea and Gaia and garland-loving Aphrodite, (23) Demeter and Hestia and fair-tressed Dione (24) brought to friendship, reconciling the kings (25) all brethren as they were and of one kin, and the other (26) men who were of like blood and parentage. (27) And they resolved that Cronos should reign as king of all, (28) because he was eldest and fairest of form. (29) But Titan for his part imposed mighty oaths on Cronos (30) that he should not rear a family of male children, so that he himself might be king (31) when old age and death overtook Cronos. (32) So whensoever Rhea was in travail, the Titans would sit beside her (33) and tear in pieces every male child, (34) but the women children they would leave alive to be reared with their mother. (35) But our lady Rhea when she brought forth her third child (36) brought forth Hera first: and when they saw evidently (37) that the child was female they went away to their homes, those rough (38) Titans. And then Rhea brought forth a man child, (39) whom she quickly sent away, to be reared secretly and privily, (40) to Phrygia, taking three Cretan men under oath into her counsel. (41) Therefore they gave him the name of Zeus because he was sent away unsuspected. (42) In like manner too she sent away Poseidon stealthily. (43) Then at the third time Rhea, goddess among women, gave birth to Pluto (44) as she was passing Dodona, whence ran the watery courses (45) of the river Europus, and the water flowed to the sea (46) blended with the Peneius, and they call it the Stygian stream. (47) But when the Titans heard that there were sons (48) born privily to the union of Cronos and Rhea, (49) then Titan mustered his seventy sons, (50) and held in bonds Cronos and Rhea his consort. (51) And he hid them in the earth and kept them in fetters. (52) Then indeed the sons of mighty Cronos heard of it, (53) and they raised up for him a great war and battle din. (54) And this is the beginning of war to all mortals (55) [yea this is the first beginning of war to mortals].

(56) And then God inflicted evil on the Titans. (57) And all the families of the Titans and of Cronos (58) died. Then in the circling course of time (59) the Egyptian empire arose, then that of the Persians, (60) of the Medes and Ethiopians and of Assyrian Babylon, (61) then that of the Macedonians, again that of Egypt and then of Rome.

(62) And then the message of the Great God fluttered in my breast (63) and bade me prophesy

104. The derivation is taken from Genesis where the name is connected with בלל. Babel is probably *bab ili* 'gate of god', and Babylon *bab ilani* 'gate of the gods'.

110 ff. The account of the Titans is parallel to Hesiod, *Theog.* 421 ff., but differs in several details. See Friedl., *Einl.*, p. xxvii.

114 ff. Compare the account in Epiph. *Ancoratus* cxiv, in which Noah is represented as dividing the world among his three sons and exacting from them an oath that none should invade his brother's portion. It is from Ham's violation of this compact by robbing Shem of Canaan that Epiphanius deduces the justice and morality of the command to Israel to exterminate the Canaanites. A similar story is told in an Ethiopian work (*Kebra Nagast*, ed. Bezold, 1905).

119. For the wars of the gods cf. Hes. *Theog.* 629 ff.

122. Geffcken quotes a similar story from Moses of Khoren (*History of Armenia* i. 6) in which Kronos is represented by Zrwan.

132. The account is curiously parallel to Apoc. xii. 4.

140. The ordinary account as alluded to in Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 46 ff.; Lucr. ii. 629 ff.; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 150 represents Zeus as reared in Crete when the Curetes drown his infant cries by beating cymbals.

141. The derivation of Zeus, from the preposition of διεπέμφθη, 'he was sent away', is singularly weak, and may be not original, but Geffck. compares a similar derivation in Cornutus 2.

144. **Dodona** was celebrated for its whispering oaks, the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

145. **the river Europus**, i. e. Homer's Titaresius, a tributary of the Peneius. In *Il.* ii. 753 f. it is said to flow with the Peneius, but not to mingle its waters. Homer also mentions its connexion with Styx.

156-61. A concise summary which is, perhaps, not original here. Friedlieb suggests that 156 is picked up by 199, the intervening lines being an interpolation.

159. The prominence given to Egypt is to be noticed. It is the first of empires and the only name that recurs.

162–294. The Babylonian Sibyl standing in the remote past reviews the history of the world as far as the time of Cyrus (167-210 an interpolation).

162. **fluttered**, ἴπτατο, so MSS. Rz. and Geffck. 'stood', ἵστατο.

severally about each (64) land and to their kings, and to put them in mind of things that are to be. (65) And this was the first thing that God vouchsafed to my understanding, (66) namely how many kingdoms of men are being mustered. (67) First of all the house of Solomon shall hold sway, (68) **and the Phoenician invaders** of Asia and of the islands as well (69), and the race of the Pamphylians, Persians, and Phrygians, (70) and that too of the Carians and Mysians and Lydians rich in gold.

(71) Then shall come the Greeks overweening and unholy: (72) **then** a very motley race of Macedonia shall hold sway, (73) who shall come as a dread war cloud upon mortals. (74) But the God of heaven shall smite them utterly.

(75) Next there shall be the sway of another empire, (76) an empire of many hoary heads from the western sea, (77) which shall hold sway over much land, and shall convulse many men, (78) and shall cause fear to many kings in time to come; (79) much gold too and silver it shall ravish (80) from many cities: and again there shall be in the godlike earth (81) gold, yes, and silver, and raiment too.

(82) And they shall afflict mortals. But those men shall have a great (83) fall, whensoever they enter on a course of unjust insolence. (84) And straightway a stress of ungodliness shall fall on them, (85) and male shall draw near to male, and they shall set their children (86) in ill-famed houses, and there shall be in those days (87) great tribulation among men, and it shall set all things wrong, (88) and cut everything short, and fill everything with evils, (89) through covetousness the corrupter of life, and ill-gotten wealth, (90) in many lands and especially in Macedonia. (91) And it shall stir up hatred, and they shall show all manner of guile, (92) until the seventh reign when there shall reign (93) over Egypt a king, who shall be of Greek origin.

(94) And then the nation of the Mighty God shall be again powerful, (95) that nation which shall be to all mortals the guide of life. (96) But why has God put this too into my mind to say (97) what shall be the first evil and the next one and the last which is to fall (98) on all men, and what shall be the beginning of these? (99) First of all God shall inflict evil on the Titans, (200) for they shall suffer vengeance at the hands of the sons of the mighty Cronos, (201) because they bound Cronos and the honoured mother. (202) Then, secondly, the Greeks shall have tyrannies and haughty (203) kings, overweening and unchaste, (204) adulterous and evil in every way, and no longer shall mortals have (205) rest from war. And the terrible Phrygians shall perish, (206) all of them, and evil shall be upon Troy on that day. (207) Then to the Persians and Assyrians evil shall come, (208) and to the whole of Egypt, and to Libya and the Ethiopians, (209) and the Carians and Pamphylians an evil **hard** to remove, (10) and to all men. Why, then, do I detail each severally?

(11) But when the first have reached their end, straightway then shall (12) be a second series upon men. But now I will proclaim this first of all. (13) Evil shall come to the godly men, who dwell around the great temple (14) of Solomon, and who are the descendants of righteous (15) men. Yet of these also I will proclaim (16) the family and kindred of their fathers and the people of all, (17) everything expressly will I proclaim, O mortal of cunning wiles and crafty mind.

(18) There is a city ⟨Camarina⟩ down in the land of Ur of the Chaldees, (19) from which comes

167 ff. The list of world powers falls into five divisions: (*a*) Asia, (*b*) Greece, (*c*) Rome, (*d*) Egypt, (*e*) Jews.

168. **and the Phoenician invaders of Asia**, &c. MSS. have 'invaders of Phoenicia, Asia', &c.

172. **then.** *εἶτα* Volkmann for *ἄλλο*, MSS.

175–93. Rome is still a distant power, but it arouses intense apprehension. The lines seem to reflect a date between 190 (Magnesia) and 165 B.C. when Rome intervened to effect a peace between the Hasmoneans and Lysias.

176. **of many hoary heads**, lit. 'white and many headed', referring to the Roman Senate.

178. Perhaps referring to the check of Antiochus Epiphanes by G. Popilius Laenas in 168 B.C.; cf. Polyb. xxix. 27.

179. Referring to the tribute of 15,000 talents exacted after Magnesia.

180. **there shall be in the godlike earth gold.** The meaning seems to be that men would hide their treasures in order to prevent their being requisitioned to pay the tribute. The practice is condemned in Sirach xxix. 10; 2 Enoch li. 2.

183 ff. The particular vices are out of place as ascribed to the Romans of this early date.

188. The line is repeated in l. 613, where it refers to Antiochus the Great.

190. Macedonia was divided after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), and made a Roman province in 147 B.C.

192. The seventh king is Ptolemy VII, Philometor, son of Cleopatra I, and grandson of Antiochus III. He was proclaimed king in 182 B.C. Ewald, however, would understand the king to be Ptolemy Physkon.

194. The exaltation of the Jews refers to the age of the later Maccabees.

199–210. Another different enumeration of world powers beginning with the Titans.

200. i.e. *υἱοῖς γὰρ κρατεροῖο δίκας τίσουσι Κρόνοιο* emended from *υιοι γαρ κρτ. Κρονου τισουσιν δικας* (Badt).

204. **adulterous** refers to the abduction of Helen by Paris.

209. **an evil hard to remove.** Read *τ' ἄπορον* for *τε κακόν* (with Herwerden).

211–17. An introduction to a sketch of Jewish history, which extends to 294.

218. The lacuna is to be filled up by 'Camarina', which Eupolemus gives as an old name for Ur. Schrader points out that Camarina might be connected with the Arabic word for moon, Ur being one of the main seats of the worship of Sin the Moon God. Ewald understands *Οὐρχαλδαίου* to refer to Abraham, and 'the land of Abraham' to mean Palestine. He reads *σηκός τε* for *καμάρινα*. For *Οὖρ Χαλδαίων ψ* read *εὐρυάγυια*, but this seems a mere guess.

219. For *δὴ ψ* reads *μοι*, 'my race'; as if the Sibyl claimed a Mesopotamian descent.

a race of most righteous men, (20) who ever give themselves up to sound counsel and fair deeds. (21) For they search not out the circling course of the sun or the moon, (22) nor monstrosities beneath the earth, (23) nor the depth of Ocean's shimmering sea, (24) nor portents of sneezes, and birds of augurers, (25) nor wizards, nor magicians, nor enchanters, (26) nor the deceits of ventriloquists' foolish words, (27) nor do they study the predictions of Chaldaean astrology, (28) nor do they astronomize: for all these things are in their nature prone to deceive, (29) such things as witless men are searching out day by day, (30) exercising their souls for a work of no profit. (31) Yes, and they have taught deceits to ill-starred men, (32) from which come many evils to mortals on the earth, (33) so that they are led astray from good paths and righteous acts. (34) But these diligently practise justice and virtue, (35) and not covetousness, which is the source of myriad ills (36) to mortal men, of war and desperate famine.

(37) But they have just measures in country and city, (38) nor do they carry out night robberies one against another, (39) nor do they drive off herds of oxen and sheep and goats, (40) nor does a neighbour remove his neighbour's landmarks, (41) nor does a man of much wealth vex his lesser brother, (42) nor does **anyone** afflict widows but rather assists them, (43) ever ready to supply them with corn and wine and oil. (44) And always the wealthy man among the people sends a portion of his harvest to those who have nothing, (45) but are in want, (46) fulfilling the command of the Mighty God, the **ever abiding** strain: (47) for Heaven has wrought the earth for all alike.

(48) But when the people of twelve tribes with their God-sent leaders (49) shall leave Egypt and pursue their road, (50) journeying with a fiery pillar in the night-time, (51) and in a pillar of cloud **whensoever** the dawn leads on day, (52) over them He shall set up as leader the mighty man (53) Moses, whom the princess found and took home from a marsh, (54) and bringing up called her son. But when he came, (55) leading the people whom God was bringing from Egypt (56) to Mount Sina, then God gave them the law forth from heaven, (57) writing all its ordinances on two tables, (58) and commanded to keep them: and if so be any disobeyed, (59) he should pay the penalty, either according to law or by mortals' hands, (60) or if he escaped mortal men, he should perish by **divine** justice.

(63) To them alone does the fruitful field yield its fruit (64) up to an hundred fold from one, and the measures of God are yielded.

(65) But they too shall have evil, neither shall they escape (66) pestilence. Yea, and thou too shalt leave thy lovely shrine (67) and flee, since it is thy fate to leave thine holy soil. (68) And thou shalt be carried to the Assyrians, and shalt see thine infant children (69) enslaved to hostile men, (70) and thy wives: and all thy livelihood and wealth shall perish. (71) And every land shall be full of thee and every sea: (72) and every one shall be incensed at thy customs. (73) And the whole land shall be empty of thee: and the fenced altar, (74) and the temple of the Mighty God and the long walls (75) shall all fall to the ground, because thou didst not obey in thy mind (76) the holy law of the Immortal God, but wentest astray, (77) and didst serve miserable idols, and didst not fear (78) the Immortal Father of gods and of all men, (79) nor wouldst honour Him, but didst honour the idols of mortal men. (80) Therefore for seven decades of times thy fruitful land (81) shall all be empty of thee and (so shall) thy wondrous shrine. (82) But there awaits thee good at the end and exceeding great glory, (83) as the **Immortal** God has ordained for thee. But do thou tarry, (84) trusting in the holy laws of the Mighty God, (85) when **bowing** thy knee thou prayest toward the light of dawn.

227–8. **astrology . . . astronomize.** The distinction between *ἀστρολογεῖν* and *ἀστρονομεῖν* appears, apart from this passage, to be not earlier than Sextus Empiricus. For Chaldaea as the home of astronomy cf. Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, c. 32.

242. The line is metrically defective, and has to be emended. Read *οὐδέ γέ τις χήρας θλίβει μᾶλλον δὲ βοηθεῖ* (Mein.).

246. **ever abiding**, *ἔμμονον*, conjecture, for 'lawful', *ἔννομον*. For 'strain', *ὕμνον*, there is a variant, 'sleep', *ὕπνον*.

247. For the sentiment cf. ii. 319 ff., viii. 110 ff.

248. **God-sent leaders.** These are either Moses and Aaron, or, according to Jewish tradition, angels, who guided the Israelite host. Volkmann compares Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i, p. 628.

251. **whensoever** (*ὅταν*), a conjecture of Geffck. for 'all' (*πᾶν*).

260. **divine** (*θείῃ*) seems required for MSS. 'all' (*πάσῃ*). Compare the trespass of Achan (Judg. vii). After this line two lines are omitted. Lines 247 and 585 are inserted in some MSS.

264. **measures of God** perhaps = 'bounteous measures'. The imperfect *τελέθυντο* (are yielded) is, perhaps, used gnomically.

266. **leave.** *καταλιπών*, though metrically defective, need not be altered to *κάρτα λιπών* (Wilamowitz) or *κ.ιλλείπων* (Alex).

283. **Immortal.** MSS. *καὶ βροτός* for *ἄμβροτος*. Volkmann would read *ὁ καὶ βροτός*, and understand a reference to the Incarnation, but this is highly improbable.

285. The text is certainly corrupt. The MSS. have *ὁππότε σεῖο καμὸν ὀρθὸν γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἄρῃ*, 'whenever he lifts thy tired (or 'and my') knee upright toward the light.' The emendation is not very violent to *ὁππότε σου κάμπτων ὄρθρου γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἀρῇ*.

(86) And then the God of heaven shall send a king, (87) and shall judge each man with blood and flame of fire. (88) There is a royal tribe, whose family shall (89) never stumble: and this in the circuit of times (90) shall have dominion and shall begin to raise up a new shrine of God. (91) And all the kings of the Persians shall succour it (92) with gold and brass and well wrought iron. (93) For God Himself shall give a holy dream by night. (94) And then the Temple shall be again as it was before.

(95) Then indeed my spirit ceased its God-sent strain, (96) and I besought the Great Father to ease me from my spell. (97) And again the word of the Great God fluttered in my breast, (98) and bade me prophesy of each several (99) land and to put in the minds of the kings that which is to be. (300) And this first God put it in my mind to say, (301) how many grievous woes the Eternal has devised for Babylon, (302) because it sacked His great temple.

(303) Woe unto thee Babylon and race of Assyrian men, a rushing destruction is coming one day upon the whole land of the sinners, (305) and a crash shall destroy the whole country of men, (306) even the scourge of the Mighty God †the inspirer of my strains†.

(307) For from the air from above there shall come to thee Babylon (308) (yea from heaven there shall come down to thee from the Holy Place) (309) and to the children of wrath eternal perdition. (10) And then thou shalt be as thou wast before as though thou hadst not been born. (11) And then thou shalt be surfeited with blood, as formerly thou thyself (12) didst spill the blood of good men and just, (13) whose blood even now cries unto the farthest heaven.

(14) Then shall come home to thee, O Egypt, a mighty plague (15) and dread, which thou didst never expect to come to thee. (16) †For a sword shall go through the midst of thee†, (17) and confusion and death and famine shall last (18) to the seventh generation of kings, and then thou shalt cease.

(19) Woe unto thee, land of Gog and Magog that art in the midst of (20) the rivers of Ethiopia; what an outpouring of blood shalt thou receive, (21) and thou shalt be called among men the habitation of judgement, (22) and the drenched earth shall drink thy life blood.

(23) Woe unto thee, Libya: woe to the sea and land! (24) Ye daughters of the West to what a bitter day shall ye come: (25) yea come pursued by a grievous struggle, (26) dreadful and grievous: a dreadful judgement shall there be again. (27) And perforce ye shall all come to perdition (28) forasmuch as ye utterly destroyed the great House of the Eternal, (29) and ground it fearfully with iron teeth. (30) Therefore thou shalt see thy land full of dead bodies, (31) some from war and all assaults of the devil, (32) by famine and pestilence, and by savage-hearted foes. (33) And all thy land shall be empty of thee, and **thy cities deserts.**

(34) In the west a star shall shine, which they shall call a comet, (35) a messenger to men of the sword, famine, and death, (36) and the †destruction† of ruling men and great notables.

(37) Again there shall be very great signs among men: (38) for deep eddying Tanais shall leave the Maeotic sea, (39) and down the deep bed a fertile furrow shall be drawn, (40) and the vast stream shall

286. **king.** The king is Cyrus, though possibly the writer has in mind his own times rather than the Babylonian captivity, and looks for a deliverer like Cyrus. Ewald understands the king to be the Messiah.

288. The royal tribe is Judah, from which tribe sprang Jesus son of Jozedek.

293. The writer is probably thinking of the story in 1 Esdras iii. 3 ff.

295–488. The third main section in the book. The date is uncertain, various sections of different ages being apparently incorporated. Alexandre supposes the editor to be a Christian or semi-Jew of the age of the Antonines, but there is no trace of Christian influence. Badt puts the date at about 140 B. C.

306. **the inspirer of my strains.** The title *ἡγήτορος ὕμνων* is curious and of uncertain meaning.

307. **from the air,** or 'at dawn' (so Kautzsch, *Pseudep.*).

314–18. Woe on Egypt. Bousset regards these lines as a later insertion.

316. Reference to the internal struggle between the two brothers Ptolemy VII Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes II, who reigned conjointly in Egypt from 170 B.C. The MSS. reading is unmetrical, and emendations are purely conjectural.

318. Cf. supr. 192. Here, however, it is pointed out that there is a more obvious break in the Ptolemaic history after the death of Ptolemy Physkon in 117 B.C.

319–22. The names Gog and Magog occur frequently in apocalyptic literature, but their identification is not without difficulty. Nowhere else are they located as 'amid the rivers of Ethiopia'. Here, perhaps, they represent Nubians, who returned with Antiochus from Egypt, when he desecrated the Temple. In Rabbinic theology Gog and Magog are those who revolt against God and His Messiah. See references in Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 176.

324. **daughters of the West.** These are probably Libyans in the army of Antiochus. Alexandre understands the phrase to refer to the Romans under Vespasian. Explanations differ widely, but there is, very probably, a reference to Ezek. xxxviii. 39, which represents Magog, Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya as marching to lay waste the Holy Land.

333. **thy cities deserts.** MSS. have 'the desolations of thy city'.

334. Perhaps refers to the comet mentioned in Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 15, as occurring at the death of Demetrius, King of Syria.

336. **destruction.** *φθοράν*, though metrically false, is not improbably original.

338. **Tanais** = the River Don. The 'Maeotic Sea' = the sea of Azov.

bend its neck. (41) Chasms there shall be and yawning gulfs: and many cities (42) shall fall with all their people: in Asia's land Iassus, (43) Cebren, Pandonia, Colophon, Ephesus, Nicaea, (44) Antioch, **Cyagra**, Sinope, Smyrna, **Murine**, (45) Gaza rich in wealth, Hierapolis, Astypalaea, (46) and of Europe famous Tanagra, royal Meropea, (47) Antigone, Magnesia, and divine Mycenae. (48) Know then that the baleful race of Egypt is nigh its doom, (49) and then to the Magnesians the year that is past shall be better.

(50) For all the wealth that Rome received from tributary Asia, (51) threefold as much shall Asia receive back again (52) from Rome, and shall repay to her her hideous violence. (53) And for all those children of Asia who served Italian homes, (54) Italians to twenty-fold shall live in bondage and penury in Asia, (55) and shall pay back their debt ten thousand-fold.

(56) O Rome, pampered golden offspring of Latium! (57) thou virgin oft intoxicated by thy many suitors in marriage, (58) as a slave-girl shalt thou be wedded without ceremony, (59) and ofttimes shall thy mistress shear thy luxuriant locks, (60) and passing sentence on thee shall cast thee from heaven to earth, (61) and shall lift thee up again from earth to heaven, (62) because men held to a bad and lawless life.

(63) Samos too shall be sand, Delos shall vanish (64) and Rome become a street: and all the oracles are being fulfilled. (65) Of perishing Smyrna there shall be no account. Outlaw shall she be, (66) but with evil counsels and the villainy of her leaders.

(67) But tranquil peace shall make its way to the land of Asia. (68) And Europe shall then be happy, the air salubrious, (69) year after year bracing and free from storms and free from hail, (70) producing everything, birds and creeping creatures of the earth. (71) Thrice happy who shall live unto that time, man (72) or woman: ***happy he whose life is as among country folk***. (73) For good law shall come in its fullness from the starry heaven (74) upon men, and good justice, and with it (75) the best of all gifts to men, sober concord, (76) and affection, faithfulness, friendship from strangers and **fellow-citizens** too. (77) And lawlessness, murmuring, envy, wrath, and folly (78) shall flee from men: penury, too, shall flee, and distress, (79) and murder, and destructive strifes, and baleful feuds, (80) and thefts by night and every evil in those days.

(81) But Macedonia shall bring forth a grievous calamity for Asia, (82) and for Europe there shall shoot up a desperate woe, (83) from the race of the son of Cronos, a family of bastards and slaves. (84) This shall subdue even the fortified city of Babylon, (85) and after being called mistress of every land on which the sun looks, (86) shall perish with miserable fate, (87) keeping but a name among its far-wandering sons of a later age.

(88) One day there shall come unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land (89) a man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders, (90) savage, a stranger from justice, fiery: **for he hath exalted himself** (91) **even against the thunder**, a mortal as he is. And all Asia shall have an evil yoke, (92) and

344. **Cyagra.** Alex.'s emendation for Tanagra (see line 346).
Murine. An emendation of Alex. for Μάρος.

347. The end of the line is uncertain. Meineke suggests Mycenae, Oiantheia (in Locris).

350–62. A great Roman disaster in Asia. If a specific occasion is to be found it may be the Mithradatic war of 88–84 B.C., or the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C. But possibly it denotes merely the humbling of the world powers that is to precede the days of the Messiah.

356 ff. The picture suggested by Isa. xiii; Apoc. xviii.

363. **Samos . . . sand.** For the play on words Σάμος ἄμμος, Δῆλος ἄδηλος, Ῥώμη ῥύμη, cf. iv. 92, viii. 165, 166. Also Tert. *De Pallio* 2, Lact. vii. 25.

366. There is apparently a gap after this: but the whole order of lines is uncertain.

372. The line is unintelligible and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. Geffcken proposes μακάρων κεν ἔῃ φάτις ὡς ἐν ἀγραύλοις, and suspects a Christian interpolation. But the first part should probably be μάκαρ ὅς κεν ἔῃ. For the thought cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 50.

376. **from strangers and fellow-citizens too.** ξείνων ἀπὸ κἀστῶν, a conjecture for ξείνων ἀπὸ καὐτῶν.

381–7. Disaster to Asia and Europe arising from Macedonia: perhaps from the Persian Sibyl.

383. Alexander gave himself out to be the son of Juppiter Ammon after his visit to the shrine of that God in 332 B.C. The translation follows an emendation of Castalio. MSS. have νόθον δοῦλόν τε.

384. Babylon, captured in 331 B.C.

388–400. The reference is much disputed. The view adopted here is, in the main, that of Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.*, 68 ff. The unknown one (388) is Antiochus Epiphanes; the race which he destroys (394) is his brother Seleucus Philopator's infant son. But Demetrius, the elder son of Seleucus, had the sons of Antiochus put to death (395). A certain Alexander Balas, however, came forward as the second son of Antiochus, and in 150 B.C. Demetrius I fell in battle against him (398). Alexander Balas was defeated by Ptolemy Philometor in 145, and shortly afterwards assassinated. Demetrius II then reigned alone, but a usurper, Tryphon, seized the throne (400), at first in the name of Antiochus, a young son of Alexander Balas. He, however, died, or was murdered, in 142, and Tryphon then became sole king.

388. **unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land**, or 'unexpectedly from Asia to the wealthy land'. All MSS. have ἐξ, but ἐς seems required.

391. **for he hath exalted himself even against the thunder.** The rendering rests on a conjecture. MSS. have 'for the thunder raised him up before, a man'.

the drenched earth shall drink large draughts of blood. (93) But even so Hades shall attend him utterly destroyed. (94) By the race of those whose family he wishes to destroy (95) by them shall his own family be destroyed. (96) Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off, (97) he shall put forth a side-shoot of ten horns. (98) He shall cut down the warrior parent of the purple race, (99) †and he himself at the hand of his grandsons shall perish in a like fate of war†: (400) and then a parasite horn shall have dominion.

(401) Then fertile Phrygia shall have a sign (402) when in the land of Rhea an accursed race, a perennial **branch** (403) vigorous with roots that feel no thirst, (404) disappears stock and all in one night, (405) with men and all in the city of the earth-shaking Thunderer, (406) which in time to come they shall call from that event Dorylaeum (407) in ancient dark Phrygia, the land of many tears. (408) That time goes by the name of the Earth-shaking time. (409) It shall shatter the recesses of the earth and pull down the walls, (10) and signs shall spring forth which are the beginning not of good but of evil. (11) It shall have kings expert in the war of every tribe, (12) ***wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas, an aboriginal race***. (13) But in after times thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers.

(14) Ilium, I pity thee: for in Sparta an avenging fury (15) shall put forth a shoot exceeding fair, ever famed and noble, (16) leaving the far-spread sea of Asia and Europe. (17) But to thee above all it shall bring lamentations and labours and groanings, (18) and set them down; yet to future generations thy fame shall never wax old.

(19) Then again there shall be an aged wight false in writing, (20) and false in birthplace: and the light in his eyes shall set. (21) Yet he shall have much wit, and a verse fitted to his thoughts (22) blended under two names. Chian shall he call (23) himself, and he shall write the story of Ilium, not truthfully indeed, (24) but with poetic skill; for he shall gain possession of my verses and measures. (25) He first shall unfold my books with his hands: (26) and then right well shall he deck out the helmed men of war, (27) Hector Priam's son and Achilles, offspring of Peleus, (28) and all the rest who cared for doughty deeds. (29) Yea and he shall make gods stand by the warriors' side (30) leading astray in every way the mortals of empty head. (31) Their widespread glory rather will it be to have died (32) in Ilium: but he himself shall receive his recompense.

(33) To Lycia too the race of Locros shall bring forth many evils.

(34) Chalcedon, to whose lot has fallen the passage of the narrow sea, (35) to thee too shalt the scion of Ætolia come and work ruin.

(36) Cyzicus, from thee the sea shall rend away thy ponderous wealth. (37) *And thou, Byzantium, one day wilt **look on** Ares' **shield***, (38) and then thou shalt receive groanings and seas of blood.

(39) Thou too, Krasos, lofty mountain of Lycia, from a rock (40) opening in chasms from thy peak water shall bubble forth, (41) until it cause even Patara's prophetic wonders to cease.

(42) O Cyzicus, thou that dwellest in vine-growing Propontis, (43) the crested wave of Rhyndacus shall thunder round about thee.

(44) And thou, Rhodes, shalt for a long time escape slavery, (45) thou daughter of the day, and great shall be thy wealth in later times, (46) and on the sea thou shalt have strength pre-eminent over

396. **The Destroyer** is Demetrius I.

397. **side-shoot.** This is Alexander Balas, who gave himself out as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. The 'ten horns', if it refers to him, may have reference to the ten letters of Alexandros. But cf. Daniel vii. 7 ff.

The reading in 397 and 399 is uncertain. The conjecture followed in 399 is *καὐτὸς ὑφ' υἱωνῶν καθ' ὁμόφρονα αἶσαν Ἄρηος.*

398. The **parent** is Demetrius I: the **purple race** is Demetrius II, who married Cleopatra of Egypt.

399. This is wrong. Alexander Balas was assassinated by some followers after a defeat by Ptolemy Philometor, not by the hand of Demetrius' children.

400. **a parasite horn,** i. e. Tryphon.

401–18. The Fall of Troy. From the Erythraean Sibyl. Cf. Paus. x. 12. 2.

402. **the land of Rhea** = Phrygia. The 'accursed race' = the Trojans, ancestors of the Romans.

Lines 402–4 recur early in i. 184–6. For *κῦμα* it seems necessary to read *κλῆμα*, 'branch'.

405. **the city of the . . . Thunderer,** i. e. Troy, whose walls were built by Poseidon.

406. **Dorylaeum** is in Phrygia, on the Thymbris. Coins of this city with the head of Poseidon have been found. But the whole passage 406–9, which appears to identify Troy with Dorylaeum, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is possible that Dorylaeum is merely suggested in its literal meaning (= *the prey of the spear*) as a nickname for Troy.

412. **wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas.** Read *Αἰνεάδας δολίους αὐτόχθονας.*

413. **thy lovers,** i. e. Paris and Helen. Geffcken compares Pausanias x. 12. 2 *ἡ δὲ Ἠροφίλη, νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης (sc. τῆς Δελφικῆς) φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονυῖα καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· καὶ Ἑλένην τε προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης τραφήσοιτο ἐν Σπάρτῃ.*

419. **aged wight,** i. e. Homer. For the contention that Homer borrowed from the Sibyl cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6. 9, Diod. Sic. iv. 66. The argument is also found in Aristobulus in the second century B.C.

420. The blindness of Homer is alluded to as early as in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, quoted in Thucyd. iii. 104.

422. **two names,** i. e. the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.*

433–88. A series of calamities on various towns and countries.

437. **look on . . . shield.** The rendering rests on an emendation (*ἀσπίδα δέρξῃ* for *Ἄσιδι στέρξῃ*).

441. **Patara,** the seaport of Xanthus, contained a famous oracle of Apollo. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* iii. 4. 64.

others. (47) But in the end thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers (48) with thy beauty and thy wealth: a grievous yoke shalt thou put upon thy neck.

(49) Furthermore, a Lydian earthquake shall lay Persia in ruins, (50) bringing most direful woes on Europe and Asia. (51) †The Sidonians' baleful king, and the war of others (52) shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring Samians.† (53) With the blood of perishing men the plain shall bubble to the sea: and wives with bright-robed girls (55) shall shout aloud for their own hideous violence, (56) some for their **bridegrooms,** some for their perishing sons.

(57) The token of Cyprus: an earthquake shall destroy its ravines, (58) and Hades at one fell swoop shall possess himself of many souls.

(59) Trallis, neighbour to Ephesus, shall shake down with an earthquake (60) its well-built walls and people of stout-hearted men. (61) And the earth shall be drenched by boiling water, (62) and the stupefied earth shall drink in **mist** as well: and there shall be an odour of sulphur. (63) Samos too at that time shall build a royal mansion.

(64) Italy, to thee **no** foreign war shall come, (65) but a people of thy blood shall destroy thee, (66) shameless one, with many woes, stalwart as thou art and much renowned. (67) And thou, stretched by thine own warm **ashes**, (68) †careless of thy children's future, shalt slay thyself,† (69) and thou shalt be not the mother of heroes but the nurse of beasts.

(70) But when from Italy a destroyer shall come, (71) then Laodicea, (72) thou fair city of the Carians beside the wondrous waters of Lycus, thou shalt be dashed headlong, (73) and be silent after bemoaning thy much-vaunted parent.

(74) The Thracian **Crobuzi** shall rise throughout Haemus.

(75) On the Campanians there falls chattering of teeth, by reason of the **city-wasting** famine, (76) and they shall bewail their long-lived ancestor.

(77) Cyrnos and Sardo, by the great storm eddies (78) and the lashes of the Holy God through the depths of the sea, (79) shall sink beneath the wave with their sea-faring children. (80) Alas for all the maids that Death shall wed, (81) and the lads whom the deep shall attend unannealed. (82) Alas for the infant children floating on the sea, and the stores of wealth.

(83) The happy Mysian land shall suddenly produce a royal race. (84) But not for long shall Carthage †truly† be. (85) And the Galatians shall have a miserable and piteous fate. (86) To Tenedos too there shall come a final unequalled evil. (87) And brazen Sicyon and thou, Corinth, too (88) †**shalt resound** with howls for all: and **Aulis** shall shout in equal measure†.

(89) Then when my spirit ceased its inspired strain, (90) again the oracle of Mighty God stirred within my breast, (91) and bade me prophesy of several lands.

(92) Woe to the race of Phoenicians, men and women, (93) and to all their sea-coast cities: not one of you, (94) shall come to the light of the sun in that light that is common to all. (95) Nor shall there be any more any numbering of thy life nor tribe to thee, (96) because of thine unrighteous tongue and thy lawless and unclean life (97) which all have led, opening their mouth for uncleanness, (98) and because they covenanted with monstrous words, false and unjust, (99) and stood before God

447. **Rhodes** was subdued by Rome in 167 B.C., after having successfully maintained its independence and prosperity through many difficult years.

451–2. Reading very uncertain. A slight emendation would give 'a baleful king and war of others shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring sons of the Sidonians.' Sidon was barbarously ravaged by Artaxerxes Ochus in 352 B.C.

456. **bridegrooms** (*νυμφίων*), a conjecture of Rzach for 'corpses' (*νεκύων*).

462. **mist**: a conjecture (*ἀχλύν* for *αὐτῆς*).

463. **Samos** fell into the hands of the Ptolemies some time before 274 B.C.

464 ff. Reference probably to the Social War.

no foreign war. For *οὔτις* MSS. have *οὗτος*.

467. **ashes,** *σποδιῇσι*, a conjecture for 'offerings', *σπονδῇσι*.

468. MSS. unintelligible. Various conjectures proposed. The text translates *ἀπροιδὴς τεκέεσσιν ἑοῖς ἐναρίξειαι αὐτην*.

470. **a destroyer,** i.e. probably Sulla, who sailed for Greece in 87 B.C. to prosecute the war against Mithradates.

472. For the earthquakes at Laodicea cf. iv. 107. The date is, however, uncertain.

473. **thy much-vaunted parent,** i.e. Zeus, whose figure is very common on the coins of the town.

474. **Thracian Crobuzi.** The restoration of these names is due to Meineke. *φ ψ Θρῆκες ἀκρόβυζοι*.

475. **city-wasting.** MSS. 'fruitful' (*πτολίπορθον* (So Castal.) for *πολύκαρπον*).

476. The end of the line is apparently corruptly restored from 473.

477. **Cyrnos and Sardo** = Corsica and Sardinia.

480. Compare the discussion on death represented as marriage in J. C. Lawson's *Ancient Greek folk-lore and modern Greek religion*, pp. 546 ff.

484. **Carthage.** It is proposed to read 'Chalcedon'. But the allusion may be to the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.

487–8. The rendering is a mere conjecture, the text being unintelligible.

489–808. A further series of woes, the prosperity of the righteous, eschatological pictures, and exhortations to true worship.

495. **nor tribe.** Perhaps 'throughout thy race', *κατὰ φῦλον* for *καὶ φῦλον*.

the Great King, (500) and opened with falsehood their filthy mouth. Therefore shall he (501) marvellously bring them low with His scourges more than any (502) land, and God shall send on them a bitter fate, (503) burning their cities from the ground and their many foundations.

(504) Woe to thee, much-vexed Crete. To thee shall come a scourge (505) and a dread eternal **destruction**. And all the earth shall see thee once more wreathed in smoke, (507) and fire shall never leave thee but thou shalt burn.

(508) Woe unto thee, Thrace: how shalt thou come to the yoke of bondage: (509) when Galatians mingled with the sons of Dardanus (10) **swoop on to ravage Hellas**, then shall be thine evil day, (11) and to a strange land thou shalt give ⟨thine own⟩ and receive nought.

(12) †Woe unto thee, Gog and Magog, and to all the several tribes, (13) Marsians and **Dacians**†, how many evils fate brings near to you: (14) ⟨many, too⟩, to the sons of the Lycians, Mysians and Phrygians. (15) And many tribes of the Pamphylians and Lydians shall fall, (16) of Moors and Ethiopians and nations of barbarous speech, (17) Cappadocians and Arabians. But why should I proclaim the fate of each severally? (18) for upon all nations who dwell on the earth (19) the Most High shall send a grievous scourge.

(20) But whensoever a numerous barbarian race shall fall upon the Greeks, (21) it shall destroy many heads of picked men, (22) and many of men's fat flocks shall they ravish, (23) and herds of horses and mules and lowing oxen. (24) And well-built houses shall they lawlessly burn with fire. (25) And many miserable wights shall they carry by force as slaves to another land, (26) children and tender deep-girdled women, (27) snatched from their chambers and with delicate feet falling forward. (28) They shall see them in bonds at the hand of strange-tongued foes (29) suffering every horror of outrage. And they shall have (30) no man to lend them but a little aid in war and to succour their lives. (31) They shall see the foe reaping the enjoyment of their own possessions and of all their wealth, (32) and trembling shall be underneath their knees. (33) An hundred shall flee and one shall slay them all: (34) and five shall rout a heavy **squadron**; and they, thrown one against another (35) in shameful confusion by the dread din of battle, (36) shall bring exultation to the foe but to Greeks mourning.

(37) Then all Hellas shall lie under the yoke of slavery, (38) and war and pestilence shall come upon all mankind at once, (39) and God shall make the great heaven above brazen, (40) and drought over the whole earth, and it of iron. (41) Then all mankind shall grievously lament (42) no sowing and no ploughing: and fire upon earth (43) shall He send down **column upon column**, who created heaven and earth: (44) and of all mankind the third part shall be **destroyed.**

(45) Hellas, why dost thou put thy trust in governors, (46) mortal men who are powerless to escape the consummation of death? (47) With what view dost thou proffer vain gifts to the dead (48) and sacrifice to idols? Who has put error in thine heart, (49) that thou shouldst perform these rites and forsake the face of Mighty God? (50) Reverence the name of the Father of all and forget him not. (51) There are a thousand years and five hundred more, (52) since the reign of the haughty kings (53) of the Greeks who were the pioneers of evils to mankind, (54) **holding fast** to many idols of defunct gods, (55) whereby ye have been taught to think vain things. (56) But when the wrath of the great God shall be upon you, (57) then shall ye know the face of the great God. (58) And every soul of men with deep groans, (59) upraising their hands straight to the broad heaven, (60) shall begin to call to his succour the Mighty king, (61) and to seek who shall come as a deliverer from the mighty wrath.

(62) But come and learn this and store it in thy mind, (63) how many shall be the woes of the

505. **destruction.** The reading follows a conjecture of Wilamowitz, *ἐξαλάπαξις* for *ἐξαλαπάξει*.
509. The Gaulish invasion of 280 B.C.
510. The line as it stands is unmetrical.
swoop on to ravage Hellas, then shall be thine evil day. Read *Ἕλλαδ' ἐπέσσυνται πορθεῖν, τότε σοι κακὸν ἔσται.*
511. **⟨thine own⟩.** Supply *τὸ σόν* after *δώσεις*.
512–13. The lines are corrupt and the names of the tribes cannot be restored with certainty. For **Marsians** we should perhaps read Mardians, a tribe inhabiting the hill country of Hyrkania.
520 ff. Probably referring to the Roman invasion culminating in the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.: so Hilgenfeld. The reference, however, may be to the Gaulish invasion of 279 B.C.
533. Cf. Isa. xxx. 17; Deut. xxxii. 30.
534. **squadron** (*λόχον*), Wilamowitz's conjecture for 'wrath' (*χόλον*).
539. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 23; 1 En. lxxx. 2; Jub. xxiii. 18.
543. **column upon column.** Alexandre's suggestion *πολύνηστον* is followed for the unintelligible *πολὺν ἱστόν*.
544. **shall be destroyed,** *ἔσσετ' ἄϊστον*, a conjecture for *ἔσσεται αὖθις*.
545, 547–9. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 15. 15.
554. **holding fast**, *κατέχοντες*, a conjecture for *θανεόντων*, which leaves no governing verb.
563. A line has evidently dropped out after this. That inserted is a mere conjecture. Apparently the meaning is that the doom of Hellas is irrevocably fixed.

circling years. [For not even if thou shouldst offer up hecatombs of sacrifices], (64) **as many as** Hellas offered of old, of kine and bellowing bulls, (65) bringing whole burnt sacrifices to the temple of the Mighty God, (66) not even so wilt thou escape from jarring war and panic (67) and pestilence, and the yoke of bondage again. (68) But so long the race of godless men shall exist, (69) until the day of fate reaches its appointed end. (70) Ye shall not sacrifice to God until all these things come to pass. (71) Whatsoever the one God purposes fails not of its accomplishment. (72) For that all things be accomplished the stress of necessity will insist.

(73) There shall be thereafter a holy race of God-fearing men, (74) adhering to the counsels and the mind of the Most High: (75) who pay full honour to the temple of the mighty God, (76) with drink offerings and fat offerings and sacred hecatombs, (77) with sacrifices of lusty bulls and unblemished rams, (78) and piously offer as whole burnt sacrifices rich flocks of firstling sheep and lambs upon the great altar. (80) And in righteousness possessing the law of the Most High, (81) they shall dwell happily in their cities and rich fields, (82) themselves as prophets exalted by the Immortal One, (83) and bringing great joy to all mortals. (84) For to them alone the Mighty God has given discreet counsel, (85) and faith and an excellent understanding in their hearts: (86) in that they give not themselves to vain deceits, nor honour the works of men's hands, (87) of gold and brass, silver or ivory, (88) idols of dead gods of wood and stone, (89) idols of clay vermilion painted, pictured likenesses of beasts, (90) such things as men with minds void of counsel do honour. (91) But they instead raise heavenwards holy arms, (92) rising early from their bed and ever cleansing their flesh (93) with water, and they honour Him alone who reigns for ever, (94) the Eternal, and after him their parents: and more than any (95) men they are mindful of the purity of marriage. (96) Nor do they hold unholy intercourse with boys, (97) as do the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Latins, (98) and *spacious* Hellas, and many nations of other men, (99) Persians and Galatians and all Asia, transgressing (600) the holy law of the immortal God **which he ordained**. (601) For which cause the Eternal shall impose on all men (602) retribution and famine and woes and groans, (603) war, too, and pestilence and fearful calamities; (604) because they would not honour in holiness the eternal Father of all men, (605) but reverenced and honoured idols (606) made by men's hands, which men themselves shall cast (607) into the crannies of rocks and hide in shame, (608) whensoever a youthful king of Egypt, seventh in line, (609) of his own land reckoned from the Greeks shall reign over (10) an empire, over which the doughty Macedonians shall reign; (11) and there comes from Asia a mighty king, a fiery eagle, (12) who shall darken every land with foot and horse, (13) and shall break up everything and fill everything with miseries: (14) he shall cast down the kingdom of Egypt, and taking all (15) its wealth, shall ride upon the broad surface of the sea. (16) And then at length to God the great King, the Eternal, (17) they shall bend the white knee upon the fruitful earth, (18) and the works of men's hand shall all fall into the flame of fire. (19) And then God shall give great joy to men. (20) For the earth and the trees and the innumerable flocks of sheep, (21) shall give their true fruit to mankind, (22) of wine and sweet honey and white milk (23) and corn which is to men the most excellent gift of all.

(24) But thou, O man of wiles, tarry not with hesitation, (25) but turning round again make intercession to God. (26) Sacrifice to God hundreds of bulls and firstling lambs (27) and of goats in the circling seasons. (28) Yea, make intercession to Him, the Immortal God, if perchance He may have mercy upon thee. (29) For He alone is God, and there is none beside. (30) Honour righteousness and oppress no man: (31) for these are the commands of the Eternal to wretched mortals.

(32) But do thou beware of the wrath of the mighty God, (33) whenever the consummation of

564. The beginning of the line is quite uncertain. MSS. have 'even those which Hellas offered'.

573 ff. The happy state of the righteous. The writer has, perhaps, in mind the prosperity of the Jews under Simon Maccabeus.

578. **flocks,** *μῆλα*. For this Mendelssohn suggests 'thighs', *μῆρα*, but the correction is not convincing.

589. Cf. Wisdom xiii. 14. Such painting was common among the Romans: cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 45; Virg. *Ecl.* x. 25.

The reading is uncertain. Perhaps *πήλινα μιλτόχριστ' ἢ ζωγραφίας τυποειδεῖς* (so Volkmann).

591–2. Cf. iv. 165–6. The insistence on lustration is specially Essene. Cf. Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 5. For prayer on waking cf. Pss. Sol. vi. 6.

600. The end of the line is a conjecture. (*ὅνπερ ἔθηκεν* for *ὃν παρέβησαν*). MSS. 'which they transgressed'.

606. Cf. Isa. ii. 18, 19, xxxi. 7.

608. **a youthful king**, i.e. Ptolemy Philometor, cf. 192. In fleeing from the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes (170–169 B.C.) he was captured and brought back a prisoner. Antiochus failed to take Alexandria, but captured much booty and returned by sea (615).

613. Cf. supra 188.

616. The writer passes over an interval of years and comes to the prosperous conditions under the later Maccabees.

618. Lact. quotes this line (*Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 9) as *ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα Θεῶν κατακαυθήσονται*. He refers it to the Erythraean Sibyl.

625–6. Quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vii. 74 as Orphic verses.

pestilence comes upon all mortals, (34) and, overthrown, they meet with a terrible retribution (35) and king captures king and takes his land, (36) and nations ravage nations and potentates people, (37) and rulers all flee to another land, (38) and the land is changed in men and a barbarian empire (39) ravages Hellas, and drains the rich land (40) of its wealth, and men come face to face in strife (41) for the sake of gold and silver, (42) (the love of money shall be the shepherd of evils to many) (43) in a foreign land. And all shall be unburied, (44) and vultures and savage beasts of the earth (45) shall devour the flesh of some. And when all these things are fulfilled, (46) the giant earth shall devour the relics of the dead. (47) And it shall all be unsown and unploughed, (48) proclaiming in its misery the corruption of myriads of men. (49) And then for many spaces of time in circling years [men shall gather and burn in their houses] (50) targes and shields and javelins and divers kinds of weapons. (51) Nor shall wood be cut from the thicket to kindle fire.

(52) And then from the sunrise God shall send a king, (53) who shall give every land relief from the bane of war: (54) some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. (55) Nor shall he do all these things by his own will, (56) but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God.

(57) And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, (58) with gold and silver and purple adornment. (59) The land shall bear her increase, and the sea (60) shall be full of good things. And kings shall begin **to be weary** (61) **of repelling** evil one against another with wrath. (62) Envy is no good thing for miserable mortals. (63) But again the kings of the nations shall throw themselves against this land (64) in troops, bringing retribution on themselves. (65) For the shrine of the mighty God and the noblest men (66) they shall seek to ravage whensoever they come to the land. (67) In a ring round the city the accursed kings shall place (68) each one his throne with his infidel people by him. (69) And then with a mighty voice God shall speak unto all (70) the undisciplined empty-minded people, and judgement shall come upon them (71) from the mighty God, and all shall perish (72) at the hand of the Eternal. From heaven shall fall (73) fiery swords down to the earth: lights shall come bright (74) and great, flashing into the midst of men. (75) And earth, the universal Mother, shall shake in those days (76) at the hand of the Eternal, and the fishes in the sea, (77) and all the beasts of the earth and the countless tribes of flying things, (78) and all souls of men and every sea (79) shall shudder at the presence of the Eternal and there shall be panic. (80) And the towering mountain peaks and the hills of the giants (81) He shall rend, and the murky abyss shall be visible to all. (82) And the high-hung ravines in the lofty mountains (83) shall be full of dead bodies: the rocks shall flow (84) with blood, and each torrent shall flood the plain. (85) The well-built walls of the disaffected men shall all fall to the ground, (86) because they knew not the law (87) nor the judgement of the Mighty God, but with witless mind (88) with one united onslaught †ye cast your spears† against the Holy One. (89) And God shall judge all with war and sword, (90) and with fire and cataclysms of rain. And there shall be (91) brimstone from heaven, yea stones and hail (92) incessant and grievous: and death shall be upon the fourfooted beasts. (93) And then shall they know the Immortal God, who ordains these things. (94) †Wailing and lamenting through the length and breadth of the land† (95) shall come with the perishing of men: and all the **shameless** (96) shall be washed with blood.' Yea, the land itself shall

635–7. An allusion to the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes (see on l. 608).

638. **a barbarian empire**, i.e. Rome. Cf. l. 520.

642. **to many**, *πολέσσιν*, possibly intended as from *πολύς*.

648. **myriads** (*μυρίων*) is unmetrical. Possibly read *μερόπων*, 'articulate'.

After this verse there is a gap in the text. The line supplied is a conjecture. The thought is taken from Ezek. xxxix. 9, and is referred to again in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 26. 4.

651. Recurs in 729.

652 ff. The coming of the Messiah.

from the sunrise, *ἀπ' ἠελίοιο*, may mean either 'from the East' or 'from heaven': cf. supr. 286 (of Cyrus), Sib. v. 414.

Holtzmann thinks of Simon Maccabeus as the heaven-sent king.

657. **people** (*λαός*). Meineke and Geffck. alter to 'temple' (*ναός*), but this seems unnecessary.

661–2. **shall begin . . . wrath.** MSS. 'shall begin to be angry with one another (*κοτέειν*) avenging evils in their mind'. The translation renders *κοπιᾶν . . . ἀπαμύνοντες*.

663. A fresh onslaught against the Holy City. The description is borrowed in part from Jer. i. 15. Cf. 1 En. lvi. 5.

667. Cf. 4 Ez. xiii. 33; Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43.

673. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 5.

shall come. A comparison with 1 En. cii. 2. 3 suggests that for *ἵξονται* we should very likely read *φρίξονται*.

688. **ye cast your spears.** The change of person is awkward. Perhaps read 'they lifted up reproach' (*ἦραν ἔλεγχος* for *ἤρατε λόγχας*).

691. Cf. Apoc. ix. 17.

694. The text of the MSS. needs some emendation. Read (with Rzach) *οἰμωγή τ' ἀλαλαγμὸς ὁμοῦ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.*

695. **shameless** (*ἀναιδεῖς*) for 'speechless' (*ἄναυδοι*).

drink (97) of the blood of the perishing: the beasts shall eat their fill of flesh. (98) God Himself, the great eternal God (99) bade me prophesy these things: and they shall not lack their fulfilment. (700) Nothing fails of its appointed end when He but conceives the thought. (701) For all over the world the Spirit of God cannot lie.

(702) Then again all the sons of the great God (703) shall live quietly around the temple, rejoicing in those gifts (704) which He shall give, who is the Creator, and sovereign righteous Judge. (705) For He by Himself shall shield them, standing beside them alone **in His might,** (706) encircling them, as it were, with a wall of flaming fire. (707) Free from war shall they be in city and country. (708) For they shall not feel the touch of horrid war, for the Eternal shall be (709) Himself their champion, and the hand of the Holy One. (10) And then all the isles and the cities shall say, (11) How doth the Eternal love those men! (12) For all things work in sympathy with them and help them, (13) the heaven and God's chariot the sun, and the moon. (15) A sweet strain shall they utter from their mouths in hymns. (16) Come, let us all fall upon the earth and supplicate (17) the Eternal King, the mighty, everlasting God. (18) Let us **make procession** to His Temple, for He is the sole Potentate. (19) And let us all ponder the law of the Most High God, (20) who is the most righteous of all on earth. (21) But we had gone astray from the path of the Eternal, (22) and with foolish heart worshipped the works of men's hands, (23) idols and images of men that are dead. (24) So shall the souls of the faithful raise their cry. (25) Come, let us throughout God's people fall upon our faces, (26) and gladden with hymns God our Father throughout our households, (27) furnishing ourselves with the weapons of our enemies throughout the whole land (28) for seven spans of circling years, (29) targes and shields and helms and weapons of all and sundry kinds (30) in great numbers, and quantities of bows and arrows and **javelins.** (31) For even wood shall not be cut from the thicket for kindling fire.

(32) But, wretched Hellas, cease thine arrogance: (33) supplicate the great heart of the Eternal and take heed to thyself. (34) To dispatch indeed against this city thine ill-advised people, (35) which comes **not** of the holy land of the Mighty! (36) Arouse not Camarina: 'tis better not aroused. (Rouse not) (37) a leopard from its lair, lest mischief befall. (38) Nay, withhold thine hand, and cherish not a spirit of overweening arrogance in thy breast, (39) dispatching to a mighty contest. (40) And serve the Mighty God, that thou mayst have a share in these gifts.

(41) But when the fated day shall reach this consummation, (42) and there shall come to mortals the judgement of the Eternal God, (43) there shall come upon men a great judgement and empire. (44) For Earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best (45) fruit in countless store of corn, wine and oil. (46) Yea, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of luscious honey, (47) **the trees** shall yield their **proper** fruits, and rich flocks, (48) and kine and lambs of sheep and kids of goats. (49) He will cause sweet fountains of white milk to burst forth. (50) And the cities shall be full of good things and the fields rich: (51) neither shall there be any sword throughout the land nor battle din: (52) nor shall the earth be convulsed any more with deep-drawn groans. (53) No war

702–31. The peace and prosperity of the sons of God.
705. **in His might** (*μεγαλωστί*) for 'and greatly' (*μεγάλως τε*). So Geffcken.
706. Cf. Zech. ii. 5.
710. **isles** = 'Gentiles': cf. Isa. xlix. 1, li. 5.
713. After this l. 675 is interpolated in the MSS.
715. Reading a little uncertain. The hymn is modelled on the theocratic Psalms xcv–c.
718. **make procession** (*πομπῶμεν*), a conjecture for 'send' (*πέμπωμεν*).
721 f. The confession of the converted is quoted by Justin, *Cohort.* 16.
725–31. Apparently an alternative hymn incorporating 649–51.
728 ff. Cf. 649 ff.
730. **javelins** (*ἀκίδων*), a conjecture of Meineke for 'of the unjust' (*ἀδίκων*).
732–40. A warning to Greece.
734–5. A passage that has given much trouble and occasioned many conjectures. The rendering keeps the MSS. reading with the single exception of *μή* for *μέν* in 735. It is probably a taunt sung at the expulsion of the Seleucid garrison from the Acra at Jerusalem in 141 B.C.
736. An ancient proverb quoted by Servius on Virg. *Aen.* iii. 701. There was a swamp round Camarina which protected the city till it was drained.
737. Another proverb: the verb is lacking.
739. **dispatching.** The participle is masc., whereas 'Hellas' is fem. Probably the writer has in mind the Seleucid king.
741 ff. The blessings of Messiah's reign.
741–3. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 20. 1 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.
742. Occurs only in Lact. and seems to be a doublet. Cf. Secrets of Enoch lxv. 6.
746–8. Are marked by Wilam. as an interpolation.
747. **trees . . . fruits.** It is best to read (with Fehr) *δένδρων τ' ἀκροδρύων.* For the fruitfulness of trees cf. 2 Enoch ix. 7.
749. Cf. Joel iii. 18. A similar idea in Koran, *Sura* xlvii.

shall there be any more nor drought throughout the land, (54) no famine nor hail to work havoc on the crops. (55) But there shall be a great peace throughout all the earth, (56) and king shall be friendly with king till the end (57) of the age, and a common law for men throughout all the earth (58) shall the Eternal perfect in the starry heaven (59) for all those things which have been wrought by miserable mortals. (60) For He above is God and there is none else. (61) He too shall burn with fire the race of stubborn men.

(62) But **consecrate your** minds within your breasts, (63) and eschew unlawful service: serve the Living *God*. (64) Shun adultery and confused intercourse with males. (65) Rear thine own offspring and slay it not: (66) for the Eternal will surely be wroth with him who commits these sins.

(67) And then indeed he will raise up his kingdom for all ages (68) over men, he who once gave a holy law (69) to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth (70) and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys, (71) and everlasting sense and eternal gladness.

(72) And from every land they shall bring frankincense and gifts to the house (73) of the great God: and there shall be no other (74) house for men even in future generations to know (75) but only that which He has given **to faithful men** to honour. (76) For mortals call that **alone** (the house) of the great God. (77) And all the paths of the plain and the sheer banks, (78) and the lofty mountains and the wild sea waves (79) shall become easy to travel over by foot or sail in those days. (80) For nought but peace shall come upon the land of the good: (81) and the prophets of the Mighty God shall take away the sword. (82) For they are the judges of mortal men and just kings. (83) Even wealth shall be righteous among men: (84) for this is the judgement and the rule of the Mighty God.

(85) Rejoice, O virgin, and exult: for to thee (86) the Creator of heaven and earth has given everlasting joy. (87) And in thee shall he dwell, and thou shalt have eternal light.

(88) And wolves and lambs together shall crop grass upon the mountains, (89) and leopards shall feed with kids. (90) Prowling bears shall lie with calves, (91) and the carnivorous lion shall eat hay in the manger (92) like the ox, and the tiniest infants shall lead them in bonds, (93) for He shall make the beasts upon the earth incapable of harm. (94) Serpents **and asps** shall sleep with babes, (95) and shall not harm them: for God's hand shall be *stretched* over them.

(96) Now I will tell thee a very evident sign, that thou mayst understand (97) when the end of all things is coming on the earth. (98) When swords in the star-lit heaven (99) appear by night towards dusk and towards dawn, (800) and straightway dust is carried from heaven (801) †to earth, and all the brightness of the sun (802) fails at midday from the heavens†, and the moon's (803) rays shine forth and come back to earth, (804) and a sign comes from the rocks with dripping streams of blood: (805) and in a cloud ye shall see a battle of foot and horse, (806) as a hunt of wild beasts, like unto misty clouds. (807) This is the consummation of war which God, whose dwelling is in heaven, is bringing to pass. (808) But all must sacrifice to the Mighty king.

(809) These are the acts of the wrath of God which I, leaving the far-off walls of Assyrian Babylon

761. **race.** Another reading is 'might' (*γένος ψ, μένος φ*).

762–6. An exhortation to right living. The lines interrupt, and are possibly out of place.

762. **consecrate your minds.** Reading uncertain. MSS. 'hastening my mind' (*κατασπεύσαντες ἐμὰς φρένας*). The simplest emendation is, as above, *κατασπείσαντες ἑάς*.

767–84. Further description of the Messianic kingdom. The passage may refer to the eternal condition of the godly, for the Messianic kingdom on earth was not regarded as permanent; contrast 767–8.

772. For the offerings of the converted heathen to the Temple, cf. Isa. lx; Tobit xiii. 11; 1 En. xc. 33, 37.

773–4. Perhaps a reference to the destruction of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, by John Hyrcanus.

775. **but only that which.** Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 reads *ἄλλον* for *ἀλλ' ὅν*, 'God gave Another to faithful men to honour', and supposes a reference to the Son of God.

to faithful men. MSS. have *πιστὸν ἄνδρα* instead of *πιστοῖς ἀνδρεσσι*.

776. MSS. have 'for mortals call him the son of the Mighty God'. For 'son' (*υἱόν*) it is proposed to read 'temple' (*ναόν*). It is simpler to read 'alone' (*οἶον*). So Mendelssohn. Gfrörer, Hilgenfeld and Fehr regard the line as an interpolation.

777. For the smoothing away of the difficulties of nature cf. Isa. xi. 15, 16, xl. 3; Pss. Sol. xi. 5 f.

781. For the part assigned to the prophets cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

785 ff. Cf. Zech. ii. 10; Isa. liv. 1.

788 ff. Cf. Isa. xi. 6. Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 17, 21 f.; Lactantius quotes 788–91, 794 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.

794. **and asps,** an emendation of the MS. reading *ἅμα σφισι*, 'with themselves.'

796–808. The signs that are to herald the end. Compare the signs related in 2 Macc. v. 1–4 as preceding the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes, and in Josephus, *B. J.* vi. 5 as presaging the fall of Jerusalem.

801. The line is defective and emendations can only be conjectural.

805. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 13 'visae per coelum concurrere acies'.

807. **the consummation of war.** Reading again uncertain. Perhaps 'the end of all things', *τοῦτο τέλος πάντων τελέει Θεός*. So Rzach from 797.

809–29. Epilogue and credentials.

Lact. expressly assigns 809–18 to the Erythraean Sibyl, who, as he says, claims to have been born at Babylon. But it is not easy to see why the Erythraean Sibyl should come from Babylon, and it has been suggested that the

(10) impelled by frenzy, and coming as a fire launched forth against Hellas, (11) am proclaiming unto all mankind, (12) so as to proclaim unto mortals the mysteries of God.

(13) And mortals throughout Greece shall call me a stranger of another land, (14) born of Erythrae and shameless. Others shall call me, born of my mother Circe (15) and my father Gnostos, the Sibyl, (16) a crazy impostor. But when all these things come to pass, (17) then ye shall make mention of me, and no man any more (18) shall call me crazy, the prophetess of the Mighty God. (19) For he did not reveal to me those things which before he revealed to my parents, (20) but all those things which happened first of all God hath ⟨not⟩ detailed to me, (21) but of the later things God hath put all in my understanding, (22) so that I may proclaim the things that shall be and that were before (23) and tell them to mortal men. For when the world was being swallowed up (24) by the waters, and one man only who found favour was left, (25) floating on the waters in a dwelling of hewn wood, (26) with beasts and birds, that the world might be replenished again: (27) his daughter-in-law was I, and of his blood I came, (28) to whom the first things happened: and now the latter things have all been told. (29) So let all these things be accounted true that are spoken of my mouth.

BOOK IV

(1) Hear, O ye people of vaunting Asia and Europe, (2) what prophetic strains of truth I purpose to pour forth, through the honied speech of my mouth from our **shrine.** (4) No oracle-monger I of a false Phoebus whom vain (5) men have called a god and falsely termed a seer; (6) but the prophetess of the mighty God whom men's hands fashioned not, (7) like to dumb idols of polished stones. (8) For He has not as His habitation a stone set up in a temple, (9) dumb and **helpless,** a bugbear of many woes to mortals. (10) But He is one whom none can see from earth, nor measure (11) with mortal eyes, seeing He was not fashioned by mortal hand. (12) With all-embracing view He beholds all, yet Himself is seen by none. (13) His is the murky night and day, the sun, (14) the stars and moon, and sea the haunt of fish; (15) and land and rivers and the source of perennial streams, (16) creatures ordained for sustaining life and showers that cause the cornfield fruit to grow, (17) and trees and vines and olive trees. (18) He has driven a goad right through my heart (19) to tell out exactly all that is happening to men now and all that is to happen, (20) reaching from the first generation to the **tenth.** (21) For He shall vindicate all (22) by bringing it to pass. But do thou, O people, hearken in all things to the Sibyl (23) as she pours forth true speech from holy mouth.

(24) Happy shall those men be throughout the earth who shall truly love the Mighty God, blessing Him (26) before eating and drinking, staunch in their godliness. (27) Who, when they see them, shall

name of the Babylonian Sibyl has been purposely omitted and some lines from the Erythraean added without careful adjustment.

811. The sentence lacks a verb. Instead of 'mortals' (*θνητοῖς*) it is proposed to read 'I show' (*φαίνω*). After this line some MSS. show a gap. It is suggested that it contained the name Sambethe, who, according to Justin, *Cohort.* 37, was the daughter of Berossus the historian.

814. According to Virg. *Aen.* vi. 36, Deiphobe, the Cumaean Sibyl, is the daughter of Glaucus, and possibly of Circe.

819. Compare Plutarch's account of the Sibyl (*De Pyth. Or.* vii).

819–29. These lines are not referred to by Lact., and Alex. regards them as spurious.

819. **for he did not reveal to me.** MSS. read 'for he will not reveal to me' (*δηλώσει*). For *οὐ* Rzach reads *ὅς*.

823. Suidas represents the Chaldaean Sibyl as a descendant of Noah, and says she prophesied about the time of Alexander the Great. Epiph. *adv. Haer.* 26. § 8 says the Gnostics attributed certain books to Noria the wife of Noah. Tatian, on the other hand (*Orat. c. Graec.* 41), says that the Sibyl was not older than Moses.

IV. 1–24. The Sibyl claims to be the prophetess of the true, invisible, and almighty God.

1. **Hear,** *κλῦτε.* Most MSS. have 'weep' (*κλαῖε*).

2. **shrine** (*μεγάροιο*). Mendelssohn's emendation for 'great' (*μεγάλοιο*) agreeing with 'mouth'.

4. Cf. v. 326. Lines 4–7 are quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50.

8. **set up in a temple** (*ἱδρυνθέντα*). There is a variant 'dragged to a temple' (*ἑλκυσθέντα*).

habitation (*οἶκον*). Buresch would read 'likeness' (*εἰκόν'*), but the fem. gender of this word would cause a difficulty. The writer appears to condemn the ancient Semitic idea of sacred stones as the dwelling-place of a god.

9. **helpless** (*νωθρόν*), an emendation for 'toothless' (*νωδόν*).

11. The end of the line is uncertain in reading. Perhaps read *οὐδ' ἐπλάσθη χερὶ θνητῇ.*

12. Cf. Frag. i. 8.

18. Cf. iii. 5.

20. **to the tenth.** Cf. ii. 15 ff. The MSS. have 'to the eleventh' (*ἑνδεκάτην* or *ἑνδεκάτης*). But the world's history is regularly divided into ten periods.

23. **as she pours forth.** The participle is, however, masculine.

24–34. The happiness of the godly.

24–30. Quoted by Just. *Coh.* 16. The last three lines are also quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 62.

26. For the custom of saying grace before meals cf. Arist. *Apol.* 15. It was a strict rule among the Essenes (Josephus, *B. I.* ii. 8. 5), and among the Pharisees. Cf. Mishna, *Berakhoth* iii; Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. ii, vol. ii, p. 117.

27. The abhorrence of temples and animal sacrifice is specially Essene. Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 369 ff.

disown all temples (28) and altars, vain erections of senseless stones, (29) befouled with constant blood of living things and sacrifices (30) of four-footed beasts. But they shall look to the great glory of the one God (31) neither committing dastard murder, nor bartering for dishonest (32) gain, which things are altogether evil. (33) Nor do they set their foul affection on another's bed, (34) [nor on the hateful and hideous abuse of males].

(35) Whose conversation and godliness and manners other men (36) will never emulate, men whose affections are set on shamelessness. (37) But mocking them with ribald jest and laughter, (38) fools in their senselessness, they will falsely attribute to them (39) all the dastardly and evil deeds that they shall do. (40) For slow of faith is all the race of men. But when (41) the assizes of the world and of mortals shall come, which God himself (42) shall hold when he judges ungodly and godly alike: (43) then shall he send the ungodly in the fire beneath the murky gloom, (44) and then shall they know what grievous impiety they have committed. (45) But the godly shall remain upon the fruitful field, (46) when God has given them breath and life and grace. (47) But all these things are to be accomplished in the tenth generation. (48) Now I will tell all that is to come to pass from the first generation.

(49) First of all, the Assyrians shall rule over all mankind, (50) holding the world for six generations under their sway, (51) from the time when, since the heavenly God was wroth with (52) the cities themselves and all mankind, (53) the sea covered the earth with the outbreak of the flood.

(54) Them shall the Medes subdue and vaunt themselves on their throne, (55) yet their generations shall be but two. In their time shall be these mighty works. (56) Darkling night shall fall at the middle hour of day: (57) the stars and the moon's disk shall fail from heaven. (58) And the earth shaken by the upheaval of a mighty earthquake (59) shall cast down headlong many cities and works of men. (60) And then islands shall peep forth from the depths of the sea.

(61) But when great Euphrates shall run in torrents of blood, (62) then betwixt Medes and Persians the dread din of battle (63) shall arise in war. And the Medes, overthrown by the Persians' spears, (64) shall flee over the broad waters of the Tigris. (65) And the Persians' might shall be supreme in all the world; (66) yet they shall have but one generation of prosperous kingship.

(67) Then there shall be all those evil works which men pray to be spared, (68) wars and murders, schisms and exiles, (69) the headlong crash of towers and the overthrow of cities, (70) when proud Hellas shall sail to the broad Hellespont, (71) bringing grievous doom to Phrygians and to Asia.

(72) Then into Egypt the many-furrowed land of wheat, (73) famine and failure of crops shall stalk for twenty circling years, (74) when the Nile, the cornblade's nurse, (75) shall hide its black water somewhere else beneath the earth.

(76) There shall come from Asia a king brandishing a mighty sword (77) with ships innumerable; and over the watery paths of the deep (78) he shall journey on foot, and shall cut a path for his ships through a lofty mountain peak. (79) Yet craven Asia shall receive him back a fugitive from war.

(80) Wretched Sicily shall be burned up from end to end (81) by a stream of mighty fire when Etna's flame belches forth. (82) And Croton's great city shall fall into the deep stream. (83) Hellas shall have strife: and men distraught with rage one against another (84) shall cast down headlong many cities and shall slay many (85) in battle: and the strife shall be of doubtful issue.

(86) But when the race of mortals comes to the tenth generation, (87) then the Persians shall experience the yoke of slavery and terror.

28. The reading comes from Justin. In Clement a line is inserted here from Frag. iii. 49 and another after l. 30.

34. The line is probably a gloss and is omitted in Ω.

35–46. The impending judgement on the ungodly.

38. For the thought that the heathen are themselves guilty of the same charges which they bring against the godly cf. Tert. *Apol.* § 9.

46. The righteous are to be quickened again for a further life on earth. The line recurs infra line 189.

47–85. The history of the first nine generations.

50. **generation** is evidently a vague term. Assyrian supremacy may be said to have lasted roughly six centuries (*c.* 1250–630 B.C.). The Median empire closed with the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in 546 B.C.

56. Possibly an allusion to the phenomenon mentioned in Herod. i. 71. During a battle between the Lydians and Medes in 585 B.C. the day suddenly became night.

65. The conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. may be said to have given the Persians the empire of the world.

70. The Athenians sent maritime assistance to the Ionians in their revolt from Persia in 499 B.C.

72. **of wheat**. For *πυρόφορον τε* Ω has *φαῦλος ἐπέλθῃ*. The subjunctive would be used as future.

76–79. The expedition of Xerxes 491–490 B.C. Reference is made to the bridge of boats built across the Hellespont (Herod. vii. 35–54), and the canal cut through Mount Athos (Herod. vii. 22–8; Thuc. iv. 109; Juv. v. 174).

82. Possibly **Croton** is confused with Sybaris, over which, after its capture, the river Crathis was turned (Herod. v. 45). Some MSS. have 'a great city *of men*' (*βροτῶν*) for 'Croton'.

83–5. The Peloponnesian war, or, more probably, the fighting which ended in the Thirty Years' Truce in 446 B.C.

87. The reference would be to Alexander's victories, especially at the Granicus (334 B.C.) and Issus (333 B.C.).

(88) But when the Macedonians boast of the sceptre, (89) then Thebes too in later days shall experience capture. (90) And Carians shall occupy Tyre and the Tyrians shall perish; (91) and sand shall envelop the whole of Samos under sandhills, (92) and Delos shall appear no more, but all Delos shall disappear. (93) And Babylon mighty to behold but puny in battle (94) shall stand buoyed up by ineffective hopes. (95) Macedonians shall occupy Bactra; and the fugitives **from** Bactra (96) and Susa shall all flee to the land of Greece.

(97) Posterity shall know a time when silvery eddying Pyramus (98) pushing forward its strand shall come to the holy island. (99) And **thou, Baris,** shalt fall and Cyzicus too when the earth (100) quivers with earthquakes and cities perish. (101) And to the Rhodians there shall come a last but crowning disaster.

(102) Nor shall the might of Macedonia last. But from the west (103) a great Italian war shall blossom forth, whereby the world (104) shall serve as slaves under the yoke of the sons of Italy. (105) And thou, ill-starred Corinth, shalt one day look on thy capture. (106) Carthage, thy tower, too, shall bend the knee to earth.

(107) Miserable Laodicea, thee too an earthquake shall one day raze (108) in precipitate ruin, but thou shalt stand built up again as a city.

(109) O fair Lycian Myra, thy quivering earth shall no longer (10) hold thee firm: but falling down headlong on the earth, (11) thou shalt be fain to flee as an exile to another land, (12) †what time over the impieties of Patara the **Lord** (13) shall spread the dark sea wave with thunderings and earthquakes†.

(14) For thee, too, Armenia, the stress of slavery is in store.

(15) To Solyma too the evil blast of war shall come (16) from Italy, and shall lay in ruins God's great temple, (17) whenever, confident in their folly, they shall cast godliness to the winds (18) **and commit hateful murders** before the temple. (19) And then from Italy a great king, like a fugitive slave, (20) shall flee unseen, unheard of, over the passage of the Euphrates; (21) when he shall dare even the hateful pollution of a mother's murder, (22) and many other things beside, venturing so far with wicked hand. (23) And many for the throne of Rome shall dye the ground with their blood, (24) when he has run away beyond the Parthian land. (25) And a Roman leader shall come to Syria, who shall burn down Solyma's temple with fire, (26) and therewith slay many men, (27) and shall waste the great land of the Jews with its broad way.

(28) And then an earthquake shall destroy Salamis and Paphos together, (29) when the dark stormy water shall swamp Cyprus.

89. Thebes was captured by Alexander in 335 B.C.

90. **Carians** perhaps = 'mercenaries'. Cf. Plato, *Laches* 187.
occupy Tyre. Capture of Tyre 332 B.C.

91, 92. Cf. iii. 363. Alexandre would place these lines after 96; Rzach after 100.

93. Babylon captured without resistance 331 B.C.

95. Alexander's invasion of Bactria. Cf. Strabo, xi; Arrian, iii. 29.
from Bactria. For ὑπὸ Βάκτρων it seems necessary to read ἀπὸ Βάκτρων.

96. **Susa** surrendered soon after Babylon.

97, 98. The **Pyramus** is a Cilician river. This oracle is quoted by Strabo, *Geogr.* i. p. 53, xii. p. 536, who in the second line has 'Cyprus' for 'island'.

99. **thou, Baris.** Badt's conjectural emendation for 'Sybaris'. Baris was a Pisidian town, mentioned by Pliny v. 42. The *a* is strictly long. Another conjecture is Κιβύρα, a Phrygian town.

101. Cf. viii. 166.

102. Macedonian Wars beginning in 214 B.C. and ending with the Battle of Pydna, 168 B.C.

105, 106. Capture of Corinth and Carthage, 146 B.C.

107. **Laodicea.** The famous earthquake here in A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) seems too late. On the strength of *Sib.* iii. 471 Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 38) postulates an earthquake in Laodicea about 125 B.C.; but the inference is precarious.

112–13. The reading is uncertain, and the lines are omitted in many MSS. The rendering follows a conjecture ὁ Μέδων for ὅμαδον.

114. Armenian wars A.D. 43–66, in which latter year Tiridates came to Rome to receive his crown from Nero.

115–28. Disaster to Jerusalem.

117, 118. Referring to the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege. Cf. Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 3.

118. **and commit hateful murders.** The reading of the MSS. is corrupt.

119 ff. Nero died by his own hand in A.D. 68, but there was a persistent belief that he would return. At least three false Nero's arose at different times.

119. **fugitive slave** (δράστης). Some MSS. have 'star' (ἀστήρ).

121. Nero had his own mother put to death (Suet. *Nero* xxxiv). Dio Cass. lxiv. 9 preserves a pseudo-Sibylline oracle: ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.

123. The year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

125. The Roman leader is Titus.

(30) But when a firebrand starting from a deep cavern in the land of Italy (31) shall reach the broad heaven, (32) and burn many a city and consume its men, (33) and clouds of sooty ashes beset the great heaven, (34) and grains fall from the sky like red earth, (35) then recognize the wrath of the God of heaven, (36) because they shall destroy the guiltless race of godly men. (37) And to the west shall come the strife of gathering war, (38) and the exile from Rome, brandishing a mighty sword, (39) crossing the Euphrates with many myriads.

(40) Ill-starred Antioch, they shall call thee no longer a city, (41) when in thy folly thou fallest under Italian spears. (42) And **Cyrrhus** shall be consumed by pestilence and dreadful strife.

(43) Woe to thee, wretched Cyprus, the level sea-wave (44) shall envelop thee tossed up and down with wintry blasts.

(45) There shall come to Asia great wealth which Rome once (46) stole for herself and stored in her rich treasure-house. (47) And twofold and more shall she restore (48) to Asia, and then there shall be a surfeit of war.

(49) The cities of the Carians by the waters of the Maeander, (50) with all their battlements exceeding fair, shall be destroyed by pinching (51) famine, when Maeander buries her black water. (52) But when faith in godliness shall perish from men, (53) and justice is hidden away in the world, (54) †and men, becoming renegades† and living on unholy enterprises, (55) commit deeds of shame and acts dastardly and evil, (56) and no man takes account of the godly, but even (57) in their senselessness, fond fools, destroy them all, (58) rejoicing in acts of violence and turning their hands to deeds of bloodshed; (59) then be sure that God is no more of tender mercy, (60) but gnashing His teeth in wrath and destroying at once (61) the whole race of men by means of a mighty conflagration.

(62) O ill-starred mortals, let not these things be, and (63) drive not the great God to divers deeds of wrath; but have done with (64) swords and moanings and killing of men, and deeds of violence, (65) and wash your whole bodies in ever-running rivers, (66) and, stretching your hands to heaven, seek forgiveness for your former deeds, (67) and with praises ask pardon for your bitter ungodliness. (68) God will grant repentance (69) and will not slay: He will stay his wrath once more if with one accord (70) ye practise precious godliness in your hearts. (71) But if with evil mind ye obey me not, but delighting in ungodliness (72) ye receive all these words with ill-affected ears, (73) then fire shall come upon the whole world, and a mighty sign (74) with sword and trumpet at the rising of the sun. (75) The whole world shall hear a rumbling and a mighty roar. (76) And he shall burn the whole earth, and consume the whole race of men, (77) and all the cities and rivers and the sea. (78) He shall burn everything out, and there shall be sooty dust.

(79) But when at last everything shall have been reduced to dust and ashes (80) and God shall quench the giant fire, even as he kindled it, (81) then God Himself shall fashion again the bones and ashes of men, (82) and shall raise up mortals once more as they were before.

(83) And then the judgement shall come wherein God himself shall give sentence, (84) judging the world again. And all who have sinned with deeds of impiety (85) a heap of earth shall cover again, (86) and murky Tartarus and the black recesses of hell. (87) But all who are godly shall live again on earth (89) when God gives breath and life and grace to them, (90) the godly. †And then all shall

130–6. The great eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii, August 23, 24, A. D. 79. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16. 20.
130. **starting from.** For *ἀποστραφθείς* it is tempting to read (with Alexandre) *ἀπαστραφθείς* 'shot out like lightning'.
139. It was expected that Nero would return from Parthia.
140. Probably the Syrian Antioch is meant, which revolted several times against Rome.
141. **folly . . . Italian spears.** The text renders *ἀφροσύνης Ἰτάλοις*. So $\phi\,\psi$. Geffcken reads *ἀφροσύνῃσι τεαῖς* with Ω.
142. **Cyrrhus** a conjecture. MSS. have 'Scyros' or 'Cyprus'. Alexandre suggests *Συρίην*.
143. Cf. *supra*, 129.
145–8. A Roman defeat. Probably the defeat of Paetus at Randeia in A. D. 62.
148. The line is omitted in $\phi\,\psi$.
153–4. The text has become corrupt. 154 is omitted in some MSS. and in others 153–4 are joined.
159–61. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* 23. 5.
160. **gnashing his teeth,** *βρύχοντα*. Lact. has 'heavy with wrath', *βρίθοντα*.
165. The stress on complete lustration seems Essene. Cf. iii. 592.
168. **God will grant.** *Θεὸς δώσει*. So Volkmann from Ω which reads *Θεὸς δὲ δώσει*. ψ has *Θεὸς δ' ἔξει*.
173. Another reading gives 'fire shall be throughout the world wherein this sign is wrought', *ἐν ᾧ τόδε σῆμα τέτυκται*. So $\phi\,\psi$.
179-92. The Judgement following on the destruction of the world. The passage up to 190 is quoted in *Ap. Const.* v. 7 as a testimony of the Sibyl to the Resurrection, the New Life, the Judgement.
181. Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 1–10.
183 ff. Cf. *supra* 40-6.
185. The text in *Ap. Const. l.c.* runs 'those mortals, who have sinned with deeds of impiety, the earth shall cover'.
187. After this there is a weak line inserted only in Ω and rejected by Rzach and Geffcken.
190. **then . . . shall behold themselves,** *τότ' εἰσόψονται ἑαυτούς*. The text comes from *Ap. Const.* Ω has *κόψονται*, 'bewail'. ϕ *εἴσονται χάριν αὐτοῖς* (or *αὐτοίς*) perhaps 'shall have themselves to thank'. Possibly the true reading is *τότ' ὄψονται θεὸν αὐτόν*.

behold themselves,† (91) beholding the lovely and pleasant sunlight. (92) Thrice blest the man who lives until that time.

BOOK V

(1) Now come, **hearken** unto the woful chronicle of the sons of Latium. (2) Verily first of all after the decease of the kings (3) of Egypt, all of whom a like measure of earth bore down; (4) and after the citizen of Pella, under whom the whole (5) East had been subdued and the West with its stores of wealth, (6) whom Babylon disillusioned and handed over, a corpse, to Philip, (7) famed by no true report a son of Zeus, of Ammon: (8) and after the man of the family and blood of **Assaracus,** (9) who **came from Troy,** who clave the onrushing fire; (10) and after many kings and warlike wights, (11) and after infants, children of the beast who preys on sheep, (12) there shall be a king first of all, who shall sum up twice ten (13) with his initial letter: and in wars he shall conquer for long. (14) He shall have his first initial of ten: and so after him (15) shall reign one who has the first of letters. (16) Before him Thrace shall cower, and Sicily, and, later, Memphis: (17) Memphis hurled headlong by the wickedness of its rulers (18) and of an untamable woman who fell upon the wave. (19) And he shall ordain laws for the people and bring all things under his sway. (20) After a long time he shall hand over the empire to another, (21) who shall have his first letter of the number of three hundred, (22) and a river's own name, who shall also reign over the Persians (23) and Babylon: then he shall subdue the Medes with his spear. (24) Then one shall reign who has the letter of the number three. (25) The next king who shall reign shall have twice ten for his first letter: (26) and he shall go to Ocean's farthest (27) water, †directing his ebb against the Ausonians†. (28) Then he shall be sovereign who has the letter of fifty, (29) a direful serpent causing grievous war, who shall one day put forth his hands (30) on his own family and slay them, and shall throw all into confusion, (31) as athlete, charioteer, murderer, and doer of a thousand extravagant acts. (32) He shall pierce, too, the **hill between two seas,** and besprinkle it with blood; (33) Yea, even when he disappears, he shall be malignant. Then he shall return, (34) making himself equal to God: but *God* shall convince him that he is not.

(35) Three kings after him shall perish at each other's hands. (36) Then there shall come a great destroyer of godly men (37) who displays the letter of seventy. (38) His son, who has the initial of three hundred, shall overcome him (39) and take away his power: and after him there

191. Omitted in $\phi\psi$.
192 Cf. iii. 371.

V. 1–51. A brief sketch of history till the reign of Hadrian.
1. **hearken.** The reading is due to Rzach. MSS. have no verb. $\phi\psi$ κλεινῶν τε Λατίνων.
The first eleven lines recur at the beginning of the twelfth book.
4. **The citizen of Pella** = Alexander the Great. Cf. Juv. x. 168 'Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis'.
6. Alexander died of fever at Babylon 323 B.C. Clem. Al. *Protr.* x. 96 quotes the first part of this line as ὃν Βαβυλὼν ἤλεγξε νεκρόν.
7. After his visit to the temple of Zeus Ammon in 332 B.C. Alexander seems to have persuaded himself that he was the son of that god.
8. **Assaracus,** king of Phrygia and great-grandfather of Aeneas. The restoration of the name is due to Castalio.
9. Referring to the escape of Aeneas from burning Troy. Text corrupt; restored by Rz. from xii. 9.
11. i.e. Romulus and Remus.
12. **twice ten.** The name is Καῖσαρ (K denoting 20); line 14 gives Ἰούλιος (I denoting 10).
15. **one who has the first of letters.** i.e. Αὔγουστος.
16. References to the Battle of Philippi, the war with Sextus Pompeius, and the struggle with Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt.
18. The desertion of Cleopatra's fleet at Actium. The parallel line in xii. 22 has ὑπὸ δουρί for ἐπὶ κῦμα.
21. **who shall have . . . three hundred.** i.e. Τιβέριος.
23. War between Rome and Parthia A.D. 34–5.
24. **who has . . . three.** i.e. Γαῖος.
25. **twice ten** = K. Κλαύδιος is meant.
26. Claudius' short-lived expedition to Britain A.D. 43.
27. The reading is uncertain. Ausonia is strictly S. Italy, but is used poetically for the whole country.
28. **fifty** = N. Νέρων is meant.
29. A serpent was found around Nero's neck when he was an infant. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.
30. For Nero's murder of his mother cf. iii. 121.
31. A reference to Nero's competing as a charioteer in the Olympian Games. Cf. Juvenal x. 224 ff.
32. Nero made an attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth, in A.D. 66–7. Cf. l. 138.
hill between two seas. δίκυμον ὄρος is a conjecture of Rzach from xii. 84: $\phi\psi$ have δῖκμον ὕδωρ.
33. For the expectation of the return of Nero cf. iv. 119.
34. For the claim of Antichrist to be God cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4; Iren. v. 25. 1; Asc. Isa. iv. 6.
35. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.
37. i.e. Οὐεσπασίανος the conqueror of the Jews.
39. An ungrounded suspicion charges Titus with attempting to supplant his father. Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 5, 6.

shall be a sovereign (40) of the letter of four, **a cursed man**. And next (41) a reverend man of the number of fifty. And after him (42) one whose initial signifies three hundred, (43) a Celtic mountaineer; and he, hot-footed for Eastern war, (44) shall not escape ignoble fate, but shall succumb. A foreign dust shall hide his corpse, (45) even one that has the name of the Nemean flower. And after him another shall reign, (46) a silver-helmed man: he shall have the name of a sea. (47) He shall be a most excellent man and shall understand everything. (48) And in thy time, most excellent, most noble, dark-haired prince, (50) and in the time of thy scions, all these days shall come. (51) After him three shall reign, but the third shall rule late in life.

(52) Thrice wretched I, I am wearied to conceive the message of evil in my heart, (53) I the familiar friend of Isis, and the inspired strain of oracles. (54) First of all around the steps of thy lamented temple, (55) frenzied priestesses shall rush, and thou shalt be in evil hands (56) on that day when the Nile passes over (57) the whole land of Egypt up to sixteen cubits, (58) so as to flood the whole land and drench it with its streams. (59) And the grace of the land shall subside and the glory of **its face.**

(60) Memphis, thou shalt mourn more than all for Egypt. (61) For thou, who before wast the mighty mistress of earth, shalt become (62) miserable, so that even He whose delight is in the thunder shall shout (63) from heaven with a loud voice: O Memphis, mighty in strength, (64) thou who of old didst boast so loudly to miserable men, (65) shalt mourn wretched and ill-starred, (66) so that the eternal immortal God will notice thee in the clouds. (67) Where is thy spirit that has been so masterful among men? (68) Forasmuch as thou hast spent thy fury upon my divinely anointed servants, (69) and hast launched forth evil upon men that are good, (70) in return for such things thou shalt have such a nurse for thy recompense. (71) Thou shalt have no longer any right †openly† among the blessed. (72) Thou hast fallen from the stars: thou shalt not ascend to heaven. (73) These things God bade me tell forth to Egypt (74) in the last time when men shall be wholly evil. (75) But wicked men exhaust wickedness awaiting (76) the wrath of the immortal, loud-thundering God of heaven, (77) and worshipping stones in place of God, and beasts, (78) and fearing a motley crowd of deities, which have no speech, (79) no understanding and no hearing, such things as it is a shame for me even to mention, (80) each several form of idols which owe their being to the hands of mortal men. (81) And from their own labours and miserable devices (82) men have taken to themselves gods of wood and stone, (83) of brass and gold and silver too, vain gods, (84) lifeless and dumb and smelted in the fire, (85) have they made, putting their trust in vain in such as these. (86) †Thmouis and Xouis are in tribulation. **Abydos laments,**† (87) and ⟨the cities⟩ of Heracles, Zeus and Hermes. (88) And thee Alexandria, famous nurse of cities, (89) war shall not leave, nor **famine, but thou** shalt pay **the penalty** (90) of thy haughtiness and all thy former deeds. (91) Long ages shalt thou be in silence and the day of return **thou shalt not see.** (92) And

40. **cursed.** MSS. untranslatable. It is simplest to emend *τέφθος μόρος* to *ἐφθαρμένος*. Compare the imprecation *φθείρεσθε*.

41. **Νερούας**, i. e. Nerva, who was over 60 at his accession, and was long remembered as the gentlest of the Emperors.

42. **Τραίανος** born at Italica in Spain. After continual wars in the East he died at Selinus in Cilicia.

45. The parsley (*σέλινον*) furnished the wreath which was the prize at the Nemean games. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 46: *Nem.* iv. 143.

46. i. e. Hadrian, whose name recalls the Adriatic Sea.

50. Hadrian had no children. He adopted first L. Verus and then Antoninus.

51. On this line see Intr. p. 373.

52–9. A calamity in Egypt.

53. **familiar friend** (*γνωστή*): perhaps 'kinswoman' (*γνωτή*). A suggestion is 'Isis, thou shalt know God' (*Ἶσι, Θεὸν γνώσῃ*) from vii. 66.

55. **rush,** *ἀΐξουσι*: most MSS. 'increase', *αὔξουσι*.

60–72. Woes on Memphis.

67. Cf. the dirge on Babylon in Isa. xiv; also xix. 12 ff.

68. **divinely anointed,** perhaps = 'Christian'.

70. The **nurse** is probably Rome. Alex. would translate 'foster-child'.

71. The sense is unsatisfactory. We might read 'Thou shalt no longer have a right among the clans of the blessed' (*φρήτραις* for *φανερῶς*).

72. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12, 13.

73–110. The confusion of Egypt.

86. Text corrupt in the second half of the line.
Thmouis and **Xouis** are towns in Lower Egypt connected with the worship of Amen.
Abydos is merely a conjectural emendation (*κόπτετ' Ἄβυδος*).

87. The word for **cities** is missing. The three towns are Heracleopolis, Diospolis (= Thebes), and Hermopolis.

89. The latter part of the line is missing. The restoration is by Alex.

91. A gap in the MSS. after this line.

92. The line is cut short. Supply *Νεῖλος ὑπάζων*.

no more shall **the Nile** flow for thee **with its boon of** delicious drink. (93) For the Persian shall come upon thy **field** like hail (94) and shall destroy thy land and thy men of evil arts, (95) with blood and corpses, †beside thy glorious altars† ; (96) a people of uncouth mind, stalwart, red with blood, of senseless rage, (97) in full force like the sand to hasten thy doom. (98) And then, O thou rich with the wealth of cities, thou shalt be rich with distress. (99) All Asia shall mourn because of those gifts of thine from which (100) she joyed to crown her head, now falling upon earth. (101) And he to whose lot fell the Persians' land shall war thee down, (102) and killing man by man shall crush out thy whole life, (103) so that but a third part shall remain to wretched men. (104) And he shall leap on thee with light spring from the West, (105) blockading thy whole land and laying it all in waste. (106) But when he reaches his zenith of power, and his boldness **knows no shame**, (107) he shall come fain even to sack the city of the blessed. (108) And then a king sent from God against him (109) shall destroy all the mighty kings and the best of the men. (10) And so shall the judgement come from the Immortal upon men.

(11) Woe unto thee, my craven heart, why dost thou provoke me (12) to declare these things unto Egypt, even the grievous partition of sovereignty? (13) Go to the East, to the senseless Persian tribes, and signify to them the present and that which is to be.

(15) The stream of the river Euphrates shall bring on a flood (16) and it shall destroy Persians and Iberians and Babylonians, (17) and Massagetae lovers of war and trusting in bows. (18) The whole of Asia shall blaze with flames of fire as far as the islands. (19) Pergamus, of old so venerable, shall perish as a cluster of grapes, (20) and Pitane shall appear among men as a mass of ruins. (21) The whole of Lesbos shall sink into the deep abyss to perish. (22) Smyrna shall one day mourn rolled down the cliffs ; (23) she that of old was revered and renowned shall perish. (24) The Bithynians shall mourn their land reduced to ashes, (25) and great Syria and Phoenice **with its multitude of peoples.**

(26) Woe to thee, Lycia, for all the evils that the sea is devising against thee, (27) invading of its own accord thy woebegone land, (28) so as to flood with evil earthquake and bitter streams (29) the myrrhless myrrh-breathing land of Lycia.

(30) Phrygia, too, shall have grievous wrath on account of the **infatuation** (31) whereby Rhea the (mother) of Zeus came and stayed there.

(32) The sea shall destroy the family of the Tauri and their barbarian folk, (33) and **a devourer** shall slay the Lapithae throughout their land†. (34) The deep-eddying river shall destroy the Thessalian land, (35) even Peneius with its deep stream chasing **mortals** from the land.

(37) Poets shall sing well-a-day for thrice-wretched Hellas, when one from Italy shall pierce the neck of the isthmus, even the mighty king of mighty Rome, a godlike man, (40) to whom, they say, Zeus himself gave birth and our lady Hera. (41) Who courting applause with honied strains uttered

93–111 are contained (except 98) only in the Paris excerpt, which has besides iv. 179–190 (see Introduction, p. 374). At the end of 111 there is a summary in prose of the contents of this passage.

93. The line is only found in the Paris excerpt, and the word for **fields** (*δάπος*) is omitted. Possibly the Persian is Nero representing the Antichrist returning at the head of a Parthian army, cf. 147. For the description cf. 1 En. lvi. 5. Fehr compares a striking passage in Commodian, *Carm. Apol.* 825 ff.

95. **beside thy glorious altars.** Text again uncertain. Geffck. proposes 'shall fill full thine altars'. *περιπλήσουσί τε βωμούς.*

101. Reading due to Buresch from Paris excerpt.

104. Nero is to lead a successful campaign in the West. For **spring** (*ἅλματι*) Par. excerpt has 'chariot' (*ἅρματι*).

107–10. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 18. 5. In 106 read (with Geffcken) *ἀναιδές* for *ἀηδές.*

108. The Messiah is to intervene from heaven to save Jerusalem. *φ ψ* are unmetrical: *σθεναρὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον.*

111–31. Calamities in various Eastern countries foretold.

112. The partition of sovereignty would refer to the disputes as to the imperial throne of Rome.

119. The simile is a little strained. Alex. would read 'from its foundations' (*βαθρηδόν*).

125. Read *πολύφυλον* for MSS. *πολύφυτον.*

129. The epithets *ἄμυρον, μυρίπνουν,* are apparently chosen to play on the name Myra, the chief city of Lycia. But for *ἄμυρον* (*myrrhless*) we might possibly read *ἀμάραν* (*water-channel*).

130. **infatuation** (*λύσσης*), a suggestion for 'grief' (*λύπης*). Rhea is closely connected with Cybele, whose worship was attended with great orgies.

132–6. The whole text is corrupt and only a conjectural restoration is possible. In 133 **a devourer** (*δάπτων*) is a conjecture for 'ground' (*δάπεδον*). In 135 *μέροπας*, 'mortals', is read for *μορφάς* 136 is regarded as a doublet of 135 and omitted. It runs, literally, 'Eridanus claiming (saying) one day to beget the forms of beasts'.

The *Lapithae* were a wild tribe living in Thessaly in heroic times, and the *Peneius* is the principal river of Thessaly.

137–54. The return of Nero.

138. Cf. 632. The description in the next two lines is bitterly sarcastic.

140. It was said that Nero's birth was wrapped in mystery, cf. Suet. *Nero* 6.

with melodious voice (42) shall destroy many together with his ill-starred mother. (43) Then shall flee from Babylon a king fearful and shameless (44) whom all mortals and all the best men loathe. (45) For he destroyed many and laid his hands on the womb (46) and sinned against wives and was born of abominable parentage. (47) He shall come to the Medes and to the kings of the Persians, (48) the first whom he desired and to whom he added glory, (49) making his lair with these evil men against the true people. (50) He seized the temple built by God, and burnt the citizens and the people who went up to it, whom I have justly sung. (52) For when he died the whole of creation was shaken (53) and kings perished, and those among whom the empire remained (54) destroyed the great city and the righteous people.

(55) But when after the fourth year a great star shines, (56) which by itself shall destroy the ⟨whole⟩ land, †because of the honour (57) which they first paid to Poseidon god of the sea†, (58) then shall come a great star from heaven into the divine sea, (59) and shall burn up the deep sea and Babylon itself, (60) and the land of Italy on whose account (61) many faithful saints of the Hebrews have perished, and the true people.

(62) Thou shalt be afflicted with evil among evil men, (63) but thou shalt remain utterly desolate for whole ages hereafter, ... (65) hating thy soil because thou didst love magic. (66) Adulteries are with thee and unlawful intercourse with boys, (67) effeminate and unjust, thou wicked city, most ill-starred of all. (68) Woe unto thee all unclean city of Latin land, (69) frenzied and †poison-loving†, in widowhood shalt thou sit beside thy banks, (70) and river Tiber shall mourn for thee, his wife, (71) that hadst a bloodthirsty heart and a godless mind. (72) Didst thou not know what God can do and what are his designs? (73) But thou hast said, I am unique, and none shall bring ruin on me. (74) But now God whose Being is for ever shall destroy thee and all of thine, (75) and there shall be no token of thee in that land, (76) as of old when the Mighty God found for thee thine honour. (77) Remain, O lawless one, unique, and, wedded unto flaming fire, (78) make thine home in the nether region of Hades where laws are not.

(79) But now once more, Egypt, I bemoan thy doom. (80) Memphis, thou shalt be in the van of troubles, †smitten in thine ankles†. (81) The very pyramids in thee shall utter a speechless voice. (82) Python, thou that of old wast justly called the double city, (83) be thou silent for ages that thou mayst cease from thy wickedness. (84) Insolence, storehouse of evil woes, frenzied with much lamentation, (85) direful sufferer, full of tears, thou shalt remain a widow for ever. (86) For many a year thou wast the sole sovereign of the world.

(87) But when Barca puts on the white kilt (88) over soiled clothes, may I not live or be born.

143. Babylon probably means Rome. But it is noticeable that in the Avesta Azhidaka has his seat at Babylon, and some have supposed that the Nero myth has borrowed certain features from this source.

146. **abominable**, *μιαρῶν*. Most MSS. read 'small', *μικρῶν*, but the correction is certain. It is noticeable in how many details Nero and the Antichrist are confused.

148. Nero desired to transfer his seat of empire to the East. Cf. Suet. *Nero* 40.

150. Nero did not, of course, capture Jerusalem. But his sending Vespasian to the East to quell the Jewish revolt was the beginning of the end.

152. **died**, *θανέοντος*. MSS. 'appeared', *προφανέντος*. But Nero's death was followed by a terrific earthquake (Dio 63. 28), and the kings who perished would be Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

MSS. have 'the' *ἡ* for 'the whole of', *ὅλη*, and the line is left unmetrical.

155-61. An apocalyptic passage suggested by a notable comet which appeared in A.D. 73 (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 25), and is supposed to presage the fate of Rome.

157. The line is corrupt; perhaps we should read 'because of the precious things which aforetime they put on Poseidon god of the sea'. The arrogance of Babylon (= Rome) is based to a large extent on the wealth of its sea-borne merchandise, cf. Apoc. xviii. 4–20.

162–78. A dirge on Rome suggested by Isa. xiii. and Apoc. xviii.

164. The line omitted ('it shall be, but it shall remain utterly desolate for ever') is evidently a doublet.

165. **magic**, *φαρμακίη*. Cf. Apoc. xviii. 23.

169. **poison-loving**, *ἐχιδνοχάρης*, properly 'delighting in vipers'. The word may have been suggested by the story of the death of Cleopatra.

173. Cf. Isa. xiv. 5.

177. A reference to the great fire of A.D. 63.

179-205. A dirge on Memphis and other Egyptian towns.

180. **smitten in thine ankles**, *πληχθεῖσα τένοντας* (Geffck.) may refer to the system of canals which crossed ancient Memphis. But the MSS. reading gives *πλησθεῖσα τένοντος*, and it is simple to read with Alex. *πλησθεῖσα θανόντων*, 'filled with the dead'.

181. A reference to the sounding pyramid mentioned in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 58, Juv. xv. 5.

182. **Python** = Pithom, the treasure city partially built by the Israelites. The Romans built another city close by, called Heropolis. It is Egypt in general rather than Memphis or Python that is now addressed.

For **speechless** (*ἄνυδον*) the MSS. have 'shameless' (*ἀναιδῆ*).

184. Cf. l. 231 ff.

187. **Barca**, a city of Cyrenaica captured by the Persians in the time of Darius. The **kilt** (*κυπάσσιον*) was a Persian garment. The oracle is probably an ancient one: *γενοίμαν* shows a Doric ending.

(89) O Thebes, where is thy great strength? a savage man (90) shall utterly destroy thy people. And thou, taking thy sombre garments (91) shalt mourn, poor wretch, alone, and shalt make full amends (92) for all that thou didst before in the shamelessness of thine heart. (93) And they shall make grievous lament because of their lawless deeds.

(94) Syene an Ethiopian hero shall destroy. (95) Teuchira the dark-skinned Indians shall forcibly occupy. (96) Pentapolis, thou shalt mourn: †a man of mighty strength shall destroy thee.† (97) O Libya, steeped in tears, who shall tell forth thy dooms? (98) And what mortal, Cyrene, shall weep piteous tears for thee? (99) Thou shalt not cease thy lament to the time of thine hateful destruction.

(200) Among the Britains and the Gauls rich in gold (201) the ocean shall roar filled with streams of blood: (202) forasmuch as they too committed wickedness against the children of God (203) †when the red king brought against the Sidonians (204) a great horde of Gauls out of Syria†. And he shall slay even thee, (205) O Ravenna, and shall rule over thee with bloodshed.

(206) Ye Indians, be not overbold, and ye stout-hearted Ethiopians. (207) For when the circle of the **arched** Axis, Capricorn (208) and Taurus among the Twins revolve round mid heaven, (209) and Virgo is coming forth, and the sun (10) reigns fixing his fire-flashing belt about his brow: (11) then there shall be a great celestial conflagration on the earth, (12) and in the battle of the stars a new creation shall come forth, so that (13) the whole land of the Ethiopians shall perish with fire and moanings.

(14) Do thou too, Corinth, bemoan the piteous destruction that is in thee. (15) For when with their weft of twisted thread the three sister-Fates (16) bring back him that fled by guile to the bank of the Isthmus (17) in mid-air that all may see him, (18) who once pierced the rock with ductile brass, (19) then he shall destroy thy land and waste it, as it was determined before. (20) For to him God hath given strength to do (21) such things as none of all the former kings have done.

(22) For first of all **cutting off** with a mighty blow the roots from three heads, (23) he shall give them to his **mighty comrades** to devour (24) so that they shall eat the flesh of the parents of the unholy king. (25) For for all men blood and horrors are in store (26) because of the great city and the righteous people, (27) brought safe through all, whom Providence exalted.

(28) O thou unsettled and of evil counsel, beset with evil fate, (29) source of trouble and its great end unto men (30) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (31) O violence, fountain-head of evils and great bane unto men, (32) who of mortals hath desired thee, who within him hath not been vexed? (33) By thee a king cast down has lost his august life. (34) Thou hast ordered all amiss and hast brought on all the flood-tide of evil, (35) and through thee the fair plains of the earth have been altered. (36) Throw out these seeds of strife (perhaps they are thy last) for our contention. (37) How and what dost thou speak? I will persuade thee, yea, even if I blame thee I say it. (38) There was once among men the bright sun-ray, when the beam of the

193. **make lament** (*κόψονται*), an emendation for 'see lament' (*ὄψονται*). The ending of lines 192, 193 are transposed in the MSS.

194. **Syene**, modern Assouan. There was an Ethiopian invasion of Egypt in 24 B.C.

195. **Teuchira**, a city in Cyrenaica, afterwards called Arsinoe.

196. **Pentapolis**, a district on the coast embracing Cyrene. The text is uncertain.

200–5. Woes on Western peoples.

200. **Britains.** MSS. *Βρύτεσσι*. Wilam. suggests *Βρύγεσσι*.

203. Meaning uncertain. *βασιλεὺς Φοίνιξ* may refer to Vespasian who brought Gallic troops to the campaign in Palestine. Or there may be an allusion to the phœnix which reappeared at certain intervals, and if so the reference would probably be to Nero.

205. MSS. 'thee, Ravenna here' (*σε . . . αὖτη Ῥαβέννη*).

206–13. A conflagration to occur among the Ethiopians at a certain conjunction of stars.

206. **be not overbold,** *μὴ θαρσεῖτε*. MSS. 'fear not', *μὴ ταρβεῖτε*.

207. **arched,** *κυρτοῦ*, an emendation for *τούτους* which gives no sense.

210. **fire-flashing.** The word is uncertain.

214–28. A dirge on Corinth.

216. Reading uncertain. If the restored text as translated is accepted there is apparently a reference again to Nero. In the next line he seems confused with Simon Magus, who, according to tradition, met his death while flying in the air. Line 218 would then return to Nero and his attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth.

bank, *ὄχθην*. *φ ψ* have *ὀμφήν*, 'voice'.

222. Cf. the picture in Dan. vii. 8. The three heads may be the three Flavian Emperors.

cutting off (*σπασσάμενος*), a suggestion for 'weighing' (*στησάμενος*).

223. **his comrades** (*ἑτάροις*), a conjecture for 'others' (*ἑτέροις*). So *μεγάλοις* for *μεγάλως*.

224. For **parents** (*γονέων*) we should perhaps read 'race' (*γενέας*). The unholy king is Nero.

228–46. A much disputed passage. Hildebrandt sees in it a direct allusion to the Avesta. Fehr regards it as an address to Rome. It seems more probable that it refers to the Rabbinic conception of the fall of Adam brought about by the envy of the Angels, and of the withdrawal of the Shechinah from earth. But the whole passage is obscure.

230. **by the Fates** (*Μοίραις*). MSS. have 'when destiny is again saved', *σωζομένης πάλι Μοίρης*.

237. Alex. would read 'If thou hast aught against me, speak it', *εἰ δέ τι μέμφεαι αὖδα*.

prophets was shed forth in concord. (40) A tongue distilling a fair **honied** drink to all mortals (41) came forth and waxed greater, and reared its gentle crop for all. (42) Therefore, O thou of cramped counsel, fountain-head of the greatest of evils, (43) the hooked knife and mourning shall come on that day. (44) O thou source of trouble and its great end unto men, (45) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (46) listen to my bitter speech of evil sound, thou bane unto men.

(47) But when the Persian land shall be quit of war (48) and of pestilence and lamentation, then there shall be on that day (49) the godlike heavenly race of the blessed Jews, (50) who dwell around the city of God at the centre of earth. (51) Building a great ring-wall as far as Joppa (52) they are exalted on high up to the darkling clouds. (53) No more shall the trumpet hiss forth the blast of war's turmoil, (54) nor shall they perish any more by the fanatic hands of their foes. (55) But they shall set up trophies **around** in an age **innocent of harm**.

(56) Then there shall come from the sky a certain exalted man, (57) whose hands they **nailed** upon the fruitful tree, (58) the noblest of the Hebrews, who **shall** one day **cause** the sun to stand still, (59) when he cries with fair speech and pure lips.

(60) Let thy spirit within thy breast no longer be vexed, thou blessed one, (61) child of God, excellent in wealth, only longed-for blossom, (62) pleasant light, august **offshoot**, longed-for **branch**, (63) well-favoured Judaea, fair city, inspired in hymns. (64) No longer shall the Greeks' unclean foot run riot in thy land, (65) for they shall have within their breasts a mind that conforms to thy laws. (66) But thy noble sons shall encircle thee with honour, (67) and with holy music they shall attend thy table, (68) with divers kinds of sacrifices and prayers to the honour of God. (69) All those righteous men who from short-lived affliction have endured troubles, (70) shall **have** a more ample and well-favoured **rope** *of life*. (71) But the evil men who trim to the breeze a lawless tongue (72) shall cease to speak one against another, (73) and they shall hide themselves †until the world pass away†. (74) And then shall come from the clouds a rain of flaming fire. (75) No longer shall men gather in the blithe corn-blade from the earth. (76) All shall remain unsown and unploughed, until mortal men take note of (77) God, the Chief of all, the Immortal and Eternal, (78) and no longer pay homage to mortal things, (79) nor dogs and vultures, which Egypt has taught (80) to reverence with **vain** mouths and foolish lips. (81) But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things. (82) An ambrosial stream distilling honey and milk shall flow from rock and fountain for all the righteous. (84) For they fixed their hope on the one God, the Father who alone is excellent, (85) and they held fast to great piety and faith.

(86) But why, O why, does my wise mind lay this burden on me? (87) Now it is thou, O wretched Asia, that I piteously lament, and the race of the Ionians, Carians, and Lydians rich in gold. (89) Woe to thee, Sardis: and to thee, lovely Trallis. (90) Woe to thee, Laodicea, fair city, how shall ye perish (91) destroyed by earthquakes and reduced to dust. (92) To dusky Asia and ⟨the race⟩ of the Lydians rich in gold. . . .

(93) The shrine of Artemis fashioned ⟨by the citizens⟩ of Ephesus (94) shall one day by yawnings

240. The **tongue** was perhaps a comet, a sign of peace and prosperity. *μέλι σταγέουσα*, 'distilling . . . honeyed' is a conjecture of Alex. for *μὲν σταγέουσα φ*. (*ψ* has *μὲν στυγέουσα*.)

241. For *φαῖνε τέ* read *φαίνετο*.

249. Lact. quotes this line and refers it to the Christians.

250. For the Rabbinic idea that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth cf. 1 En. xxvi. 1; Jubilees viii.

255. The text is corrupt, and the emendation proposed is slight. Read *ἀλλὰ πέριξ στήσουσ' ἀκάκῳ αἰῶνι τρόπαια*.

256–9. A Christian interpolation.

257. MSS. 'whose hands he spread out', *οὗ παλάμας ἤπλωσεν*. For *ἤπλωσεν* read *ἤλωσαν*. Fehr, reading *ὀαριστύς* in 258, renders 'whose hands the company of the Hebrews spread out'. Blass refers this line to Moses (Exod. xvii. 12).

258. In the MSS. the verb is in the past, *στῆσε*. Many commentators treat this as referring to Joshua, but manifestly the allusion is to St. Luke xxiii. 43, 44.

260–85. The coming prosperity of Judaea and the plight of the ungodly.

Bleek and Gefrörer treat this section as one of the oldest (*c.* 160 B.C.), but without convincing reason.

262. Read *θάλος* for *τέλος*, and *ἔρνος* for *ἄγνος*.

267. **attend thy table.** Perhaps 'set up (*ἐπιστήσουσι*) thy table'. Referring to the restoration of the Temple sacrifices, which was to be one of the features of the new Jerusalem.

270. **rope** is a conjecture (*κάλων* for *καλόν*: cf. iii. 45). The metaphor would be a nautical one, but it is not very convincing, and there is probably a corruption in the text.

273. **until the world pass away.** Read (with Rzach) *ἕως ἀλλαχθῇ ὁ κόσμος* for *ἕως κόσμος ἀλλαγῇ*.

280. **vain mouths**, *κενοῖς*. MSS. 'new' (*νέοις*). Alexandre suggests 'their mouths' (*στομάτεσσιν ἑοῖς*).

286–97. Disasters in Asia following an earthquake.

There was a specially severe earthquake in A.D. 17, details of which are given in Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 86. Twelve cities were destroyed in one night and Sardis suffered most severely.

292. Obviously there is a gap after this line. It may be filled in with a line like iv. 101.

293. The temple of Ephesus survived, and was changed into a Christian Church.

and quakings of the earth sink into the divine sea (95) headlong, even as tempests overwhelm ships. (96) Ephesus shall lament **prostrate** and weeping by her shores, (97) and seeking for her temple which is no longer inhabited.

(98) And then in wrath the Immortal God who dwells in heaven (99) shall hurl from the sky a fiery meteor down on the unholy head. (300) And instead of winter there shall be summer on that day, (301) and then indeed shall be **autumn's end** to mortal men. (302) For He who thunders from on high shall utterly destroy all the shameless men, (303) with thunderings and lightnings and flaming thunderbolts, (304) on those who are his enemies, and he shall destroy them as ungodly (305) so that dead bodies shall remain on the earth more numerous than the sand.

(306) Smyrna too shall come bemoaning her **minstrel** (307) to the gates of Ephesus, and she shall perish more thoroughly.

(308) And Cyme, the foolish, with her streams inspired of God, (309) hurled down by the hands of godless men, unjust and lawless, (310) shall not so much as **put forth a branch** toward heaven, (11) but shall remain dead by its **swelling** streams. (12) And then they shall groan together awaiting an evil doom. (13) They shall know when they have a token wherefore they have laboured, (14) that stubborn folk and shameless race of the Cymaeans. (15) Then when they shall bemoan their wicked land reduced to ashes (16) Lesbos shall be for ever destroyed by Eridanus.

(17) Woe unto thee **Cibyra**, thou fair city, cease thy rout, (18) and Hierapolis, thou land uniquely wedded to the god of wealth. (19) Thou shalt have, what thou hast **longed** to have, **gold** but **gold** of many tears, (20) burying it in the earth by the streams of Thermodon. (21) And rock-clinging Tripolis by Maeander's waters, (22) **left widowed** by the billows at night against the shore, (23) God's Providence shall one day make a full end of thee **unto the ground.**

(24) May it never befall me to choose willingly the land that is neighbour to Phoebus. (25) One day a meteor from on high shall destroy delicate Miletus, (26) forasmuch as she chose the deceitful verse of Phoebus, (27) and men's learned study and prudent counsel.

(28) Be favourable, Father of all, to the delicate fruitful land, (29) to great Judaea, that we may see thy purposes. (30) Her first didst thou know, O God, with thine acts of favour, (31) so that she seemed to all mankind to be the object of thy special grace, (32) and to realize what a charge she had from thee.

(33) Thrice wretched me, I long to see the Thracians' works, (34) and the wall that spans two seas, dragged by Ares (35) river-like in the dust **like** a fishing diver.

(36) Wretched Hellespont, a son of the Assyrians shall one day yoke thee. (37) †The Thracians' battle shall come and utterly destroy thy might†: (38) and an Egyptian king shall take Macedonia, (39) and a barbarian clime shall cast down the might of rulers. (40) Lydians and Galatians, Pamphylians and Pisidians (41) bear rule with all their people armed with bitter strife.

296. **prostrate.** Read *ὑπτία* for *ὕπτια δ'*.

298–305. Further calamities and reversal of seasons. The section seems misplaced here.

301. **autumn's end.** *μετόπωρ'* for MSS. *μετέπειτ'*.

306. **minstrel,** *λυρουργόν*. Geffck.'s emendation for *Λυκουργόν*. The reference would be to Homer. The idea seems to be that in the general distress even the inveterate rivalry between Ephesus and Smyrna would cease.

308. The people of the Asiatic Cumae were regarded as specially foolish. But the reference to the inspired streams would fit in better with the Cumae in Campania.

310. Read *κλῆμα προήσει* for *ἅρμα προδώσει*.

311. **swelling** (*κυμαίνουσι*) for 'Cumaean' (*κυμήοισιν*). The play on words seems to make this emendation preferable to Geffcken's *κυανέοισιν*.

316. The Eridanus was a river famous in old legends. Here, perhaps, used for the sea. Cf. Virgil's 'Acheloia pocula'.

317. **Cibyra.** Mendelssohn's emendation for Corcyra. Cibyra was on the borders of Caria and Lycia.

319. **longed to have** (*πεπόθηκας*). MSS. 'made' (*πεποίηκας*). *Gold*, *χρυσόν*, is a suggested emendation for *place*, *χῶρον*. It carries on the idea of 'wedded to the god of wealth' (*Πλούτωνι μιγεῖσα*).

One of the features of Hierapolis was the Ploutonium, a hole just wide enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a mephitic vapour. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 86.

322. **left widowed.** Read *χηρευθεῖσα* for MSS. *κληρωθεῖσα*. Should we read 'hurled down,' *καρριφθεῖσα*?

Tripolis was situated on a hill overhanging the Maeander.

323. Read *πέδονδε* for *ποθ' ἥδε*.

324. Miletus was not far from the famous temple of Apollo at Branchidae.

327. **study** = *μελέτην*, a play on *Μίλητον*. Miletus was proud of her philosophers, and especially of Thales.

334. The great wall that spanned the isthmus on which Byzantium stood.

335. **like** (*ἴσ'*) a suggestion for 'to' (*ἐπ'*). The **diver** was probably a sea bird.

336. Xerxes' bridge across the Hellespont.

337. Reading uncertain. It is suggested to read *Λυσίμαχον* for *εἰς σὲ μάχη*, and translate 'The Thracians' might shall utterly undo Lysimachus'. The reference would be to the death of Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedion in 281 B.C. His vanquisher, Seleucus, was slain by Ptolemy Keraunos, and he in his turn was defeated and killed by the Gauls in 280 B.C.

341. **bear rule** (*κρατέουσι*). Perhaps read *κροτέουσι*, 'resound with din of arms'.

(42) Thrice-wretched Italy, thou shalt remain all desolate, unwept. (43) A baleful beast in thy luxuriant land shall destroy thee.

(44) †**When** the broad heaven above **is clear**†, (45) men shall hear a crash, as of thunder, even the voice of God. (46) And even the imperishable fires of the sun itself shall be no more, (47) nor shall there be any more the bright moonlight (48) in the last time when God shall reign. (49) All things shall become black and darkness shall be over the earth, (50) (and mortals shall be blind and beasts evil) and trouble. (51) That day shall last long time, so that (52) men will take note of God Himself, the King, the Watcher of all from heaven. (53) Then he shall have no pity for those who are his foes, (54) when they spend themselves in sacrificing herds of lambs and sheep and lowing bulls, (55) of great calves too with gilded horns (56) to lifeless Hermes and gods of stone. (57) But let justice, wisdom, and glory hold sway over the just, (58) lest the Immortal God in anger destroy (59) the whole **bloodstained** race of men and their shameless kin. (60) We needs must love God the Father, the Wise, the Everlasting.

(61) There shall be at the last time, about the waning of the moon, (62) a world-convulsing war deceitful in guilefulness. (63) And there shall come from the ends of the earth a matricide (64) fleeing and devising sharp-edged plans in his mind. (65) He shall ruin all the earth, and gain all power, (66) and surpass all men in the cunning of his mind. (67) That for which he perished he shall seize at once. (68) And he shall destroy many men and great tyrants, (69) and shall burn all men as none other ever did. (70) And those that were fallen he shall raise up again through contrary zeal. (71) And from the west shall come much war to men, (72) and streams of blood shall flow up to the banks of the deep-eddying rivers. (73) And gall shall distil in the plains of Macedonia† . . . (74) alliance, but to the king from the west destruction†. (75) And then a wintry blast shall blow throughout the earth, (76) and the plain shall be filled again with cruel war. (77) For fire shall rain on mortal men from the fields of heaven, (78) fire and blood, water, meteor, darkness, heaven's night, (79) and consumption in war and a mist over the slain (80) shall destroy at once all kings and the best of men.

(81) Then at last war's piteous ruin shall be stopped (82) and no man shall fight any more with swords or steel, (83) nor with javelins either, for these things shall no more be permitted. (84) But the wise people that are left shall have peace, (85) having had trial of evil that later they might rejoice.

(86) Ye matricides, cease from your shamelessness and wicked boldness. (87) Ye that of old foully furnished boys for abuse, (88) and set in your houses as harlots those who before were pure (89) with wanton violence and punishment and laboured foulness. (90) In thee a mother had incestuous commerce with her child, (91) and a daughter became the bride of her own father. (92) In thee even kings befouled their ill-starred mouth: (93) in thee evil men even found means to lie with beasts. (94) Silence, thou miserable, wicked city, from the revel that thou hadst. (95) For no longer under **the roof of thy virgin-loving court** shall the virgins tend the divine fire. (97) Quenched from thee was thine house, desired of old, (98) when for the second time I saw thine house hurled (99) headlong down, lapped with fire, by an unholy hand, (400) thine ever flourishing house, the temple that guarded thy god, (401) made with holy hands, (402) and such as men from their soul and body itself trusted would be ever immortal.

(403) Not recklessly do they praise a God of **senseless** earth, (404) nor did a cunning workman

343. The reading of the MSS. needs some correction. Read *ἐξαπολεῖ σε* for *ἐξαπολέσθαι*.

344. MSS. unintelligible. Read *ἔσται δ' ὁπποταν αἴθριος οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν*.

358–60. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei*, xxiii. 8.

359. **bloodstained** (*βροτόεν*) a conjecture for 'life' (*βίοτον*).

361–85. Wars and disasters preceding the end.

363. **The ends of the earth.** Either Parthia, or the West conceived of as the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist in the form of Nero. A similar description in Testament of the Lord v.

The passage is referred to in Lact. *De Morte Pers.* ii. 8.

367. Probably the sovereignty.

370–3. Friedlieb supposes these lines to be an interpolation.

373. A gap after this line. The sense was probably, 'But God shall send from on high to that people help (or alliance)'.

386–402. Outburst of hatred against Rome. For the description cf. iii. 185 ff.

395. No good sense can be obtained from the MSS. A somewhat bold emendation is proposed. Read *οὐκέτι γὰρ παρὰ σεῖο τέγει φιλοπαρθένου αὐλῆς*. The reference is apparently to the burning of the Temple of Vesta in A.D. 64 (or possibly the second burning in A.D. 191).

398. The Sibyl claims to have seen the Temple at Jerusalem twice destroyed, and regards its destruction as the reason for the burning of Vesta's Temple.

401. The indestructibility of Herod's Temple was a dogma deep-rooted in the Jewish mind. Compare the story in Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi. 5.

403. **senseless** (*ἄφρονος*) for 'vanished' (*ἀφανοῦς*).

among them make a god of stone: (405) no ornament of gold to lead souls astray do they worship. (406) But God, the great Father of all within whom is the breath of God, (407) they were wont to reverence with holy sacrifices and hecatombs. (408) But now an obscure unholy king has gone up (409) and cast it down and left it without inhabitant (10) with a great multitude and with doughty warriors. (11) But he himself perished **when he landed on the mainland from the Eternal Land,** (12) and no such sign has yet been wrought on men (13) that others should think to lay in ruins the great city.

(14) For there has come from the plains of heaven a blessed man (15) with the sceptre in his hand which God has committed to his clasp: (16) and he has won fair dominion over all, and has restored to all (17) the good the wealth which the former men took. (18) And he has destroyed every city from its foundations with sheets of fire, (19) and burnt up the families of the men who before wrought evil, (20) and the city which God loved he made (21) more radiant than the stars and the sun and the moon; (23) **and he** set it **as the jewel of the world, and** made **a temple** (23) exceeding fair **in its fair sanctuary**, and fashioned it (24) in size of many furlongs, with a giant tower (25) touching the very clouds and seen of all, (26) so that all the faithful and all the righteous may see (27) the glory of the invisible God, the vision of delight. (28) East and West have hymned forth the glory of God: (29) for no longer are wretched mortals beset with deeds of shame, (30) adulteries and unnatural passions for boys, (31) murder and tumult, but rivalry is fair among all. (32) It is the last time of the saints, when God accomplishes these things, (33) God the sender of thunder, the Creator of the great Temple.

(34) Woe to thee, Babylon, golden-throned and golden-sandalled, (35) thou who for many a year wast queen, sole sovereign of the world, (36) of old so great and cosmopolitan, no more shalt thou lie (37) on golden mountains and by Euphrates' streams. (38) Thou shalt be levelled by an earthquake's shock: and the dread Parthians (39) have made thee **rattle** through and through. Keep thy mouth **with** the bridle of constraint, (40) thou race of the Chaldees, and ask not nor care (41) how thou mayst rule the Persians or have dominion over the Medes. (42) For because of the empire that thou hadst, †thou shalt send hostages (43) to Rome, even those who were in bondage to Asia†. (44) Therefore thou thyself, thou haughty queen, shalt come to the **summons** of thine (45) adversaries on whose account thou hast sent ransom, (46) and for thy crooked words thou shalt give a bitter reckoning to thine enemies.

(47) And in the last time the sea shall be dry, (48) and no longer shall ships sail to Italy, (49) and great Asia which produces everything shall be water, (50) and Crete a plain. Cyprus shall have a great sorrow (51) and Paphos shall **lament** aloud her grievous fate, so that (52) even Salamis the great city shall perceive that she has suffered a great sorrow. (53) Now again the dry land up to the sea-shore shall be barren, (54) and swarms of locusts shall waste the land of Cyprus. (55) Ye ill-starred mortals, ye shall weep when ye look toward Tyre. (56) Phoenicia, grievous wrath awaits thee, till thou fallest (57) with a grievous fall so that the Sirens in very truth should weep.

(58) There shall be a time in the fifth generation, when Egypt's destruction shall cease, (59) when kings ally themselves in shameless marriages. (60) And Pamphylian races shall settle in Egypt, (61) and in Macedonia and in Asia and among the Lycians (62) *there shall be* a world-convulsing war with streams of blood in the dust, (63) which a king of Rome and western princes shall arrest.

408. The **king** is Titus.

411. Text uncertain. Titus lingered for some time in Egypt after the capture of Jerusalem, and there was an expectation among the Jews that he would die directly he set foot on Italian soil. Read *χέρσῳ ἀπ' ἀθανάτης ἐπιβὰς γῆς* and understand *χέρσῳ* of the mainland of Italy.

414–33. The coming of the Messiah, conceived of as already having occurred.

420, 421. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 24. 6.

422. The line is mutilated in the middle. The emendation suggested is *καὶ κόσμου κατέθηκεν ἄγαλμα, νεὼν τ' ἐποίησεν ἐν σηκῷ καλῷ περικαλλέα.*

434–46. Woes on Babylon and the Parthians.

435. Cf. Isa. xlvii. 5.

437. The **golden mountains** are merely a proverbial figure for immense wealth.

439. **rattle** (*κροτεῖν*) for MSS. 'rule' (*κρατεῖν*). In the latter half of the line the MSS. reading has been kept with the single alteration of *φιμόν* to *φιμῷ*.

443. The text is again corrupt. Read *εἰς Ῥώμην πέμψεις συ καὶ Ἄσιδι θητεύοντας.* Augustus, by diplomacy, induced the Parthians to restore the Roman prisoners captured at Carrhae.

444. Reading again uncertain. For *εἰς κρίσιν* read *ἐπὶ κλῆσιν.*

447–57. Convulsions of nature.

451. **lament,** *αἰάξει.* Alexandre's emendation for *ἀίξει.*

457. For the Sirens as spirits of lamentation cf. 2 Bar. x. 8.

458. War in Egypt. For 'when . . . shall cease' (*ὅτε παύσετ'*) we should, perhaps, read 'when . . . shall come' (*ὅτ' ἐλεύσετ'*).

459. Perhaps a reference to Cleopatra and Caesar.

461. For **Lycians** Alex. suggests 'Libyans', referring to Octavian's capture of Pelusium and Alexandria.

(64) When a wintry blast distils in form of snow, (65) and a great river and the largest lakes are frozen, (66) straightway a barbarian horde shall make its way to the land of Asia, (67) and shall destroy the race of the dreaded Thracians as though it were but puny. (68) And then mortals in desperation shall devour their own parents (69) in the last stages of famine, and shall consume them greedily as food. (70) And from every house beasts shall devour the table (71) and the very birds shall devour all mortals, (72) and as a result of grievous war the bloodstained ocean shall be filled (73) with the flesh and blood of the insensate men. (74) Then such faintness shall there be throughout the earth (75) that one may tell the number of men and the measure of women. (76) Myriad shall be the lamentations of the **wretched** generation about the term (77) when the sun sets never to rise again, (78) waiting to be bathed in the waters of ocean. (79) For it has seen the unholy villainies of many men. (80) There shall be a moonless darkness even around the great heaven, (81) and no slight mist shall envelop the folds of earth (82) a second time. But then God's light shall guide (83) all those good men who have raised their hymns to God.

(84) Isis, thou goddess thrice ill-starred, thou shalt remain by the streams of Nile (85) alone, frenzied but speechless by the sands of Acheron, (86) and no memory of thee shall remain throughout the whole earth. (87) And thou, Sarapis, **covered with many useless stones**, (88) shalt lie a giant corpse in Egypt thrice ill-starred. (89) And all who have brought the precious things of Egypt to thee, (90) shall weep for thee bitterly, bethinking them of the Immortal God. (91) They shall know thee to be nothing, all who have sung hymns to thee as God. (92) And then one of the priests shall say, a linen-clad man, (93) Come, let us set up the fair temple of the true God. (94) Come, let us change the grievous custom we have received from our fathers, (95) whereby, performing processions and rites to gods of stone and earthenware, they had no sense. (97) Let us turn ourselves and hymn the Immortal God, (98) the Father himself who is from everlasting, (99) the Chief of all, the True, the King, (500) the Father, Sustainer of souls, the Great Eternal God. (501) And then in Egypt there shall be a great and holy temple, (502) and to it the people whom God made shall bring sacrifices. (503) To these God shall grant a life without decay.

(504) But when, leaving the shameless tribes of the Triballi, (505) the Ethiopians tarry to till **the land of Egypt**, (506) they shall begin their evil deeds that all the latter things may come to pass. (507) For they shall destroy the great temple of the land of Egypt. (508) And God shall rain grievous wrath upon them down to earth, (509) so as to destroy all the evil and all the lawless. (10) And there shall be no more any sparing in that land (11) because they did not keep that which God entrusted to them.

(12) I saw the threatening of the gleaming sun among the stars, (13) and the moon's grievous wrath among the lightning flashes. (14) The stars travailed with **war**: and God suffered them to fight. (15) For instead of the sun long flames rose in revolt, (17) and the two-horned **revolution** of the moon was changed. (16) Lucifer waged battle, mounted on Leo's back. (18) Capricorn smote the heel of the young Taurus: (19) and Taurus snatched from Capricorn his day of return. (20) Orion removed the Scales so that they remained no more. (21) Virgo changed her sphere with the Twins in Aries. (22) The Pleiad appeared no more: and the Dragon disowned the Belt. (23) Pisces entered into the girdle of Leo. (24) Cancer did not stay, for he feared Orion. (25) Scorpio drew up his tail, because of savage Leo: (26) and the dog-star perished from the sun's flame. (27) The might of doughty Lucifer burned up Aquarius. (28) Heaven itself was stirred till it shook the warriors, (29) and in anger cast them headlong to the earth. (30) And smitten swiftly into the waters of Ocean, (31) they kindled the whole earth: and the sky remained starless.

464–74. A Gaulish invasion. Probably an ancient oracle on the Gaulish inroad into Asia after their repulse at Delphi in 279 B.C.

476–83. A plague of darkness, the righteous only having light.

476. **wretched**, δειλή, a conjecture for MSS. δεινή.

482. The writer has in mind probably the darkness that reigned in Egypt when only the Israelites had light.

484–503. The conversion of Egypt. Four lines are quoted by Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50 with slight alterations from the MSS.

487. So Clem. But the MSS. have 'stretched on thy stones thou shalt have many toils', λίθοις ἐπικείμενε πολλὰ μογήσεις.

489. Or perhaps 'whom the spell of Egypt hath brought to thee'. ὅσσους δ' Αἰγύπτου πόθος ἤγαγεν εἴς σε (so Rz.).

501. The Temple of Onias at Heliopolis was destroyed by order of Vespasian.

504–11. Destruction of the Temple followed by God's vengeance.

504. The **Triballi**, properly a rude tribe living on the borders of Thrace, are here used generally for savages.

505. The MSS. **tarry** is to be kept. But 'the land of Egypt' is Alexandre's emendation (Αἰγύπτου γαῖαν for Αἴγυπτον ἐήν τε).

512–31. The battle of the stars; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 72. If the stars are taken as representing angelic beings, the scene is parallel to the 'war in heaven' in Apoc. xii. 7. Only here all are finally expelled.

514. **war.** A necessary emendation for the MSS. reading, which gives no sense.

517. **revolution** (ῥοῖζος) for 'trouble' (ὀιζύς).

525. MSS. uncertain.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Assumption of Moses was in all probability a composite work, and consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was the Testament of Moses, and the second the Assumption. The former was written in Hebrew, between A. D. 7 and 29, and possibly also the latter. A Greek version of the entire work appeared in the first century A. D. Of this a few phrases and sentences appear to have been preserved in Acts vii. 36, Jude 9, 16, 18, 2 Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek writers. The Greek version was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century. Of this version a large fragment was discovered by Ceriani in a sixth-century MS. in the Ambrosian library in Milan.

The book was written by a Pharisaic Quietist and was designed by its author as a protest against the growing secularization of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. Its author sought herein to recall his party to the old paths, which they were fast forsaking, of simple unobtrusive obedience to the law. He glorifies accordingly the old ideals which had been cherished and pursued by the Chasid and Early Pharisaic party, but which the Pharisaism of the first century B. C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. And yet he was full of patriotism; for he looked for the return of the Ten Tribes, the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, the triumph of Israel over its foes. But though a patriot he was not a Zealot. The duty of the faithful was not to resort to arms, but simply to keep the law, and prepare, through repentance, for the personal intervention of God in their behalf. Accordingly, though he depicts in all its horrors the persecution under Antiochus, he leaves unmentioned the great achievements of the Maccabean leaders and only once refers to the entire dynasty from 165 to 37 B. C., and that in most disparaging terms. For him the true saints and heroes of the time were not Judas and his great brethren, but an obscure group of martyrs—Eleazar and his seven sons, who unresistingly yielded themselves to death on behalf of God and the law. In setting forth his ideal saints and heroes our author idealized deliberately the facts of history and represented as a single incident two distinct events—a pardonable liberty on the part of an Apocalyptist—not to speak of an unconquerable optimist and idealist. His action in regard to the Maccabean movement was the natural outcome of his conception of religion, and reflected his attitude towards the present dominant form of Pharisaism; for he clearly saw the growing secularization of the religion of his time, and perhaps foresaw the doom to which his country was hurrying under such a shortsighted and unspiritual policy, and laboured with all his power to stay its downward progress. But all in vain. He but played afresh the part of Cassandra. The leavening of Pharisaism with earthly political ideals went on apace, and the movement thus initiated culminated finally in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A. D.

It adds no little to the interest of the book that it was written during the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry, and that its conception of spiritual religion as opposed to an alliance of religion with politics generally or with any specific school of politics was essentially one with His.[1]

§ 2. The present Book in reality a Testament of Moses—not the Assumption, which is preserved only in a few Greek quotations.

In the lists of Apocryphal books we find mention of a Testament of Moses (Διαθήκη Μωυσέως) followed immediately by an Assumption of Moses (Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως). In the 'List of Sixty Books' and in the Synopsis of Athanasius the number of stichoi is omitted, but this desideratum is supplied by the Stichometry of Nicephorus, which assigns to them respectively 1,100 and 1,400 stichoi. Schürer conjectured that these designations were titles of two separate divisions of one

[1] This section is mainly taken from my edition of the *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xiii sq.

and the same book, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second. The studies of the present writer have led him to accept this suggestion in a modified form. The 'Testament' and 'Assumption' mentioned in the above lists are not to be regarded with Schürer as 'two separate divisions of one and the same work', but as two originally independent works subsequently put together and edited as one.

Of the Latin fragment of the Assumption (i. e. the Testament), which consisted originally of 1,100 stichoi, about one-half is preserved.[1] Some writers, as Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 480 sq.), have sought to identify this Testament with the Book of Jubilees. But this is impossible; for since 4,300 stichoi are assigned to the Canonical Book of Genesis in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, this Testament, if it were identical with the Book of Jubilees, would have run to 5,000 or 6,000 stichoi and not to 1,100, as it is there stated. Independently of this fact on a variety of grounds this identification is inadmissible.

We shall now give some of the grounds for regarding the Latin version and the Greek fragments in the Fathers as belonging to two originally independent works, which were subsequently edited together.

1°. The book quoted by Jude, Clement of Alexandria, and later Greek writers,[2] was wholly concerned with the individual destiny of Moses, i. e. his assumption and incidents connected with it. This was the original Assumption of Moses.

2°. The book partially preserved in the Latin version is the 'Testament' which was wholly taken up with the destinies of the chosen people: it was distinct also from the Assumption of Moses; for according to the Latin version (i. e. the 'Testament') Moses was to die an ordinary death. Thus in i. 15 Moses says: 'I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people,' and similarly in x. 14. In iii. 13 the Tribes speak of Moses' death. In these three passages the death referred to is obviously an ordinary one, and the same fact was stated in x. 12, before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. In x. 12, i. e. 'From my death [assumption] until His advent, there will be CCL times,' this word 'assumption' was introduced by the final editor into the Testament, which knew nothing of Moses' assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, 'The Assumption of Moses'.

3°. In the thirteenth section of the Palaea Historica edited by Vassiliev—an O.T. history of events from Adam to Daniel—of the portion which deals with the death of Moses, part seems to be ultimately derived from the 'Testament' and part from the 'Assumption' properly so called. The following lines (pp. 257–58) would form a fitting close to the 'Testament'.

καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν (τὸν) τοῦ Ναυί. Ἀνέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. καὶ ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν. κάτελθε πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ κατῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου ἐκτήσατο. Here Moses dismisses Joshua and dies apparently an ordinary death. But according to the Assumption proper (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15) both Joshua and Caleb were present, when the assumption

[1] It is not improbable that the lost half of the Testament dealt with certain revelations made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight. We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. VT*, ii. 121–2) 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi *de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam*, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulcri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit ubi cadaver conderetur'. Here there is an extraordinary disappearance of Moses' body as in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 but no assumption. If the writer had been acquainted with the original Assumption, in which the details of Moses' ascension to heaven were recorded, he could not have written in these vague terms.

[2] On pp. 105–10 of my edition I have shown by an examination of the existing Greek fragments of the *Assumption proper*, that the order of action in it was probably as follows:

1°. Michael was commissioned to bury Moses.

2°. Satan opposed the burial on the ground (*a*) that he was the lord of matter (ὕλη) and that accordingly the body should be rightfully handed over to him; (*b*) that Moses was a murderer, having slain the Egyptian.

3°. Michael having rebutted Satan's accusations proceeded to charge Satan with having instigated the serpent to tempt Eve.

4°. Finally, all opposition having been overcome, the assumption took place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb, and in a very peculiar way. A two-fold presentation of Moses appeared: one was Moses in company with angels, the other was the dead body of Moses, being buried in the recesses of the mountains.

The passages in support of 1° will be found in Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (A. D. 512–19). See Cramer, *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, p. 160; likewise the two anonymous passages *op. cit.* on pp. 161, 163; two scholia from Oecumenius (*c.* 990). In support of 2° Jude 9; Clem. Alex., *Adumbrat. in Ep. Iudae*; Didymus Alex. (309–94); Severus of Antioch; *Acta Synodi Nicaen*, ii. 20; anonymous passages in Cramer's *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, pp. 160, 161, 163 and the scholia of Oecumenius. In support of 3° Origen, *De Princ.* iii. 2. 1. In support of 4° Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 15; Origen, *In Ios.-Hom.* ii. 1; Euodius, *Ep. ad August.* 258. All these passages are given in full in my edition, pp. 105–10.

of Moses took place. The words that follow on the above in the Palaea Historica are based ultimately on the Assumption proper and deal with the strife of Sammael and Michael over the body of Moses, the real Moses in a spiritual form having been borne off to heaven by angels.

4°. The two books—the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption'—were probably put together in one work in the first century A. D., since Jude draws upon both in his Epistle. See § 10. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8. 48), while holding fast to Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6, shows that he is aware of the new claims made on Moses' behalf in the Assumption: *νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος. Γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.* Does the account of the Transfiguration point in any respect to popular belief in Moses' assumption?

§ 3. Other Books of Moses.

i. *In Jewish literature.*

(*a*) *Midrash Tanchuma Debarim* translated by Wünsche into German (1882). *Petirath Moshe* (פטירת משה) ed. by Gaulmyn (Paris 1629) with a Latin translation, which latter was republished by Fabricius in 1714 and Gfrörer in 1840. Two other recensions of this work were printed by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrasch* i. 115–29, 1853; vi. 71–8, 1877.

גדולות משה. This Hebrew Apocalypse tells of Moses' transformation into the form of a fiery angel and his ascent through the seven heavens. Since it shows many affinities with 2 Enoch, some of its contents will be found under § 4 of the Introduction to that book.

Another legend dealing with the temporary translation of Moses before his death into heaven is preserved in the Midrash Bereshit Rabbati of R. Moses Ha-Darshan published by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrasch* vi, § 22. When translated into heaven the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple were revealed to him, and he was told these would descend to earth after God had gathered Israel a second time from the ends of the earth.

On the above legends see Beer, *Leben Mosis nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, 1863; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 183.

(*b*) *In Greek.* Philo's *Vita Mosis*; Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 4, 48.

βίβλος λόγων μυστικῶν Μωυσέως. This book is mentioned in the Acts of the Nicene Council ii. 18. Its contents as there given have their parallels in Rabbinic literature. See *Jewish Encyc.* ix. 53.

(*c*) *In Arabic and Slavonic.* See my edition of *The Assumption*, p. xvi.

ii. *In Christian literature.*

Apocalypsis Mosis in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae.* This book is wrongly named and belongs really to the Adamic literature.

Apocryphum Mosis (Ἀπόκρυφον Μωυσέως). According to Euthalius and others Gal. vi. 16 was borrowed from this book, but there can be little doubt that the borrowing is just the other way.

§ 4. The Latin Version of the Assumption.

The solitary MS. of this version was discovered in the Ambrosian library in Milan by Ceriani and published by him in his *Mon. sacr. et prof.* I. i. 55–64 in 1861. This MS. is a palimpsest of the sixth century. It consists of eight folios written on both sides. There is no division of words, and occasionally whole verses are undecipherable. It is not, as scholars have supposed, the actual work of the original Latin translator, but only a fragmentary copy of that version; for our text contains duplicate renderings and attempts at a better translation, which were primarily marginal glosses, but were afterwards introduced by a copyist into the text; cf. v. 6, xi. 13, and probably in vi. 3 and viii. 5.

The Latin belongs in style and orthography to the fifth century. Nearly all its chief characteristics can be paralleled from the fifth-century Bobbio MS. *K* edited in 1886 by Wordsworth, Sanday and White. A full study of our MS. and its idiosyncrasies and critical worth will be found in my edition, pp. xxx–xxxvi.

§ 5. The Latin Version—a Translation from the Greek.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question.

Thus (1) Greek words are transliterated, as *chedrio* i. 17 from *κεδρόω*, *heremus* iii. 11 from *ἐρῆμος*, *acrobistia* viii. 3 from *ἀκροβυστία.*

(2) Greek forms and idioms survive in the Latin. Thus scene i. 7 = *τῇ σκηνῇ*: 'usque nos duci captivos' iii. 13 is an imitation of the Greek *ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι.*

(3) Not infrequently we must translate not the Latin text, but the Greek which it presupposes but which was misrendered by the translator. Thus *nam* must not be rendered by 'for' in ii. 4, 5; viii. 2, 4; x. 11, &c. In vii. 7 'ab oriente ad occidentem' is to be rendered not 'from east to west' but 'from sunrise to sunset', i.e. *ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δυομένου*. The Greek is susceptible of either meaning.

(4) Fragments of the Greek version are still preserved: see note on i. 14.

§ 6. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew.

The view maintained by Hilgenfeld that this book was written originally in Greek has been long universally abandoned. The only question at issue now is as to the original being Hebrew or Aramaic. Schmidt-Merx, Colani, Hausrath, and Carrière decide for the latter, and Rosenthal for the former. Of these scholars only Schmidt-Merx and in a minor degree Rosenthal have treated the question seriously. In the *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.* I. ii. 111–52 Schmidt-Merx show how readily the text admits of retranslation into Aramaic; but this proof is wholly inadequate, for the same passages can be just as readily rendered into Hebrew. In two passages, however, they urge that the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text can be explained on the hypothesis of an Aramaic original but not on that of a Hebrew. The first is i. 10 'promitte . . . omnia quae mandata sunt ut facias'. Here the position of 'ut facias' (which = לעשות) after its object is usual in Aramaic כל די אתפקד למעבד. But the same order is found also in Hebrew. See Isa. xlix. 6; 2 Chron. xxviii. 10. The second instance of alleged Aramaic order is that in iii. 2 'sancta vasa omnia' = קדישיא מאניא כלהון. The position of 'omnia' is no doubt conformable to Aramaic, but it is also possible in classical Hebrew, כלי קדש כלם. Cf. 2 Sam. ii. 9; Jer. xiii. 19, xlviii. 31.

Among the positive grounds for a Hebrew original might be enumerated the following:

1°. *Hebrew idiomatic phrases survive in the text.* 'Circumibo' ii. 7 = אסובב = 'I will protect': cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Jer. xxxi. 22; Ps. xxxii. 10. 'Dividentur ad veritatem' v. 2 = יֻחָלְקוּ באמת: cf. 1 Kings xvi. 21. 'In sacerdotes vocabuntur' vi. 1 = יִקָּרְאוּ על־הכהנים: cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14. These are pure Hebraisms, and cannot apparently be explained from Aramaic.

2°. *In some cases we must translate, not the Latin, but the Hebrew presupposed by it.* Thus in i. 7 'successor' = *διάδοχος* = משרת, which must here be rendered 'minister'. In i. 13 'non coepit' = *οὐκ ἤρξατο* = לא הואיל, which must here be rendered 'he was not pleased', 'did not consent'.

3°. *Frequently it is only through retranslation that we can understand the source of the corruptions in the text.* In iv. 9 we have the impossible text 'x tribus crescent et devenient apud †natos† in tempore tribum'. Here 'tribum' is for 'tribuum' and 'natos' corrupt for 'nationes'. Clemen renders the text thus emended: 'zehn Stämme werden immer mehr zu Heiden werden.' Now, to translate 'devenient apud nationes' by 'become heathens' is highly questionable. But, even if this were possible, 'crescent et devenient' cannot, if the original was Semitic, mean 'will become more and more', and it cannot do so in either Greek or Latin. And finally this idea of the Ten Tribes becoming heathen is contrary to the beliefs expressed in 4 Ezra xiii. 36–48, and in Philo, *Leg. ad Caium* 31, as to their religious character and their immense numbers in the first century A.D. That our author shares in this view is clear from iii. 5–14, where he represents all the Tribes as joining in a general confession of sin with the Two Tribes, and all the Tribes in iii. 9 as claiming that God had sworn that the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and of Jacob should never fail from the land that He had given them, and from x. 8, where all the Tribes are represented as ultimately triumphant. We conclude, therefore, that iv. 9 speaks favourably of the Ten Tribes. The verb 'crescent' is therefore what we might expect. The corruption, therefore, lies in 'devenient' and 'tribuum'. The former = *κατελεύσονται* = ירדו, which is obviously corrupt for ירבו. Next in the phrase 'in tempore tribuum' we should have the time defined during which this increase took place. From Philo, Josephus, and 4 Ezra we know that it was while the Ten Tribes were in exile. Hence שבטים (i.e. 'tribuum') is corrupt for שביתם or שבים = 'captivitatis suae'. This reconstruction of the original is not possible from an Aramaic background.

In i. 13 'non coepit' = *οὐκ ἤρξατο*, but the text requires a verb of another meaning. Now *οὐκ ἤρξατο* = לא הואיל, which can also mean 'was not pleased'.

For other passages see the notes on v. 5, v. 6, vii. 4, xii. 7.

§ 7. The Date.

The book was written before A. D. 70; for the temple was to stand till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, i. 17. It was standing when the book was written; for if it had fallen such an event could not have been passed over in silence. It could not have been passed over in a book, where all the fortunes of the temple, even its temporary profanations by a faithless priesthood, are carefully recorded: see ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9; viii. 5. When the temple did fall it left an ineffaceable mark on all subsequent literature.

So far for the latest limit of composition, i. e. A. D. 70. Now as to its earliest. This is 3 B. C.; for Herod is already dead, vi. 6, and the War of Varus already past, vi. 9. Thus the limits lie between 3 B. C. and A. D. 70. But there are data for a nearer determination. In vi. 7 the statement, 'And he (Herod) shall beget children, who, succeeding him, shall rule for shorter periods,' is true of Archelaus alone; for Philip and Antipas reigned longer than their father. Hence the book must have been written before A. D. 30. But the limits may be defined still more closely. For the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father may be reasonably explained from two considerations: (*a*) from the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority; but still more (*b*) from the actual deposition of Archelaus after a short reign of ten years, 4 B. C.–A. D. 6—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgement, and suggest to him the prediction that appears in our text. Hence, however we may interpret the 'four hours' in vii. 1, it may be fairly concluded that part of these had already elapsed when the author wrote, and that the earliest limit of composition was A. D. 7. Thus the book was written between the years A. D. 7–30.

§ 8. The Author—a Pharisaic Quietist.

The school to which the writer of our book belonged cannot be mistaken. (1) He was not a Sadducee; for he looks forward to the direct intervention of God on behalf of Israel, and his establishment of the theocratic kingdom on earth. He dwells on the future blessedness of the righteous (x. 10, 11). Finally, he attacks the Sadducean party in the most bitter terms. (2) He was not a Zealot, as Dillmann and Schürer suppose, for his complete silence as to the Maccabean rising forms an emphatic censure of their appeal to arms. This silence is all the more impressive, as the writer was thoroughly acquainted with all the history of the Maccabean movement. Moreover, whilst he evinces clearly his aversion to a militant Judaism, he indicates just as clearly his admirations. He will not trust an arm of flesh. His ideal hero (ch. ix) was not one who flew to arms on behalf of Israel, but one who amid the most bitter persecution in the history of Israel raised no hand in self-defence, but committed his cause to God. Ch. x further is wholly against the idea of a Zealot author. The theocratic kingdom is here introduced, not by the militant acts of the saints, but by the direct intervention of God.

(3) He was not an Essene—a view that has been advocated by Schmidt and Merx. For the entire book is interpenetrated with national hopes and aspirations. The ideal of the Essene was individualistic and ethical, and not national. The greatest interest is taken in all the fortunes of the temple, ii. 4, 8, 9; v. 3, 4; iii. 2; vi. 1. Such an interest would not be natural in an Essene. The author also was much concerned in the character of the temple sacrifices, but the Essene disapproved wholly of animal sacrifices.

(4) From the preceding facts it follows that our author was neither Sadducee, Zealot, nor Essene, but a Pharisaic Quietist. He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation.

§ 9. Theology.

Good works. On the doctrine of merit or good works, our author's views are more nearly allied to O.T. conceptions than to the legalism of the rabbinic doctrine of man's righteousness, which bulks so largely in Jewish literature from A. D. 50 onwards, and against which the Pauline dialectic was so vigorously directed. So far was man's righteousness from involving merit over against God, that the greatest hero of Judaism is represented as declaring: 'Not for any virtue or strength of mine, but of His good pleasure have His compassion and long-suffering fallen to my lot' (xii. 7). Similarly the election of the nation was not due to any righteousness of its own: 'For I say unto you, Joshua, it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations '(xii. 8). This call, therefore, alike of the individual as of the nation was a matter of grace, and the covenant relation between God and Israel was based on divine grace and not on human merit. But whilst the divine grace is made the absolute pre-condition of Israel's election and salvation,

the necessity of works is no less insisted on and moral responsibility affirmed, xii. 10-12: 'Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God shall increase and be prospered; but those who sin and set at nought the commandments shall be without the blessings before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments.' There is, however, one passage from which the sense of demerit is wholly absent, i. e. ix. 4 sq.: 'Observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength.' These words imply that a faithful remnant existed at all times. But even so they introduce a note of discord into the writer's theology.

Quietism. We have touched repeatedly on this characteristic in our author, so that it does not call for further notice here. It was typical of the older Pharisees, and in this respect the tone of the book has its affinities with that of the Sermon on the Mount, which essentially exhibits this temper.

The Messianic kingdom. There is no Messiah. This is probably due to the fact that the conception of the Messiah, as a man of war, was gaining more and more acceptance amongst the Pharisees, and was thus of a nature to promote the growing secularization of Pharisaism. No such Messiah could be acknowledged by our author.

The kingdom was to be ushered in by a day of repentance (i. 17). 1750 years after the death of Moses, between A. D. 75 and 107 (?) God was to intervene on behalf of Israel—of Israel and not merely of Judah and Benjamin. Our author always dwells on the solidarity of the nation. As the tribes suffered vicariously for each other's sins (iii. 5), so the promises were made to the Twelve Tribes collectively (iii. 9), and they were all to be glorified together (x. 8). During their kingdom Israel's national enemies were to be destroyed (x. 8). Finally, Israel was to be exalted to heaven (x. 9), whence they should see their enemies in Gehenna (x. 10).

Moses' unique relation to Judaism. Moses was prepared from the foundation of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant with His people (i. 14; iii. 12). Pre-existence is here ascribed to Moses, but to him uniquely. In Alexandrian Judaism it was conceived to be the prerogative of mankind generally.[1] During his life Moses was Israel's intercessor with God (xi. 11, 17); for forty years he suffered many things at their hands in Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness (iii. 11). When about to die, he chose Joshua in his stead (x. 15), apparently as the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15. His death was an ordinary one (i. 15; iii. 13; x. 12, 14), but no single place was worthy to mark the place of his burial; for his sepulchre was from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north (xi. 8). His relation, moreover, with Israel did not cease with death; he was appointed by God to be their intercessor in the spiritual world (xii. 6).

Israel. Israel was God's own people (i. 12); the world was created in their behalf (i. 12), and Moses prepared, before the foundation of the world, to establish the covenant relation between God and His people (i. 14), and Jerusalem prepared in like manner to be the centre of the worship of Yahweh till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom.

§ 10. Influence on the New Testament.

Jude was unquestionably acquainted with the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses properly so-called. From the latter Jude 9 is derived: *ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι Κύριος.*

Jude's acquaintance with the Testament of Moses may be reasonably concluded from the following parallels:

Jude 16 *γογγυσταί, μεμψίμοιροι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι· καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, ὠφελείας χάριν.*	vii. 7 querulosi vii. 9 et manus eorum et mentes eorum immunda tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia v. 5 mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munera.

The *ἀσεβεῖς* who are mentioned in Jude 4 appear twice in Ass. Moys. vii. 3, 7 (*impii*). The classes of evildoers are those who shall be 'in the last time', Jude 18, and when 'the times shall be ended', in Ass. Moys. vii. 1.

[1] This belief appears in Wisdom and 2 Enoch as the prerogative of mankind generally. This view is challenged by Dr. Porter ('The Pre-existence of the Soul in The Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings' in the *American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1908, pp. 53–115), but I cannot agree with him.

2 Peter ii. 13 ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφήν, *ibid.* ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγαπαῖς αὐτῶν συνευωχούμενοι ὑμῖν.

Acts vii. 36 ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

Ass. Moys. vii. 5 omni hora diei amantes convivia. vii. 8 habebimus discubitiones et luxuriam.

iii. 11 Moyses . . . qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in heremo annis xl.

For other possible borrowings or parallels see my edition, pp. lxiv. sq.

§ 11. Bibliography.

(*a*) Chief Editions of the Text.

Ceriani, *Mon. sacr. et prof.*, I. i. 55–64, 1861.
Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*[2], 107–35, 1876; *Messias Judaeorum*, 435–68, 1869 (retranslated into Greek).
Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt*, 1867.
Schmidt and Merx, 'Die Assumptio Mosis' (Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, I. i. 111–52, 1868).
Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Testamenti*, 700–30, 1871.
Charles, *The Assumption of Moses . . . the unemended Text . . . together with the Text in its . . . critically emended Form*, 1897.
Clemen, *The Assumption of Moses*, 1904.

(*b*) Chief Critical Inquiries.

Colani, 'L'Assomption de Moïse' (*Revue de Théologie*, iv. 65–94, 1868).
Rönsch, *ZfWT*, xi. 76–108, 466–8; xii. 213–28; xiv. 89–92; xvii. 542–62; xxviii. 102–4.
Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Bücher*, 13–38, 1885.
Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 25–31, 1888.
Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 95–130, 1891.
De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 67–75, 1892.
Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii–lxv.
Clemen in Kautzsch, *Apok. u. Pseud.*, 1899. II. 311–31.
Burkitt, 'The Assumption of Moses' in Hastings' *B.D.* iii. 448–50, 1900.

(*c*) Editions of the Book.

Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt . . . zum erstenmale deutsch herausgegeben*, 1867.
Charles, *The Assumption of Moses translated from the Latin sixth century MS., the unemended Text of which is published herewith, together with the Text in its restored and critically emended Form*, 1897.
In this last work (pp. xviii–xxviii) a full bibliography is given; see also Schürer[3], *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, iii. 222 sq.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

1 1 **The Testament of Moses** *even* **the things which he commanded in the one hundred and twentieth**
2 **year of his life**, that is the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world:
3 [But according to oriental reckoning **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth**
4 after the departure from Phoenicia], when the people had gone forth after the Exodus that was made
5 by Moses to Amman beyond the Jordan, in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deutero-
6, 7 nomy: and he called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved of the Lord, that he might be
8 the minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony with all its holy things, and that he
9 might bring the people into the land given to their **fathers**, that it should be given to them according
to the covenant and the oath, which He spake in the tabernacle to give (it) by Joshua: saying to Joshua

I. 1. Three lines are wanting. These must not consist of more than forty-eight or forty-nine lines, or less than forty-five as the following lines in the MS. show. Now since, as I have shown elsewhere, this book is the actual *διαθήκη Μωυσέως* or *Testamentum Moysi* (see p. xlv of my Comm.), and since the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs begin always with the title of the Testament (cf. T. Reub. i. 1 *ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης Ῥουβήμ, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο*) so here the text most probably ran:—

'Testamentum Moysi
Quae precepit añ vi
tae eius Cmo et xxmo.'

Here I have put *quae* and not *quod* since in every case the Testaments have *ἅ* or *ὅσα* in this very same context.

Hilgenfeld restores: 'Assumptio Moysis quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo; Volkmar: Liber profetiae Moysis quem scripsit añ aetatis centesimo vicesimo; Rönsch: Liber receptionis Moysi factae anno vitae eius Cmo et xxmo; Clemen: Liber profetiae Moysis, quae facta est anno vitae eius Cmo et xxmo.'

Schmidt Merx's restoration ('et factum est anno aetatis Moysi centesimo et vigesimo') will not do here owing to its being too short as well as on other grounds. The need of a title such as Testamentum or Assumptio is against Volkmar's and Clemen's restoration: while the fact that the book is not the Assumption but the Testament is against Hilgenfeld's and Rönsch's.

2–4. These verses are an interpolation—apparently made by a Greek scribe and in the West. No Hebrew writer would regard himself other than an Oriental, and a Jew is beyond question the author of this book. Hence he could not have written verse 3. Nor could a Jew have described Hebron, from which Jacob set out for Egypt, as being in Phoenicia. Moses, moreover, could not have spoken of Amman as beyond the Jordan: only a dweller in Jerusalem could have so described it.

2. **two thousand five hundredth year.** Contrast the dates given in Jubilees (2450 A.M.), Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 3. 1 and xx. 10 (2550), Samaritan Pentateuch (3309), LXX (3859), while the Massoretic chronology (2706) seems unknown to all the others. But cf. the 'Oriental reckoning' of verse 3 (as restored).

3. **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth.** Text = 'numerus . . mus et . . . mus et . . . . mus'. I restore (with Clemen) 'numerus MMmus et DCCmus, et CCCCmus'.

four hundredth after the departure from Phoenicia. The number of years varies in different authorities; as some give 400 (cf. Gen. xv. 13), others 430. The *terminus a quo* of reckoning also varies. The Samaritan reckoning (cf. also LXX, Jubilees, Gal. iii. 17; Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps. Jon. on Exod. xii. 40) embraces in the four hundred and thirty years the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan. Exod. xii. 40 (Mass. text) states that Israel sojourned in Egypt four hundred and thirty years, while Gen. xv. 13 may be interpreted either way. See also Acts vii. 6.

4. **Amman**—in the tribe of Gad, *Onom. Sacr.*, ed. Lag., 88, 31; 92, 2.

5. **in the prophecy.** *profetiae* I take as = *profetiâ*. *ae* occasionally is found for *a* in fifth-century Latin. Cf. *in scenae* for *in scena*, i. 9.

6. **called to him . . . Nun.** Cf. Deut. xxxi. 7.

the son of Nun. Text = *filium Nave*, the LXX spelling of the name.

approved of the Lord. Cf. Acts ii. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 15.

7. **minister of the people.** Text = *successor plebi*. *διάδοχος* means the chief minister of the king in LXX of 1 Chron. xviii. 17; 2 Chron. xxvi. 11, xxviii. 7; also in Philo, and Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 10. In Sirach xlvi. 1 the Hebrew equivalent is מְשָׁרֵת, the special term used in Exod. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11; Num. xi. 28; Josh. i. 1 to describe Joshua's relation to Moses; also in Num. viii. 26, &c., it is used of service in the tabernacle. Cf. Ass. Mos. x. 15 (note).

tabernacle of the testimony, i.e. the tabernacle in its aspect of a witness to God's presence, with the ark and the tables of testimony. In its aspect of meeting-place it was the spot where God spoke to Moses and Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 14–23.

8. **bring . . . into.** So Deut. xxxi. 7 (Samaritan text, Syriac and Vulgate versions), against 'enter' (Massoretic, LXX, Targum of Onkelos).

to their fathers = *patribus*. So I emend text *ex tribus*.

9. **the covenant and the oath.** Cf. ii. 7 (restored), iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

which He spake, Deut. xxxi. 14, 20, 23.

by Joshua. Text = *de Iesum*, cf. v. 1 *de reges*.

saying to Joshua, resumes verse 6, 'And he called'.

10 these words: '⟨Be strong⟩ **and of a good courage** so as to do with thy might all that has been com-
12 manded that thou mayst be blameless **unto God.**' So saith the Lord of the world. For He hath created
13 the world on behalf of His people. But He was not **pleased** to manifest this purpose of creation from the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, yea to their own
14 humiliation might by (their) arguments convict one another. Accordingly He designed and devised me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His
15 covenant. And now I declare unto thee that the time of the years of my life is fulfilled and I am
16 passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people. And receive **thou** this
17 writing that thou mayst know how to preserve the books which I shall deliver unto thee: and thou shalt set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels in
18 the place which He made from the beginning of the creation of the world, that His name should be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in the consummation of the end of the days.

2 1 **And now** they shall go by means of thee into the land which He determined and promised to give to
2 their fathers, in the which thou shalt bless and give to them individually and confirm unto them their

10. ⟨**Be strong**⟩ **and of a good courage.** Text = *et promitte*. *Promitte* is due to a corruption in the Hebrew אמר for אמץ, while the *et* betrays a word lost after *verbum hoc* = הדבר הזה. Probably חזק was omitted after הזה. Clemen's suggestion, 'And promise' has no support in the O.T. text. Moses exacted no promise from Joshua, while my restoration is upheld by Deut. xxxi. 7, &c.

that thou mayst be . . . unto God. Text = *est ideo*, corrupt for *sis Deo*. Clemen renders 'as is blameless. Therefore thus saith, &c.', putting a full stop after *est*.

blameless unto God. Cf. Deut. xviii. 13, &c.

11. **So saith the Lord.** God says these words 'Be strong', &c., directly in Deut. xxxi. 23; by Moses, xxxi. 6, 7.

Lord of the world. Cf. iv. 2 'Lord of all . . . who rulest the world'. Cf. xi. 17.

12. **created the world on behalf of His people.** The prevalent Judaistic view from first century A. D. onwards. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; 2 Bar. xiv. 18 (note). The still more narrow view that the world was created for the sake of the righteous in Israel occurs in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Cf. Hermas' Shepherd, *Vis.* i. 1. 6, ii. 4. 1, iv, v (for the Church's sake). The larger view—that it was for the sake of mankind, we find in 2 Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44; Hermas, *Mand.* xii. 4; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 10 and post-apostolic writers generally.

13. **was . . . pleased.** Text = *coepit* = הואיל which also means 'was pleased'.

purpose. Text = *inceptionem*.

13, 14. These verses are strongly predestinarian. The Gentiles are fore-ordained to ignorance and blind conjecture, while Moses is the chosen agent of the true revelation.

14. Quoted by Gelasius of Cyzicum in his *Comm. Act. Syn. Nic.* ii. 18, 'the prophet Moses being about to depart from life, as is written in the book of the Assumption of Moses, summoned Joshua, the son of Nun, and, speaking with him, said: *καὶ προεθεάσατό με ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην.*'

Moses here is assigned pre-existence as is the Son of Man in 1 En. xliii. 2 (note). Later Judaism, like the Alexandrian form of first century A. D., held the pre-existence of all souls alike. See 2 En. xxiii. 5.

Note that the Latin has 'ab initio orbis terrarum' = Gelasius' *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*.

mediator. Moses is not given this title in the O.T. where indeed the word only occurs once, in Job ix. 33 (LXX), but he obviously exercises mediatorial functions in Exod. xx. 19; Deut. v. 2, 5. The title was commonly assigned to him by the first century A. D. Cf. i. 14, iii. 12; Gal. iii. 18; Philo, *Vit. Moys.* iii. 19; Talmud (see Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Lex.* iii. 595, 596). It is implied in Heb. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24.

15. **sleep with my fathers.** Cf. iii. 13, x. 12, 14; Deut. xxxi. 16; 2 Bar. xliv. 2. Observe there is no reference to Moses' Assumption. Unlike our text, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 state that his death was witnessed by no one, while the Greek fragments of the Assumption make Joshua and Caleb alone view it, and not all the people.

16. **thou.** Supply *tu* to fill the space in the text. Cf. x. 11, xi. 1.

the books, i. e. the Pentateuch.

17. **anoint.** Books were thus preserved. Even the heavenly books shown to Enoch, 2 En. xxii. 12, are 'fragrant with myrrh'.

from the beginning of the creation of the world. Cf. verse 14.

the place, i. e. Jerusalem. Zion is said to be the centre of the earth in Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1, xc. 26; Jubilees viii; while in Joma 54^b the world is said to be created with Zion as a starting-place.

18. **until the day of repentance.** This must have been written before A. D. 70, as the existing temple is expected to stand until the Theocratic kingdom is set up.

the day of repentance. A great national repentance was to usher in the new kingdom of God, and was a necessary condition to its coming. 'If Israel practises repentance, it will be redeemed; if not, it will not be redeemed,' Sanh. 97^b. 'Israel will not fulfil the great repentance before Elijah comes,' Pirke R. Eliezer, xliii; cf. Mal. iv. 6, and Luke i. 16, 17; Matt. xvii. 10–12. 'If all Israel together repented for a single day, redemption through the Messiah would follow', Pesikta 163^b.

the visitation, in a good sense. Cf. Luke i. 79; Acts xv. 14. For the bad sense cf. 2 Bar. xx. 1 (note). The time of visitation, Wisd. iii. 7; Luke xix. 44, is the setting up of the kingdom of God.

the consummation, i. e. the time of the kingdom. Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, xxix. 8. Contrast 2 Bar. xxx. 3.

II. 1. **And now.** Supply *et nunc* in lacuna.

2. **their inheritance in me.** Cf. 'inheritance in the son of Jesse', 2 Sam. xx. 1. Or for 'in me' read *in eam*, a Hebrew repetition after *in qua*.

inheritance in me and establish for them the kingdom, and thou shalt **appoint** them prefectures
3 according to the good pleasure of their Lord in judgement and righteousness. And **it shall come to pass five** years after they enter into the land, that thereafter they shall be ruled by chiefs and
4 kings for eighteen years, and during nineteen years the ten **tribes shall break away**. And the **twelve** tribes shall go down and transfer the **tabernacle of the testimony**. Then the God of heaven will make the **court** of His tabernacle and the **tower** of His sanctuary, and the two holy tribes shall
5 be (there) established: but the ten tribes shall establish kingdoms for themselves according to their
6, 7 own ordinances. And they shall offer sacrifices throughout twenty years: and seven shall entrench the walls, and I will protect nine, but **four** shall **transgress** the covenant of the Lord, and profane the
8 **oath** which the Lord made with them. And they shall sacrifice their sons to strange gods, and they
9 shall set up idols in the sanctuary, to worship them. And in the house of the Lord they shall work impiety and engrave every **form** of beast, *even* many abominations.

3 1 **And** in those days a king from the east shall come against them and his cavalry shall cover their
2 land. And he shall burn their colony with fire together with the holy temple of the Lord, and he shall
3 carry away all the holy vessels. And he shall cast forth all the people, and he shall take them to the
4 land of his nativity, yea he shall take the two tribes with him. Then the two tribes shall call upon the
5 ten tribes, and shall march as a lioness on the dusty plains, being hungry and thirsty. And they shall cry aloud: 'Righteous and holy is the Lord, for, inasmuch as ye have sinned, we too, in like manner,
6 have been carried away with you, together with our children.' Then the ten tribes shall mourn on
7 hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, and they shall say: 'What have we done unto you,
8 brethren? Has not this tribulation come on all the house of Israel?' And all the tribes shall mourn,

appoint. Text = *dimittes* seems corrupt.

prefectures. Text = *magisteria locorum*, i. e. τοπαρχίας. Perhaps we should translate 'local magistrates'. Cf. Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

3. **it shall come to pass.** There is a gap in the text.

five years. I supply 'five'. The conquest of Canaan took five years, Josh. xiv. 10; Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1. 19.

eighteen years, i.e. the fifteen judges, and the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon.

nineteen years, the nineteen kings of Israel from Jeroboam to Hoshea. This is an anticipation, as verse 4 returns to the removal of the ark to Jerusalem by David.

tribes shall break away. Text = *abrumpens tib.* Read 'se abrumpent tribus'.

4. **twelve.** Text = 'two'. The reference is to David's action in 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 1-4.

tabernacle of the testimony. Text = 'testimony of the tabernacle'.

the God of heaven. Cf. iv. 4, v. 3; Gen. xxiv. 7. After the exile this title became frequent. Cf. Ezra v. 11, vi. 9, &c.; Dan. ii. 18, &c.

court. Text = *palam* emended to *aulam*. Cf. Exod. xxvii. 9.

tower. Text = *ferrum* emended to *turrem*. Cf. the tower in 1 En. lxxxix. 50, 67, 73. The text is uncertain. For *aulam* and *ferrum* Volkmar suggests *locum* and *terram*; Haupt *portam* and *forem*.

5. A parenthesis.

6. **twenty years,** the twenty sovereigns (including Athaliah's) of Judah.

7. Apparently the 'seven', 'nine', and 'four' reigns must be taken successively of three periods, of the advance, power, and falling away of Judah.

The 'seven' are Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah. and Athaliah. The 'nine' are Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh. Amon, Josiah; while the 'four' are Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah.

four, inserted to complete the twenty.

transgress. Text = *adcedent ad* = προσβήσονται corrupt for παραβήσονται. Cf. Ezek. xvi. 59, &c.

the oath. Text = *finem* = ὅρον corrupt for ὅρκον. Thus the combination of covenant and oath is restored. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 28; also Ass. Mos. i. 9; iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

8. **idols in the sanctuary.** Text = *idola scenae.* For this form of the ablative cf. i. 9 'in scenae'. Rönsch proposes *idola obscena*, comparing LXX of Jer. xxxii. 34 τὰ μιάσματα αὐτῶν.

9. **form.** Text = *similitudinem* omitted in text after *omnem* through hmt. For 'beast . . . many abominations' cf. Ezek. viii. 10, where there is the same apposition.

III. 1. **a king from the east.** Nebuchadnezzar, 588–586 B. C.

2. **colony.** This gives a clue to the date of the Greek or Latin translation as being later than 135 A. D., when Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem as a Roman colony. Cf. v. 6, vi. 9.

all the holy vessels, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Part had been removed in Jehoiakim's reign, according to Dan. i. 2; Jer. xxvii. 19, 20; while 2 Bar. vi describes the concealment of the vessels by angels, 2 Macc. ii. 4–8 by Jeremiah, to preserve them for the future Messianic kingdom.

4. **march.** Possibly the text *ducent se* is wrong, and is due to a corruption of ἀχθέσονται, 'will be indignant,' into ἀχθήσονται. This suits the simile of the lioness better.

hungry and thirsty, 2 Bar. lxxvii. 14. Text adds 'with our children'. I transpose to the end of verse 5.

5. **Righteous and holy.** 2 Bar. lxxvii. 3, 4.

inasmuch as ye have sinned. Judah suffers for the sins of Israel. 2 Bar. lxxvii. 10; Jer. xi. 17; Dan. ix. 7; 1 Baruch ii. 26 ascribe the captivity to the sins of Judah as well.

7. **have we done.** Text = 'shall we do'.

this tribulation. The allusion seems to be to some recent calamity.

9 crying unto heaven and saying: 'God of Abraham God of Isaac and God of Jacob, remember Thy
covenant which Thou didst make with them, and the oath which Thou didst swear unto them by
10 Thyself, that their seed should never fail from the land which Thou hast given them.' Then they
11 shall remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour: 'Is not
this that which Moses did **then** declare unto us in prophecies, who suffered many things in Egypt
12 and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years: and **assuredly** called heaven and
earth to witness against us, that we should not transgress His commandments, in the which he was
13 a mediator unto us? **Behold** these things have befallen us after his death according to his declaration,
as he declared to us at that time, **yea behold these** have taken place even to our being carried away
14 captive into the country of the east.' Who shall be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years.
4 1 Then there shall enter one who is over them, and he shall spread forth his hands, and kneel upon his
2 knees and pray on their behalf saying: 'Lord of all, King on the lofty throne, who rulest the world,
and didst will that this people should be Thine elect people, then (indeed) Thou didst will that Thou
shouldst be called their God, according to the covenant which Thou didst make with their fathers.
3 And yet they have gone in captivity in another land with their wives and their children, and
4 †around† the gates of strange peoples and where there is great **vanity.** Regard and have compas-
5 sion on them, O Lord of heaven.' Then God will remember them on account of the covenant which
6 He made with their fathers, and He will manifest His compassion in those times also. And He will
put it into the mind of a king to have compassion on them, and he shall send them off to their land
7 and country. Then some portions of the tribes shall go up and they shall come to their appointed
8 place, and they shall anew surround the place with walls. And the two tribes shall continue in their
prescribed faith, sad and lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their
9 fathers. And the ten tribes shall increase and **multiply** among the **Gentiles** during the time of their
captivity.
5 1 And when the times of chastisement draw nigh and vengeance arises through the kings who share
3 in their guilt and punish them, they themselves also shall be divided as to the truth. Wherefore

8. **heaven**, an equivalent for 'God'. Cf. Dan. iv. 23.
9. **the oath.** Gen. xvii. 8. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 5; Test. xii Patr., Jud. 22.
10–13. These verses are the source of 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 2–5, or else both passages are derived from the same original. Cf. Dan. ix. 11–13.
11. **then.** Text = *cum*, which I emend with Schmidt-Merx to *tum*.
in Egypt . . . years. Cf. Acts vii. 36; 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 3.
12. **and assuredly called**, &c. So I render *et testans* (*testatus et* in text) *invocabat . . . testes*. Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19, xxxi. 28; 2 Bar. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 2.
mediator. See i. 14 (note).
13. **Behold these.** Text = *quae* corrupt for *ecce ea*. Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 5.
after his death, *de isto* = 'after him'. Cf. Job xxi. 21.
14. **seventy and seven years.** Perhaps this number is to be taken as implying an indefinite period. Cf. Gen. iv. 24; Matt. xviii. 22. In any case it is a modification of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' captivity, Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10, which Dan. ix. 24 reinterprets as being seventy weeks of years, i.e. 490. Merx suspects a play on ע״ז = 77 and עבודה זרה, 'strange service', i.e. 'idolatry,' which is often denoted by ע ז.

IV. 1. **one**, i.e. Daniel; Dan. ix. 4–19.
2. **elect people.** Cf. Isa. xlii. 1, &c.
3. †around†. Text = *circa*. Read perhaps 'go about in the gates'.
vanity. Text = *maiestas* = μεγαλειότης corrupt for ματαιότης, i.e. an idol. Cf. Ps. xxxi. 6; also 2 Kings xvii. 15; Jer. ii. 5, x. 3.
4. Dan. ix. 18, 19; 2 Bar. xlviii. 18.
6. Cyrus. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1–4.
8. **not be able to offer sacrifices.** For the low value set on the worship of the restored temple, cf. 2 Bar. 'not as fully as in the beginning', lxviii. 5, 6 (Hag. ii. 3; Ezra iii. 12). The sacrifices were unacceptable, cf. the 'polluted bread' of Mal. i. 7; 1 En. lxxxix. 73. The objection here indeed is not an Essene one to sacrifice as such, but to the imperfection of the worship of God's people so long as they were subject to heathen powers. God would restore their glory and freedom when they repented, i. 17, but on no other condition, ix.
9. **multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity.** Text = †'devenient apud natos† in tempore †tribum†.' *Devenient* cannot refer to a going up to Jerusalem, nor can *apud* mean anything but 'among' or 'with'. Now *devenient* = ירדו, which is an easy corruption of ירבו = *multiplicabuntur* and *natos* is corrupt for *nationes*. *tribum*, i.e. *tribuum* = שבטים, which Rosenthal takes to be corrupt for שפטים = *iudiciorum*. But I prefer to emend to שביתם or שִׁבְיָם, *captivitatis suae*, comparing Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5. 2; 4 Ezra xiii. 36–48; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 31. Clemen's rendering 'werden immer mehr (*crescunt et devenient*) zu Heiden werden' is quite impossible.

V. 1. **through the kings.** Text = *de reges*, cf. *de Iesum*, i. 9. These kings are the Seleucidae who had encouraged the disuse of the Jewish law and worship, and later, in the person of Antiochus, punished the apostate nation. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 16.
2. **divided as to the truth.** Already under the Seleucid domination the enormities of the Sadducean priesthood reacted upon the stricter scribes and led to a religious awakening and the formation of what was later known as the Pharisaic party. See 1 En. xc. 6, 7 (note).

it hath been said: 'They shall turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they shall defile with pollutions the house of their worship,' and [because] 'they shall go a-whoring after
4 strange gods.' For they shall not follow the truth of God, but some shall pollute the altar with the
5 ⟨very⟩ gifts which they offer to the Lord, who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves. And many in those times shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts, and pervert judge-
6 ment [on receiving presents]. And on this account the colony and the borders of their habitation shall be filled with lawless deeds and iniquities: those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges: they shall be ready to judge for money as each may wish.

6 1 Then there shall be raised up unto them kings bearing rule, and they shall call themselves priests of
2 the Most High God: they shall assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies. And an insolent king shall succeed them, who will not be of the race of the priests, a man bold and shameless, and he shall
3 judge them as they shall deserve. And he shall cut off their chief men with the sword, and shall
4 destroy *them* in secret places, so that no one may know where their bodies are. He shall slay the
5 old and the young, and he shall not spare. Then the fear of him shall be bitter unto them in their

3. **hath been said** = *fatum fuit* emended by Schmidt-Merx from *factum fuit*.

This saying is pieced together from the O.T., e.g. Ezek. iii. 20, 'turn . . . righteousness'; xliv. 7, 'defile . . . worship.' Cf., too, Pss. Sol. i. 9, viii. 26. 'They will go . . . gods,' Deut. xxxi. 16.

[**because**]. Text = *quia*, which may, however = 'that' introducing a new quotation.

3, 4. These verses cannot refer to the Maccabean high-priests. They did not go astray after strange gods. Moreover, they were of true priestly descent (1 Macc. ii. 1–5), and not sons of slaves. They are referred to in vi. 1, and so their mention here would be premature. But the statements suit Jason and Menelaus exactly, the Hellenizing priests who preceded the Maccabees. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 13, 19, 20, v. 8. A decisive factor in the identification is the statement 'who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves'. Menelaus was not of the tribe of Levi, but a Benjamite, 2 Macc. iii. 4, iv. 23. Cf. the implication in 1 Macc. vii. 14 that other high-priests had belonged to non-Aaronic families. Moreover they were the nominees and absolute tools of Antiochus, 2 Macc. iv. 7–9, 23–9. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 5 mentions, but only to deny, the slander that Hyrcanus's mother had been a captive under Antiochus. Cf. the Talmud also for the tale.

5. **And many**. So I emend 'qui enim magistri sunt' = הרבים, i.e. 'the many' or 'the Rabbis'. Text adds 'doctores eorum', a gloss on the word in the latter meaning.

shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts and pervert. The text reads 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et acceptiones munerum et pervendent', which is un-Semitic. *Acceptiones* is an easy corruption of *accipientes*, after which, taken as a noun, *munerum* could stand. Now leaving for the present *cupiditatum* let us pass on to the next clause. This runs *pervendent iustitias*. This phrase does not occur in Jewish literature, but we find, 1 Sam. viii. 3 'acceperunt munera et perverterunt iudicium' = LXX *ἐλάμβανον δῶρα καὶ ἐξέκλινον δικαιώματα*, וַיִּקְחוּ שֹׁחַד וַיַּטּוּ מִשְׁפָּט. Hence I accept Wieseler's emendation *pervertent*. We have now 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munerum et pervertent iustitias'. Now if we compare Deut. xvi. 19 we find *οὐκ ἐκκλινοῦσι κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἐπιγνώσονται πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λήψονται δῶρα*, לֹא תַטֶּה מִשְׁפָּט לֹא תַכִּיר פָּנִים וְלֹא־תִקַּח שֹׁחַד, which is exactly what we have arrived at above. The original of our text could be reconstructed from this verse save that instead of הַכִּיר we should use נָשָׂא. Cf. 2 Chron. xix. 7 *οὐδὲ θαυμάσαι πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δῶρα* (LXX), וּמַשָּׂא פָּנִים וּמִקַּח־שֹׁחַד.

We have still to consider *cupiditatum*. Clemen compares Dan. ix. 23, x. 11, 19. He might have added Ezek. xxiii. 6, בַּחוּרֵי חֶמֶד. And yet in none of them have we a real parallel. *Accipiendo poenas* I have bracketed as an explanatory gloss.

6. **those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges**. There is a curious dittography in the text here: 'a deo ut qui facit erunt impii iudices', 'a domino qui faciunt erunt impii iudices': the first and inferior version was intended to be deleted. For *qui faciunt erunt impii* read *qui faciunt impie erunt* and the text is restored = מיהוה הרשעים יהיו שפטים. Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 22 Vulg. 'non egi impie a Deo meo,' לֹא רָשַׁעְתִּי מֵאֱלֹהָי, and Ass. Mos. xi. 17 'si . . . impie fecerunt'.

they shall be ready to judge for money. Text = 'erunt in eam post iudicare', 'inerunt in campo iudicare'. The second version of the doublet gives the right clue. *In campo* = *ἐν ἀγρῷ* corrupt for *ἐν ἀργύρῳ* = בכסף.

VI. 1. **kings bearing rule**, i.e. the Maccabees like Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, though not technically styled kings. Cf. 'king of the west', vi. 8.

they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God. Jonathan became high-priest in 153 B.C., and the office was declared to be hereditary in the Maccabean family in 141 B.C.

call themselves. Text = *in . . . vocabuntur*, a Hebraism. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14 (LXX).

priests of the Most High God. This title was claimed by the Maccabean prince-priests. Cf. Ps. cx, a hymn to Simon. 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.'

shall assuredly work iniquity. Text = *facient facientes*, a Hebraism.

2. **an insolent king**, Herod the Great, 37–4 B.C. He was only half a Jew, Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 2, the son of Antipater of Idumea, though Nicolas of Damascus claimed a Jewish origin for Antipater.

judge them. Herod cut off the Maccabean family, the Sadducean aristocracy, and according to vi. 4, 5 oppressed the nation at large. The Pharisees and the Essenes did not suffer under him.

3. **their chief men**. Herod on becoming king executed forty-five of the Sadducean nobles (*Ant.* xv. 1. 2; *Bell. Iud.* i. 18. 4).

destroy. I read *stinguet* for *singuli* corrupt. Hilgenfeld emends into *sepeliet*, which is weak. I have omitted 'et corpora illorum' before 'ut nemo sciat'.

secret places. These secret murders are mentioned in *Ant.* xv. 10. 4.

4. **young, and he**. Perhaps, we should read 'young he', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 50.

5. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 3 for the phraseology.

6 land. And he shall execute judgements on them as the Egyptians executed upon them, during
7 thirty and four years, and he shall punish them. And he shall beget children, ⟨who⟩ succeeding him
8 shall **rule** for shorter periods. Into their **parts cohorts** and a powerful king of the west shall come,
9 **who** shall conquer them: and he shall take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire,
(and) shall crucify some around their colony.

7 1 And when this is done the times shall be ended, in a moment the ⟨second⟩ course shall be ⟨ended⟩,
2, 3 the four hours shall come. They shall be forced. . . . And, in the time of these, destructive and
4 impious men shall rule, saying that they are just. And these shall stir up the **poison** of their minds,
being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at
5, 6 every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands. . . . Devourers of the goods of the ⟨poor⟩ saying that
7 they do so on the ground of their **justice**, but *in reality* **to destroy them**, complainers, deceitful,
concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity

6. **thirty and four years.** Herod reigned for thirty-four years after Antigonus's death, and thirty-seven after he had been declared king by the Romans.

7. **children . . . shorter periods.** The text is defective: '(p)roducet natos (qui su)ccedentes sibi breviora tempora donarent' (we must read *dominarent*). Herod's sons are to reign for shorter periods than their father. This is true of Archelaus only, as Antipas reigned forty-three years and Philip thirty-seven. So that this book must be earlier than A.D. 30, i. e. thirty-four years from Herod's death in 4 B.C.; unless we suppose that the author is thinking of Archelaus and Agrippa, who alone had close connexion with Jerusalem.

8. **Into their parts cohorts.** Text = 'in pares eorum mortis', emended into 'in partes eorum cohortes'.

a powerful king of the west. Varus, governor of Syria, quelled a Jewish rebellion in 4 B.C. (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 9, 10. 11. 1).

who. Text = *quia* corrupt for *qui*.

9. **burn a part of their temple.** The soldiers of Varus's lieutenant Sabinus did such damage that the repairs were not completed till Nero's reign (*Ant.* xx. 9. 7).

crucify some. Varus crucified 2,000 (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 10).

VII. 1. **the times shall be ended.** We have now arrived at the date at which the author is writing, and so leaves obvious historical allusions for obscure predictions and enigmatical symbols. The text is often doubtful.

⟨second⟩ . . . ⟨ended⟩. Text defective, '. . . etur cursus a . . .' Merx reads *sequetur* not *finietur*, and Hilgenfeld *aevi* not *alter*.

2. The text, which defies translation, is: 'Coguntur·secund . . . ae . . . pos . . . initiis tribus ad exitus viiii propter initium tres septimae secunda tria in tertia duae h . . . ra . . . tae.' For attempted restorations see my Comm., p. 78.

3–10. The identification of the persons here attacked is much disputed. They cannot be the Herodian princes, as ver. 10 would suit none of them. Nor can they be the Pharisees. Their worst enemies never accused them of open unblushing gluttony and profligacy. Matt. xxiii. 25 mentions only their secret 'extortion and excess'. (Colani ingeniously suggests that the Jewish doctors at Jabne and Usha after A.D. 135 are meant. But he requires too late a date for the book.) Nor yet can verses 3, 4 be assigned to the Sadducees, and 6–10 to the Pharisees. This division is not justified by the text. The Roman procurators, again, are excluded by phrases like 'Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me', and 'concealing themselves lest they should be recognized'. The most probable explanation is that the Sadducees are meant. The play on צדק, the priestly aloofness of ver. 10, and their rule (the Sanhedrim, which was almost entirely Sadducean, was the virtual ruling power under the Romans from A.D. 6 till 70). The close parallels with the attacks on the Sadducees in the Psalms of Solomon seem to clinch the matter.

3. **in the time of these.** Text = *de his* = *ἐπὶ τούτων* (?). Perhaps translate 'some of these' = *ἐκ τούτων*.

destructive. Cf. verse 5.

impious, could not be said of a Pharisee.

shall rule. Cf. ver. 8, also for the Sadducean constitution of the Sanhedrim Pss. Sol. iv. 1 *σὺ κάθησαι βέβηλε ἐν συνεδρίῳ.*

saying that they are just, a play on צדוקים 'Sadducees' and צדיקים 'just'. **saying.** I read *dicentes* for *docentes* corrupt.

4. **poison.** Here I take *iram animorum suorum* = *θυμὸν τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν* = חֲמַת לְבָבָה, where חֲמָה should have been rendered *ἰόν* = poison. This gives a good sense, but the change of *animorum* into *amicorum* (so Clemen) does not.

treacherous. Pss. Sol. iv. 27 *ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δολίων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν.*

self-pleasers. Probably the Hebrew original was misread עצמם, 'of themselves', instead of עצומים, 'of the mighty.' The designation 'pleasers of the mighty' would then be parallel to *ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι*, Pss. Sol. iv, used of the Sadducees.

dissemblers. Text = *ficti*. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 7 *ἐν ὑποκρίσει.*

5. This verse of seven lines is undecipherable, except for *omnis*.

6. **Devourers of the goods of the ⟨poor⟩.** Cf. the charge against the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv. 11, 13, 15, 23; xii. 2, 4; also the charge in Matt. xxiii. 14; Mark xii. 40; Luke xx. 47.

⟨poor⟩. Text = ⟨*paupe*⟩*rum*.

justice, *misericordiam*. The Hebrew צדקה is often thus rendered, here mistakenly. The Sadducees were as proverbially severe (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1) as the Pharisees were merciful in judgement (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6). See also Pss. Sol. iv. 2, 3.

7. **to destroy them.** Text = *et exterminatores*, corrupt for *ut exterminarent*.

deceitful. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 4, 12, 14.

concealing themselves, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5 *ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἁμαρτάνει ὡς οὐχ ὁρώμενος.* Cf. also i. 7.

impious . . . iniquity. For *παράνομοι* and *ἁμαρτωλοί* as epithets of the Sadducees see Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, Introd. xlv–xlviii.

8 from sunrise to sunset: saying: 'We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, **and we**
9 **shall esteem ourselves as** princes.' And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet
10 their mouth shall speak great things, and they shall say furthermore: 'Do not touch me lest thou
shouldst pollute me in the place ⟨where I stand'⟩ . . .

8 1 And there shall come upon them a second visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from
the beginning until that time, in which He will stir up against them the king of the kings of the
earth and one that ruleth with great power, who shall crucify those who confess to their circumcision:
2 and those who **conceal** (it) he shall torture and deliver them up to be bound and led into prison.
3 And their wives shall be given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons shall be operated
4 on by the physicians in order to bring forward their foreskin. And others amongst them shall be
punished by tortures and fire and sword, and they shall be forced to bear in public their idols, polluted
5 as they are like those who keep them. And they shall likewise be forced by those who torture them
to enter their inmost sanctuary, and they shall be forced by goads to blaspheme with insolence the
word, finally after these things **the laws and** what they had above their altar.

from sunrise to sunset, not 'from East to West' as the phrase in Greek might also mean.

8. **shall esteem ourselves.** Text = *et putabimus nos*. Possibly *potabimus*, 'we shall drink,' but *nos* is against this.
princes. Text adds 'we shall be'. An intrusion due to the difficulty of *nos*.

9. **though . . . yet.** Text = *et . . . et*. A Hebraism. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 11.
mouth . . . speak great things. Dan. vii. 8, 20; Jude 16.

9, 10. For this combination of priestly aloofness with an unclean and worldly life, cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8; ii. 14, 15; viii. 13; xvii. 17.

10. Isa. lxv. 5. Four lines are defective at the end of 10.

VIII–IX. This 'second visitation' is too accurate an account of Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution to refer to any other calamity, or to have been a bare prediction, e.g. of Bar Cochba's suppression in A.D. 136. Strangely enough there is a gap in the history between V and VI of this book, where an account of Antiochus's devastation is required. It is equally out of place here. Thus we have a clear case of transposition by the final editor. Cf. 1 En. xci–xciii. V ends with the Hellenizing priests under Antiochus, VI begins with the Maccabean princes. Such a tragic time would not be omitted in a work like this, still less could the greatest desecration of the temple have been overlooked when minor injuries to it are mentioned, e.g. ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; iv. 7, 8; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9.

VIII. 1. **a second visitation.** So ix. 2. The final woes would not be so described. The text has . . . *ta* (or *te*) only. Fritzsche restores *tanta*. I read *altera* with Merx.
such as has not, &c. Dan. xii. 1; cf. Jer. xxx. 7; 1 Macc. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 21; Rev. xvi. 18. 'from the beginning', *a saeculo*, which is nearer the Syriac (= *a diebus saeculorum*) of Dan. xii. 1 than the LXX or Theod. Compare ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου, Matt. xxiv. 21.
king of the kings of the earth, used of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 12, so naturally here of the despot Antiochus IV.
one that ruleth. Text = *potestatem*. I read *potentatem*.
crucify . . . circumcision. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4. For the crucifying cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4.

2. **conceal.** Text = *necantes*. I read *celantes*. Possibly we should read *secantes*, 'circumcise', or even *negantes*, 'refuse to confess'.

3. **wives shall be given to the gods,** &c. For the cult of Venus see 2 Macc. vi. 4. But *diis donabuntur* may be corrupt for *disdonabuntur* (Haupt). Then translate 'will be distributed among the Gentiles'.
their young sons, &c. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 18.

4. **tortures.** Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 28, vii; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4.
fire. 2 Macc. vi. 11.
bear in public their idols. 2 Macc. vi. 7. For the carrying of idols cf. Amos v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Epist. Jer. 4, 26.
polluted, &c. The rendering is uncertain and difficult.
like. Text = *pariter* = also 'likewise' in the next verse.

5. **inmost sanctuary** of the heathen temples which the Jews were compelled to build. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 47; Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 5. 4. Or it may be the Holy Place.
the word = ὁ λόγος = מַדְבּוּר, which in late Hebrew (Jer. Shabb. vii. 10ᵃ, &c.) and Aramaic = 'the person' of God.
the laws and. I read *leges et* for text *et leges*.
what . . . above their altar, i.e. the sacrifice upon it, Matt. xxiii. 18. Clemen states that under *altarium* we are to understand בימה. But this latter word simply means the raised platform in the Synagogue from which prayers were said and the Law read. There is no ground, so far as I am aware, for ever connecting the two ideas. See *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, Box and Oesterley, 309 sqq. = Schürer³, ii. 450. The expression favours our interpreting the inmost sanctuary of the Temple.

IX. The historical references seem to be to 2 Macc. vi. 18 (Eleazar the Scribe) and vii (the seven brothers, sons of the widow), who went to the tortures rather than eat swine's flesh; while in 1 Macc. ii. 29–38 we are told of those who fled to the secret places of the wilderness, to avoid the 'unclean visitation' (Ass. Mos. ix. 2) of Antiochus. For the close parallels with 1 and 2 Maccabees see the notes.

This piecing together of details has a purpose. The author intentionally avoids a reference to Mattathias, and thus by implication censures the Maccabean uprising with its methods and aims. He emphasizes the opposed policy of the Chasids, as evidenced by the passages quoted above, by way of suggesting and urging their stricter and quietistic methods. The ideal is not 'Let us war', but 'Let us die rather than transgress'.

The Chasids' temporary coalition with the Maccabees, 1 Macc. ii. 42, &c., is not mentioned. It soon ended, and the Pharisees returned to their old attitude of non-resistance. But by the close of the first century B.C. Pharisaism, as the Psalms of Solomon show, was being leavened with patriotism and earthly political ideas. Our author must have been in the minority by the time he wrote.

9 1 Then in that day there shall be a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo, who having
2 seven sons shall speak to them exhorting (them): 'Observe, my sons, behold a second ruthless (and)
unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and far exceeding the first.
3 For what nation or what region or what people of those who are impious towards the Lord, who
4 have done many abominations, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us? Now, there-
fore, my sons, hear me: for observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers
5 tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength, and thus we
6 will do. Let us fast for the space of three days and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in
the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of Lords, the God of our
7 fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged before the Lord.

0 1 And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,
And then Satan shall be no more,
And sorrow shall depart with him.
2 Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
Who has been appointed chief,
And he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies.
3 For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,
And He will go forth from His holy habitation
With indignation and wrath on account of His sons.
4 And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken:
And the high mountains shall be made low
And the hills shall be shaken and fall.

1. **day there shall be.** I read *die erit* for text *dicente*.

of the tribe of Levi. Thus the Chasid movement emanated from the priestly tribe. Our author seems to identify the Eleazar here with the Eleazar of 2 Macc. vi. 18, who was one of the chief scribes, and, according to 4 Macc. v. 5, a priest.

Taxo. Professor Burkitt has offered the right interpretation. Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc = Ταξωκ = חכסוק, which by Gematria = אלעזר, Eleazar. Cf. 4 Macc. i. 8. This interpretation strengthens the argument for a dislocation of the text.

seven sons. The widow of 2 Macc. vii (following on the martyrdom of Eleazar in vi. 18–31) and 4 Macc. has seven sons. Mattathias had five, 1 Macc. ii. 1.

shall speak. I read *dicet*, for text *dicens*.

2. **second . . . unclean visitation,** under Antiochus, with its ceremonial defilement and moral abominations. The first was under Nebuchadnezzar. See chapter iii.

far exceeding. I read *eminens* for *eminent*, text.

3. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

4. **neither did the fathers,** &c. Text = 'nunquam temptans deum nec parentes nec proavi eorum'. Clemen restores 'neither did I nor the fathers', supplying *ego* to agree with *temptans*, which, however, is corrupt for *temptantes*. Cf. the consciousness of fulfilling God's law in the Psalms. The sense of sin is markedly absent at times: here with regard to the nation.

6. **fast,** here a sign not of repentance but of desperate resolution. For fasting cf. Dan. vi. 18, ix. 3; 2 Bar. v. 7, &c.; 4 Ezra v. 20, &c.

let us go into a cave. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 53, ii. 31; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2; Heb. xi. 38; also 2 Macc. vi. 11, x. 6.

let us die rather than transgress. For this typical and earnest motto of those persecuted under Antiochus, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 2; 4 Macc. ix. 1; also for the resolve, 1 Macc. ii. 37; 2 Macc. vi. 19; *Ant.* xii. 6. 1.

7. **avenged.** Cf. the seven brethren, 2 Macc. vii. 17, 19, 31, 35–7.

X. 1–10. These verses form a hymn of ten stanzas with three lines each. There are three main divisions, 1–2, 3–6, 7–10. Note that the kingdom and the angel appear in the first division, but God Himself arises in the second.

1. **His kingdom.** Cf. the 'kingdom of God' in Mark and Luke; Pss. Sol. xvii. 4. There is no mention of a new heaven and a new earth here.

Satan seems to be here the head of the kingdom of evil. But 2^b suggests that he is the adversary of Israel.

sorrow, &c. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 4.

2. **hands . . . filled.** Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; Test. Levi viii. 10. Here it signifies the delegation of power as warrior not as priest.

the angel. Michael. Cf. Dan. xii. 1. He is Israel's patron angel.

chief. Michael is at the head of the forces of heaven, Rev. xii. 7. Here he avenges Israel, but in ver. 7 God does so. Thus 3–10 (which belong to the text) are inconsistent with 1–2, an insertion, as the felicity of ver. 1, contrasted with the terror of 4–6, also shows.

3–6. Signs to accompany God's coming.

3. **the Heavenly One.** Cf. ii. 4, iv. 4.

He will go forth, &c. Mic. i. 3; Isa. xxvi. 21; 1 En. i. 3.

from His holy habitation. Deut. xxvi. 15; Isa. lxiii. 15.

4. **high mountains . . . made low.** Isa. xl. 4; 1 En. i. 6.

and the hills shall be shaken and: I read 'et colles concutientur et' for 'et concutientur et convalles'. The mountains would not be shaken after being made low, nor could the valleys fall. We require a hill after the high mountains. Cf. Isa. xl. 4. It is easy to explain *convalles* = בקעות corrupt for גבעות as in LXX of Isa. xl. 12.

5 **And the horns of the sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness;**
And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.
6 And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers **shall dry up**.
7 For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.
8 Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt †mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be ended†.
9 And God will exalt thee,
And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars,
†In the place of their habitation†.
10 And thou **shalt look** from on high and shalt see thy enemies in **Ge(henna)**,
And thou shalt recognize them and rejoice,
And thou shalt give thanks and confess thy Creator.
11, 12 And do thou, Joshua (the son of) Nun, keep these words and this book; For from my death
13 [assumption] until His advent there shall be CCL times. And this is the course **of the times** which

5. The MS. has 'sol non dabit lumen et in tenebris convertent se cornua lunae et confringentur et tota convertit se in sanguine'. The order seems wrong. The darkening is always connected with the sun, and only with the moon in conjunction with it. Cf. Joel ii. 10; iii. 15; Eccles. xii. 2. See also Isa. xiii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxiii. 45; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12, ix. 2. Again, 'non dabit lumen' is used only of the moon, Ezek. xxxii. 7; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24. Thirdly, 'turned into blood' is only used of the moon, Joel ii. 31; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12. Thus I alter the text to

'(Et) cornua solis confringentur et in tenebras convertet se;
Et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem.'

circle. Text = *orbis*.

6. **fountains . . . fail.** Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Test. Levi iv. 1; 4 Ezra vi. 24.
fountains . . . and rivers. Cf. Rev. viii. 10, xvi. 4.
dry up. I read *exarescent* for MS. *expavescent*.

7–10. God punishes the Gentiles, destroys their idols, makes Israel triumph over Rome, and exalts them to heaven.

7. **Eternal God.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 27 אלהי קדם. 8[a] and probably 8[b] are based on verse 29 of that chapter.
alone, i.e. without help of Michael or Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 26, vi. 6.
destroy . . . idols. Cf. 1 En. xci. 9.

8. Israel to triumph in this world over Rome.
Then thou . . . happy. Deut. xxxiii. 29.
†**mount upon the necks.** So Deut. xxxiii. 29 in LXX Syr. Vulg. Targ. Onk., Targ. Jon., Jarchi. Modern scholars, however, render 'tread upon their high places'. For 'necks' cf. Baruch iv. 26; also for the idea Josh. x. 24. An older form of the Eagle Vision, that in 4 Ezra xi sqq. may here be in the mind of the writer. Now line 2 is too long and line 3 too short. Formerly I accepted Dr. Cheyne's suggestion that *dies luctus tui* (cf. Isa. lx. 20) was lost after *implebuntur*. Clemen suggests *dies aquilae*; but neither accounts for the irregularity noted, and there is no loss of letters in the MS. Hence I propose that there has been simply a transposition of *cervices et alas* (i.e. *alae*) from line 3 to 2. Then *et implebuntur* = καὶ συντελεσθήσονται, *perdentur* or *delebuntur*. Hence:

'And thou shalt go up against the eagle
And its necks and wings shall be destroyed.'

9. Israel to be exalted to heaven.
to approach. Text = *haerere*, i.e. נגע.
the heaven of the stars. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 5 ὑψώθησαν ἕως τῶν ἄστρων, and Jer. li. (xxviii. in LXX) 9. Cf. 'the stars of heaven', Isa. xiv. 13 (LXX), or 'the stars of God' (Heb.), which, however, Targ. Jon. renders 'the people of God'. Here, however, there is no metaphor, but a description of Israel transfigured and glorified after the final judgement. Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 6.
†**In the place of their habitation.**† Text = *loco habitationis eorum*. *Eorum* suits neither 'stars' nor 'thee'. The parallelism also requires 'and He' to commence the clause. There I read והקים 'and He will establish' for במקום 'in the place', and מושבך בם 'thy habitation among them' for מושבם 'their habitation', and render:

'And He will establish thy habitation among them.'

Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 4, 6.

10. **shalt look.** I read *conspicies* for *conspiges*, text.
shalt see. I read *videbis* for *vides*, text.
Gehenna. MS. has *terram* = γῆν, i.e. גיא or גי transliterated as in Josh. xviii. 16 (LXX), &c. Gehenna is called 'the valley' in Jer. ii. 23; iii. 40, and so הגם need not be restored. Clemen thinks 'in terra' can be supported by Isa. lxvi. 24, but the cases are not parallel.

In earlier times (Isa. lxvi. 24; 1 En. xxvii. 2, 3, liv. 1, 2, xc. 26, 27) Gehenna was considered the place of punishment for faithless Jews, who should be tormented there in full view of the righteous. But in N.T. times it had come to be thought of as the future abode of all the wicked. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 36.

11. **this book.** Cf. i. 16, xi. 1.

12. **[assumption].** The original here told only of Moses' death, not his assumption. Cf. i. 15 and x. 15. The addition is due to the editor, who combined this 'Testament of Moses' with another work, the 'Assumption of Moses'.

15 they shall pursue till they are consummated. And I **shall go** to sleep with my fathers. Wherefore,
Joshua thou (son of) Nun, ⟨be strong and⟩ be of good courage; ⟨for⟩ God hath chosen ⟨thee⟩ to be
minister in the same covenant.

XI 1 And when Joshua had heard the words of Moses that were so written in his writing all that he
2 had before said, he rent his clothes and cast himself at Moses' feet. And Moses comforted **him** and
3, 4 wept with him. And Joshua answered him and said: 'Why dost thou **comfort** me, (my) lord
Moses?· And how shall I be **comforted** in regard to the bitter word which **thou** hast spoken which
has gone forth from thy mouth, which is full of tears and lamentation, in that thou departest from
5, 6 **this** people? ⟨But now⟩ what place shall receive thee? Or what shall be the sign that marks (thy)
7 sepulchre? Or who shall dare to move thy body **from thence** as that of a *mere* man from place to
8 place? For all men when they die have according to their age their sepulchres on earth; but thy
sepulchre is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all
10 the world is thy sepulchre. My lord, **thou art departing**, and who shall feed this people? Or who
11 is there that shall have compassion on them and who shall be their guide by the way? Or who shall
pray for them, **not omitting a single** day, in order that I may lead them into the land of *their* **fore-**
12 **fathers**? How therefore am I to **foster** this people as a father (his) only son, or as a **mistress** *her*
daughter, a virgin who is being prepared to be given to the husband **whom** she will revere, while she
guards her person from the sun and (takes care) that her feet are not unshod for running upon the
13 ground. ⟨And how⟩ shall I supply them with food and drink according to the **pleasure** of their
14 will? For of them there shall be **600,000** ⟨men⟩, for these have multiplied to this degree through
15 thy prayers, (*my*) lord Moses. And what wisdom or understanding have I that I should judge or
16 answer by word in the house ⟨of the **L**ord⟩? And the kings of the Amorites also when they hear
that we are attacking *them*, believing that there is no longer **among them** the sacred spirit who

CCL times, i. e. 250 year-weeks, or 1,750 years. Thus from the Creation (2,500 years before Moses' death) to the final judgement will be 4,250 years or 85 jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97ᵇ, which gives the same date for the Messiah's coming.

13. **of the times.** MS. = '. . . *horum*' emended to *temporum*.

14. Moses expects an ordinary death, a sleep with his fathers in Sheol.

15. **⟨be strong and⟩ be of good courage.** MS. *forma te*. I have restored with Schmidt-Merx 'confortare et firma te'. See i. 10 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23.

⟨for⟩ . . . ⟨thee⟩. I supply *nam te* after *firma te*.

minister. See i. 7 (note). Is Joshua thus the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15?

XI. 1. **Moses' feet.** I emend MS. *pedes meos* to *pedes Monse*.

4. **comfort me . . . be comforted.** I read 'solaris . . . solabor' with Schmidt-Merx for MS. 'celares . . . celabor'; Volkmar emends to 'zelaris . . . zelabor'.

For the mourning at his departure, cf. 2 Bar. xxxiii. 3, lxxvii. 2; 4 Ezra xii. 44.

depart = die, as in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 1, xliii. 2, &c.

this people. Text = *plebe ist* (*a*).

5. **⟨But now⟩ what**, &c. Text is defective.

7. Baldensperger thinks this verse is directed against the Christians, as Christ's body was moved from the cross to the sepulchre.

from thence. I restore *inde* for *in e*.

that of a (mere) man. I restore *hominis* for *homo*.

8. **all the world is thy sepulchre.** Cf. Thuc. ii. 43 *πᾶσα γῆ τάφος*.

9. **thou art departing.** I restore *abis* for *ab his* MS.

11. **pray.** Cf. xii. 6.

not omitting. Text = *nec patiens* = *οὐδὲ παριείς*.

single. MS. = *uno* corrupt for *unum*.

forefathers. I restore *atavorum* for *Araborum*. Ewald *Amorreorum*.

12. **foster.** MS. = *potero* (*hanc plebem*) = *δυνήσομαι* (*τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον*) = (העם הזה) אוכל where אוכל is corrupt for אֲכַלְכֵּל = 'nourish'.

as a mistress her daughter, a virgin. Text = 'tanquam †filiam dominam virginem†.' If *κυρίαν* (= *dominam*) can be applied to persons as Volkmar supposes and mean 'legitimate', 'his own', then the difficulty is solved. But the repetition of *tanquam* is against this view. It seems to require a parallel noun in the nominative such as *domina*. And was *κύριος* ever applied in the above sense even to things? Failing this we might with Fritzsche read *filiam domina*, *virginem*, or since *κυρία* alone may be suspicious in this sense *domina virginem* may = בעלת בתולה corrupt for בַּעֲלַת הַבַּיִת, 'mistress of the house'.

to be given. I restore *dari* for *tali* MS.

whom. I restore *quem* for *quae*.

revere. Cf. Sirach xxvi. 28.

guards her person. Cf. Sirach vii. 24, 25.

13. **⟨And how⟩.** I supply *et quî* to fill the lacuna.

pleasure of their will. I read *voluptatem voluntatis* for MS. = *voluntatem voluntatis*. Cf. Eph. i. 5.

14. **600,000.** I insert D before C *milia*, from Exod. xii. 37.

⟨men⟩. I restore *viri* in lacuna in MS.

15. **⟨of the Lord⟩.** I restore *Domini* in lacuna after *domo* in MS.

16. **among them.** I read *secum* for *semet* MS.

sacred spirit . . . manifold. Cf. *πνεῦμα . . . ἅγιον . . . πολυμερές*, Wisd. vii. 22.

was worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things, God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world, [that he
17 is no longer among them], shall say "Let us go against them. If the enemy have but once wrought impiously against their Lord, they have no advocate to offer prayers on their behalf to the Lord, like Moses the great messenger, who every hour day and night had his knees fixed to the earth, praying and looking for help to Him that ruleth all the world with compassion and righteous-
18 ness, reminding *Him* of the covenant of the fathers and propitiating the Lord with the oath." For they shall say: "He is not with them: let us go therefore and destroy them from off the face of the
19 earth." What shall then become of this people, my lord Moses?'

12 1, 2 And when Joshua had finished (these) words, he cast himself again at the feet of Moses. And Moses took his hand and raised him into the seat before him, and answered and said unto him:
3, 4 'Joshua, do not despise **thyself**, but set thy mind at ease, and hearken to my words. All the nations which are in the earth God hath created and us, He hath foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to
5 the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen and **caused all to come forth.** ⟨Yea⟩ all things which are to be in this earth the Lord hath foreseen and lo! they are brought forward ⟨into the
6 light. . . . The Lord⟩ hath on their behalf appointed me to ⟨pray⟩ for their sins and ⟨make interces-
7 sion⟩ for them. For not for any virtue or **strength** of mine, but **of His good pleasure** have His com-
8 passion and longsuffering fallen to my lot. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the
9 godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations. The **lights** of the heaven, the **foundations** of the earth have been made **and** approved by God and are under the **signet ring** of His right
10 hand. Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of **God** shall increase and be prospered:
11 but those who sin and set at nought the commandments **shall be without the blessings** before men-
12 tioned, and they shall be punished with many torments by the nations. But wholly to root out and
13 **destroy** them is not permitted. For God will go forth who has foreseen all things for ever, and His covenant has been established and by the oath which . . .

worthy of the Lord. Cf. Wisd. iii. 5.
lord of the word, a unique expression.
faithful in all things. Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2.
God's chief prophet. Text = *divinum . . . profetem* = נביא האלהים = '*the* prophet of God'.
[that he . . . them]. A dittography from above.

17. **wrought impiously against.** Text = *impie fecerunt in* = רשעו ב, perhaps corrupt for רשעו מ. Cf. v. 6 (note).
no advocate to offer prayers. This is the function of Jeremiah especially (for Moses cf. ver. 14), e.g. 2 Macc. xv. 14; 4 Baruch ii. 3; 2 Bar. ii. 2 (note).
Moses. MS. wrongly adds 'was'.
looking for help . . . world. MS. = 'intuens homini potentem orbem,' &c. *homini* is clearly a corruption. Hilgenfeld suggests *omnipotentem orbem.* But it is better to read *omnis* and *orbis*, 'potentem omnis orbis.' Schmidt-Merx suggest 'omni potent(ia tenent)em orbem'.

XII. 2. Cf. Sifre Piska 140 on Num. xxvii. 28. 'Thereupon (Moses) raised him (Joshua) from the ground and placed him beside himself on the chair.'

3. **thyself.** I restore *te* for *et*, MS.

4. A word of comfort against the time of Israel's tribulation. God made Israel and the nations, and foresees the destinies of both. Therefore all that befalls must tend to the same end (Israel's benefit, i. 12).
caused all to come forth. I read 'promovit cuncta' for MS. 'provovit cum *eis*'; *provovit* may, however, be corrupt for *praenovit* = προέγνω = ידע, which again may be corrupt for יעד, *praedestinavit.*

6. **appointed me to ⟨pray⟩ for their sins.** This is a real Jewish idea and not borrowed from Christianity. Cf. Jeremiah (see xi. 17 above); also Enoch, 2 En. lxiv. 5 (MSS. A, B), the righteous forefathers, Philo, *De Execr.* ix (ii. 436). Contrast 2 En. liii. 1. The text is defective. I supply *orarem* and *implorarem.*

7. **strength.** I read *firmitatem* for MS. *infirmitatem.*
of His good pleasure. Text = *temperantius* = ἐπιεικέστερον. ἐπιεικῶς in both its occurrences in the O.T. = הואיל, the verb, so that I have rendered it 'of His good pleasure' in the text, though a closer rendering of the Hebrew would be 'He was pleased that His compassion, &c., should fall to my lot'. Cf. for this doctrine of the divine election, Rom. ix. 11, 12, to privilege, and Gal. i. 15, to service. According to the Tanchuma Pikkude 3, God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the power of the man. See 2 En. xxx. 15.

8. **not on account of the godliness**, &c. Cf. Deut. ix. 4, 5, 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 32. The nation is so evil and needs such frequent chastisement, that its selection by God must be due not to merit but to the Divine purpose. Yet the world was created on behalf of Israel, i. 12; and it is God's foreknowledge, not His purpose, that is dwelt on in xii. 4, 5, 13.

9. **lights.** Read *lumina* for text *omnia.*
foundations. Read *fundamenta* for text *firmamenta.*
and approved. I read *et probata* for *ut provata.*
signet ring. Read *annulo* for *nullo.* Cf. Jer. xxii. 24 ἀποσφράγισμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, also Sirach xlix. 11.

10. **God.** Read *Dei* for *ei*, MS.

11. **shall be without the blessings.** Read *carebunt bona* (nom. plur.) for *carere bonam.* But Schmidt-Merx may be right, who retain the text and retranslate τοῖς γὰρ ἁμαρτάνουσιν . . ἐστὶ ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

12. **destroy.** I read *extinguat* for *relinquat.*

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience it will in this edition be designated shortly as '2 Enoch', in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch which is designated as '1 Enoch'.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature came to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic or 1 Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, pp. 127–158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I applied to the late Professor Morfill for help, who procured printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. When once I had before me Professor Morfill's English translations of these texts, it did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseudepigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In some respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

2 Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it should exercise a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Books of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400–500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (A.D. 70–90). It is quoted by name in the later portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

But it was not only on Christian literature that the influence of 2 Enoch is manifest. A Hebrew book entitled 'the Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך) and twice 'the Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ספר רזין דחנוך) in the Zohar exhibits very close affinities with 2 Enoch. R. Ishmael, a martyr of the Hadrianic persecution, is claimed to be its author, but its composition belongs most probably to a later date. It is, however, possible, that this Hebrew Book of Enoch has preserved in some cases the Hebrew original, from which apparently portions of 2 Enoch are derived. But the influence of 2 Enoch is not confined to this Hebrew Book of Enoch. Traces of it are found also in the apocalyptic fragment published by Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrasch* vi. 19–30, and also in the Zohar.[1]

§ 2. The Two Slavonic Versions.

The two versions of the Slavonic redaction of the book of Enoch from which the following translations have been made are:

1. The complete version, published by Mr. A. Popóv in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow, University Press, 1880). The MS. is a South Russian recension, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and belongs to Mr. A. Khludov. It is in many places so corrupt that emendation in the absence of the Greek text is impossible. This version is marked by the letter A in Morfill's translation.[2]

[1] See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 677 sqq.

[2] There is a Bulgarian recension of the above version in a MS. in the public library of Belgrade according to Morfill (Gen. Editor).

2. The incomplete version, published by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Stárine* (Agram, 1884). The MS. is a Servian recension dating from the sixteenth century, and is in the Public Library at Belgrade. It is marked B in Morfill's translation. In order to spare biblical students the confusion inseparable from the omission of the division of the paragraphs into verses and from a disposition of the paragraphs themselves in any way different from that to which they are already used, I have adopted that arrangement of paragraphs and verses which both Morfill and Bonwetsch employed in their translations. It must be pointed out, however, that in the complete version (A) there are only sixty-three, while Morfill and Bonwetsch both divide the same quantity of text into sixty-eight paragraphs; that in the incomplete version (B) there is no division into paragraphs; that in neither A nor B is there any division of the paragraphs into verses,[1] and that in neither A nor B[2] are the titles of the paragraphs in brackets, as indicated in Morfill's translation. (N. FORBES.)

§ 3. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. Part of this book—possibly the main part—was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I appointed him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four component parts: from East, from West, from South, from North.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. *ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία.* This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Sirach, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Sirach xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Sirach i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Sirach vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Sirach xxxix. 25: also lxv. 2—Sirach xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Sirach and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book may have been written originally in Hebrew. (See § 4 *ad fin.*)

2. This book in its present form was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Iustit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There seems to be no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally, swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

§ 4. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One from out the order of angels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to My power. And I threw him from the height.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem.

[1] This division into verses was necessarily made by the General Editor when he edited this book in 1896.

[2] The bracketing of the titles in A was due not to the translator but to the editor, for they have no claim to being original. They are not given in Sokolov's text which was used by Professor Morfill, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of 'Entry of Enoch into the first heaven, Entry of Enoch into the second heaven', &c. (Gen. Editor).

Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from 2 En. xxxi. 2: '. . . the gloomless light' seen by Adam in Paradise.

Next in the *Apocalypse of Moses* (ed. Tischend. 1866) p. 19 we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see Apoc. Mos. xxxvi. 1–3 under 'The Books of Adam and Eve' in this volume.

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη (sic) ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of 2 Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place, whereon the Lord rests, when He goes up into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, *ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα*, and p. 52, *ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον*, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'Two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. *οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς* and *ὁ πύρινος ποταμός* (pp. 57, 58) we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there is no light there . . . and a fiery river coming forth.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 75 *ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχου*, and 88 *σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεξον* are too closely parallel to li. 1, 'Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to the widow (B),' 'Stretch out your hands to the poor (A),' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

There is a direct reference in Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now since there is no account of the creation in 1 Enoch, Origen is here referring to 2 Enoch xxiv–xxx.

The fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77 is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. 1 (note).

During the years A.D. 50–100 our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, viii. 16 we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that 'there is no difference in their faces or behaviour or manner of dress.'

In 4 *Ezra* vii. 97 the words 'incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol' are found in i. 5 'Their faces were shining like the sun'.

With 2 *Baruch* iv. 3 'I showed it (i.e. Paradise) to Adam before he sinned', compare xxxi. 2.

In the *Epistle of Barnabas* xv. 4 *τί λέγει τό· Συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χιλία ἔτη*, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. In xv. 5–7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase 'the eighth day': *οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοὶ] δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὃ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν.* It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, 1 Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους* seem to be derived from our text, xxx. 15, 'I . . . showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.' Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' compare lii. 11, 'Blessed is he who implants peace.' With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, 'Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, "yea, yea," or "nay, nay."' (See notes.)

With vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'In their works are known those who lie evilly.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . for eternal inheritance.' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'In the great time (to come) . . . are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, bad for the bad.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Bow not down to vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Dominions, orders, and governments': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is truth that he may speak truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see my edition, pp. xxxix–xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come down from invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I tell to thee . . . all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.' With Rev. i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 4, 'Their faces were shining like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'The key-holders and guards of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A very great Sea greater than the earthly sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxv. 7, 'Then all time shall perish, and the years,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'That . . . there should be . . . a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the T. Lev. iii. 2 we have avenging powers in the third heaven: *ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, . . . οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν . . . τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης.* With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. With the statement from Enoch in T. Dan v. 5, 6 *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν* we might compare xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. *Ἐγρηγοροί*) who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light.' In the T. Naph. iv. 1–2 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: *Ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καίγε ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε πᾶσαν πονηρίαν Σοδόμων. 2. καὶ ἐπάξει κύριος ὑμῖν αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἀναλώσει κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς.* This may be a loose adaptation to later times of 2 Enoch xxxiv. 2, 3. The quotation in T. Sim. v. 4 is probably derived from the same source, and also that in T. Benj. 9 *ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις οὐ καλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου· πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπωλεῖσθε ἕως βραχύ* (so β S^1, and practically c). The words in T. Jud. xviii. 1–2 *ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου* (so β A S^1, but not *a*), *ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας* may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that a considerable part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis seems necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

But there is further evidence in this direction. Many of the most notable statements regarding Enoch in 2 Enoch are to be found in later Hebrew writings. Now it is hardly conceivable that these traditions were borrowed from a Greek source. We must assume that their source is native to Judaism, and that 2 Enoch is an outstanding and comparatively early representation of this tradition. This tradition appears in various forms in the 'Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך), sometimes called the

'Sepher Hekalot' (i.e. the 'Book of the Halls'), the 'Life of Enoch' (חיי חנוך), and the Hekalot Rabbati. We shall deal here only with the first and point out a few of the many points in which this work draws on 2 Enoch or rather upon the Hebrew source behind 2 Enoch.

In this work R. Ishmael (of the time of Hadrian) ascends through the six heavens and is received by the Meṭaṭron, i.e. Enoch, at the entrance to the seventh. Enoch tells him how he was translated (iii–v, vii–xvi) in a fiery chariot to heaven in order there to bear witness against his wicked contemporaries: how God transfigured him and made him like one of the archangels (cf. 2 Enoch xxii. 6ᵇ–10): how he had been instructed in the mysteries of creation, in things past and to come (cf. 2 Enoch xxiv—xxxiii. 2): how God abode under the tree of life, when Adam was driven forth from Paradise (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3): how Adam and his contemporaries saw the heavenly glory till the fall of the angels (cf. 2 Enoch xxxii. 2). In xviii–xxii the seven heavens are described, the courses of the sun, moon, and stars. Even the three heavens mentioned in 2 Enoch xxi. 6—xxii. 1—only in the A recension as the eighth, ninth, and tenth, i.e. Muzaloth, Kuchavim, Aravoth—are reproduced here, but with a difference: Muzaloth and Kuchavim are placed below the seven heavens and Aravoth above them. This Jewish work was published by Jellinek, *B. H.* 1873, v. 170–190; and under the title ספר היכלות at Lemberg in 1864 and Warsaw in 1876.[1]

Again we find a large amount of material has been borrowed from 2 Enoch by the גדלות מיטה which is printed in Jellinek's *B.H.M.*, 9 sqq. This work tells of Moses' ascent to heaven, after Meṭaṭron has transformed his body into a fiery figure like to that of the angels. In the first heaven Moses sees waters, and also windows by which are let in and out all the things pertaining to human life and its needs. In the second heaven he sees the angels who control the clouds, the winds, and the rain; in the third, the angels placed over vegetation; in the fourth, those over the earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and spheres. The seventh heaven, we observe, is called 'Arabot'. Moses is also privileged to view hell and Paradise. The angel Gabriel conducts him to hell. 'There he sees the manifold torments and punishments of the different classes of sinners, those who were envious of their fellow men and bore false witness against them; women who exposed their charms to young men; sinners who committed adultery, theft, and murder; those who perjured themselves; those who desecrated the Sabbath, despised the learned, and persecuted orphans; those who committed sodomy and idolatry, or cursed their parents; those who took bribes, put their fellow men to shame, delivered up their brother-Israelite to the Gentile, and denied the oral law; those that ate all kinds of forbidden food; usurers; apostates, and blasphemers; those who wrote the ineffable name of God, and those who ate on Yọm Kippur.' In Paradise among other things Moses sees the guardian angel of Paradise sitting under the tree of life; also 'the fountain of life welling forth from beneath the tree of life and dividing itself into four streams, and four rivers flowing under each throne, the first of honey, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of pure balsam.'[1]

§ 5. Date and Authorship.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The passages presupposed by the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* must be of a pre-Christian date. These passages may belong to an older form of the Enoch tradition than 2 Enoch. 2 Enoch in its present form was written probably between 30 B.C. and A.D. 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of Sirach, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Wisdom (see my edition pp. xxv. sq.), and before A.D. 70; for the temple is still standing. We may, therefore, reasonably assign its composition to the period A.D. 1–50.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8–10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory', xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2 note), and Zend (lviii. 4–6 notes), elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

§ 6. Some of the Author's views on Creation, Anthropology, and Ethics.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2.[2] (For a detailed account of each day's creations see xxv–xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3, and all the

[1] See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 676–7, whence this account is derived.

[2] Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. This six days of work followed by a seventh of rest is at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The age was resolved for man's sake, lxv. 3 (B). When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—*ἀνατολή*, *δύσις*, *ἄρκτος*, *μεσημβρία*—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, and while in the Garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15. But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biased its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin[1], xl. 12, 13; xlvi. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners, hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who beholds the labour of his own hands, but cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of another, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be impartially just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, xlii. 7. And men should also practise charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the faithful man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, li. 1, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay, xlix. 1; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride: for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another till they depart from this age of ills, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is better than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 7. On the Value of the Book in Elucidating Contemporary and Later Religious Thought.

See my edition, pp. xxix–xlvii.

§ 8. Bibliography.

Charles and Morfill. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, M.A. and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.

Bonwetsch. *Das slawische Henochbuch* (Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellsch. der Wissensch., philol.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. i, No. 3). Berlin, 1896.

Harnack. Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur, II, i. 564 sq.

Charles. Hastings, *B. D.* i. 708–11.
Encyc. Bib. i. 225–8.
Encyc. Britt.[11]

Littmann. *Jewish Encyc.* v. 181–2.

[1] Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4–6.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

A

Of Enoch's life and dream.

THERE was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

A

1 1 At that time, he said, when my 165th year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal. After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-
2 five years. On the first day of the first month I was in my house alone and was resting on my
3 couch and slept. And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would
4 happen to me. And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on
5 earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too *were* like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth †with clothing and singing of various kinds† in appearance purple, their wings *were* brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow. They were standing at the head of my couch and began to call me by my
6 name. And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.
7 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from
8 terror, and those men said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to

B

Now behold the books of the secret of God, the revelations of Enoch.

At that time when three hundred and sixty-1 1
five years were fulfilled to me, on a certain day 2
of the second month I was alone in my house.

I was in great trouble, weeping with my eyes, 3
and was resting, asleep on my couch, and there 4
appeared to me two very big men, such as I have never seen on earth—their faces shone like the 5
sun, their eyes *were* like burning candles, out of their mouths was fire coming forth, their clothes *and* singing were various, and their arms like golden wings—at the head of my couch, and called upon me by my name.

And I having awoken from my sleep and stood 6
up †at my couch† bowed down to them and 7
covered my face from terror.

And the two men spoke to me: 'Have courage, 8
Enoch, do not fear, the Eternal Lord hath sent

1. 2, 3. Cf. 1 En. lxxxiii. 3, 5.
5. **faces . . . sun.** Cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra vii. 97.
eyes, &c. Dan. x. 6: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12.
fire coming forth. Cf. Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. The next clause is corrupt.
of various kinds (A). The text has *razdayaniya* = 'of distribution'. Emend to *raz(d)nîya* = 'of different kinds'.
various (B), i.e. differing from one another.
their wings > B.
whiter than snow. Cf. 1 En. cvi. 2, 10; Apoc. Petri.
7. **appearance . . . changed.** Dan. v. 6, 9, 10.
8. **Have courage.** Cf. Matt. xiv. 27. The LXX renders thus the Hebrew 'fear not'.
do not fear. Cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6; 1 En. xv. 1.

A

thee, and lo! thou shalt to-day ascend with us
9 into heaven, and thou shalt tell thy sons and all
thy household all that they shall do without thee
on earth in thy house, and let no one seek thee
10 till the Lord return thee to them. And I made
haste to obey them and went out from my house,
and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and
summoned my sons Mathusal and Regim and
Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels
those *men* had told me.

The Instruction. How Enoch instructed his sons.

2 1 Listen to me, my children. I know not whither
2 I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my
children, I tell you: turn not from God before
the face of the vain, who made not Heaven and
earth, for these shall perish and those who
3 worship them, and may the Lord make confident
4 your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my
children, let no one think to seek me, until the
Lord return me to you.

Of Enoch's assumption; how the angels took him into the first heaven.

3 1 It came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons,
that the angels took him on to their wings and
bore him up on to the first heaven and placed
2 him on the clouds. And there I looked, and
again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and
3 they placed me on the first heaven and showed
me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly
sea.

Of the Angels ruling the stars.

4 1 They brought before my face the elders and
rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two
hundred angels, who rule the stars and *their*
2 services to the heavens, and fly with their wings
and come round all those who sail.

B

us to thee, behold to-day thou shalt go up with
us on to the heavens.

Tell thy sons and thy household all that they 9
must do in thy house, and let no one seek thee,
till the Lord return thee to them.

And I listened and went out, summoned my 10
sons Mefusailom and Regim, and told them all
that those two men had spoken to me.

And behold, my children, I know not whither **2**
I go, nor what will befall me, and now, my chil- 2
dren, turn not away from God, walk before the
Lord's face and observe his judgements, and bow
not down to vain gods, to gods who made neither
heaven nor earth, they shall perish.

Keep your hearts true to terror of the Lord, 3
and now, my children, let no one seek me till 4
the Lord return me to you.

Enoch's ascent on to the first heaven.

And it happened when I had spoken to my **3**
sons, and the two men summoned me, and took
me on to their wings and carried me up on to the
first heaven and set me down there,

and brought **4**
me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the
stellar orders, and he showed me all their courses,
and their passages from year to year, and he
showed me two hundred angels, and he showed
me there a very great sea, greater than the earthly 2
sea, and angels were flying with their wings.

ascend with us. Cf. iii. 1, &c.

9. **sons.** 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6; xci. 1 mentions them, but not by name.

10. **Regim.** See lvii. 2.

Gaidad. Gen. iv. 18 (LXX) gives this as the son of the Enoch who is Cain's grandson. So B rightly omits.

II. 1. **know not whither.** Cf. vii. 5.

2. **turn not from God.** 1 Sam. xii. 20.

vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth (B). Cf. Acts xiv. 15; Jer. x. 11; also Ps. xcvi. 5; Isa. ii. 18; Jub. xii. 2, 3, 4.

3. **make confident,** &c. Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. In 1 En. xiv. 8 the clouds invite and the winds raise Enoch.

2. **the ether** = the firmament of Asc. Isa. vii. 9, i. e. the first heaven.

3. **a very great Sea.** Cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2. In Test. Levi ii. 7 this sea lies between the first and second heavens.

IV. 1. **the elders,** *starêishina* = 'elder', i. e. one set in command over.

the rulers of the stellar orders. For another account of these see 1 En. lxxxii. 9–18, 20. Note the divergence of B, which makes the elder, or special angel, of the stars act as guide to Enoch in the first heaven.

two hundred angels. In 1 En. vi. 5 this is the number of the apostatizing angels.

A

Of how the Angels keep the store-houses of the snow.

5 1 And here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep
2 their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

Of the dew and of the olive-oil, and various flowers.

6 1 They showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these *things*, *and* how they are made to shut and open.

Of how Enoch was taken on to the second heaven.

7 1 And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great
2 and boundless judgement, and these angels were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours, and I said to the men who were with me:
3 'Wherefore are these incessantly tortured?' they answered me: 'These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also *is* fastened on the fifth heaven.
4 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: 'Man of God, pray for us to
5 the Lord'; and I answered to them: 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? who knoweth whither I go, or what will befall me? or who will pray for me?'

Of the assumption of Enoch to the third heaven.

8 1 And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there;

B

He showed me the store-house of cloud, whence 5 1
it goes up and goes out, and showed me all the treasure-houses of snow and cold, and terrible angels guarding the treasure-houses,

and he 6 1
showed me the treasure-houses of the dew, like olive oil, and angels guarding their treasure-houses, and their clothing like all the flowers of the earth.

Enoch's ascent to the second heaven.

And the two men placed me *thence* and carried 7 1
me up on to the second heaven, and showed me there prisoners kept of the measureless judgement, and I saw the condemned weeping, and I spoke 2
to the two men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these tormented?' and the two men said to
me: 'These are the Lord's apostates, not listen- 3
ing to the Lord's voice, but taking counsel of their own will.'

And I was very sorry for them. And the 4
angels bowed down to me and said to me: 'Man of God, would that thou mightst pray for us to God!'

And I answered them: 'Who am I, a mortal 5
man, that I should pray for angels? who knows whither I go or what will befall me or *who* pray for *me*?'

The ascent on to the third heaven.

And the two men placed me thence and carried 8 1
me up on to the third heaven and set me down

V. 1. **treasure-houses of the snow.** Job xxxviii. 22; cf. 1 En. lx. 17, 18—in the second heaven according to Test. Levi iii. 2.

store-house of cloud (B). Cf. 1 En. lx. 19. A seems corrupt.

VI. 1. **treasure-house of the dew.** Cf. 1 En. lx. 20.

VII. 1. **darkness . . . prisoners . . . watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgement.** Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6, and possibly Test. Levi iii. 2. The angels who sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth in 1 En. x as in 2 En. xviii. 7; those who sinned by ambition are imprisoned in the second heaven. See, however, xviii. 4 (note).

3. **took counsel with their own will.** Cf. Isa. xlvi. 10.

their prince = Satanail, xviii. 3.

fifth heaven. These angels had originally been in the fifth heaven, see xviii. But it is hard to see why their leader alone should be imprisoned there, when they are reduced to the second. See xxix. 3–5 (notes).

4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii. 4.

Man of God. Deut. xxxiii. 1.

5. Cf. 1 En. xv. 2.

VIII. 1. Paradise is here in the third heaven, as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.

A

and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for
2 goodness. And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne *by them* bubbling
3 with fragrant exhalation. And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance,
4 and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides *it is* in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits. Its root is in the garden
5 at the earth's end. And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round
6 with quiet course, and go down into the paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other
7 elements. And here there is no unfruitful tree,
8 and every place is blessed. And *there are* three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place,' and those men said to me:

The showing to Enoch of the place of the righteous and compassionate.

9 1 This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungering, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him

B

in the midst of Paradise, and a place unknown in goodness of appearance.

Every tree sweet-flowering, every fruit ripe, all 2
manner of food perpetually bubbling with all pleasant smells, and four rivers flowing by with quiet course, and every growth is good, bearing fruit for food, and the tree of life is at that 3
place, at which God rests when he goes up into Paradise, and that tree is ineffable for the goodness of its sweet scent, and another olive tree 5
alongside was always discharging the oil of its fruit.

And there is no tree there without fruit, and 7
every tree is blessed. And the angels guarding 8
the Paradise are very bright and serve the Lord all days with incessant voice and sweet singing. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place!'

And the two men answered me: 'This place, 9
Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who suffer offence in their lives and spite in their souls, and avert their eyes from injustice and make righteous judgement, to give bread to the hungering, to clothe the naked and cover them with a garment, to raise the fallen, and help the wronged, who walk before God's face and serve him alone; now

unknown in goodness of appearance (B), i. e. the like of which is not known anywhere else.

2. **all the sweet-flowering trees**, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 9; 1 En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis xxxviii. 4.
all the foods. Cf. 'twelve manner of fruits', Rev. xxii. 2.

3. **in the midst of the trees that of life.** For the 'tree of life' see Gen. ii. 9. For this familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypse cf. 1 En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi xviii. 11. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 66, p. 278, bans the doctrine as Manichaean.
in that place whereon the Lord rests. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 64) *δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπαναπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον,* and Apoc. Mosis xxii. 4 *καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐνετρεπίζετο.*

5. **between corruptibility and incorruptibility**, i. e. at the earth's end. Cf. 'the ends of the earth,' 1 En. xxxiii. 1, to which Enoch proceeds from the garden of righteousness.
four rivers (B). These are taken over into the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 52), and also into the Koran xlvii, where, however, a river of incorruptible water replaces the river of oil. The writer seems to be bringing into one organic conception what were originally two different conceptions—the earthly and the heavenly Paradise. The former was the older idea: Gen. ii. 8–17; 1 En. xxxii. 3–6; lxxvii. 3. The latter occurs in 1 En. lx. 8, lxi. 12, lxx. 3.
another olive tree (B). Cf. xxii. 8; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3.

IX. 1. **prepared for the righteous.** Cf. Matt. xxv. 34; also 1 En. lx. 8 (note).
avert their eyes from iniquity. Ps. cxix. 37.
make righteous judgement. Ezek. xviii. 8.
give bread, &c. Ezek. xviii. 7; cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404-5 and esp. Matt. xxv. 35–9.
help injured orphans. Cf. Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16.
walk without fault. Luke i. 6.

A

alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

Here they showed Enoch the terrible place and various tortures.

1 And those two men led me up on to the Northern side, and showed me there a very
2 terrible place, and *there were* all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unillumined gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flameth aloft, and *there is* a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere *there is* frost
3 and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I
4 said: 'Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place,' and those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds,
5 stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who. accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungering to die; being
6 able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed down to soulless (*sc.* lifeless) Gods, who cannot see nor hear, vain gods, *who also* built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place amongst these, for eternal inheritance.

B

for these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

And the two men lifted me up thence, and 10 1
carried me up to the north of the heaven, and showed me there a very terrible place, all torture and torment; at that place *there was* darkness 2
and gloom, and there is no light there, but fire and flame, and obscurity comes down at that place and *there is* cold and ice and dungeons, and 3
cruel relentless angels carrying arms and tormenting without mercy.

And I said: 'How very terrible is this place. 4
And the two men answered me: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for the dishonest, that work godless things on earth, who make witchcraft and sorcery and boast of their works, who steal 5
men's souls secretly, who sever a binding yoke, who grow rich by doing violence, from the property of the others, who being able to feed, kill the hungering through famine, and being able to clothe the naked, took away their clothes, who recognized not their creator, but bowed down to 6
vain gods: for all these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

eternal inheritance. Cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1-6. The idea of evil in heaven is foreign to modern thought, but we find Satan presenting himself in heaven in Job i. 7, 8, while Eph. vi. 12 speaks of 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places'. Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 represents the end of this state of things. Satan is cast down and henceforth limited to the earth, xii. 12. The older view is found in Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153, but was later banished from both Christian and Jewish thought.

2. **darkness**, &c. Cf. Apoc. Petri 12; Apoc. Pauli, pp. 57 and 62.

gloom (B). *m'gla* can also mean fog.

fiery river. In 1 En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10 this idea is connected with God's holiness, but here it connotes punishment, like the Greek Pyriphlegethon. Cf. Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8; Or. Sibyll. ii. 196–200, 252–3, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411; Apoc. Petri 8; Apoc. Pauli, p. 57. Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 combines the two ideas.

fire . . . and frost and ice. Cf. 1 En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling is described.

3. For angels of destruction, cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15; and probably Sirach xxxix. 28. In 1 En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish first appears, and the idea seems already a familiar one. Cf. Rev. ix. 11, 15 (Apollyon); xvi. In Matt. xiii. 49, however, good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. For later occurrences of the view cf. Test. Levi iii. 3; Apoc. Petri 6, 8. Test. Abraham A. xii follows our text closely.

4. **prepared**, &c. Contrast Matt. xxv. 41.

4, 5. For the sins cf. Rev. xxi. 8; Apoc. Petri 17; Test. Isaac (ed. James, p. 148). One is too gross to appear in the text.

5. **souls of men.** Cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

6. Cf. Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1; Or. Sibyll. v. 77–85; viii. 378–81; 395–8; *Fragm.* i. 20–2; iii. 21–45.

A

Here they took Enoch up on to the fourth heaven where is the course of sun and moon.

11 1 Those men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and 2 moon. And I measured their goings, and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's. Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like a wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day 3 and night it has no rest. Its passage and return *are accompanied by* four great stars, *and* each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, *and by* four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight 4 thousand, issuing with the sun continually. And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night a thousand. And six-winged ones issue with the angels before the sun's wheel into 5 the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

Of the very marvellous elements of the sun.

12 1 And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names *are* Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance *is* empurpled, like the rainbow; their size *is* nine hundred measures, 2 their wings *are like* those of angels, each *has* twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from 3 God. Thus *the sun* revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

B

Enoch's ascent on to the fourth heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence, and 11
carried me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the courses and goings and all the rays of the light both of the sun and of the moon, their measurements and their goings, and I saw their goings.

The sun has sevenfold more light than the 2
moon and their circles are the chariots on which each of them rides just as the wind goes, and ever going and returning they have rest neither by day nor by night.

And *I saw* four great stars on the right of 3
the sun's chariot and four on the left going with 4
the sun always, and angels going before the sun's chariot.

Flying spirits, *each having* twelve *wings*, and 12
each of the angels that rolls the chariot has twelve wings, carrying dew and heat, when the Lord commands them to descend on to the earth with the sun's rays.

XI. 1. **fourth heaven.** This, according to *Chagiga* 12^{b}, contained the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael who offered daily sacrifice.

the successive goings . . . of sun and moon. Cf. 1 En. lxxii–lxxviii.

2. **The sun has sevenfold more light**, &c. (B). Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 37.

the wheels ('the chariots', B). Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8.

day and night it has no rest. 1 En. xli. 7, lxxii. 37.

3, 4. Not in 1 En.

5. Cf. 1 En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. **Phoenixes and Chalkydri.** This is the only reference to these creatures in literature. The phoenix was always solitary, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28. Jewish authorities find a reference to the phoenix in Job xxix. 18, where they render כחול 'as the phoenix' and not 'as the sand'. The fable was believed in by 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Res. Carn.* xiii, &c. The poem *De Phoenice* of the pseudo-Lactantius has many apparent references to our text. The phoenix is, e.g. a 'satelles Phoebi' (33, cf. xii. 2 here), it greets the sun at rising (43–50) and claps its wings (51–4). Cf. xv. 1. For the two different legends in the Talmud about the phoenix's origin see Hamburger, *R.-E. für den Talmud*, 908–9, and on the question generally, Lightfoot, &c., on 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv.

Chalkydri, seemingly a transliteration of Χαλκύδραι, brazen hydras or serpents. These are classed with the Cherubim in 1 En. xx. 7, and so = the Seraphim of Isa. vi. 2, 6. These then were perhaps conceived as winged dragons, as the analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5–11 would lead us to suppose. The Serpent as an object of reverence or a symbol of healing occurs in Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14; in a physically bad sense in Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and morally as a designation of Satan in Rev. xii. 9. It is significant that neither Cherubim nor Seraphim occur in the N.T.; their characteristics are fused in the four living creatures of Rev. iv. 6–8.

feet and tails . . . of a lion. The Cherubim's feet in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet.

2. **each has twelve,** i.e. twice as many wings as the angel of xi. 4.

bearing heat and dew. Contrast 1 En. lx. 20.

3. **goes under the earth.** This seems to conflict with xxx. 3, where the sun's goings would appear to be in the fourth heaven. See xiv. 2 (note).

incessantly. Cf. 'always', xi. 2.

A

The angels took Enoch and placed him in the east at the sun's gates.

3 1 Those men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the †hours† day and night.
2 And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium, and I measured *them* truly, and understood their size *to be* so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even,
4 and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the
5 succession of the seasons; thus *the period* of the whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons.

They took Enoch to the West.

4 1 And again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the Eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and a
2 quarter. Thus again it goes down to the western gates, *and* draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord,
3 and guarded by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half *its course* under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

The elements of the sun, the Phoenixes and Chalkydri broke into song.

15 1 Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.
2 The giver of light comes to give brightness to

B

And the two men carried me to the East of 13 1
the heaven and showed me the gates through which the sun goes up at the appointed seasons and after the completion of every month and after the shortening to the lengthening of the days and nights, six great gates, and the greatness of 2
the proportions of those gates, and I could not comprehend their greatness; and of those through which the sun goes up and goes over to the West 3
through the first gates it goes out forty-two days, through the second gates thirty-five, through the fourth gates thirty-five days, through the fifth thirty-five, through the sixth gates . . . at the going out of the season the years finish at 5
the returns of the seasons.

And the two men carried me up to the West 14 1
of the heaven and showed me six great open gates after the Eastern entrance and opposite it, through which (*sc.* gates) the sun goes down there after the going up from the Eastern gates and according to the number of days, thus it goes down 2
through the Western gates. When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its 3
chariot and goes out without light, and they put the crown on it again *at* the Eastern gates.

XIII. 1. **the sun's gates,** i.e. the six of the next verse. Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 2–37, which is no doubt the original of this chapter.

2–5. Corrupt.

5. **four seasons.** Cf. xl. 6. Two of the four are dealt with in 1 En. lxxxii. 15–20.

XIV. 1. **three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter.** The writer of 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii knew of the solar year, but refused to recognize it from national prejudice.

2. In 1 En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north to the east to rise again. In our text, however, during the night the sun, which revolves through the fourth heaven xi, xxx. 3, goes under the earth. It is without light at night, as its crown is taken from it, and its own light is under the earth. The sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, Apoc. Mosis xxxvi. 3. The crown is the added light bestowed by God.

3. **stands.** We should expect 'ceases from shining'; B has 'goes without light'.

spends half its course, i.e. apparently the seven hours, which are not hours of fixed duration. But it is hard to see why there should be *seven* hours.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note).

therefore every bird . . . light. A parenthetic reference to the songs of birds at sunrise.

A

the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness
3 to light up the whole face of the earth, and they showed me this calculation of the sun's going. And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the †computation of the hours†
4 of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit *lasts* twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

They took Enoch and again placed him in the east at the course of the moon.

16 1 Those men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out
2 of the customary times. It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with *thirty*-one *days* exactly, by the second gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the third with thirty days exactly, by the fourth with thirty days exactly, by the fifth with thirty-one days exactly, by the sixth with thirty-one days exactly, by the seventh with thirty days exactly, by the eighth with thirty-one days perfectly, by the ninth with thirty-one days exactly, by the tenth with thirty days perfectly, by the eleventh with thirty-one days exactly, by the twelfth with
3 twenty-eight days exactly. And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the
4 eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year,
5 while the lunar year has three hundred and fifty-four, and there are wanting *to it* twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year. [Thus, too, the great circle con-
6 tains five hundred and thirty-two years.] The quarter *of a day* is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfils *it* exactly. Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the number of days, because they

B

The two angels showed me this disposition of 15
the gates by which it goes up and goes out. These gates the Lord made for the taking of time and counting of the years for the sun.

And they showed me the other lunar disposi- 16
tion, all its courses, and the two men pointed out to me all its circuits, and they pointed out to me its gates, twelve eternal gates to the East, through which the moon enters at the usual seasons, thus also through the Western gates 2
after going round and according to the number of the Eastern gates.

Thus it goes down also through the Western 3
gates, and completes the year; therefore it goes 5
in the year with three hundred and sixty-four days complete, and therefore it is called outside heaven, and the years are not reckoned in the 6
number of the days, because the seasons of the year change.

XVI. 1. **Twelve great gates.** These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii, xiv.

2. This account cannot possibly apply to the moon, but applies perfectly to the sun, which must therefore be understood as the subject. The numbers when added together = 365, which accords with the statement in verse 4 that a solar year = $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, while in verse 5 we proceed to the lunar year which amounts to 354 days.

5. **364 days complete** (B). This seems to be an error for 354 (A).
twelve days. More exactly $11\frac{1}{4}$.
[**Thus, too, the great cycle contains five hundred and thirty-two years**]. I have bracketed these words as they have no real connexion with the context. They arose obviously from a marginal gloss. The writer in this chapter does not get beyond the Metonic cycle, whereas the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of 19 years and the Solar cycle of 28 years. This great cycle is called the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period. As it includes all the variations in respect of the new moons and the dominical letters, it is consequently a period in which Easter and all the movable and immovable feasts would occur on the same day of the week and month as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, *c.* A. D. 457. It is obvious that any reference to such a cycle here is an intrusion.

6. **the quarter**, &c. Explanation of leap year.
because they† change the time, &c. Hopelessly corrupt.

7. **with its light** (B). This seems to imply that her light is not borrowed from the sun as is taught in 1 En. lxxiii; 'to the lights' (A) seems meaningless.

A

†change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards
7 diminution†. And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements
8 and angels flying ; each angel has six wings. It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

Of the singings of the angels, which it is impossible to describe.

7 1 In the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant *voice* and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and *which* astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvellous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

Of the taking of Enoch on to the fifth heaven.

3 1 The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size *was* greater than that of great giants

B

And when they †finish the Western 7
gates and it goes towards the Eastern with its light.

Thus their circle goes around like the heaven, and their chariot, on to which the wind mounts in its course, and flying spirits draw along their chariot, six wings to each angel.

This is the lunar disposition.

And in the midst of the heaven I saw armed **17** 1
troops serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice. And I was delighted listening *to them*.

Enoch's ascent on to the fifth heaven.

And the men carried me up on to the fifth **18** 1
heaven, and I saw there many troops, Egoroi, and their appearance was like the human appearance and their size greater than that of great giants

A

2 and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and *wherefore* is there no service on this heaven?'
3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of

each angel has six wings. The moon's attendant angels have *six* wings, as the sun's attendant creatures had *twelve* (xii. 2).

8. The reference is to the Metonic cycle, which consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year once more. As nineteen solar years = 6,939·186 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. **armed soldiers.** The purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi iii. 3, where, however, they are in the third heaven, not the fourth. They are *ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ.*

serving the Lord . . . various singing. This is the function assigned by Test. Levi iii. 8 to the inhabitants of the fourth heaven . . . *ἐν ᾧ ἀεὶ ὕμνοι τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται.* Note the dittography 'with sweet and incessant (voice)'.

XVIII. 1. **fifth heaven.** Our text and Test. Levi iii. 7 differ absolutely as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are *οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου.* This view, however, seems limited to the Test. Levi, whereas we find in *Chag.* 12^{b} the same view expressed as here: i.e. in מעון the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: *ἆρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.* This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted.

Grigori. These are the Watchers, the Ἐγρήγοροι, or עירים, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi.

3. **The Grigori.** These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in 1 En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See 1 En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in 1 En. vi-xvi. The leaders in 1 En. vi-xvi are not Satans, but 'Watchers', like their followers. In 1 En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had

A

4 light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took
5 to themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made
6 lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity. And therefore God judged them with great judgement, and they weep for their brethren and they will be
7 punished on the Lord's great day. And I said to the Grigori: 'I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them *to be*
8 under earth till heaven and earth shall end for ever.' And I said: 'Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?'

9 And they listened to my admonition, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! as I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

A

Of the taking of Enoch on to the sixth heaven.

19 1 And thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in
2 their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government
3 of the world. And when they see evil-doing

B

And the two men took me from thence, they 19
carried me up on to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven ranks of angels very bright and glorious, their faces shining like the sun, and there is no difference in *their* faces, nor in *their* extent, nor in the composition of *their* clothes.

These organize and learn the good ordering of 2
the world and the goings of the stars, of the sun and of the moon.

Angels, angels, these heavenly angels harmo- 3

rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in 1 En. lxix and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244.

who with their prince Satanail. Quoted in Test. Dan v. 5, 6 . . . *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου . . . ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν* (*ὑμῶν* is corrupt for *αὐτῶν*). Our text can hardly mean that all the Watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the Watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is indeed possible that the writer's scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious Watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels ('after them') who followed them (? = 'the order that was under him,' xxix. 4) are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the Watchers who went further and descended to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but raises more difficulties than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 does indeed favour it, but for 'prince who' in that verse we must read 'prince and leaders who'. The main objections, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3 where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the fallen Watchers. In xxix. 4, 5 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven, to the air, above the abyss.

4. **after them** (A), i.e. of the same sort as they.

three. According to 1 En. ix. 6 the leader was Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza; Jalkut Schim, *Beresch.* 44 gives Assael and Semjaza.

Ermon. See 1 En. vi. 2–6.

broke through their vows. Hermon means a place of cursing or vowing. We should expect 'bound themselves by mutual vows' as in 1 En. vi. 5.

5. 1 En. x. 8, vii. 2.

6. 1 En. x. 4–15.

they will be punished. Not those who weep, but the lustful Watchers are punished.

7. There is some confusion in this verse. Enoch has seen in vii the rebellious Watchers in torment in the second heaven, but here he proceeds to refer to the lustful Watchers punished under the earth. We have not had an account of his journey thither.

I prayed for them. See vii. 5 (note).

8, 9. The Watchers are silent out of sympathy for their fallen brethren, and at Enoch's rebuke they resume their worship, but with sadness.

XIX. 1. This account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi iii. 5, 6, with that of *Chag.* 12^{b}, and with the colourless account in Asc. Is.

there is no difference in their faces, &c. Asc. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven. (Cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5–7.)

2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii.

A

they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all *songs* of praise. These are the archangels who are above angels,
4 measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are *appointed* over seasons and years, the angels who are over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to
5 every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their
6 lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged *ones* continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice †before the Lord† at his footstool.

Hence they took Enoch into the seventh Heaven.

20 1 And those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began
2 to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me:
3 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear,' and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells here? On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat. And all the heavenly troops would

B

nize all the heavenly life, organize the commands, teachings and euphony, and singing and every glorious praise.

And those angels *that rule* over the seasons 4
and the years, and the angels that are over rivers and seas, and the angels that are over the fruit and grass and everything bubbling (*sic*), and 5
angels *who* organize all the life of all people and write before the Lord's face.

In their midst seven phoenixes, seven cherubim, 6
and seven six-winged ones, voicing and singing to each other as one, and it is impossible to describe their singing, and the Lord rejoices in his footstool.

Enoch's ascent on to the Seventh Heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence and 20 1
carried me up on to the seventh heaven. And I saw there a great light and all the fiery troops of incorporeal archangels and the shining station of the Ostanim, and I became afraid and began to tremble.

And the two men put me in the midst of them, 2
saying to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not.'

They showed me from afar the Lord sitting on 3
his throne, and all the heavenly troops in companies stepping on to the steps and they kept bowing down to the Lord, and would then walk 4
away and go to their places in joy and happiness and in immeasurable light;

4. Subordinate spirits are over these natural objects in 1 En. lx. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14, xvi. 5.
bubbling (B.), lit. 'boiling', i.e. 'gushing forth', 'abundant'.
5. Raphael's function in 1 En. xx. 3.
6. **six six-winged ones.** i.e. Seraphim, cf. xii. 1 (notes). Note that Cherubim and Seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. *Chag.* 12^{b} places Seraphim, Ophannim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi iii. 5 agrees with this verse, and places in the sixth heaven ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ λειτουργοῦντες.
one voice. A dittography.

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts, cf. Isa. vi; Ezek. i; 1 En. xiv. 9–17, lxxi. 7–9; Rev. iv. For *Chag.* 12^{b} see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above.
dominions, orders, and governments . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι. Cf. Eph. i. 21 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος: also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; 1 En. lxi. 10.
many-eyed. Seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophannim. Cf. 1 En. lxi. 10, and B here.
nine regiments. We must read 'ten', to agree with ver. 3, where there are ten grades corresponding to the ten steps.
Ioanit stations of light. Apparently some reference to the Apocalypse of John.
I became afraid, &c. 1 En. xiv. 14.
2. **Have courage,** &c. Cf. i. 8.
3. **the Lord . . . on His very high throne.** Isa. vi. 1; 1 En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4.
tenth heaven. Cf. xxi. 6 (note), xxii. 1.
Aravat. See xxii. 1.
all the heavenly troops . . . on the ten steps according to their rank. These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; *Jesode Thora* C. 2, they are: Chajjoth, Ophannim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophannim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i.e. Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἄγγελοι. These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

A

come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord,
4 and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

Of how the angels here left Enoch, at the end of the seventh Heaven, and went away from him unseen.

21 1 / And the cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord Ruler *of* Sabaoth,
2 heavens and earth are full of Thy glory.' / When I saw all these things, those men said to me: 'Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with thee,' and those men went away from me, and thereupon I saw them not. And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: 'Woe is me, what has befallen me?'
3 And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and *he* said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me,'
4 and I answered him, and said in myself: 'My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling,' and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and *it is*
5 with them I go before the Lord's face. And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

B

and the glorious 21
ones serving him do not leave him by night nor go away by day, standing before the Lord's face, and working his will, and all the troops of cherubim and seraphim about his throne never leaving *him*, and the six-winged ones cover his throne, singing before the Lord's face.

And when I saw all, the two men went away 2
from me and thenceforward I saw them not. And they left me alone at the end of heaven, and I grew afraid and fell on my face.

And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones 3
Gabriel to me, and he said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not the troops, come after me, and stand before the Lord's face into eternity.'

And I said to him: 'Woe is me, my Lord, my 4
soul is gone out of me for terror, call up to me the two men who brought me to the place, because I trusted them and with them I go before the Lord's face.'

And Gabriel seized me, just as a leaf seized by 5
the wind, and took me, and put me before the Lord's face.

A

6 And I saw the eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet. and of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh Heaven. And I saw the ninth Heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

In the tenth Heaven the archangel Michael led Enoch to before the Lord's face.

22 1 On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns. Thus I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible.
2 And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? and I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne very great

XXI. 1. **do not depart.** Cf. 1 En. xiv. 23.
six-winged . . . Thy glory. Isa. vi. 2, 3.
3. **Have courage.** See i. 8, xx. 2, xxi. 5; 1 En. xv. 1.
5. Cf. ver. 3.
6. This verse is clearly an interpolation. It is not found either in B or Sok. Furthermore, throughout the rest of the book only seven heavens are mentioned or implied. The term Muzaloth is the Hebrew name for the twelve signs of the Zodiac מַזָּלוֹת. Kuchavim is merely a transliteration of כּוֹכָבִים. Some ground for this conception may be found in 1 En. xiv. 17, where the path of the stars is above the throne of God, and as the throne of God according to this book is in the seventh heaven, the signs and stars might be regarded as in the eighth or ninth.

XXII. 1–3. Aravoth a transliteration of ערבות, which according to *Chagig.* 12^{b} was really the seventh heaven. The rest of ver. 1, and verses 2, 3, may in some form have belonged to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them.

A

and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and
3 seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of his glory?

A

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord,
5 and the Lord with his lips said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand before my face into eternity.'
6 And the archistratege Michael lifted me up, and led me to before the Lord's face.

And the Lord said to his servants tempting them: 'Let Enoch stand before my face into
7 eternity,' and the glorious ones bowed down to the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch go according to Thy word.'
8 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory.'
9 And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him. He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appearance of that ointment is more than the great light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its
10 smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked at myself, and was like one of his glorious ones.
11 And the Lord summoned one of his archangels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was quicker in wisdom than the other archangels, who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the
12 Lord said to Pravuil: 'Bring out the books from my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing, and give *it* to Enoch, and deliver to him the choice and †comforting† books out of thy hand.'

Of Enoch's writing, how he wrote his wonderful journeyings and the heavenly apparitions and himself wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

3 1 And he was telling me all the works of heaven, earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders. the sun and moon, the goings and changes of the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours, the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels,

B

and I fell prone, and could not see the Lord God, **22** 4
and I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord 8
God spake to Michael: 'Take Enoch, and take him out from his earthly (*sc.* garments), and anoint *him* with sweet oil, and clothe him in garments of glory.' And Michael took me out from my 9
garments, and anointed me with sweet oil; and the appearance of that oil is better than great light, and its ointment like sweet dew, and its smell like myrrh, and shining like the rays of the sun.

And I looked down looking at myself, and 10
I was as one of the glorious ones, and there was no difference. And the terror and trembling went away from me, and the Lord with his mouth 4
summoned me and said: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not, stand before my face into eternity.'

And the Lord's archistratege Michael brought 6
me before the face of God. The Lord tempted his servants, and said to them: 'Let Enoch step up to stand before my face into eternity.' And 7
the Lord's glorious ones bowed down, and said: 'Let him step up.'

And the Lord summoned Vretil, one of his 11
archangels, who is wise and writes down all the Lord's works.

And the Lord said to Vretil: 'Take the books 12
from the safe places, and give Enoch a reed, and tell him the books.' And Vretil hastened and brought me the books all made sharp with myrrh, and gave me the reed out of his hand.

And he began to tell me all things in heaven **23** 1
and earth and sea, the courses and dwellings of all the elements, the seasons of the years, the courses and mutations of the days, and the commandments and teachings.

4. **and could not see the Lord God** (B). Contrast xxii. 1 (A).

6. **Michael.** Cf. 1 En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is the chief of the archangels in 1 En. xl. 9 also. As the angel set over Israel, 1 En. xx. 5 he is naturally the chief captain.

8. **sweet ointment.** This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου of Apoc. Mosis ix. 3, xiii. 1. See also viii. 7; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. In verse 9 here this oil is described and in verse 10 its effects.

garments of My glory. These are the raiment of the blessed. Cf. 1 En. lxii. 15, cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. *Sim.* viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9.

11. **Pravuil.** I cannot find this name anywhere else. B has Vretil.

12. **safe places** (B), lit. 'store-rooms'.

a reed . . . give it to Enoch. These words are drawn upon in Liber S. Iohannis Apocryphus (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N.T. vol. i, p. 890): 'Elevavit Henoc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ei dari calamum . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros'.

†comforting†. Read as B suggests 'fragrant with myrrh'.

XXIII. 1. This verse might well describe the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries in 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii.

A

2 and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn. And Pravuil told me: 'All the things
4 that I have told thee, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them
5 to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.' And all
6 double thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

Of the great secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him face to face.

24 1 And the Lord summoned me, and said to me: 'Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.' And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke
2 to me: Enoch, beloved, all thou seest, all things that are standing finished I tell to thee even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.
3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I

B

And Vretil was telling me thirty days and thirty nights, his lips talking unintermittently. And I did not rest thirty days and thirty nights writing all the signs, and when I finished, I had written three hundred and sixty books.

'And the Lord summoned me, and put me on 24
his left near Gabriel. And I bowed down to the Lord.

And he spake to me: All the things thou hast 2
seen, Enoch, standing and walking and completed by me, I will tell thee, before they took shape.

First all the things I created from non-existence into existence, and from invisible to visible.

And to my angels I have not made known my 3

formation of their songs. Possibly we should read 'songs of the armed hosts', see xvii.

5. **all souls are prepared . . . before the formation of the world.** The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. Wisdom of Solomon viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἦμην εὐφυής, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον.* This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίασιν ἐνδεθησόμεναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn.* i. 22). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκεῖναι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβᾶσαι τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμοῦ δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἁρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant.* 3). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Gigant.* 3). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn.* i. 22), and who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn.* i. 22; cf. *De Gigant.* 4). This doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 11, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μέν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἱρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμένας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι.* It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma*, Pikkude 3) or in the seventh heaven *Chagig.* 12[b]) or in a certain chamber (אוצר) (*Sifre* 143[b]) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba* c. 8, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217–20). See xxx. 16 (note).

6. **double thirty days.** Cf. lxviii. 1, 'sixty days.'

XXIV. 2. **took shape** (B). lit. 'became'.

from non-being. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—*ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὤν* (*De Somn.* i. 13). Probably, however, **from non-being** is a rendering of *ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων.* This will harmonize with xxv. 1.

visible things from invisible. Cf. the passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'the world has been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear'. These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 we find the idea of invisible elements introduced by the LXX as it gives *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος* as a rendering of what we translate by 'the earth was waste'.

3. **not to My angels.** Cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

A

have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating,
4 which I tell thee to-day. For before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like the sun from east to west, and
5 from west to east. But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of placing foundations, and of creating visible creation.

God relates to Enoch, how out of the very lowest darkness comes down the visible and invisible.

5 1 I commanded in the very lowest *parts*, that visible things should come down from invisible, and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld
2 him, and lo! he had a belly of great light. And I said to him: 'Become undone, Adoil, and let
3 the visible *come* out of thee.' And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I *was* in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to
4 create. And I saw that *it was* good. And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: 'Go thou up higher and fix thyself high above the throne, and be
5 a foundation to the highest things.' And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

God summons from the very lowest a second time that Archas, heavy and very red, should come forth.

6 1 And I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: 'Let Archas come forth hard.' and he came forth hard from the invisible. And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red.
2 And I said: 'Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from thee,' and he came undone, an age

B

secrets, nor told them the secrets, nor their establishments, nor my endless and incomprehensible thinking out of creation. And I opened 4
up the light. And I rode through the midst of the light, just as one of the invisible, just as the sun rides from east to west; and I conceived the 5
thought to place foundations and to create visible creation.

I commanded in the very lowest that the very 25 1
great Idoil should come forth, having in his belly a very great stone.

And I spoke to him: 'Burst asunder Idoil, 2
and let there be the visible born out of thee.'

And he burst asunder. There came out of 3
him a great stone, and thither bearing (or 'carrying,' *sic*) all creation, which I had wished to create, and I saw that *it was* good.

And I put a throne also for myself, and sat 4
down on it. I said to the light: 'Go up higher and make thyself firm and be a foundation for the highest.'

And there is nothing higher than the light, 5
only nothing; and I saw, having bent myself up from my throne.

I summoned a second time in the very lowest, 26 1
and said that there should come out from the invisible into the firm one thing visible. And Aruchas came out firm and heavy and very black. And I saw that *it was* well. 3

their establishments (B). lit. 'the manner in which they were established'.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 *ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης*. Cf. also Philo, *De Iustitia* 7 *Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις . . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι*. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193–6.

Adoil. Is this from יד אל = 'the hand of God'? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth.

2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Recog.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypter*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: 'der erste Schöpfungsact begann mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt, herausbrach.'

3. **a great light came out.** This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on 'Die Geburt des Lichtes'.

there came forth a great age. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter.

4. **I placed for myself a throne.** This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with God at the creation when He established His throne upon the winds.

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not creation, of the earth. Archas may be from אַרְקִיעַ, or possibly from *ἀρχή*.

very red. So A, but B reads 'very black'; cf. next verse 'very dark'.

the firm (B) = 'the hard', 'fixed'.

A

came forth, very great and very dark, bearing
3 the creation of all lower things, and I saw that *it was* good and said to him: 'Go thou down below, and make thyself firm, and be for a foundation for the lower things,' and it happened and he went down and fixed himself, and became the foundation for the lower things, and below the darkness there is nothing else.

Of how God founded the water, and surrounded it with light, and established on it seven islands.

27 1 And I commanded that there should be taken
2 from light and darkness, and I said: 'Be thick,' and it became thus, and I spread it out with the light, and it became water, and I spread it out over the darkness,

B

And I said to him:

'Go below and make thyself firm.' And it became the foundation for the lowest. And under the darkness there is nothing.

Having surrounded some things with light, **27**
I made thick and stretched forth a road of water 2
over the darkness,

A

3 below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say the bottomless, and I made foundation of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged it (*sc.* the water) like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, *and* the circumcession of the waters and the other elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its
4 heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good. And I separated between light and between darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there was morning the first day.

A

The week in which God showed Enoch all his wisdom and power, throughout all the seven days, how he created all the heavenly and earthly forces and all moving things even down to man.

28 1 And then I made firm the heavenly circle, and *made* that the lower water which is under heaven collect itself together, into one whole, and that the chaos become dry, and it became so.
2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big, and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry
3 I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called
4 abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected the sea in one place and bound it together with a yoke. And I said to the sea: 'Behold I give thee *thy* eternal limits, and thou shalt not break loose from thy component parts.' Thus I made
5 fast the firmament. This day I called me the first-created.

B

And I made firm great rocks, and commanded **28**
the bottomless waves to dry up on the dry
(*sc.* land), and on the rivers having collected into 4
one place the falling into (*sc.* the waters that fall into) the bottomless sea and binding *them* with a yoke, I gave an eternal boundary in the midst of (*sc.* between) sea and earth, that shall not be broken through by the water. And I made fast the firm, and founded the water over it.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt.

1. **there should be taken from light and darkness.** Contrast Gen. i. 4. I do not pretend to understand what follows.

3. **the seven stars.** See xxx. 5.

4. Gen. i. 4, 5.

XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9.

2. **the dry I called earth,** an exact rendering of Gen. i. 10.

3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; 1 En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jub. ii. 2.

4. Cf. Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22.

firmament. Gen. i. 7, 8.

5. This verse should be read immediately after xxix; and together with that chapter should be restored before xxviii. This is clear from the analogy of xxx. 1, 2, 7, 8. It is impossible in its present position.

A

9 1 Then it became evening, and then again morning, and it was the second day.
[Monday is the *first* day.] *The fiery Essence.*
And for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful
2 nature, *which* is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and
3 firmer than hard rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire; and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

B

And for all the heavenly troops I formed the 29 1
sun out of the great light, *and* put it in the heavens that it should shine over the earth.

From the stone I cut a great fire and from the 3
stone I created the incorporeal troops, and all the troops of stars, of Cherubim, Seraphim and Ophannim I cut from the fire.

A

Here Satanail with his angels was thrown down from the height.

4 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.

5 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

A

0 1 And then I created all the heavens, and the third day was.
[Tuesday]. On the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees,

B

And the earth I commanded to bring forth all 30 1
kinds of tree and high hills, all kinds of grass and

XXIX. 1. [**Monday is the first day**] bracketed as a Christian interpolation as 'Tuesday', 'Wednesday', &c., in xxx. 1, 2, &c. In Jub. ii. 2, and occasionally in patristic tradition, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7—but according to Shemoth Rabba 15 and the Targ. Jer. on Gen. i. 26 the angels were created on the second day as in our text.

3. **from the fire I created the . . . angels.** So Pesikta 3[a]: see Weber, *L. d. J.* 161.

4. **one . . . with the order that was under him.** This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the Watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii and xviii with notes; vii; xix; xxxi. 3–7 (notes).

place his throne higher than the clouds. If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve* I. vi is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan . . . set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.'

5. **he was flying in the air continuously.** This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. iii. 4 τοῦ ἀερίου (β–a) πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi . . . descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat'. Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament . . . and there the souls of the demons are'. Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan, ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the Watchers of the fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the Watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these Watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however—when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11.

A

and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed *guardians* flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

B

all kinds of seed that are sown, before I created living souls, and prepared food for them.

A

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

[Wednesday]. On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly 3 circles. On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the 4 third Aris, on the fifth Zeus, on the sixth Ermis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the 6 illumination of night. The sun that it should go according to each animal (*sc.* signs of the zodiac), twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings, 7 and their hour-markings, how they should succeed. Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

A

[Thursday]. On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

8 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

B

And the sea I commanded to bring forth and 7 give birth to its fishes, all kinds of reptiles that creep over the earth, and wild beasts and cattle. and all kinds of feathered birds.

And when I had finished all, I told my wisdom 8 to create me man.

A

[Friday]. On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one,

hills. This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 *τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα.*

seed to sow (A): 'all kinds of seed that are sown' (B). This phrase is found in Jub. ii. 7, as one of the third day creations.

Paradise. Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day.

2. **heavenly circles.** In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: *τὸν οὐρανόν φασιν ἑπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις.*

3. Gen. i. 14–19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. A.D. 1200, p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, *ὁ δὴ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνου, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν.* In the mysteries of Mithras (see Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 22) the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. The previous chapter seems to connect these heavenly bodies with the seven heavens, as in our text. Their order in Origen is Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. Archimedes' order (Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this is the one generally followed, e.g. Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 43. Plato refers to the five planets in his *Timaeus*, but the *Epinomis*, by a disciple of his, is the first to assign each planet to a god. The five planets were known to Israel in O.T. times: Kronos as כיון, Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הילל, Isa. xiv. 12; Ares as נרגל, 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as גד, Isa. lxv. 11; Hermes as נבו, Isa. xlvi. 1.

5. **the sun . . . according to each animal.** See xiii–xiv and 1 En. lxxii for the periods corresponding to the signs of the zodiac.

6. **the months,** &c. See lvi and 1 En. lxxiii–lxxiv.

7. Cf. Gen. i. 20–26. Note that most of the sixth day creations are here assigned to the fifth day.

8. **commanded my wisdom.** Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman'. In the *Book of Wisdom*, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Cf. Philo's Logos, the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 *σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει*: also *de Cherubim* 35.

from seven consistencies. This list of substances seems to have some connexion with Stoic speculation (G. Sext. *Math.* ix. 81) and Philonic views. Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51; man's body is derived from the earth; his bones have something in common with stones, *Leg. All.* ii. 7 (*ἡ μὲν ἕξις κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς*

A

his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

9 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness (*sc.* enjoyment).

10 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible and from visible nature, of both are his death and life and image, †he knows speech like some created thing, small in great-
11 ness and again great in smallness†, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great
12 and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.

13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south,
1 15 from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him: 'This is good, and that bad,' that

μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὀστέα) and on a higher level again man is allied to plant nature (*ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά. καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δέ εἰσιν ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες*), e. g. in respect to his nails and hair. Perhaps for 'veins' we should read 'nails' accordingly in our text. Finally, for the seventh element we may compare *De Mundi Op.* 46.

Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ᾠκείωται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκριται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἑκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσηται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα.* For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202–4; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209–15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubeus est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhela frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.'

9. **seven natures.** Cf. Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 *τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἔπταχῆ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον.* Thus Philo has the vocal organ and the generative power in place of the bones and the intelligence. Plutarch, *Plac.* iv. 4 agrees with Philo, but adds an eighth, *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*, or directive power. See especially Test. Naph. 2 (notes).

10. **saying.** We should expect a reference to a creative word. This verse is very corrupt, but obviously man's spiritual and material nature is meant.

11. **a second angel.** According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. x, Adam is called a 'bright angel'.

12. Gen. i. 26, 28.

13. This verse may either be the source of or else derived from the *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 24-6:

αὐτὸς δὴ θεός ἐσθ' ὁ πλάσας τετραγράμματον Ἀδάμ
τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα καὶ οὔνομα πληρώσαντα
ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line frequently occurs, e.g. in ii. 195, viii. 321, xi. 3, and the order of letters is wrong. In the anonymous treatise *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian, we have a long account: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebreicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta", eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno comprehendi terram et confinxi hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam.' At each of the four quarters four stars were set by the Creator, called anatole, dysis, arctus, mesembrion. Take from these stars the first letter of each, and you have the name *ἀδάμ*. Bede, *in Genesin Expositio* iv. approves, and adds that 'haec proprietas significat dominaturam Adam in quattuor partibus mundi'. Cf. too the *Chronicon* of Glycas (circ. 1150) p. 143, and see Jub. iii. 28 (note).

14. **four special stars.** Cf. *De Montibus Sina et Sion* quoted under verse 13. 'Stars' may here mean 'angels'. Certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam, Jalkut Rub. fol. 13; Jalkut Schim. fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215).

15. The strongest statement of free-will is that in Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208) 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man only'. In the text free-will is presupposed in man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (verse 16): cf. Sirach xv. 14, 15 *αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς, καὶ πίστιν ποίησαι εὐδοκίας.* On the question generally see Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8, 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; xviii. 1, 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96.

the two ways, the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; Sirach xv. 17 *ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ*: xvii. 6 *καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς.* For parallel N.T. expressions cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14: 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xvii *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους.* In the *Didachè* i. 1 we have *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου*: cf. Test. Asher i. 3, 4 *δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ γάρ εἰσι δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ*: *Sibyll. Or.* viii. 399, 400 *αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε Καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελέσθαι*: cf. also Herm. *Mand.* vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; *Clem. Homilies* v. 7.

I told him: 'This is good and that bad,' &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit.

A

I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

16 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore *through* not seeing he will sin worse, and I said: 'After sin *what is there* but death?'

17 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him a rib, and created him
18 a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva.

God gives over paradise to Adam, and gives him a command to see the heavens opened, and that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.

31 1 Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I want to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, †as a fugitive he made, he made Sotona from
5 the heavens† as his name was Satomail, thus he became different from the angels, *but his* nature did not change *his* intelligence as far as *his* understanding of righteous and sinful *things*.

that I should learn whether he has love towards me or hatred. Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God'.

16. **through not seeing he will sin worse.** This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הטוב and יצר הרע). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words *πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἑκὼν ἄδικος* (Plato, *Legg.* 731 C): *οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἑκόντα ἐξαμαρτάνειν* (*Prot.* 345 D): *κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἑκὼν οὐδείς* (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 C; *Hipp. Mai.* 296 C. Herein it is taught that no man wilfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted; and that, should this course be the worse one, the error of judgement is due either to physical incapacities or faulty education, or to a combination of both. This view of sin as an involuntary affection of the soul follows logically from another Platonic principle already enunciated by our author (see xxiii. 5, note). This principle is the pre-existence of the soul. The soul, as such, according to Platonic teaching, is wholly good. Evil, therefore, cannot arise from its voluntary preferences, but from its limitations, i.e. from its physical and moral environment, from its relation to the body and from wrong education. In the *Book of Wisdom* this view is widely diverged from. There the body is not held to be irredeemably evil, but souls are already good and bad on their entrance into this life (viii. 19, 20). In Philo, on the other hand, there is in the main a return to the Platonic and Stoic doctrine. The body is irredeemably evil; it is in fact the tomb of the soul (*σῶμα = σῆμα*); and only the sensuously-inclined souls are incorporated with bodies (see above, xxiii. 5, note). The views adopted by our author on these and kindred points stand in some degree in a closer relation to the Platonic principles than do those of Philo or the author of the *Book of Wisdom*. Thus he held: (1) That the soul was created originally good. (2) That it was not predetermined either to good or ill by God, but left to mould its own destiny (see xxx. 15). (3) That its incorporation in a body, however, with its necessary limitations served to bias its preferences in the direction of evil. (4) That faithful souls will hereafter live as blessed incorporeal spirits, or at all events clothed only in God's glory (xxii. 7); for there is no resurrection of the body.

after sin . . . death. So Sirach xxv. 24 *ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκομεν πάντες*, for 'men were created exactly like the angels', 1 En. lxix. 11, righteous and immortal, but death came through sin, *Book of Wisdom*, ii. 23, 24; 1 En. xcviii. 4. The same teaching is found in the Talmud: see Weber, 208, 214, 239. This doctrine of man's conditional immortality and of death entering the world through sin does not belong to O.T. literature; for Gen. ii. 17, when studied in its context, implies nothing more than a premature death; for the law of man's being is enunciated in Gen. iii. 19 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return', and his expulsion from Eden was due first and principally to the need of guarding against his eating of the tree of life and living for ever. Furthermore, even in Sirach, where the idea of death as brought about by sin is first enunciated, the doctrine appears in complete isolation and in open contradiction to the main statements and tendencies of the book; for it elsewhere teaches that man's mortality is the law from everlasting (*ἡ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, Sirach xiv. 17): and that being formed from earth unto earth must he return, xvii. 1, 2, xl. 11. Nor again is this doctrine a controlling principle in the system of the writers of *Wisdom*. In N.T. times, however, we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles, e.g. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see 1 En. vi–viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcviii. 4, with notes.

18. **death . . . by his wife.** Cf. Sirach xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See note on verse 16.

I took his last word. Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. Cf. *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii. According to Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall. For this power of vision cf. Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii *in Gen.*

gloomless light. The light in Paradise was continual, *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii, xiii, xiv.

3. On Satan's envy see *Wisdom*, ii. 24; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

4. See xviii. 3; xxix. 4 (notes).

A

6 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva, but did not touch Adam.
7 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man,
8 nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

After Adam's sin God sends *him* away into the earth 'whence I took thee', but does not wish to ruin him for all years to come.

32 1 I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and into the earth whence I took thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee.
Then I can again take thee at My second coming.'
And I blessed all my creatures visible and invisible. And Adam was five and half hours in
2 paradise. And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

God shows Enoch the age of this world, *its* existence of seven thousand years, and the eighth thousand is the end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days.

33 1 And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my
2 work, and that *the first seven* revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

A

3 And now, Enoch, all that I have told thee, all that thou hast understood, all that thou hast seen of heavenly things, all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to
4 the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations. I am self-

B

And now, Enoch, all the things I have told 33 3
thee and all the things thou hast seen on earth and all the things thou hast written in these books, I invented the creation of all *this*, having created from the highest to the lowest.
There is no counsellor here. I am eternal and 4
not made with hands, and my thought is counsellor, and my word is deed, and my eyes behold

6. See xxx. 18 (note). Weber, 211, 244.
7. The curse is not on man himself, but on his ignorance and sin.

XXXII. 1. **My second coming.** God's coming to judge the earth is called the *καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς* and *ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως* in Wisdom iii. 7, 18. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 5. The first coming was for Adam's sake and to bless all that God had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1,000 years old, the author of the *Book of Jubilees*, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1,000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7,000 years—6,000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1,000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: *ὅσαις . . . ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελεῖται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ϛ′ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ζ′ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς ,α ἔτη. ἐν ἓξ οὖν ἡμέραις συντετέλεσται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ ,ϛ ἔτος ἐστί.* Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: *τούτου χάριν ηὐλογήθη καὶ αὕτη (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγιάσθη καὶ σάββατον ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἑβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰώσηππος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus's statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the *Book of Jubilees*, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustine, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. iii.

2. **a time of not-counting . . . neither years nor months**, &c. Sibyll. Or. viii. 424–7 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness.

3. **the creation** (B), lit. 'to create'.

A

eternal, not made with hands, and without change. My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are †made†, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror. If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

5 And apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to thee, and take thou the books which thou thyself hast written.

6 And I give thee Samuil and Raguil, who led thee up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell thy sons all that I have told thee, and all that thou hast seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.

7 For I created all forces, and there is none that resisteth me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.

8 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read *them* and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.

9 And let them distribute the books of thy handwriting—children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.

10 And I will give thee, Enoch, my intercessor, the archistratege Michael, for the handwritings of thy fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared thy father.

God convicts the idolaters and sodomitic fornicators, and therefore brings down a deluge upon them.

34 1 They have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and 2 denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries,

B

all. If I look on all, then it stands (*sc.* exists), but if I shall turn away, then will all be destroyed.

Apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who 5
speaketh to thee, and take the books that thou hast written.

And I give thee the angel Semil and Rasuil 6
and him who brought *thee* up to me. And go down on to earth and tell thy sons all the things I have spoken to thee and all the things thou hast seen from the lowest heaven even up to my throne.

All the troops I have created; there is none 7
that opposes me or that submits not to me. All submit to my monarchy and serve my power.

And give them the books of thy handwriting, 8
children to children, kinsmen to kinsmen, race to 10
race, as mediator, Enoch, of my general Michael, because thy handwriting and the handwriting of thy fathers Adam and Seth shall not be destroyed 11
till the end of time, as I have commanded my angels Orioch and Marioch, how that I have put a chart on earth, and ordered the ages that it be preserved, and that the handwriting of thy fathers 12
be preserved, that it perish not in the deluge which I shall make in thy race.

For I know the wickedness of men, that they **34**
will not carry the yoke which I have laid upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but having cast off my yoke, they will take another yoke, and will sow empty seeds and will bow down to vain gods and will reject my oneness,

4. **without change.** Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Ezek. xxiv. 14.
my thought is my counsellor. Cf. xxx. 8 (note). Cf. Sir. xlii. 22.
my wisdom and my word are †made†, i.e. are reality. Cf. B and 1 En. xiv. 22 (Greek) *πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον.* Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9; Sir. xlii. 15.
my eyes observe all things. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 19.
If I turn, &c. Ps. civ. 29.

6. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6. **Raguil**, i.e. Raguel. See 1 En. xx. 4.

9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7–9; liv; lv. 5; 1 En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, as here, the books are to be transmitted immediately to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 of 1 En. the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. Compare verses 11 and 12 (B only).

10. **Michael.** Cf. xxii. 6 (note).

11. **till the end of time** (B), lit. 'till the last age'. At last the time for the due understanding of these books will arrive. See verse 9 (note); xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); 1 En. xciii. 10; civ. 12.
Orioch (B), a name found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14.
ages (B), lit. 'times'.

XXXIV. 1. **rejected . . . my yoke.** Cf. xlviii. 9; Sir. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29.
sow empty seeds (B), or worthless seeds. Apparently metaphorical, as A shows, and not a reference to Deut. xxii. 9. **empty** (B), i.e. 'worthless'.
denied my unity. Cf. Deut. vi. 4 together with Joshua xxiv. 27.

2. It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Naph. iv. 1, though there differently applied.

A

namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickednesses, which are disgusting to relate.

3 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

God leaves one righteous man of Enoch's tribe with his whole house, who did God's pleasure according to his will.

35 1 Behold from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many 2 will be very insatiate. He who raises that generation, *shall* reveal to them the books of thy handwriting, of thy fathers, *to them* to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.

3 And they shall tell another generation, and those *others* having read shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

God commanded Enoch to live on earth thirty days, to give instruction to his sons and to his children's children. After thirty days he was again taken on to heaven.

36 1 Now, Enoch, I give thee the term of thirty days to spend in thy house, and tell thy sons and all thy household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by thee, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me. And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of thy handwriting.

2 And after thirty days I shall send my angel for thee, and he will take thee from earth and from thy sons to me.

Here God summons an angel.

37 1 And the Lord called up one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure a stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

B

and the whole earth will quake with injustice, 2 wrongs, and fornication and idolatry.

Then also I shall bring a deluge on to the 3 earth, and the earth will crumble together in great chaos.

And I shall leave over *one* just man with all 35 1 his house, who shall work according to my will (*sc.* who shall be found to have been working, &c.), and from their seed shall rise another race afterwards, very numerous and insatiable.

Then he who has brought up (*sc.* founded and 2 formed) that race shall reveal the books of thy handwriting and of thy fathers, through whom the guardians of the earth shall show *them* to the 3 faithful men and shall tell *them* to that race, and it shall be glorified thereafter more than before.

And now, Enoch, I give thee a term of waiting 36 1 of thirty days to do (*sc.* all) in thy house; tell thy sons all that thy heart contains, that they may read and understand, how that there is no God but me, and after thirty days I shall send 2 my angels for thee, and they will take thee from the earth and from thy sons, whatever may be according to my will.

But the Lord summoned one of the angels, 37 1 the eldest (*sc.* commander) of Tartarus, and put him by me, and the appearance of that angel *was as* snow, and his hands *were as of* ice, and he chilled my face, because I could not suffer the great heat (*sic*) and that terror.

quake (B), lit. 'be shaken' (as though in fever).

3. This verse too is adapted in Test. Naph. iv. 2, which e.g. alters 'deluge' into 'captivity'.

XXXV. 1. **just man** (B), i.e. Noah.

2. Revelation of these disclosures to the faithful in due time.

3. These disclosures will then usher in a more glorified generation.

XXXVI. 1. The period is one year in 1 En. lxxxi. 6.

of waiting (B), or 'of sojourn'.

contains (B), lit. 'preserves'.

read and understand. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 1–3.

2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 6.

XXXVII. This chapter is read after XXXIX in B.

1. **Tartarus** (B), horror (grozá).

A

2 And the Lord said to me: 'Enoch, if thy face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold thy face.'

B

And thus spake the Lord to me.

A

Mathusal continued to have hope and to await his father Enoch at his couch day and night.

38 1 And the Lord said to those men who first led me up: 'Let Enoch go down on to earth with you,
2 and await him till the determined day.' And they placed me by night on my couch.
3 And Mathusal expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my couch, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, 'Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.'

A

Enoch's pitiful admonition to his sons with weeping and great lamentation, as he spoke to them.

39 1 Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

2 I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgement-day.
3 For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns.
4 You look now upon my eyes, *the eyes* of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.
5 You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.
6 You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect compass, which has no end.
7 You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

8 And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of heaven, the controller of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

B

Enoch's instruction of his sons.

For I am sent forth to you to-day from the 39
Lord's mouth to speak to you all things that are and all that will be till judgement-day, and now, my children, not from my own mouth am I to-day informing you, but from the Lord's mouth,

for you have heard my words from my 7
mouth, but I have heard the Lord's words like great thunder with incessant hurling of clouds, I have seen the Lord's raiment infinite and 6
incomparable, which has no end.

Now hear my words, telling of an earthly 8
ruler *how* it is fearful and miserable to stand before the face of an earthly ruler; it is terrible and miserable, because the ruler's will is death, and the ruler's will is life or great heat (*sic*).

XXXVIII. 1. Cf. xxxvi.
2. Cf. i. 2–4.
3. Cf. 1 En. xci. 1.
XXXIX. 2. **the Lord's lips.** Cf. xxii. 5; xxxiii. 6–12.
3. **the Lord's face.** Cf. xxii. 1.
the Lord's eyes. Cf. xxix. 1.
8. **the father of the earth.** B gives a better sense—'an earthly ruler.' Perhaps we should put a stop after 'discourses' and read as B from 'telling' up to 'the ruler's will is life', and then return to A 'how much more', &c.

A

Enoch admonishes his children truly of all things from the Lord's lips, how he saw and heard and wrote down.

41 1 And now, my children, I know all things, for this *is* from the Lord's lips, and this my eyes have seen, from beginning to end.

B

40 1 For, my children, I know all things from the Lord's mouth.

A

2 I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings. I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude *of them*.

3 What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.

4, 7 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth, I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names,

A

8 and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and rain-drops.

9 And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out in measure (*sc.* gently) by a chain, lest by a heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.

10 I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust their treasure-houses.

11 And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in *one* weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.

12 And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and

B

This have my eyes seen from the beginning even to the end, and the dwelling-places of the 8
clouds, both rain-bearing and thunderous. And 9
they showed me the angels that guard them and their keys.

I saw the treasure-houses of snow and of ice, 10
and the going-up, whence they go up in measure 9
they are carried up by a chain and let down by a chain, lest by heavy violence they tear asunder the clouds and destroy what is on earth, both air 10
and frost. I beheld for a time how those who hold fast the keys do fill the clouds full, and the treasure-houses are never exhausted.

I saw the lairs of the winds, how those who 11
keep their keys do carry weighing-scales and measures, and first put them (*sc.* the winds) in the weighing-scales and then in the measure, and let them out in measure over the whole earth, lest by *their* heavy breath they make the earth to rock.

Thence I was led to the judgement-place, and 12

XL. 1. **I know all things . . . my eyes have seen,** &c. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνὼχ τῷ εἰρηκότι 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας', and Origen, *de Princ.* iv. 35 'dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi'. Cf. too Sibyll. Or. viii. 375.

2. **the stars,** &c. Cf. 1 En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14.

3. **not even the angels.** Cf. xxiv. 3.

4. See xiii, xiv (notes).

4–6. There is an addition in Sokolov's text between 'rays' and 'counted'. It deals with the moon and the seasons (see 1 En. lxxxii. 11–20, notes).

8. Cf. 1 En. lx. 19–22.

9. **road of the thunder.** Cf. 1 En. lix; lx. 13–15.

10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; 1 En. lx. 17, 18.

11. See 1 En. xli. 4.

A

downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgement-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell. /And I saw how the prisoners are
13 in pain, expecting the limitless judgement. And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgements (*sc.* sentences) and all their works.

Of how Enoch lamented Adam's sin.

41 1 And I saw all forefathers from *all* time with Adam and Eva, and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour: 'Woe is me for my infirmity and *for that* of my forefathers,' and thought in my heart and said:
2 'Blessed *is* the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place.

Of how Enoch saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing.

42 1 I saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguished lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth,

B

I saw hell all open and the prisoners and infinite judgement,

And having seen I sighed and wept for the 41 1
destruction of the impious, and I said in my heart:

'Blessed is he who has not been born, or 2
who having been born has not sinned before God, that he may not be come to this place, nor have borne this yoke.'

and I saw the guardians of the keys 42 1
of hell standing over against the gates like great serpents, their faces like lamps that are gone out, their eyes like darkened flames, and their teeth naked down to their breasts.

And I spake to their faces: 'I had better not 2
have seen you, and may none of my tribe come to you.'

Enoch's ascent into the paradise of the righteous.

And I saw there a blessed place, and all blessed 3
creatures and all there living in joy and in infinite happiness in eternal life.

12. **the very lowest hell.** The old Jewish beliefs of an underworld of punishment are too strong to be excluded, and intrude even into our author's scheme which in x locates hell in the third heaven. But see xviii. 7 (note). It is possible further that the author may have had some idea of a series of seven hells, hence the phrase 'lowest hell' here. See Eisenmenger, ii. 302, 328–33 for later Rabbinic tradition.

13. **expecting the limitless judgement.** These words seem to imply an intermediate place of punishment, i. e. Sheol or Hades. They are used too in vii. 1, of the fallen Watchers.

An ancient Jewish belief: cf. liii. 2; lxiv; Jub. iv. 23; x. 17. From the idea of Enoch as scribe of God's works, as in 1 and 2 Enoch, the transition was easy to the idea of Enoch as scribe of the deeds of men. For later tradition cf. Test. Abraham (ed. James, p. 115) *ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράφωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἑκάστου.*

XLI. In B this chapter occurs after xlii. 1.

XLI. 1. Enoch's forefathers, including Adam and Eve, appear to be in the place of punishment. Contrast 1 En. lx. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4 where Paradise is already peopled with the righteous, though in lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8 Enoch and Elijah seem to be its only inhabitants. In 1 En. xxii. 7, however, Abel seems to remain in Hades till the judgement on Cain and his seed is consummated. Cf. the early Christian belief e. g. in *Descensus ad Inferos* viii–ix.

2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12; 1 En. xxxviii. 2; 2 Bar. x. 6.

XLII. 1. **the key-holders.** We have a strange application of this idea in Sibyll. Or. viii. 121–2 where the *αἰών* is *κλειδοφύλαξ*. For 'keys' cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1.

guards of the gates of hell. Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, says that each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). Cf. the word *τημελοῦχος* in Apoc. Pauli.

extinguished lamps. Contrast the heavenly angels' face and eyes, i. 5.

teeth naked down to their breasts (B), i. e. either the teeth reached down to the breasts, or the description of the teeth is incomplete, and the creatures themselves are referred to as naked down to their breasts.

2–13. These verses are omitted by A.

2. Cf. xli. 2.

A

14 and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some *good*, and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

Enoch shows his children how he measured and wrote out God's judgements.

43 1 I, my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgement.

2 As *one* year is more honourable than another, so is *one* man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for sharp wit, 3 one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

Enoch instructs his sons, that they revile not the face of man, small or great.

44 1 The Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made

B

Then I spake: 'My children, and now I speak 6
to you: Blessed is he who fears God and serves
him. And you, my children, learn to bring gifts
to the Lord, that you may enjoy life. Blessed is 7
he who judges a judgement justly to the widow 9
and orphan, and helps every one that is wronged,
clothing the naked with garments, and to the 8
hungry giving bread.

Blessed is he who turns back from the change- 10
able path and walks along the straight path.

Blessed is he who sows the seeds of righteous- 11
ness, for he shall reap sevenfold.

Blessed is he in whom is truth, that he may 12
speak truth to his neighbour.

Blessed is he in whose mouth is mercy and 13
gentleness.

Blessed is he who understands the Lord's 14
works and glorifies the Lord God.

Behold, my children (*sc.* all) the things that 43 1
can be used on earth and the things that have
been planned I have written down from the Lord
God.

Winter and summer, all have I put together,
and of the years I have counted out the hours,
and the hours have I all measured out and
written down, and found out all the difference
(*sc.* understood all their variety).

One year is more honourable than another, 2
and one day than another, and one hour is more
honourable than another.

Likewise one man is more honourable than
another, this one for much property, that for
mercy of heart, that again for understanding and
cunning and for silence of tongue and mouth.

For there is none greater than he who fears 3
God; they shall be glorious into eternity.

The Lord with his hands created man, and 44 1
likened *him* to his own face.

6–14. Nine rather colourless beatitudes.
7. **judges a judgement justly.** Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8.
8, 9. Cf. ix: also for 9 cf. Ps. x. 18; Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10.
10. **straight path.** Cf. Prov. iv. 11; Sibyll. Or. iii. 9–10; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 23 sq.
11. Cf. Sirach vii. 3; Job. iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. x. 13.
12. Cf. Lev. xix. 11; Eph. iv. 25; Sibyll. Or. ii. 58, 64.
13. Cf. Prov. xxxi. 26.
14. **in their works . . . known**, &c. (A). Matt. vii. 16, 20.

XLIII. 2, 3. **As one year,** &c. We might expect 'as one day', cf. Sir. xxiii. 7. The main thought of this passage is derived from Sir. x. 20, 22, 24, 30: cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 125.

A

him small and great. Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised
2 the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will
3 cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgement.
4 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken
5 down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgement every weight, every measure and every makeweight *will be* as in the market, that is to say *they are* hung on scales and stand in the market, *and every one* shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

God shows how he does not want from men sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, but pure and contrite hearts.

45 1 Whoever hastens to make offering before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.
2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgement, the Lord will *not* increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.
3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or flesh (*sc.* cattle), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that *only* tests the heart of man.

B

The Lord God created *all things* great and small.

He that brings into contempt the face of man, brings the Lord's face into contempt.

The Lord's anger and great judgement *are on* 2 *him* who spits in the face of man.

Blessed is he who turns his heart towards such 4 a man, so as to help the condemned and raise the broken.

He who multiplies lights before the Lord's **45** face, the Lord will multiply their storehouses.

The Lord God wants not bread nor candles, 3 meal nor cattle, but by this *means* tempts the heart of man.

A

Of how an earthly ruler does not accept from man abominable and unclean gifts, then how much more does God abominate unclean gifts, but sends *them* away with wrath and does not accept his gifts.

46 1 Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.
If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to
2 judgement? Or *if* one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but *have* evil in his heart, then will not *the other* understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be
3 condemned, since his untruth was plain to all? And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgement for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

XLIV. 1. **Whoever reviles**, &c. Cf. James iii. 9.
2. Cf. Matt. v. 22.
4. This beatitude, out of place here, would come in fittingly at the end of xlii.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6, li. 16; Isa. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8; Sir. xxxv. 1–3; Sibyll. Or. viii. 390, 391, also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism. See lix. 1–3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in Sir. xxxv. 1–3, side by side with injunctions to offer them.
candles. Cf. 'lamp' in verse 2.
pure hearts. Ps. li. 10.
tests the heart of man. Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Ps. xxvi. 2. **tempts** (B), or 'proves'.

XLVI. 3. **a great light.** The reference is not clear, but cf. Isa. ix. 2 or John i. 9, v. 35, viii. 12, and esp. John iii. 19–21.

A

Enoch instructs his sons from God's lips, and hands them the handwriting of this book.

47 1 And now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all *come* to you from the Lord's lips.

2 Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.

For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.

3 And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest *places*, nor in the *one* foundation.

4 The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible and
5 invisible; he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?

I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

Of the sun's passage along the seven circles.

48 1 That the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the appointment of one hundred and
2 eighty-two thrones, that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth of Thevad it goes up.

3 And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is glad and makes grow its fruit, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.

4 All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed a measure by his wisdom, of the visible and the invisible.

5 From the invisible he made all things visible, himself being invisible.

6 Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your
7 generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.

8 And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but reject, who do not receive them (*sc.* the books), a terrible judgement awaits these.

9 Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgement.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2.

2. Cf. 1 En. xciii. 10 for this high estimate of the Enochic works.

3. **you will not sin.** Cf. xxxiii. 9; xlviii. 7–9. For a like claim cf. 1 En. xxxvii. 4; xcii. 1; xciii. 10; c. 6; civ. 12, 13, and contrast Sir. xviii. 3.

no other except the Lord. Cf. Isa. xlv. 5, &c.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 69, 760; viii. 377; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 7, 15; iii. 3; v. 1.

4. **spread forth heavens.** Ps. civ. 2; Isa. xl. 22; xlii. 5.

fixed the earth on the waters. 2 Pet. iii. 5.

5. **who has counted . . . the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain.** Drawn from Sir. i. 2. Cf. Isa. xl. 12; Job xxxvi. 27 (LXX).

decorated heaven. Cf. Sir. xvi. 27.

XLVIII. 1. The text is faulty and unintelligible. The sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens in xi. 1; xxx. 3, and does not revolve through the seven circles. The twice-mentioned 182 thrones, too, are really, when added, the 364 world-stations of 1 En. lxxv. 2, i.e. the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. As in 1 En. lxxii–lxxxii and Jub. iv the number is not exact (contrast 2 En. xiv. 1). This older Enochic reckoning may be partly due to opposition to heathen systems, and partly to the fact that 364 = 52 weeks of 7 days exactly.

2. Corrupt. Read either 'Sivan . . . Kislev' or 'Tamuz . . . Tebet'. Thevan and Thevad seem to be the same.

5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xlvii. 2 (note).

6. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

7. **love them more than any food.** Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 3. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2 (note).

8. No such terrible judgement is threatened on the rejecters of Enoch's disclosures in 1 En., but cf. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

9. No such blessing is offered to the obedient in 1 En. There the righteous elect, or the righteous and the wise, receive Enoch's revelations. Cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12.

A

Enoch instructs his sons not to swear either by heaven or earth, and shows God's promise, even in the mother's womb.

49 1 I swear to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

The Lord said: 'There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.' If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words 'yea, yea', or else, 'nay, nay.'

2 And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, *but that* already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

Of how none born on earth can remain hidden nor his work remain concealed, but he (*sc.* God) bids *us* be meek, to endure attack and insult, and not to offend widows and orphans.

50 1 I have put every man's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his 2 works remain concealed. I see all things. Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

3 Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

4 If ill-requitals befall you, return *them* not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return *them* for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men.

5 Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

B

For I swear to you, my children, that before **49** man was, a judgement-place was prepared for him, and a measure and a weighing-scale, in which man will be proved, and *they* are there already prepared.

And I shall put the work of every man in **50** 1 writing.

And now, my children, spend the number of 2 your days in patience and gentleness, that you inherit the endless age that is to come.

Every wound, every hurt and heat (*sic*) and 3 wicked word (*sc.* which) shall befall you, suffer them for the Lord God's sake;

and if you are able to requite (*sc.* ill), do not 4 requite your neighbour (*sc.* with ill) because the Lord is your requiter, and he (*iit.* who) will be the avenger on the day of the great judgement.

Lose gold or silver for a brother's sake, that 5 you receive inexhaustible treasure on the judgement-day.

XLIX. 1. **I swear not,** &c. Cf. Matt. v. 34, 35. See also Philo, *De Special. Leg.* ii. 1; *Leg. All.* iii. 72; *De Decem Orac.* 17; *De Sac. Abelis et Caini*, 28; *De Plant. Noe*, 19; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12. This appears to be a Jewish commonplace (Conybeare). For Jewish forms of swearing see Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

2. **to each . . . a place prepared for the repose,** &c. So *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; Avodath hakkodesh, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said a place is prepared for every man either in paradise or hell. Cf. the number of souls, lviii. 5; 2 Bar. xxi. 23, xxiii. 4, 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36, vii. 85, 95.

L. 1. **nor his works remain concealed.** 1 En. ix. 5.

2. **in patience.** Cf. Luke xxi. 19 'in your patience ye shall win your souls'. This book teaches a blessed immortality but not, it seems, the resurrection of the dead.

3. Cf. Sir. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19; James i. 12. See 2 En. li. 3.

4. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 1, 2.

avenger . . . day of great judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35 (LXX). Cf. too Prov. xx. 22; xxiv. 29. Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30 agree partly with Mass. and partly with LXX.

5. **Whoever,** &c. Cf. Prov. xix. 17; Sir. xxix. 10. See 2 En. li. 2 (note).

Injure not. We expect 'stretch out your hands to' as in ix. Cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 75.

A

Enoch instructs his sons, that they hide not treasures in the earth, but bids *them* give alms to the poor.

1 1 Stretch out your hands to the poor according
2 to your strength. Hide not your silver in the earth. Help the faithful man in affliction, and affliction will not find you in the time of your trouble.
3 And every grievous and cruel yoke that come upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and thus you will find your reward in the day of judgement.
4 It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your creator.
5 Because every breathing *thing* glorifies him, and every creature visible and invisible returns him praise.

God instructs his faithful, how they are to praise his name.

2 1 Blessed is the man who opens his lips in praise of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his heart.
2 Cursed every man who opens his lips for the bringing into contempt and calumny of his neighbour, because he brings God into contempt.
3 Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and praising God.
4 Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.
5 Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.
6 Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation into contempt.
7 Blessed is he who looks down and raises the fallen.
8 Cursed is he who looks to and is eager for the destruction of what is not his.
9 Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his fathers made firm from the beginning.
10 Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his forefathers.
11 Blessed is he who implants peace and love.

B

Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to **51**
the widow, and according to your power help the poor, and thus you shall find your reward on the 3
judgement-day.

In the morning, at midday and in the evening 4
and by day (*sic*) it is good to go into God's house and to glorify the creator of all.

Blessed is he who opens his heart and mouth **52** 1
for the Lord's praise.

Cursed is he who opens his mouth for the 2
humbling of his neighbour.

Blessed is he who glorifies all the Lord's works. 5
Cursed is he who brings a creature of the Lord 6
into contempt.
Blessed is he who beholds the labour of his 7
hands.
Cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of 8
others.
Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his 9
fathers.
Cursed is he who distorts the decrees and 10
limits of his fathers.
Blessed is he who goes (*sc.* with others) and **11**
brings (*sc.* others) together in peace.

LI. 1. Sir. vii. 32; Prov. xxxi. 20. Cf. Job vii. 9; Sibyll. Or. ii. 88.
according to your strength. Cf. Sir. xiv. 13; xxix. 20.
2. **Hide not**, &c. Cf. Sir. xxix. 10.
Help . . . in affliction. Cf. Sir. iv. 4.
3. Sir. ii. 4. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. 2 En. l. 3.
4. Ps. lv. 17. Cf. Dan. vi. 10. For these three Jewish hours of prayer—the third, sixth, and ninth—cf. Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9.
the Lord's dwelling, i.e. the temple. Although the writer is a Jew living in Egypt, he writes for Judaism as a whole, and gives here the ideal conduct of a dweller at Jerusalem. In lix. 2, 3 he prescribes the right method of sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem.
5. Cf. Ps. cl. 6.

LII. For these beatitudes cf. xlii. 6–14. They are derived mainly from Sirach.
2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 *ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης.*
4. **curse and abuse.** Cf. Sir. xxiii. 9–12.
5. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 14 *εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.*
10. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2, 14; Sir. xvii. 11.
11. Cf. Matt. v. 9.

	A		B	
12	Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.	12	Cursed is he who disturbs what is in peace.	12
13	Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.	13	Blessed is he who speaks peace, and he has peace.	13
14	Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.			
15	For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgement.	15	All this will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and on the books on the day of the great judgement.	15
		16	And now, children, keep your hearts from all unrighteousness, that you may inherit the weighing-scale of the light into eternity.	16
	[Let us not say: 'Our father is before God, he will stand forward for us on the day of judgement,' for there father cannot help son, nor yet son father.]			
53 1	And now, my children, do not say: 'Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins,' for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.	53	Say not, my children, that our father is with God, and will pray for us (*sc.* and obtain absolution) from our sins.	53
2	You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, *all* that is done amongst all	2	You see, how that I write down all the works of every man.	2
3	men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord sees all the imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.	3	And none can distort my handwriting, because the Lord seeth all.	3
4	And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: 'Why did our father not tell us?'	4	And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father's mouth,	4
	Enoch instructs his sons, that they should hand the books to others also.			
54	[At that time, not understanding this] let these books which I have given you be for an inheri-	54	that they may be for you for an inheritance of peace, and the books	54

12. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 9, 13.
14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Sibyll. Or. ii. 120, 122.
16. **unrighteousness** (B). See lxi. 1 (note).

LIII. 1. This verse has a duplicate reading in A. The idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Isa. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 107–8; 299–300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Isa. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in 1 En. xxii. 12; xcvii. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: *ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερεμίας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης.* This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Exsecrat* 9: *τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν . . . δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνυμέναις πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς.* The same view was obviously held by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 13. 3, where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: *μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος ἔσῃ μοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον.* And also in Sibyll. Or. 330–3 *τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει εὐσεβέεσσ', ὁπότ' ἂν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτήσωνται· ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρός τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει.* Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N. T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24–31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1?; Rev. vi. 9–11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger ii. 357–9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 353.
2. Enoch is the universal scribe.
3. **tell or relate.** B has 'distort'. Perhaps read 'tell or gainsay'. Cf. Ps. civ. 11; Sir. xvii. 15, 20.
relate = *raskazati*—possibly a mistake for *raskaziti* = 'to distort'. Cf. B.

LIV. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

A

tance of your peace. Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

Here Enoch shows his sons, telling them with tears: 'My children, the hour has approached for me to go up on to heaven; behold, the angels are standing before me.'

55 1 'My children, behold, the day of my term and the time have approached.

For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

2 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

3 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all *his* good pleasure.

Methosalam asks of his father blessing, that he (*sc.* Methosalam) may make him (*sc.* Enoch) food to eat.

56 1 Methosalam having answered his father Enoch, said: 'What is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that I may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings, and thy sons, and that thy people may be made glorious through thee, and then *that* thou mayst depart thus, as the Lord said?'

2 Enoch answered to his son Methosalam *and* said: 'Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, *there has been no* food in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly.'

Enoch bade his son Methosalam to summon all his brethren.

57 1 'My child Methosalam, summon all thy brethren and all your household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.'

2 And Methosalam made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, *and* said to them:

B

which I have given you from God, hide them not, tell them to all that want, that by word they learn of God's works.

For behold, my children, the day of my term 55 1
has approached, the angels coming from the Lord God urge the appointed time, and stand with me before my face.

And I shall go up to-morrow on to the highest 2
heaven into my eternal inheritance.

Therefore I command you, my children, that 3
you do *his* good pleasure before the Lord's face.

Mefusailom answered his father Enoch: 'What 56 1
food (*sc.* meal) is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that we may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings and thy sons, and all thy household, and glorify thy people, and thus after that depart?'

Enoch said to his son: 'Hear, my child, from 2
that day when the Lord anointed me with the oil of his glory, from that time there has been no food in me. I do not desire earthly food,

but 57 1
summon thy brethren and all our household, and the elders of the people, that I may speak with them and depart.'

And Mefusailom made haste and summoned 2
his brethren Regim and Rim and Azuchan and Chermion, and the elders of the people, and brought all before the face of his father Enoch. And he blessed them, and said to them:

the Lord's . . . marvellous works. Job xxxvii. 14, 16; Ps. lxxi. 17, &c.

LV. See xxxvi.

2. **the highest heaven** (B). Cf. lxvii. 2. A's reading, 'to the uppermost Jerusalem,' seems inferior.

LVI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; 1 En. xci. 1.

2. Riman, Uchan, and Chermion are not mentioned in i. 10.

A

Enoch's instruction to his sons.

58 1 'Listen to me, my children, to-day.
In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all
2 these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.
And Adam gave the names to all things living
3 on earth. And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull (lit. deaf) that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.
Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.
4 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but adjudges the souls of men to
5 their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.
And as every soul of man is according to
6 number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all

B

'Listen, children, in the days of our father 58
Adam, the Lord God came down (*sc.* to earth) and visited it and all his creatures, which he 2
created himself, and the Lord God called all the beasts of the earth and all the wild animals and all the quadrupeds, and all the reptiles of the earth, and all the birds that soar, and brought them before the face of our father Adam, and called the names to all things that move over the earth. And God subjected to Adam all things 3
existing into subservience (lit. lessness) and secondly made them all dull (lit. deaf) that they might be in subjection and obedience to man.

For the Lord created man ruler over all his possessions.
In this there will be no judgement of every 4
living soul, but only of man's.
But for the souls of beasts there is in the great 5
age one place and one fold.
For no soul of any animal which the Lord 6
created will be shut up till the great judgement,

LVIII. 1. **the Lord came down**, &c. See xxxii. 1 (note).
5. **men have a special place.** See xlix. 2 (note).
similarly beasts will not perish. As the Jews believed about the opening of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and so were rational to some extent (Jub. iii. 28; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4) it was natural they should infer a future existence of the animal world. Yet nowhere else except here do we find it, either in O.T. or pre-Christian Jewish works. Their future life is limited and has an ethical motive, not for the brute's own sake, but to accuse man at the final judgement. The Greek view of metempsychosis, and the deification of animals in Egypt show that the idea of animals' future life was conceivable in the ancient world. Plutarch, *Plac.* v. 20. 4 holds that brutes' souls are rational, but incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, *καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου ἔννοιαν Ξενοκράτης . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις* (Clem. *Strom.* v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in *Tim.* p. 148 b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, *πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχήν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσαν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζῴων* (Porph. *V. P.* 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, *ὡς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τἆλλα θηρία γενήσοιντο, ἠπίσταντο οἱ συνιστάντες ἡμᾶς* (*Tim.* 76 D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. *Georg.* iv. 219–21), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (*H. N.* viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta Vendidad *Fargard* 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1–4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20–28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: 'Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.' Eisenmenger i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale's note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgement and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they had inflicted on each other in this life. Then after they have duly retaliated their several wrongs, God will turn them again to dust (Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, Sect. iv), with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the Seven Sleepers which will enjoy eternal life in Paradise (Koran iii; xviii). Are we to interpret in this manner Orac. Sibyll. viii. 415–18?—

καὶ ὕστερον ἐς κρίσιν ἥξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον ἀνδρῶν·
καὶ κριὸν κριῷ καὶ ποιμένι ποιμένα θήσω
καὶ μόσχον μόσχῳ πέλας ἀλλήλων ἐς ἔλεγχον.

Even in Christian times animals were credited with intelligence, conscience, responsibility, as well as with the passions, vices, and virtues of mankind (see *Bestie delinquenti*, D'Addosio, 1892, from which the following facts are taken). They were accordingly solemnly tried, and advocates were assigned at the public expense to them to plead their cause. Thus moles (A. D. 824), a sow (1324), a cock (1474), snails (1487) were duly tried and condemned. They were

A

souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

Enoch instructs his sons wherefore they may not touch beef because of what comes from it.

1 Whoever defiles the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.

2 For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

B

and all souls will accuse the man,

whoever feeds 59 1 ill the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.

But he who brings sacrifice of clean beasts, 2 cures his own soul, and he who brings an offering of clean birds, cures his own soul.

A

And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

3 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.

4 But whoever kills beast without wound, kills his own soul and defiles his own flesh.

5 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

A

1 He who does injury to soul of man, does injury to his own soul, and there is no cure for his flesh, nor pardon for all time.

How it is not fitting to kill man neither by weapon nor by tongue.

2 He who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.

3 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is no cure for him for all time.

4 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgement for all time.

5 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

Enoch instructs his sons to keep themselves from injustice and often to stretch forth hands to the poor, to give a share of their labours.

1 And now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks (*sc.* something) for his own

B

He who does injury to the soul of man, in- 60 1 jures his own soul, and there is no cure for him into eternity.

He who puts a man into †paradise†—his 3 judgement shall not be exhausted into eternity.

Now, my children, keep yourselves from every 61 1 thing unrighteous, which the Lord hateth, still more from every living soul.

also occasionally subjected to torture, and their cries were regarded as a confession of guilt (*l. c.* p. 46). Even as late as 1531 a book was written by Chassauée to discuss the lawfulness of trying animals judicially, and the legitimate methods of procedure (*l. c.* p. 75).

LIX. 1. **Whoever defiles the soul of beast.** This refers not to the sin of bestiality, but, as B and 2–4 show, to some unlawful way of sacrificing or slaughtering animals.

2, 3. These verses suggest a date earlier than the destruction of the Temple, A. D. 70.

4. Against strangling beasts.

5. Here bestiality may be meant.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6.

3. Cf. Ps. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. There is an utter want of proportion between sin and penalty here. **†paradise†** (B). The text is corrupt but easily emended to give the sense '(crooked) dealing'.

4. **vessel** = *sosud*, perhaps a mistake for *sud* = 'judgement', 'lawsuit'.

5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. **injustice which the Lord hates.** Cf. Jud. v. 17; Sir. xv. 11, 13; 2 En. lxvi. 1.
injustice. The same word, *nepravda*, means injustice, untruth, and unrighteousness. Cf. lxvi. 1.

A

2 soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time (*sc.* to come) are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.

3 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad (*sc.* houses) there is no peace nor return (*sc.* from them).

B

Just as man asks (*sc.* something) for his own soul from the Lord, so let him do to every living 2 soul, lest in the great age . . . He has prepared many mansions, very good dwellings, and bad dwellings without number.

Blessed is he who departs into the sweet 3 houses.

A

4 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and he (*sc.* man) cannot find the labour of his hands.

5 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

A

Of how it is fitting to bring one's gift with faith, because there is no repentance after death.

62 1 Blessed is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.

2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.

3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

Of how not to despise the poor, but to share with them equally, lest thou be murmured against before God.

63 1 When man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.

2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil: ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.

3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh (*sc.* clothed) with his clothing, he commits contempt, and will forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.

4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.'

B

Blessed is he who in his patience brings a gift **62** before the Lord's face, for he shall find forgiveness of *his* sins.

When a man gives from his mouth terms of 2 time to bring gifts before the Lord's face, doing thus (*sc.* fulfilling his promise) he will find repentance of forgiveness (*sic*). But if the appointed time pass by and he go back on his word he shall receive repentance.

When he covers the naked and gives bread to **63** the hungry, he shall find forgiveness.

But if his heart murmurs, then he makes ruin 2 of his giving of alms.

And if, when he has had his fill, he is con- 3 temptuous, then he shall lose all his good deeds, and shall not find (*sc.* forgiveness), for every con- 4 temptuous man is hateful to the Lord.'

2. **many mansions.** Cf. 1 En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John xiv. 2.
good for the good, &c. Sir. xxxix. 25; Sibyll. Or. Fragm. iii. 18–19.

4. The text seems corrupt, and the idea is: it is good to offer gifts to God; but if a man sacrifices to God what is another man's or ill-gotten, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2, and esp. Sir. xxxi. 21–4, 28.
his hands made them not. Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 403, 406.

5. Only willing offerers are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5; Prov. xi. 25.
his heart murmur. Cf. lxiii. 2; Deut. xv. 10; Sir. xxxii. 10.

LXII. 1, 2. There is forgiveness if men keep strictly to their vows. B has quite missed the point in ver. 2.

3. **before the time.** We might expect also 'or after the time'.

LXIII. 1. See ix (notes).

2. See lxi. 5 (note).

4. **proud . . . hateful to the Lord.** Ps. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

A

Of how the Lord calls up Enoch, and people took counsel to go and kiss him at the place called Achuzan.

41 When Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together:
2 'Let us go and kiss Enoch,' and two thousand men came together and came to the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons.
3 And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him: 'Our father Enoch, be
4 thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before thy face.
5 For thou shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose thee, rather than all men on earth, and designated thee writer of all his creation, visible and invisible, and redeemer of the sins of man, and helper of thy household.'

And Enoch answered all his people, saying:

Of Enoch's instruction of his sons.

1 1 'Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible and invisible things.
2 And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after all that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate.
3 And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven.
4 And in those he appointed the hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, *their* alternation, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and
5 good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his commandments, and keep my handwriting from generation to generation.
6 When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes

B

And it happened, when Enoch had spoken to 64 1
his sons and to the princes of the people, all the people and all those near him heard how the Lord God was calling Enoch. All took counsel together, saying: 'Come, let us kiss Enoch.'
And these came together up to four thousand 2
men, and they came to the place Achuzan, where Enoch was and his sons.
And the elders of the people began to kiss 3
Enoch, saying: 'Blessed art thou of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy people, and 4
glorify us before the Lord's face, for the Lord 5
hath chosen thee, and appointed thee the taker away of our sins.' And Enoch said to all the people:

'Hear, my children, before all creation took 65 1
shape, the Lord appointed the age of things created.
Then he created all his creatures visible and invisible.
And then he put together man in his own 2
image, and put into him eyes to see and ears to hear, the heart to reflect and the mind to deliberate.
Then the Lord resolved the age for the sake 3
of man, and divided up the various seasons and years and months and hours, that man might 4
reflect on the changes and end of the seasons, and the beginning and end of the years and the days and the hours, that he might reckon the death of his life.
And when the creation, which the Lord created, 6
shall end, and every man shall go to the Lord's 7
great judgement, then the seasons shall perish, and thenceforward there will be no more years, nor months, nor days, and there will be no more hours thenceforward, nor will they be reckoned, but there shall begin one endless age. 8
And all the righteous shall be collected together in the great age, and age and age of the

LXIV. 5. **writer of all his creation.** See xl. 13 (note); liii. 2.
redeemer. For Enoch as intercessor cf. 1 En. xiii. 4. Contrast 2 En. liii. 1.

LXV. 1. For creation cf. xxiv. 2 (note).
2. **created man . . . heart to reflect.** Cf. Sir. xvii. 3, 5.
4. **count years,** &c. Cf. Wisdom vii. 17–18.
5. Cf. xxxiii. 9 (note).
6. The judgement is to close man's existence on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing here to show that there is a resurrection of the body.

A

7 to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be stuck together and will not be counted.

8 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will
9 live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor violence, nor night, nor darkness, but great light.

10 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

Enoch instructs his sons and all the elders of the people, how they are to walk with terror and trembling before the Lord, and serve him alone and not bow down to idols, but to God, who created heaven and earth and every creature, and †to† his image.

66 1 And now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

B

righteous shall be collected together, and they shall be eternal and incorruptible.

And thenceforward there shall be no labour
amongst them, nor sickness nor humiliation, nor anxiety *nor* need, nor night nor darkness, but great, endless, and indestructible light.

And the great paradise will be their shelter
and eternal dwelling-place, and they shall no more bear the injuries (lit. lawlessnesses) of those on earth.

The Lord will send down great destruction on to earth and the earth's whole composition shall perish.

For I know, that this will end in tumult and
will perish, only my brother will be preserved on that day, placed in . . . and those of his tribe and the sun.

And now, my children, keep your souls from
all unrighteousness, such as the Lord hates.

A

2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone. Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, [but bow down to his picture], and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.

3 For the Lord sees all things ; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it.
4 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there ; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.

5 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.

6 Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in *reliance on* promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.

7 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgement, for they shall shine forth more than
8 the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things ; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.'

7. See xxxiii. 2.
8-9. A blessed immortality.
10. **wall.** Perhaps the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x).
11. Sir. xiv. 19.

LXVI. 1. **injustice . . . the Lord hates.** Cf. lxi. 1 ; Deut. xii. 31 ; Wisdom xiv. 9.
injustice. Cf. lxvi. 1 (note).
Walk . . . terror and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12 ; also 2 Cor. vii. 13 ; Eph. vi. 5.
2. **all just offerings.** See lxi. 4 (note).
3. **sees all things . . . thought in his heart,** &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9 ; 2 Chron. vi. 30 ; Ps. xciv. 11 ; Prov. xv. 11 ; Dan. ii. 30.
4. Partly drawn from Ps. cxxxix. 8–12. Mention of Sheol is omitted here, as it is included in the author's conception of the heavens.
5. **no work . . . hidden.** Cf. Jer. xvi. 17 ; Sir. xvii. 15.
6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35 ; 2 Cor. xi. 27 ; 2 Pet. i. 4.
7. Cf. lxv. 8.
8. **enjoyment,** &c. 1 En. lxix. 8.

A

The Lord let out darkness on to earth and covered the people and Enoch, and he was taken up on high, and light came again *in the* heaven.

6 1 When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men
2 standing and talking with Enoch, and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord *is*; and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again.
3 And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll in which was traced: 'the invisible God,' and all went to their homes.

B

When Enoch had talked to the people, the 67 1
Lord sent down murk on to the earth, and there was darkness, it covered all the men standing with Enoch.

And the angels hastened and having taken 2
Enoch, they carried him up on to the highest heaven. And he received him, and put him before his face into eternity. And the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again, and all the people saw, and understood not how 3
Enoch had been taken, and glorified God.

And they came to their homes, those who had seen such things. Glory be to our God into eternity. Amen.

A

3 1 Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years.
He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty
2 days. He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred
3 and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when
4 he was born. As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life. At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.
5 Methosalam and his brethren, all the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at the place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.
6 And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.
7 All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.
And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age. Amen.

LXVII. 2. **highest heaven.** Cf. lxv. 2 (B). This is an exceptional privilege, as Paradise in the third heaven is the eternal abode of the righteous, lv. 2. In Asc. Is. ix. 7 the future habitation of the righteous is the *seventh* heaven.

LXVIII. A short *résumé* of Enoch's life. Cf. xxiii.

1. **sixty days.** Cf. xxiii. 6 and xxxvi. 1.

5–7. Cf. the fragment of Melchizedekian literature (appended to my Commentary on 2 Enoch) for Methusalem's sacrifice. The place of sacrifice, and here of Enoch's assumption, is called Achuzan in i. 3, but Aruzan in ii. 17.

7. **hand it on,** &c. Cf. xxxiii. 10.

II BARUCH

I. THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Apocalypse of Baruch, which for the sake of convenience will be designated 2 Baruch in this edition, is a composite work written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. Its authors were orthodox Jews and it is a good representative of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed.

In this Apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people seem to have been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, or to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the Fathers. But when our book was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning.

This beautiful Apocalypse, with the exception of nine chapters towards its close, which under the title 'the Epistle of Baruch' or a similar one, were incorporated in the later Syriac Bible, was lost sight of for quite 1,200 years.

Written originally in Hebrew, it was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original every line has perished save a few still surviving in rabbinic writings. Of the Greek version, a small fragment has been recovered from the papyri, while many phrases and sentences have been preserved in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (i. e. 3 Baruch in this edition) and in the Rest of the Words of Baruch (i. e. 4 Baruch). Happily the Syriac has come down to us in its entirety in a sixth-century MS., the discovery of which is due to Ceriani. Of this MS. Ceriani published a Latin translation in 1866, the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. Though there are no adequate grounds for assuming a Latin version, it is demonstrable that our Apocalypse was the foundation of a Latin Apocalypse of Baruch, a fragment of which is preserved in Cyprian.

This Apocalypse is, as has already been stated, composite. The editor has made use of a number of independent writings, belonging to various dates between 50 and 90 A. D. They are thus contemporaneous with the chief New Testament writings, and furnish records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs of that period, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, and with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity. Written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism, and in part an implicit polemic against Christianity, it gained nevertheless a larger circulation amongst Christians than amongst Jews, and owed its very preservation to the scholarly cares of the Church it assailed. But in the struggle for life its secret animus against Christianity begat an instinctive opposition in Christian circles, and so proved a bar to its popularity. Thus the place it would naturally have filled was taken by the sister work 4 Ezra. This latter work, which forms in fact an unconscious confession of the failure of Judaism to redeem the world, was naturally more acceptable to Christian readers, and thus, in due course, our Apocalypse was elbowed out of recognition by its fitter and sturdier rival.

§ 2. The Various Books of Baruch.

1° The Book of Baruch in the LXX (i. e. 1 Baruch). On the probability that i. 1–3; iii. 9–iv. 29 of this book are a recast of a lost portion of our Apocalypse, i. e. 'the Letter to the Two and a Half Tribes', see § 8. There is no verbal borrowing between our Apocalypse and 1 Baruch, but in the following passages there is a similarity of diction or of thought or of both:

2 Baruch.	1 Baruch.
i. 1.	i. 3.
x. 16.	iv. 10, 14.
lix. 7.	iii. 12.
lxxvii. 10.	ii. 26.
lxxviii. 7.	iv. 36, 37 (v. 6, 7).
lxxix. 2.	i. 17, 18.
lxxx. 5.	ii. 13.
lxxxiv. 2–5.	i. 19; ii. 2.
lxxxvi. 1, 2.	i. 14.

2° 2 Baruch or the present Apocalypse.

3° 3 Baruch or the Greek Apocalypse—a work of the second century, which is dealt with fully in its proper place in this volume. On some points of connexion between this and the preceding work see my Commentary on *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. xxi. sq.

4° 4 Baruch or the Rest of the Words of Baruch. The book was written in Greek in the second century of our era. It is in part a Jewish work recast. The Greek text was first printed at Venice in 1609, next by Ceriani in 1868 under the title 'Paralipomena Jeremiae' in his *Mon. Sacr.* v. 11–18, and has been critically edited by Rendel Harris in 1889. This book exists also in the Ethiopic Bible, and was edited from three MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* in 1886. But as these MSS. are inferior, a new edition is needed, which will take account of the Greek MSS. as well as of the Ethiopic—there are eight still uncollated of the latter in the British Museum—and also of the Jewish matter underlying the book.

5° A Gnostic Book of Baruch is drawn upon in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena*, v. 24–7.

6° A Latin Book of Baruch is quoted in an MS. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, iii. 29, which is clearly based on our Apocalypse.

7° Another Book of Baruch is mentioned in the *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani*, published by Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. I, Heft 3, 1883), but so far as the quotation goes, this book has no connexion with our Apocalypse.

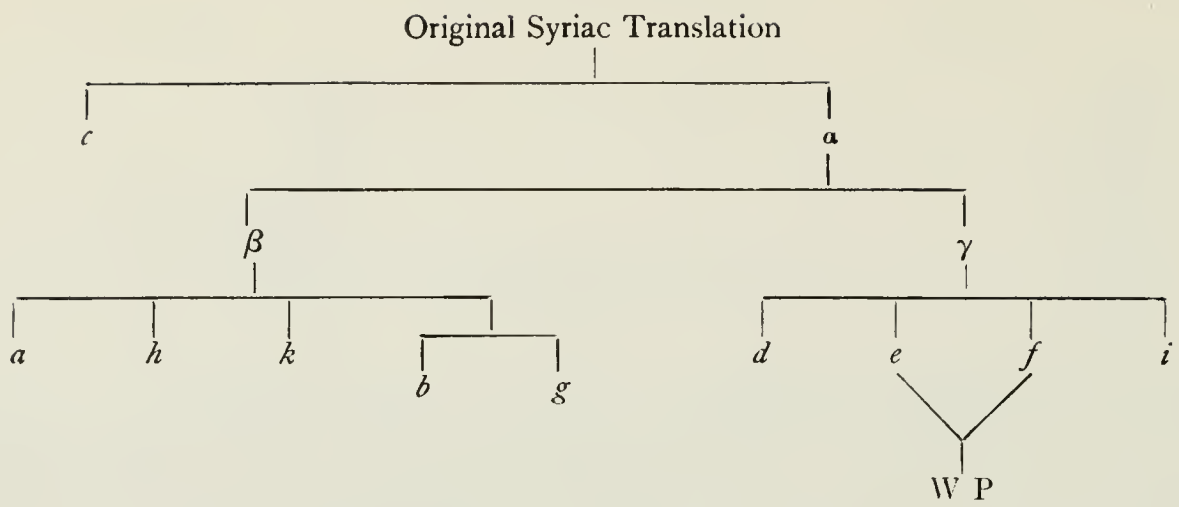
§ 3. The Syriac MSS.

For chapters i–lxxvii we have only one MS. This MS.—designated *c* in my edition—was found in the library in Milan. It belongs to the sixth century. In 1871 Ceriani edited the Syriac text from the MS. in his *Mon. Sacr. et Prof.* V. ii. 113–80. Of chapters lxxviii–lxxxvi, which form the Epistle of Baruch, many MSS. were known to exist, and three of them, *a*, *b*, *d*, were collated by Ceriani. In 1871 Fritzsche attempted to form a text on the basis of these four MSS. through the medium of an emended edition of Ceriani's Latin translation in his *Libri Apocryphi V. T. Graece*, 1871, pp. 690–9.

The present writer edited the Syriac text of these chapters in his edition of the Apocalypse of Baruch, 1896, in which he made use of the following MSS.

a Called A in Ceriani. See p. 167 note.
b Add. 17105 Brit. Mus., ff. 116^{a}–121^{a}. Sixth century.
c Milan MS., ff. 265^{b}–267^{b}. Sixth century.
d Cod. Ambrosianus A 145.
e No. 1 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 430–432. A. D. 1627.
f Egerton 705, Brit. Mus., ff. 373^{a}–374^{a}. Seventeenth century.
g Add. 12172 Brit. Mus., ff. 192^{b}–195^{b}. Tenth or Twelfth century.
h Add. 18715 Brit. Mus., ff. 242^{b}–244^{a}. Twelfth century.
i No. 2 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 492–493. A. D. 1614.
k No. 20 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 37–38.

Of these ten *b e f g h i k* were collated directly by the present writer. In addition to these he found excerpts from the Epistle in *l* = Add. 12178, Brit. Mus., f. 111^{b} (ninth or tenth century), in *m* = 14482 Brit. Mus., ff. 47^{b}–48^{a} (eleventh or twelfth century), and in *n*, 14684 Brit. Mus., f. 24 (twefth century). Finally the readings of the Walton and Paris Polyglots were taken account of. As a result of a critical study of these authorities I arrived at certain definite results. Thus while *c* represents one type of text, *a b d e f g h i k l m n* represent another—say *α*. The latter again fall into two classes *a b g h k* (=*β*) being more trustworthy than *d e f i* (=*γ*). The originals of these three classes, *α*, *β*, *γ*, have been lost, but they are helpful in showing the interrelations of our authorities. The results finally arrived at (see my edition, pp. xxii–xxx) can best be represented in the following table:



Here W and P stand for the Walton and Paris Polyglots. It is of no little interest to have traced the sources of the text in the two great polyglots; for, as their editors have given no information on the subject, scholars had hitherto been in the dark in this respect.

§ 4. Date of the Syriac Version.

Since the MSS. *c* and *b* referred to in the preceding section both belong to the sixth century, we find that at that date there existed two distinctly developed types of text, both of which must have been for no brief period in existence owing to the variety of readings already evolved. Further, though *b* belongs to the sixth century, many of its readings are decidedly later than *c*, or even than *a h*. In fact *a h* represent the text at an earlier stage than *b*. The common parent *a b h* therefore, i.e. *β*, could not be later than the fifth century. Since, therefore, *β* belongs at latest to the fifth century, the common progenitor of *c* and *α* (= the parent of *β* and *γ*) can hardly be sought later than the fourth century. It may be as early as the third.

§ 5. The Syriac—a Translation from the Greek.—*The Oxyrhynchus Greek Fragment*, xii–xiv. 3.

The Syriac Version is a translation from the Greek. The conclusion was already arrived at before the discovery of the Greek fragment of Grenfell and Hunt. 1° For it is so stated in *c*. 2° There are certain corruptions in the text which are only explicable on the hypothesis that the translator misinterpreted the Greek, or found the corruption already existing there. The corrupt readings in iii. 7, xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7 are to be explained on this principle. 3° There are frequent transliterations of Greek words as in vi. 4; x. 17; xvii. 4, &c. 4° The Rest of the Words of Baruch preserves important fragments of the Greek Version.

All the above facts and more (see my edition, p. xlii sq.) were known when Grenfell and Hunt discovered an actual fragment of the Greek Version, which they published in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. 3–7. The papyrus is part of a leaf from a book, and is written in a large slightly sloping uncial hand—possibly as early as the fourth century, and probably not later than the fifth.

This fragment embraces xii. 1–5, xiii. 1–2, 11–12, xiv. 1–3. I have printed this fragment and an English translation of it in parallel columns with the Syriac. The text is *poor and defective*. In xiv. 2 it read *μαρτυρήσαντες*, but this was by a later hand rightly corrected into *ἁμαρτήσαντες* as we find in the Syriac. Again in xiv. 1 'shall be endured by the Gentiles' is corrupt for 'shall come upon the Gentiles'. Here the papyrus reads *ὑπενεχθήσεται* which seems corrupt for *ἐπενεχθήσεται*. At all events the phrase in the Syriac is exactly the same in xiii. 5, 'retribution which is coming upon' and in xiv. 1 'the retribution . . . shall come upon'. In xii. 3 the parallelism which is preserved in the Syriac is wholly lost. 'Condemn' cannot be right, if originally there was any parallelism. The fact that the parallelism is preserved in both Greek and Syriac in xii. 2 is in favour that the Syriac has rightly preserved it in xii. 3.

§ 6. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew.

Previous to my edition of Baruch in 1896 an unbroken unanimity prevailed among scholars on the question of a Greek original. Since the discovery of the book by Ceriani not a single serious attempt had been made to grapple with this problem, and yet in nearly every instance scholars spoke with an assurance on the subject that only a personal and thorough study of the subject could have justified. To this strong and unanimous tradition of the learned world I bowed without hesitation at the outset of my studies, but with an awakening distrust and an ever-growing reluctance

during the years in which I was engaged in the preparation of the work which was published in 1896. The necessity for postulating a Hebrew original which was first shown in this work was subsequently maintained by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 234), Ryssel (*Apok. und Pseudepig. A. T.*, 1900, ii. 411), and Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* ii. 555). As regards the grounds for this conclusion, I will here be as brief as possible, and adduce only the following. 1°. What is true of 4 Ezra the sister work, which was written in Hebrew, is true also of our Apocalypse. 2°. The quotations from the Old Testament agree with the Massoretic text except in one case. 3°. There are many paronomasiae which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. 4°. Many passages in the book have been preserved in Talmudic and Rabbinic writings. 5°. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.

1°. It is now an accepted view that 4 Ezra was written in Hebrew. Since the two books show in nearly every respect the closest affinities it may provisionally be accepted that as the former is derived from a Hebrew original so also is the latter. In my edition of 2 Baruch in 1896 I pointed out (p. lxxii) the necessity of assuming a Hebrew original for 4 Ezra. In the same year Wellhausen (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, pp. 12–13) insisted on the same necessity, and demonstrated this necessity in his *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 234–40, 1899.

2°. See my edition, pp. xlv sq., 169.

3°. In xv. 8 there are two paronomasiae. Thus 'Labour with much trouble' = עמל באון and 'crown with great glory' עטרה בתפארה (see notes *in loc.*).

But these need not necessarily postulate a Hebrew original; the following cases undoubtedly do. Thus in xxi. 14 (see note for the Hebrew) we have a stanza of three lines, each line of which contains a rhyme within it. The writer is so fond of the last of these that he repeats it exactly in xlviii. 35 and partially in lxxxiii. 12. In xlviii. 35 we have another and still more remarkable instance of paronomasia. In this stanza there are three lines, the first, second, and fourth of which respectively contain this rhyming or alliterative character, but not the third. But even a cursory examination makes it clear that the third line is corrupt. It is against the parallelism and structure of the adjoining three lines. In the notes on the passage the reader will find an attempt to restore the original text, in which a paronomasia is recovered and also a parallelism in sense and structure with the adjoining lines. Again, in lxiii. 3, 4 there were undoubtedly plays in the Hebrew on the names of Hezekiah and Sennacherib. There is probably another instance of this play on words in lxxxiii. 10, certainly in lxxxiii. 14, and possibly in lxxxiv. 2.

The above evidence is of a very convincing character.

4°. *Many sections of our book have exact parallels in the Talmudic and Rabbinic writings.* Thus in ii. 1–2 Jeremiah is bidden to leave Jerusalem (implicitly) on the ground that it could not be destroyed so long as Jeremiah was in it. This is explicitly stated in Pesikta r. c. 26 (131*a* ed. Friedmann). On the interpolated passage on the heavenly Temple cf. Sakka 41*a*, Taanith 5*a*. The account of the destruction of Jerusalem, vi–viii, is substantiated at times verbally by Pesikta r. (*loc. cit.*). The poetical incident in x. 18 is recounted as a literal fact in Taanith 29*a*, Lev. r. xix. 6; Pesikta v. 26. See note *in loc.* With the marvel of the burning of the bodies of the host of Sennacherib, lxiii. 8, cf. Sanh. 94*a*, while the legend of the brazen horse, lxiv. 8, is found in Pesikta Rab Kahana, xxv. 162. See Ginzberg in *Jew. Encyc.* ii. 553.

5°. *Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explaincd and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.* We have here the clinching evidence of a Hebrew original. First of all in the following five passages xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7 I have been able to explain and restore an unintelligible text by retranslation first into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of δικαιοῦσθαι, and this in turn of צדק. Now צדק can mean either δικαιοῦσθαι or δίκαιος εἶναι. In the five passages above cited the context can admit only of the latter meaning; but the translator, who was probably a Christian and therefore influenced by the Christian doctrine of justification, wrongly adopted the former rendering. Ryssel has accepted without acknowledgement my restoration of these five passages.

Next in vi. 7 'ephod' is undoubtedly corrupt for 'ark' (see note). The corruption can have arisen either in the Hebrew or even in the Syriac, i. e. ܐܦܘܕ corrupt for ܐܪܘܢ, but the former is more likely.

In xxi. 22 the text can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew. See note. In xliv. 12 we arrive at a very interesting restoration, which Ryssel adopts without acknowledgement. In the Syriac the phrase 'on its beginning' is set over against 'to torment' as its antithesis. Here the context requires 'to its blessedness'. Now the Syriac = בראשו, which is obviously a corruption of באשרו = 'to its blessedness'. In lvi. 6 'boasting' is out of place, enumerated as it is along with

'untimely death', 'grief and anguish', 'pain', 'trouble', and 'Sheol'. The word = καύχημα = תהלה, which seems corrupt for מחלה, 'disease'. In lxx. 6 the text reads: 'some . . . shall be hindered.' But the parallelism requires a strong expression. Now 'shall be hindered' = κωλυθήσονται = יכלאו, corrupt for יכלו — 'shall be consumed'. These two verbs are often confused in Hebrew.

Finally, in lxxx. 2, it is said that the sacred vessels of the Temple were hidden 'lest they should be polluted by the enemy'. But this clause can hardly be right; for lxxx is simply a concise reproduction of vi–viii. Now in vi. 8 the real reason for the concealment of these vessels is given, i. e. 'that strangers may not get possession of them'. Furthermore, the vessels were put away with a view to their use in the restored Temple, vi. 7–10. Now if we retranslate the words, 'lest any should be polluted by the enemy', we have פן יחלו מאויבים, which is an easy corruption of פן ינחלום אויבים 'lest the enemy get possession of them'.

§ 7. The different Elements in 2 Baruch.

The composite nature of this book was first recognized by Kabisch in 1891 and the following year by De Faye, and subsequently by the present writer in 1896 and by Beer in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[3] art. 'Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments', p. 250. A short summary of the grounds on which it seems necessary to postulate a diversity of authorship may here be given. If we disregard the letter to the tribes in captivity (lxxviii–lxxxvi), the book falls naturally into seven sections separated by fasts, save in one case (after xxxv) where the text is probably defective. These sections, which are of unequal length, are (1) i–v. 6; (2) v. 7–viii; (3) ix–xii. 4; (4) xii. 5–xx; (5) xxi–xxxv; (6) xxxvi–xlvi; (7) xlvii–lxxvii. These treat of the Messiah and of the Messianic kingdom, the woes of Israel in the past and the destruction of Jerusalem in the present, as well as of theological questions which were debated in the schools, relating to original sin, free-will, works, the number of the saved, the nature of the resurrection body, &c. The views expressed on these subjects are often conflicting. In one class of passages there is everywhere a vigorous optimism as to Israel's ultimate well-being on earth; there is sketched in glowing and sensuous colours the blessedness which awaits the chosen people in the kingdom of the Messiah which is at hand (xxix; xxxix–xl; lxxiii–lxxiv), when healing will descend in dew, and disease and anguish flee away: when strife and hatred shall vanish and gladness march throughout the earth, when childbirth shall entail no pangs, and none shall die untimely, when Israel's enemies shall be destroyed (xxxix–xl; lxx. 7–lxxii) and God's own people enjoy a world-wide empire with its centre at Jerusalem (xl. 2; lxxiii–lxxiv). Over against these passages stand others of a hopelessly pessimistic character, wherein, alike as to Israel's present and future destiny on earth, there is written nothing save 'lamentation and mourning and woe'. The world is a scene of corruption, its evils are irremediable; it is a never-ceasing toil and strife, but its end is at hand; its strength exhausted; the ship is already come to the port and life to its consummation (lxxxv). The advent of the new and spiritual world is at hand (xxi. 19; xliv. 9–15; lxxxv). The first to draw attention to the conflicting elements in our book was, as I have already remarked, Kabisch in the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theol.*, 1891, pp. 66–107. Kabisch shows that we have in Baruch a measureless pessimism and world despair on the one hand, and on the other a vigorous optimism and world-joy. He further points out that the same subjects are treated several times and often without any fresh contribution to the subject at issue. Thus the Messianic kingdom is twice delineated, the advent of the Messiah twice foretold and the Messianic woes as often depicted. On these and other grounds he derives the book from three or four authors. He distinguishes as the groundwork i–xxiv. 1; xxx. 2–xxxiv; xli–lii; lxxv–lxxxvii written subsequently to A. D. 70 and saturated throughout by the pessimistic temper already referred to. But in this groundwork the order of the text was according to Kabisch originally different; i. e. i–xx, xxxi. 1–xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5–xxxiv, xxi. 1–xxiv. 2, xxx. 2–5, xli–lii. 7, lxxv, lxxvii–lxxxvii. In the remaining sections of the book there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism that looks for a Messianic kingdom of sensuous delights. These sections which are prior to A. D. 70 are the work of three writers, i. e. the Vine and Cedar Vision xxxvi–xl, the Cloud Vision liii–lxxiv, which are preserved unmutilated, and the third a fragmentary Apocalypse xxiv. 3–xxix. Finally these different writings were incorporated into one book by a Christian contemporary of Papias, and to this editor are probably due xxviii. 5, xxx. 1, xxxii. 2–4, xxxv, lxxvi. 1.

This analysis of Kabisch is good in regard to the separate visions, but his so-called groundwork is as composite as the whole work is composite. The problem is far more complex than Kabisch conceived it.

[1] See my edition of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. liii–lxv.

It is interesting to find that some of Kabisch's conclusions were reached independently at about the same date by a French scholar, De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25–8, 76–103, 192–204. De Faye like Kabisch distinguishes xxxvi–xl and liii–lxxv as distinct works written before A. D. 70. The rest of his conclusions are less satisfactory. i–xxxii. 6 constitute an Apocalypse of Baruch written after A. D. 70; i–v and vi–xxxii. 6, however, being originally derived from two different authors. Another distinct work was the Assumption of Baruch, i. e. xlviii–lii, xliii. 1–2, lxxvi. 1–4, written after A. D. 70, xxxii. 7–xxxv, xli–xlvii. 2, lxxvi. 5–lxxxvii are for the most part the work of the final editor, but xliv. 9–15, xlvi. 7 was due to a Christian reviser. On the whole this analysis is less convincing than that of Kabisch.

Since the above solutions of the complex problems before us are inadequate, the present writer addressed himself afresh to the task in 1895–6. From the conclusions then arrived at he has seen no good ground for departing save in a few minor points.

With Kabisch and De Faye I recognize the fact that two distinct types of documents are present in our book, the one of an optimistic character as to Israel's future on Earth and the other of a pessimistic character in this respect. To the former type I assign the three Messianic Apocalypses xxvii–xxx. 1; xxxvi–xl; liii–lxxiv, which for convenience' sake I designate A^1, A^2, A^3, and a short original Apocalypse of Baruch B^1. In the remaining sections are B^2, B^3, the contents of which we shall determine presently, the doctrine of a Messianic kingdom is absolutely relinquished.

Different documents behind the Text. Thus A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1 agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future and inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom: whereas in B^2, B^3 the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world. (For details see my edition pp. 49, 61, 87, 68–69, 119, 140.)

But at this point a difference between A^1, A^2, A^3 and B^1 emerges. The former look for a Messiah at the head of the kingdom, but B^1 for a kingdom without the Messiah.

Their relative dates. As we pursue our study we discover further that: 1° In A^1, A^2, A^3 Jerusalem is still standing—hence they were written before A.D. 70; whereas in B^1, B^2, B^3 it is already destroyed (though in B^1 it is to be restored): 2° In A^1, A^2, A^3, it is only to the actual inhabitants of Palestine that the promise of protection is given in the time of the Messianic woes (see xxix. 2; xl. 2; lxxi. 1)—thus the Jews are still in Palestine; but in B^1, B^2, B^3, they are already in exile. In B^1 they are ultimately to be restored.

Facts confirming the above conclusions. A cursory examination of the books reveals the scheme of the final editor. According to this scheme the book was divided into seven sections separated by six fasts. Each of the last six of these sections thus opens with or is preceded by a fast: cp. v. 7, ix. 2, xii. 5, xxi. 1, (mention of fifth fast which should occur after xxxv is lost), xlvii. 2. In each section a definite movement or order of events is observed. This order briefly is: *first a fast, then a divine command or revelation and finally the publication of the command or matter revealed unless accompanied by a prohibition to do so as in* xx. 3. In some cases a prayer follows the fast xxi. 3, xlviii. 1, and a lamentation the publication of the divine disclosure x. 6 (see the notes in my edition pp. 1, 9, 13, 36, 61). This being so, it is significant that in the addresses on xxxi. 2–xxxiv, xlvi. 4–6, lxxvii. 1–17 there is not a single reference to the Messianic Apocalypses A^1, A^2, A^3. From this it follows that A^1, A^2, A^3 have no real organic connexion with the rest of the book B^1, B^2, B^3. Their removal serves to restore some cohesion to the text (see my edition xxx. 2 note, xli note, lxxv–lxxvi note).

The relations of A^1, A^2, A^3 to each other. A^1 is of distinct authorship from A^2 and A^3; for whereas in A^1 the Messiah pursues a passive rôle and does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed and the kingdom established, in A^2, A^3 it is the Messiah that destroys the enemies of Israel and establishes the kingdom. A^2 and A^3 though differing in some respects may come from the same author. All three Apocalypses were written before A.D. 70.

The relations of B^1, B^2, B^3 to each other. Since B^3 consists of a single chapter we shall deal with it first.

B^3 = lxxxv. This chapter agrees with B^1, B^2 in being written after A.D. 70; but differs from B^1 and agrees with B^2 in despairing of a national restoration, and in looking only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption. But again it differs from B^2 also, in that B^2 was written in Jerusalem or Judaea, whereas B^3 was written in Babylon or some other land of the dispersion, lxxxv. 3—in the former most probably; for it was written in Hebrew. Again whereas, according to B^2, Jeremiah was with the captivity in Babylon, it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead, and that the exiles have none to intercede for them, lxxx. 1, 2. Thus B^3 is a fragment written in Hebrew after A.D. 70 by an exile probably in Babylon.

B^1 B^2—their extent and characteristics. Even the elimination of the preceding sections does not leave a coherent whole as we have already seen. Thus i–ix. 1, xxxii. 2–4, xliii–xliv. 7, xlv–xlvi,

lxxvii–lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi sq. (= B^1) are optimistic and hopeful as to this world, whereas x–xxv, xxx. 2—xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5—xxxv, xli sq., xliv. 8–15, xlvii–lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii (= B^2) are decidedly of an opposite character. But the differences are not only of a general but of a detailed character. Thus in B^1 the dispersion is to return, lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 7, but in B^2 no such restoration is expected. In B^1 the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, i. 4, vi. 9, xxxii. 2–4, lxxviii. 7 (see notes in my edition), but not in B^2: cf. x. 10, xx. 2. In B^1 Baruch is to die an ordinary death, xliv. 2, xlviii. 30, lxxviii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, but to be translated in B^2 xiii. 3, xxv. 1, lxxvi. 2. In B^1 Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, lxxvii. 12, but in B^2 he is sent, x. 2, xxxiii. 2. In B^1 Jerusalem is destroyed by angels lest the enemy should boast, vii. 1, lxxx. 3, but this idea is foreign to A^3: cf. lxvii. 6–7, and appears to be so to B^2 as it was to 4 Ezra iv. 30 and the Ass. Mosis iii. 2. Finally though the Law is valued in B^1, it is extravagantly glorified in B^2. See note on xv. 5 in my edition.

The final editor's use of B^1 and B^2. From B^1 the editor borrowed materials and used them in a straightforward fashion, as will be seen by referring to the preceding paragraph. But this is not the case with B^2. This source the editor mutilated and transposed in a fashion that appears quite incredible to the ordinary reader. But the serious student cannot ignore the present hopeless order of xiii–xxv. In these chapters the original text has been frequently transposed, the original development of thought arrested and inverted, questions are frequently recorded after their specific answers have already been given in full, and passages torn from their original setting in Baruch's address to the people and inserted in Baruch's prayers to God, where they have no conceivable meaning. On the note on xiii–xxv the question is treated with sufficient fullness for our present contention, and as a result of the facts and deductions there given we might restore provisionally the order of x–xxv as follows: x–xiii. 1–3^a, xx, xxiv. 2–4, xiii. 3^b–12, xxv, xiv–xix, xxi–xxiv. 1.

As regards the remaining sections of B^2, they appear to have received the same drastic treatment from the editor as the earlier chapters. Thus the gist of xxxi–xxxii. 6, which contains an address of Baruch to the people, consists of three themes. These should of course have been dealt with in a preceding revelation, since the subject on which Baruch addresses the people is to be found in each instance in the previous divine revelation: cf. v. 5, x. 4. But the themes on which Baruch discourses in xxxi–xxxii. 6 are not made the subject of revelation till later. See note on xxxi–xxxv, where it is shown that xlii. 6–8, xlviii. 22–24, 38–41, 49, lii. 3, 8–9, 16 are presupposed by xxxi–xxxii. 6. Again, liv. 16–18 is clearly in its wrong context and likewise xlviii. 48–50, lii. 5–7. These passages seem to belong to an address of Baruch to the people: they form a direct address to the wicked and could not therefore occur in a prayer of Baruch to God. In every case, too, they break the sense of the context. We cannot enter here into the many other dislocations which the original document B^2 underwent at the hands of the final editor. The reader will find some of these treated in the notes that follow. For a full treatment of the question he can consult my edition pp. lxi sqq. and the notes referred to there.

As a result of the above criticism we may provisionally restore the original order of the source B^2 as follows: x–xiii. 3^a, xx, xxiv. 2–4, xiii. 3b–12, xxv, xiv–xix, xxi–xxiv. 1, xxx. 2–5, xli. sq., xlviii. 1–47, xlix–lii. 3, lxxv, xxxi–xxxii. 1, 5–6, liv. 17, 18, xlviii. 48–50, lii. 5–7, liv. 16, xliv. 8–15, lxxxiii, xxxii. 7–xxxv, lxxvi.

The solution here offered seems extremely complex, but since the problem is almost incredibly complex, the solution cannot be a simple or obvious one. Further investigation will no doubt modify some of the above conclusions, but I know of no study since my edition in 1896 that gives adequate grounds for any serious departure from the above analysis.

§ 8. The Lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes.

In my edition of 2 Baruch in 1896, pp. lxv–lxvii, I advanced the hypothesis, which is now steadily gaining acceptance, that a portion of the lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes, which is referred to in lxxvii. 12, 17, 19, has been preserved in 1 Baruch i. 1–3, iii. 9–iv. 29. The lost Epistle was addressed to Judah and Benjamin in exile (lxxvii. 12, 17). So was 1 Bar. iii. 9–iv. 29. The lost Epistle was 'an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings' (lxxvi. 12). So, too, is 1 Bar. iii. 9–iv. 29. The lost Epistle was to hold out the promise of return and was written by Baruch to Babylon. So, too, was 1 Bar. iii. 9–iv. 29. For the enforcement of these and other grounds for the identification of the lost Epistle, see my edition as referred to above.

§ 9. The Relations of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra.

The affinities of our Apocrypha and 4 Ezra are so numerous (see my edition of the former, pp. 170–1, for some sixty-six passages with such affinities) that Ewald and Ryle assumed identity of authorship. But their points of divergence are so weighty (*op. cit.* pp. lxix–lxxi) that this view

cannot be sustained. Three conclusions remain open according as we assume the integrity or compositeness of these books. If on the one hand we assume unity of authorship, either 2 Baruch is earlier or later than 4 Ezra. According to Schürer, Bissell, Thomson, Deane, Kabisch, De Faye, Clemen, Wellhausen, 2 Baruch is the earlier, while Langen, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Dillmann, Rosenthal, Gunkel are just as strongly convinced that it is the later. Moreover, the arguments of the one side are just as weighty as the counter arguments of the other, and beyond this *impasse* it is impossible, in my opinion, for criticism to advance, until it recognizes the composite nature of both books. The subject cannot be discussed here. The reader can consult an attempt to deal with the chronological relations of the various constituents of the two books in my edition of 2 Baruch, pp. lxxii–lxxvi. See also Box's edition of 4 Ezra, which is about to be published, as well as his Introduction to 4 Ezra in the present volume.

§ 10. Theology.

This book presents a vivid picture of the hopes and beliefs of Judaism during the years A.D. 50–100. As it was written at different dates and by different authors, its composition was thus contemporaneous with that of the New Testament. It is, therefore, of great value to the New Testament student, as it furnishes him with the historical setting and background of many of the New Testament problems.

Original Sin and Free-will. Sin in 2 Baruch is the conscious and deliberate breach of the law, xv. 5–9, xix. 1–2. Man does not fall inevitably into it; for he does not possess a *cor malignum* as in 4 Ezra. Jeremiah is 'pure from sin', ix. 1.

Sin, then, being a conscious breach of law, it began with Adam's transgression. Adam is the starting-point as in 2 Enoch, whereas in 1 Enoch and Jubilees human depravity is traced mainly to the angels that sinned. When Adam fell, his name became symbolical for the power of darkness opposing the power of light, which is the law, xviii. 1–2.

On the fall of Adam certain consequences followed. (*a*) First of all, *physical death.* In B^2, i.e. xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. This conditional immortality of man appears also in 1 Enoch lxix. 11, Wisdom i. 13, 14, 2 Enoch xxx. 16, 17, 4 Ezra iii. 7. But in A^3, i.e. liv. 15, lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only premature death. (*b*) *Psychical and physical declension.* This consequence appears in many passages but most clearly in lvi. 6, where trouble and anguish, disease and death, sensual passion and the begetting of children are traced to it.

> 'For when he transgressed
> Untimely deaths came into being:
> Grief was named,
> And anguish prepared:
> And pain was created,
> And trouble consummated:
> And disease began to be established,
> And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood:
> And the begetting of children was brought about,
> And the passion of parents produced:
> And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
> And goodness languished.'

(*c*) *Spiritual evil* in that man became a danger to himself, lvi. 10, and to the angels, lvi. 10. In the former passage the text states shortly that man 'became a danger to his own soul'. This fact, therefore, that man henceforth became his own worst enemy, implies that by the Fall a hereditary tendency to evil was established in man. In one passage only does spiritual death appear to be traced to Adam, i.e. in xlviii. 42 sq., but even there it does not follow as an inevitable consequence.

Notwithstanding the above penalties that followed on the Fall, man according to 2 Baruch preserves his free-will, his moral nature remains unimpaired, and the spiritual consequences of Adam's Fall are in the main limited to Adam himself, liv. 15, 19.

> 'For though Adam first sinned
> And brought untimely death upon all,
> Yet of those who were born from him
> Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
> And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.
>
> Adam is, therefore, not the cause, save only of his own soul,
> But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.'

Thus man remained the captain of his own soul and therefore of his destiny. The issues of right and wrong are placed before him and the power of choice remains in his keeping, xix. 1, 3.

> '"Behold I have placed before you life and death,"
> And he called heaven and earth to witness against them . . .
> But after his death they sinned and transgressed,
> Though they knew they had the Law reproving (them),
> And the light in which nothing could err,
> Also the spheres which testify, and Me.'

'The lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness', lix. 2: even from the Gentiles the needful knowledge was not withheld and their conscience testified to their guilt: only their pride withheld from them a knowledge of the law. Hence the choice of evil on man's part is deliberate, li. 16.

> 'For then they chose ⟨not⟩ for themselves this time,
> Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away:
> But they chose for themselves that time,
> Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils . . .
> So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before.'

Thus in 2 Baruch there is no doctrine of inherited guilt or of total depravity. This differs wholly from the Pauline doctrine. In the latter owing to the Fall man is henceforth dominated by original sin, which makes his fulfilment of the law and therefore his realization of righteousness impossible. He is not, indeed, thereby robbed wholly of free-will, but retains it in a degree just sufficient to justify his condemnation.

The Law. This book is of a strongly Pharisaic character. The writers are assured of their power to fulfil the law, and the self-complacency of Baruch xiii. 3, xxv. 1, xliii. 1 stands out in strong contrast with the self-depreciation that marks 4 Ezra. The importance of the law is emphasized iii. 6, xv. 5. It was the centre round which Jewish thought and life revolved. To a limited extent the Messianic expectation was likewise a centre, and, in proportion the more one is emphasized, the more the other falls into the background. Thus in B^1 *where the restoration of Jerusalem is looked for but no Messiah*, the law is spoken of as follows: God gave the law to Israel, lxxvii. 3; for transgressing it they were sent into exile, lxxvii. 4, lxxxiv. 2; but let not Israel withdraw from the law, xliv. 23, but obey it, xlvi. 5; let them remember it, lxxxiv. 8; for if they do so, they will see the consolation of Zion, xliv. 7, and a son of the law shall never be wanting, xlvi. 4, nor a lamp nor a shepherd, lxxvii. 16. In B^2 *where there is no Messiah and no expectation of the restoration of Jerusalem*, the law is still further glorified. It will protect those who receive it in their hearts, xxxii. 1, xlviii. 24; by it they will be justified, li. 3; in it will be the hope of the righteous, li. 7; the law is with Israel, and so long as they obey it they will not fall, xlviii. 22, 24. They have received one law from One, xlviii. 24. For further treatment of this question see my edition of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. lxix, 26–31, 63–4.

Here we have decidedly orthodox Judaism. In 4 Ezra on the other hand man trembles before the law: he needs mercy, not the award of the law; for all have sinned, viii. 35: it has served rather unto condemnation; for only a very few are saved through good works, vii. 77, or the divine compassion, vii. 139.

Works and justification. In our apocalypse the righteous are saved by their works, li. 7, and their righteousness is of the law, lxvii. 6. In the consciousness of their justification by the law, li. 3, they can with confidence approach God, and look to Him for the fulfilment of their prayers because of their works wherein they trust, lxiii. 3, 5; lxxxv. 2, and owing to the same ground of confidence they depart from this world full of hope, xiv. 12. But their works are not limited to themselves in their saving effects. So long as the righteous live, their righteousness is a tower of strength to their people, ii. 2, and after death it remains to their country a lasting ground of merit, xiv. 7, lxxxiv. 10.

The Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom. The hope of a Messiah is entertained only in A^1, A^2, A^3, the hope of the Kingdom without a Messiah in B^1, which sections were written before A.D. 70. Since the chief characteristics of these sections have been dealt with in this respect in § 7, we shall touch only briefly upon them. The kingdom of the Messiah is not like that of the centuries preceding 100 B.C., which was to last for ever. According to this Apocalypse the whole present world belongs to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom. It forms the end of the world of corruption, xl. 3, and the beginning of the world of incorruption, lxxiv. 2. Although of temporary duration it is the Golden Age, lxxiii. 1, 2, 7.

1. 'And it shall come to pass when he has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of his kingdom,
That joy shall then be revealed
And rest shall appear.

2. And then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth . . .

7. And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,
Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

lxxiv. 1. And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build toilworn,
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.'

At the close of this temporary kingdom the Messiah will return to heaven and the righteous shall rise to a blessed life, xxx. 1. Then shall the righteous receive their promised reward, lix. 2, and enjoy the glories to come, liv. 15, but the unrighteous shall be cast into the torment of fire, liv. 14, lv. 7, lix. 2, 10.

In the other sections, B^2, B^3 written after A.D. 70, no period of earthly blessedness is looked for; the hope of a kingdom of righteousness on earth is abandoned wholly. An extreme note of despair as to this world marks both these sections but especially B^3 (i.e. lxxxv), which was written in exile: cp. lxxxv. 2. According to this latter writer (lxxxv. 10):

'The youth of the world is past,
And the strength of the creation already exhausted . . .
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port:
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to (its) consummation.'

Resurrection. In xlix. 2–li a view of the resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead with their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration. In my edition of this book, pp. 83–4, I have shown that the Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35–50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism. In Judaism the same physical body was resuscitated and transformed: in the Pauline teaching, the two bodies were wholly unconnected except in so far as they were the successive organs of the spirit in the material and spiritual worlds. They were so far from being identical in any respect that it was not till the physical body was destroyed that the spiritual body could be assumed. There is no transformation of dead or resuscitated bodies in the Pauline teaching: only of bodies of the faithful who should be alive at the Parousia.

§ 11. Relation of the Apocalypse with the New Testament.

The points of contact between this Apocalypse and the New Testament are many in number. The most of these, however, are insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side; for the thoughts and expressions in question could be explained from pre-existing literature, or were commonplaces of the time.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Matt. iii. 16: Lo, the heavens were opened.	xxii. 1: Lo, the heavens were opened.	Ezek. i. 1.
Matt. iii. 17 (xvii. 5; John xii. 28): A voice from heaven.	xiii. 1; xxii. 1: A voice from the height.	Dan. iv. 31.
Matt. iv. 8.	lxxvi. 3.	Deut. xxxiv. 1–4.
Matt. xxiv. 7 (Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11): Famines and . . . earthquakes.	xxvii. 6, 7.	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Matt. xxiv. 11, 24: Many false prophets.	xlviii. 34 (see note).	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Matt. xxiv. 19 (Luke xxiii. 29).	x. 13, 14 (resemblance slight).	Isa. liv. 1.
Matt. xxvi. 24: It had been good for that man, &c.	x. 6: Blessed is he who was not born, &c.	A Jewish commonplace.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Matt. xxiv. 27: For as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man.	liii. 9: Now that lightning shone exceedingly so as to illuminate the whole earth. (The lightning here symbolizes the Messiah.)	A coincidence (?).
Luke xx. 36: Equal unto the angels.	li. 10.	1 Enoch civ. 4, 6.
Luke xxi. 28 (1 Pet. iv. 7): Your redemption draweth nigh.	xxiii. 7: My redemption has drawn nigh.	1 Enoch li. 2.
Acts xv. 10 (where the law is spoken of as a 'yoke'; cp. Gal. v. 1).	xli. 3: The yoke of Thy law.	A current expression.
Rom. ii. 14, 15.	xlviii. 40 (see note).	A Jewish commonplace.
Rom. viii. 18 (2 Cor. iv. 17): The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory, &c.	xv. 8: This world is to them . . . a labour with much trouble . . . and that . . . which is to come, a crown with great glory.	A Jewish commonplace.
1 Cor. iv. 5 (Heb. iv. 13).	lxxxiii. 3.	1 Enoch ix. 5.
2 Cor. iii. 18: Reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.	li. 10: And they shall be made like unto the angels, . . . and they shall be changed . . . from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory.	
2 Cor. iv. 17 (Rom. viii. 18).	xv. 8.	A Jewish commonplace
1 Tim. i. 2: Mercy and peace.	lxxviii 2: Mercy and peace.	A coincidence.
2 Pet. iii. 9.	xxi. 20.	A coincidence.
2 Pet. iii. 13 (Matt. xix. 28; Rev. xxi. 1): New heavens and a new earth.	xxxii. 6: Renew His creation.	Isa. lxv. 17.
Rev. xx. 12: The books were opened.	xxiv. 1: The books shall be opened.	Dan. vii. 10.

In the following passages our text is dependent on the New Testament, or on some lost common source :—

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.
Matt. xvi. 26: For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?	li. 15: For what then have men lost their life and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?
Luke i. 43: Blessed art thou among women, &c.	liv. 10: Blessed be my mother among those that bear, &c. (probably interpolated).
1 Cor. xv. 19: If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.	xxi. 13: For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.
1 Cor. xv. 35: How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?	xlix. 2: In what shape will those live who live in Thy day?
James i. 2: Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations.	lii. 6: Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer.
Rev. iv. 6: In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, four living creatures.	li. 11: The living creatures that are beneath the throne.

§ 12. Bibliography.

For a full bibliography see Charles' *Apocalypse of Baruch* with short criticisms of the various works, and Schürer, *in loc.*

(*a*) The Greek Version. Fragments published in Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. 3–7, 1903; reprinted in this volume, p. 487 sqq.

The Syriac Version. The entire version in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, V. ii. 113–80, from one MS. *c*; chapters lxxviii–lxxxvi. 1–2, the Epistle of Baruch, in the London and Paris Polyglots; Lagarde's *Libri Vet. Test. Syriace*, 88–93, 1861, from one MS.; Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 125–67, from ten MSS.

(*b*) Modern Translations. Into Latin by Ceriani, *op. cit.*, I. ii. 73–98, 1866; into English by Charles, *op. cit.*; in German by Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 413–46.

(*c*) Critical Inquiries. Langen, *De Apocalypsi Baruch*, 1867; Hilgenfeld, *Messias Iudaeorum*, 63–4, 1869; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 190–6, 1879; Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Bücher*, 72–103, 1885; Kabisch, 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs,' *Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.*, 66–107, 1891; De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 25–8, 76–103, 192–204, 1892; Ryle, *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, i. 361–2; Ginzberg in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ii. 554–6, 1902, a very valuable article.

(*d*) Edition of the book. Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896.

THE BOOK OF THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH

[Translated from the Greek into Syriac.]

I—IV. 1. *Announcement of the coming Destruction of Jerusalem to Baruch.*

i–ix. 1 = B^1

1 And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, that the word of the Lord
2 came to Baruch, the son of Neriah, and said to him: 'Hast thou seen all that this people are doing to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of)
3 the ten tribes which were carried away captive? For the former tribes were forced by their kings to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit
4 sin. For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it shall be removed from before Me for a time, and I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they may do good to the Gentiles. And My people shall be chastened, and the time shall come when they will seek for the prosperity of their times.

2 1 For I have said these things to thee that thou mayst bid Jeremiah, and all those that are like you, to retire from this city.

2 For your works are to this city as a firm pillar,
And your prayers as a strong wall.'

THE FIRST SECTION. I–V. 6. The first of the seven sections into which, according to the scheme of the final editor, the book was originally divided by fasts, generally lasting seven days. See v. 7, note; ix, note.

In this section the word of the Lord comes to Baruch announcing the coming, though temporary, destruction of Jerusalem (i); Baruch is to bid Jeremiah to withdraw (ii); Baruch then asks, Will this destruction be final? will chaos return? (iii); God answers that the punishment is temporary (iv. 1). Yet even so, Baruch rejoins, The enemy will boast before their idols over God's own nation (v. 1). Not so, God replies, the heathen will have no cause to glory, as it is not they who will destroy Zion (v. 2, 3). Baruch assembles the people, and delivers the message (v. 5).

I. **[Translated from the Greek into Syriac.]** These words occur in the Syriac MS., and the statement is supported by (1) transliterations of Greek words; (2) renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him.

I. 1. **in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah.** The reckoning is by the years of Jeconiah's life, and not of his reign. He was eighteen years old when he began to reign in 599, and thus his twenty-fifth year would be 592, or two years before Nebuchadrezzar's approach. In vi. 1 only one day, and not two years, elapses between the prediction and its fulfilment. So, too, the siege of Jerusalem is there represented as lasting but one day, whereas it lasted two years. Moreover, Jeconiah was in captivity when the city fell, and Zedekiah was king, as the author was aware (viii. 5). Accuracy of detail is sacrificed to general dramatic effect.

the Lord. This title of God is found in all sections of the book alike.

Baruch, the son of Neriah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4; 1 Baruch i. 1.

2. **the ten tribes.** Elsewhere in this Apocalypse called 'the nine and a half tribes'. See lxxviii. 1 note.

3. **forced by their kings**, e.g. Jeroboam, and other kings of Israel.

these two . . . compelling their kings to commit sin. It was the princes of Judah rather than Zedekiah that resisted Jeremiah's teaching and prophecy.

4. **for a time.** This phrase recurs in iv. 1, vi. 9; xxxii. 3. It is thus peculiar to B^1. Jerusalem has fallen under the Romans, but the writer of these chapters believes its desolation will be but 'for a time'. Its future restoration is implied also in lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 7, where the return of the ten tribes is foretold. In B^2, and B^3 i.e. lxxxv, no such restoration is looked for; Jerusalem is removed, xx. 2 (see note *in loc.*) in order to usher in the judgement more speedily; in x. 10 the writer abandons all hope of a restored Jerusalem.

do good to the Gentiles. This seems to mean to make proselytes of the Gentiles. Cf. xlii. 5.

My people shall be chastened. Cf. xiii. 10, &c. Pss. Sol. vii. 3, &c.

the prosperity of their times, a Messianic kingdom or period of blessedness for Israel on earth.

II. 1. According to Jer. xxxviii. 13, 28 Jeremiah was a prisoner in the court of the guard till the capture of Jerusalem.

those that are like you. This phrase recurs in three of the sections of this book. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36, &c.

retire from this city. Cf. 4 Baruch ('The Rest of the Words of Baruch') i. 1. 'Jeremiah . . . go forth from this city'. The reason for this command appears in the Talmud. In Taanith 19 we are told a house cannot fall so long as a good man is in it. In Pesikta 115^b (Buber's edition, 1868) it is said 'So long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed'.

2. **your works are to this city as a firm pillar**, &c. Here Jer. vi. 27 is illegitimately applied, 'I have made thee a tower and a fortress among my people.' Cf., however, Gen. xviii. 23–33.

your works. On the doctrine of works taught in this book see note on xiv. 7. 4 Baruch omits the reference to 'works', as it is of Christian authorship.

3 1 And I said: 'O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the
2 evils of my mother? Not (so) my Lord. If I have found grace in Thy sight, first take my spirit
3 that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. For two things
vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist Thee, and my soul, moreover, cannot behold the evils
4, 5 of my mother. But one thing I will say in Thy presence, O Lord. What, therefore, will there be
after these things? for if Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate
6 us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered? Or how shall one speak of Thy praises?
7 or to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained? Or shall the world return to its nature (of
8 aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence? And shall the multitude of souls be **taken away,**
9 and the nature of man not again be named? And where is all that which Thou didst say to Moses
regarding us?'

4 1 And the Lord said unto me:
'This city shall be delivered up for a time,
And the people shall be chastened during a time,
And the world will not be given over to oblivion.

IV. 2–7. *The heavenly Jerusalem.*

2 [· Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: "On the palms of My hands have I graven
3 thee"? This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with Me, that which was
prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to
Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment it was removed from him, as
4 also Paradise. And after these things I showed it to My servant Abraham by night among the
5 portions of the victims. And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him
6 the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also
7 Paradise. Go, therefore, and do as I command thee.']

III. 1. **O LORD, my Lord.** This title of God is confined, except in one instance (xxxviii. 1), to B² and B¹. It recurs in xiv. 8, 16; xvi. 1; xxiii. 1; xlviii. 4, 5. While used only of God in this work, in 4 Ezra it is applied to an angel six times (see 4 Ezra iv. 38, &c.), as also אֲדֹנִי in Dan. x. 17, 19. The words ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ are to be rendered 'O LORD, my Lord', as above, and not *Dominator Domine*, as we find in Ceriani. The suffix is not moribund. The Syriac is a translation either of *δέσποτα κύριε μου* or *κύριε κύριέ μου*; and these in turn would point either to אדני יהוה or יהוה אדני.

my mother. Cf. iii. 2, 3, x. 16; 1 Baruch iv. 9–16. This was a very natural term for a Jew to apply to Jerusalem, as Isa. xlix. 21. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 37. The writer here (B¹) uses it as an earthly Jerusalem, as St. Paul in Gal. iv. 26 of the heavenly.

2. **take my spirit.** Cf. Ps. xxxi. 13; Jer. xv. 15.

4–IV. 1. Baruch asks God if the end of all things will follow on the delivering up of Jerusalem; will Israel's name be lost, and students of the law fail? Will chaos return and men die? In iv. 1 God answers that Jerusalem will again be restored, the chastening of its people soon be accomplished, and chaos will not return.

6. **to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained?** Answered by Baruch, xlvi. 4.

7. The Syriac word here translated 'world' really means 'ornament'. Thus the translator followed a wrong sense of *κόσμος*.

revert to primeval silence. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 30 for the doctrine of a thousand years' Sabbath, which may be referred to here and in xliv. 9 (B²) and denied in iv. 1.

8. **shall . . . be taken away.** The MS. reads ܡܬܣܒ, which Ceriani emends into ܡܬܢܣܒ, which I have rendered. Ryssel proposes ܡܬܣܦ = 'shall be destroyed'.

IV. 2–7. Apparently an interpolation. The earthly Jerusalem is here derided, and contrasted with the one to be revealed. In vi. 9, Jerusalem, though to be delivered up for a time, as in iv. 1, will be again restored, and that for ever. Further in vi. 7–8, *the actual vessels of the earthly temple* are committed to the earth to be preserved for future use in the restored Jerusalem.

2. **'On the palms of My hands.'** Quoted from Isa. xlix. 16, Syriac Version, which alone has 'palms'. This fuller phrase is usual, e.g. 1 Sam. v. 4.

3. **This building . . . is not that which is revealed.** The growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitness of Jerusalem as God's habitation, led to the evolution of the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts. Of heavenly antitypes of the Tabernacle and its furniture we are told as early as the Priests' Code (Exod. xxv. 9, 40; cf. Heb. viii. 5). The purification or even total renewal of the earthly copies is postulated in Isa. lx; Ezek. xl–xlviii. The first full emergence of the idea of the heavenly city seems to be in 1 En. xc. 28, 29, where the old Jerusalem is removed, and the new is brought and set up by God Himself, though even there no prior existence is assigned to the latter. This would be about 166 B.C. But the purification of Jerusalem seems sufficient in Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 (70–40 B.C.); 1 En. x. 16–19, xxv. 1 (180 B.C.), to prepare for the Messianic kingdom. See my Commentary.

took counsel to make Paradise. Which Paradise is this? It may be, like the heavenly Jerusalem, the Paradise kept in heaven, or it may be the earthly counterpart in which Adam was placed at the first.

4. **I showed it to My servant Abraham.** We are not told so in Gen. xv. 9–21. But in 4 Ezra iii. 13, 14 Abraham is said to have been shown 'the end of the times', while the Beresh. rabba on Gen. xxviii. 17 tells us that the above vision was accorded to Jacob sleeping at Bethel.

V. *Baruch's Complaint and God's Reassurance.*

5 1 And I answered and said:
'So then I am destined to **grieve** for Zion,
For Thine enemies will come to this place and pollute Thy sanctuary,
And lead Thine inheritance into captivity,
And make themselves masters of those whom Thou hast loved,
And they will depart again to the place of their idols,
And will boast before them:
And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?'
2 And the Lord said unto me:
'My name and My glory are unto all eternity;
And My judgement shall maintain its right in its own time.
3 And thou shalt see with thine eyes
That the enemy will not overthrow Zion,
Nor shall they burn Jerusalem,
But be the ministers of the Judge for the time.
4 But do thou go and do whatsoever I have said unto thee.'
5 And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish, and Gedaliah, and all the honourable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I narrated to them all
6, 7 that had been said to me. And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

VI–VIII. *Invasion of the Chaldeans and their Entrance into the City after the Sacred Vessels were hidden and the City's Walls overthrown by Angels.*

6 1 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening, I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the
2 oak. And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon
3 the people. And lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of
4 Jerusalem. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of
5 them holding a torch of fire in his hands. And another angel began to descend from heaven,
6 and said unto them: 'Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded

V. 1. **grieve.** MS. reads سحت (='guilty') which I have emended into حزن = 'grieve'.
whom Thou hast loved, lxxviii. 3, xxi. 20, 21; 4 Ezra iv. 23.
what wilt Thou do. Joshua vii. 9. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 25.
2. **My judgement . . . shall maintain its right.** Recurs in a slightly different form in xlviii. 27, and lxxxv. 9.
3. This is carried out in vi. 5; vii.
5. **Adu.** A priest of this name went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). The Mass. gives Iddo, but the Syriac and Vulgate Addo.
Seriah, brother of Baruch and chief chamberlain of Zedekiah with whom he went to Babylon (see Jer. li. 59, 61).
Gedaliah, son of Ahikam (see Jer. xl. 14).
narrated to them, &c. Baruch usually makes known his revelations to his friends and the elders. He is forbidden to do so in the fourth section, i. e. xii. 5–xx.
7. **fasted until the evening.** The other fasts mentioned are of seven days. Of these there are four (ix. 2; xii. 5; xxi. 1; xlvii. 2). The scheme of the final editor is first a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual (e. g. v. 5) or to the people (e. g. xxxi. 2–xxxiv), followed occasionally by a lamentation. This scheme is broken through in the fifth section only, i. e. in xxi–xlvi, where another fast is required after xxxv. In 4 Ezra there are four fasts of seven days.

THE SECOND SECTION. VI–VIII. This is a short section. After a day's fast Baruch, while lamenting alone, sees in a vision the sacred vessels committed to the earth for a season and the city destroyed by angels lest the enemy should triumph (vi. 3–vii). The realization of this vision follows.

VI. 1. **on the morrow,** &c. 4 Baruch (iv. 1) reproduces these words.
by the oak. This oak is outside the city, probably near or in the valley of the Cedron, where Baruch and the others had fasted. It cannot be the oak at Hebron.
It is noteworthy that no mention of this oak occurs in B^2. In B^1 it is found twice (vi. 1 and lxxvii. 18). A tree is referred to in A^3 in lv. 1.
4. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 'I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth'; 4 Baruch iii. 2.
5. Cf. Rev. vii. 2; 4 Baruch iii. 4.
6. The office of the angel here is executed by Jeremiah in 4 Baruch iii. 8.
the Lord the Most High. This full title occurs here only in this book; the 'Most High' is found in xvii. 1, &c., lxxxiii. 1, and 4 Ezra.

7 me.' And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil, and the holy **ark**, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the **altar of incense**, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned and all the holy
8 vessels of the tabernacle. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice:

'Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God,
And receive what I commit to thee,
And guard them until the last times,
So that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them,
So that strangers may not get possession of them.

9 For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered for a time,
Until it is said, that it is again restored for ever.'

10 And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

7 1 And after these things I heard that angel saying unto those angels who held the lamps:

'Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its wall to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say:

"We have overthrown the wall of Zion,
And we have burnt the place of the mighty God."'

2 And †ye have seized the place† where I had been standing before.

8 1 Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the corners of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying:

2 'Enter, ye enemies,
And come, ye adversaries;
For he who kept the house has forsaken (it).'

3, 4 And I, Baruch, departed. And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees
5 entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. And they led the people away captive, and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

IX–XII. 4. *First Fast of seven Days: Baruch to remain amid the Ruins of Jerusalem and Jeremiah to accompany the Exiles to Babylon. Baruch's Dirge over Jerusalem.*

9 1 And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been

7. **take from thence**, &c. In 2 Macc. ii. 4–8 there is a very similar tradition. Jeremiah is warned of God to hide in the mountain where Moses climbed up 'the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense'. This place was to remain unknown till God should gather His people again together.

ark. MS. = אפוד corrupt for ארון. The converse corruption of אפוד into ארון is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 18. In 2 Macc. ii. 5 the things hidden are these—*τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος.*

According to Bammidbar rabba 15, five things were taken away and preserved on the destruction of Solomon's temple: the candlestick, the ark, the fire, the Holy Spirit, and the Cherubim.

the altar of incense. The Syriac implies *θυμιατήριον*. In the LXX this word = 'censer', but in Philo and Josephus it means not 'censer' but 'altar of incense'. Cf. Heb. ix. 1–5 (?), and 2 Macc. as above (*τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*) which mention the altar but not a censer. See Appendix to my Commentary, p. 168.

forty-eight precious stones. Why forty-eight? There were twelve on the breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 15–21) and two on the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 9).

8. **Earth . . . of the mighty God**, drawn from Jer. xxii. 29. 'Earth' is repeated three times also in Mass., Syr., Vulg. of that passage; in LXX only twice.

Mighty God. This title recurs in vii. 1, and xiii. 2, 4. Not in 4 Ezra.

guard them until the last times. Cf. 4 Baruch iii. 8, 'Preserve the vessels of worship until the coming of the Beloved.'

9. **restored for ever.** A Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration is looked forward to with Jerusalem as its centre, and likewise the temple in which the sacred vessels of the former temple will again be used. During this kingdom the dispersion will again return to Palestine (lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, notes).

VII. 2. **ye have seized the place.** The text is impossible here. Possibly ܐܣܝܠܘ ܠܐܬܪܐ is corrupt for ܐܬܪܐ (ܐܬܚܙܝ or) ܢܣܐ ܐܢܬܚܙܝ 'the spirit brought me to the place.' In vi. 3 a strong spirit carried Baruch aloft over the walls for the vision: now he carries him back to the place beside the oak.

VIII. 2. 4 Baruch iv. 1.

He who kept the house has forsaken it. Cf. Tacitus *Hist.* v. 13 'Apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana vox excedere deos'.

5. The writer knows of Zedekiah and his captivity. See note on i. 1.

IX. 1. **heart . . . pure from sins.** In Pss. Sol. xvii. 41 the Messiah is said to be *καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας.*

THE THIRD SECTION. IX. 2–XII. 4. After a seven days' fast amid the ruins of Zion, the word of the Lord bids Baruch to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon, and promises a revelation of what should be in the end. Baruch tells Jeremiah the message, and laments before the temple gates for Zion.

2 captured in the seizure of the city. And we rent our garments, we wept, and mourned, and fasted ix. 2–xxv. = B^2
seven days.

1, 2 And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of God came to me, and said unto me: 'Tell
3 Jeremiah to go and support the captivity of the people unto Babylon. But do thou remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to thee after these days what will befall at the end of
4, 5 days.' And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me. And he, indeed, departed with the people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with the following lamentation over Zion and said:

6 'Blessed is he who was not born,
Or he, who having been born, has died.
7 But as for us who live, woe unto us,
Because we see the afflictions of Zion,
And what has befallen Jerusalem.
8 I will call the Sirens from the sea,
And ye Lilin, come ye from the desert,
And ye Shedim and dragons from the forests:
Awake and gird up your loins unto mourning,
And take up with me the dirges,
And make lamentation with me.
9 Ye husbandmen, sow not again;
And, O earth, wherefore givest thou thy harvest fruits?
Keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance.
10 And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine;
For an offering will not again be made therefrom in Zion,
Nor will first-fruits again be offered.

IX. 2. The first fast of seven days.
Fasting was the usual preparation for supernatural communications. Cf. Dan. ix. 3, 20–21; and see note on v. 7.

X. 1. **God.** This word is found only twice again, i.e. liv. 12; lxxxii. 9. Its use is more frequent in 4 Ezra.

2. We have here a violation of the true historical tradition. According to Jer. xliii. 4–7, both Jeremiah and Baruch were carried down into Egypt. In 1 Baruch i. 1, Baruch appears in Babylon five years after Jerusalem was taken. In 4 Baruch, too, Jeremiah is taken to Babylon, but by force. The references to Jeremiah in connexion with Babylon probably belong to B^2. In lxxvii. 17–19, &c., Baruch writes to the brethren in Babylon, never to Jeremiah; while in 4 Baruch he directs his letter to Jeremiah. But later Judaism, according to Pesik. R. 26 (131b ed. Friedmann) held that Jeremiah accompanied the exiles part of the way to Babylon.

support. So I render according to a recognized meaning of the Syriac verb ܣܡܟ. Ryssel thinks that this verb goes back to הָכִין לְ, and that לֵב was to be understood with it. Thus he arrives at his rendering 'care for'. But this is most unlikely; for in xliii. 1 we have the actual Syriac phrase in full which corresponds to the Hebrew הכין לב, i.e. ܐܡܟ ܠܒ. There we should render as in Hebrew, 'direct thy heart,' &c. Now it is noteworthy that the clause in our text 'go and support' recurs practically in xxxiii. 2, but there ܐܡܟ is used instead of ܣܡܟ. ܐܡܟ is a Syriac equivalent of הכין. Hence there we render 'make ready'. In lxxvii. 12 yet another verb, ܫܠܡ, is used in nearly the same sense as ܣܡܟ in x. 2. Returning now to xxxiii. 2 we recognize at once that there is a slight corruption in the text: 'make ready the rest of the brethren †in† Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity.' Here the brethren are first of all said to be already 'in Babylon', and then in the next clause to be sentenced to exile to Babylon. Thus 'in Babylon' may be corrupt for 'for Babylon'. It must be confessed, however, that the original standing behind these words is very uncertain.

5. This lament of Baruch prepares for the third fast of xii. 5.

before the gates of the temple. This is the scene of the following lamentation, and also that in xxxv. 1. A passage in the beginning of 3 Baruch seems to be derived from our text: *οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.* Mount Zion, on the other hand, is the scene where revelations are accorded to him (xiii. 1, &c.).

6. **Blessed is he who was not born,** &c. Cf. Eccles. iv. 2–3, from which the text may ultimately have been derived. Cf. 4 Ezra: it is said that it were better man had not been born at all than be born to have to face future torment and judgement (e.g. vii. 66, 116, 117). But it is the present woes of Jerusalem that here are said to make the unborn blessed, and those in Sheol (xi. 7) happy in comparison with the living.

8. **Sirens.** These are said in 1 En. xix. 2 (Greek version) to have been the wives of the angels who went astray. Here they are sea-nymphs, as in Greek legend. The Greek translators of the O.T. used the term for ostriches and jackals.

Lilin, night-demons. Male and female demons named Lil and Lilit belong to Assyrian and Babylonian demonology. The Lilith (לילית) are mentioned in Isa. xxxiv. 14, along with the satyr שָׂעִיר.

Shedim. Male demons, to which various origins were assigned. See my Commentary, *in loc.*

dragons. So, too, Pesh. renders תנים in Isa. xiii. 22. But the word may mean 'jackals'.

10. The writer of x. 6–xii. 4 resigns absolutely all hope of the restoration of Jerusalem, as B^2 does throughout.

11 And do ye, O heavens, withhold your dew,
And open not the treasuries of rain:
12 And do thou, O sun, withhold the light of thy rays.

And do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light;
For why should light rise again
Where the light of Zion is darkened?

13 And you, ye bridegrooms, enter not in,
And let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands;
And, ye women, pray not that ye may bear.

14 For the barren shall above all rejoice,
And those who have no sons shall be glad,
And those who have sons shall have anguish.

15 For why should they bear in pain,
Only to bury in grief?
16 Or why, again, should mankind have sons?

Or why should the seed of their kind again be named,
Where this mother is desolate,
And her sons are led into captivity?

17 From this time forward speak not of beauty,
And discourse not of gracefulness.

18 Moreover, ye priests, take ye the keys of the sanctuary,
And cast them into the height of heaven,
And give them to the Lord and say:

"Guard Thy house Thyself,
For lo! we are found false stewards."

19 And you, ye virgins; who weave fine linen
And silk with gold of Ophir,
Take with haste all (these) things
And cast (them) into the fire,
That it may bear them to Him who made them,
And the flame send them to Him who created them,
Lest the enemy get possession of them.'

11 1 Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against thee, Babylon:
'If thou hadst prospered,
And Zion had dwelt in her glory,
Yet the grief to us had been great
That thou shouldst be equal to Zion.

2 But now, lo! the grief is infinite,
And the lamentation measureless,
For lo! thou art prospered
And Zion desolate.

3 Who will be judge regarding these things?
Or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us?
O Lord, how hast Thou borne (it)?

13. **brides.** Syriac gives virgins, who first rightly occur in verse 19. The references here are to marriage. The text = בתולות, corrupt for בלות in the Hebrew original.

14. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxiii. 29, 'Blessed are the barren, &c.'

16. **this mother**, Jerusalem. See iii. 1 note.

18. The priesthood are found false stewards and resign charge of the temple. Cf. 4 Baruch iv. 3, 4, where Jeremiah casts up the keys 'before the sun', and the *Jalkut Shim.* on Isa. xxi, where the flower of the priests cast them up aloft. The same incident is recounted in Taanith 29[a]; Lev. R. xix. 6, in connexion with the destruction of the first temple. In Ab. R. N. vii the incident is recorded in connexion with the destruction of the second temple.

XI. 1. Babylon stands here for Rome, as in Rev. xiv. 8, &c.

3. **how hast Thou borne (it).** Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 30, 'how Thou dost bear with them that sin.' Also Pss. Sol. ii. 1, and 4 Ezra iii. 8; Isa. xiv. 6.

4 Our fathers went to rest without grief,
And lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquillity;

5 For they knew not this anguish,
Nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us.

6 Would that thou hadst ears, O earth,
And that thou hadst a heart, O dust:
That ye might go and announce in Sheol,
And say to the dead:

7 "Blessed are ye more than we who live."'

OXYRHYNCHUS GREEK FRAGMENT, from Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. iii. 3–7, 1903.

		Verso.	*Verso.*
2 1 But I will say this as I think.	(2–5)	**12.** 1. But I will say this as I think,	⟨ 17 letters αλλα τ⟩ο̣υτο οιο̣⟨ν⟩ **12** 1
And I will speak against thee, O land, which art prospering.		And speak against thee, the land that is prospering.	⟨οιομαι ερω και λαλη⟩σω προς σε την
2 The noonday does not always burn.		2. Not always does the noonday burn,	⟨γην την ευοδουσαν ο⟩υ̣ παντοτε μεσεμ 2
Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.		Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.	5 ⟨βρια αποκαιει ουδ⟩ε το διηνεκες αι ακτι
3 Do not expect [and hope] that thou wilt always be prosperous and rejoicing.	(6–8)	3. And do not thou expect to rejoice,	⟨νες του ηλιου λα⟩μπουσιν· και συ μη προς 3
And be not greatly uplifted and **boastful**.		Nor †condemn† greatly.	⟨δοκα χαιρησειν⟩ μηδε επ⟨ι⟩πολυ καταδικα
4 For assuredly in its own season shall the (divine) wrath awake against thee.	(8–10)	4. For assuredly in its season shall the (divine) wrath be awakened against thee,	⟨ζε αληθως γαρ εν⟩ καιρω εξϋπνισθησεται 4
Which now in long-suffering is held in as it were by reins.		Which is now restrained by long-suffering as it were by a rein.	⟨προς σε η οργη η νυν υπο τ⟩η̣ς̣ μακροθυμ⟨ι⟩

XII. 5–XIII. *Second Fast. Revelation as to the coming Judgement on the Heathen.*

5 And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.	(10–16)	5. And having said these things I fasted seven days.	10 ⟨ας ως χαλινω κατεχεται και⟩ ειπων ταυτα 5

4. **went to rest . . . sleep in the earth.** Cf. xxi. 24. Dan. xii. 2, 'sleep in the dust of the earth.'

5–6. In Berakh 18[b] there is a long legend narrated, the object of which is to teach that the departed know nothing of what is going on in this world.

6. **That ye might go.** The Syriac = 'and go ye', a Hebrew idiom, i. e. an imperative used for a jussive: see Driver, *Moods and Tenses*,[3] p. 82.

XII. 3. **[and hope].** A duplicate rendering.

be . . . uplifted = תנשׂא. The Greek 'condemn' = תַּרְשִׁעַ, is against the parallelism.

boastful. I have emended ܬܫܠܠܝܢ = 'do (not) oppress', into ܬܫܬܒܗܪܝܢ.

THE FOURTH SECTION. XII. 5–XX. After a fast of seven days follows a long revelation to Baruch (xiii. 2–xx. 2). The text is very confused. See next note.

XIII–XXV. The text of these chapters is inexplicable as it stands. The difficulties are due not to corruption, though this exists, but to a recasting of the original text. In this process many passages were torn from their original contexts and placed in settings which are quite unsuitable. It appears impossible to restore the original order; for not only were the chapters broken up and rearranged, but also mutilated and interpolated. It is only occasionally possible to explain the grounds for such dislocations of the text. But that they occur not infrequently is indubitable. We have it on a large scale in 2 Corinthians which is composed of two letters, and where the later in date is placed before the earlier. Other instances which can be consulted by the reader occur in this volume: see 1 Enoch xii–xvi; where the dislocation and consequent confusion are almost as great as in our text: lxxviii–lxxxii; xci–xciii.

But let us return and state the chief grounds for regarding this section as disarranged and confused. 1°. In xiii. 4 'those prosperous cities' are represented as speaking without a single note of introduction. Before xiii. 4 probably some reference was made to these cities. 2°. The retribution of the Gentiles referred to in xiii. 4, 5 has not been

13 1 And it came to pass after these things, that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said 2 unto me: 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'

13. 1. And it came to pass after these things that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came forth from the height and said unto me: 2. 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'

⟨ενηστευσα ημε⟩ρας ζ̄ και εγενετο με
⟨τα ταυτα οτι εγω⟩ Βαρουχ ϊστηκειν επι το
⟨ορος Σιων και ιδου φων⟩η εξηλθεν εξ ϋ
⟨ψους και ειπε μοι ανα⟩στα επι τους ̇πο
15 ⟨δας σου Βαρουχ και ακουε⟩ τ̣ον λογον ϊσχυ
⟨ρου θεου
. . . . .

13 1 2

3 Because thou hast been astonied at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore be assuredly 4 preserved to the consummation of the times, that thou mayst be for a testimony. So that, if ever 5 those prosperous cities say: 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?' Say

mentioned before, though the text presupposes some such mention. It is intelligible if xxv or xxiv. 4 precedes where Baruch asks what will befall the enemies of Israel. 3°. In xiv. 1 Baruch replies that God has shown him 'the method of the times', *whereas in* xx. 6 *this is not yet done*; for the promise is there given that Baruch shall receive directions with regard to them. 4°. In xiv. 1 it is said that God has shown to Baruch the retribution that shall befall the Gentiles. But this is not done by God till xxv. 3. The Gentile cities in xiii. 4 sq. complain of it after it has come upon them. Hence xxv. should precede xiii. 4–xiv. 5°. In xxiv. 4^{b} Baruch asks what retribution awaits the enemies of Israel and when would the judgement be. Now the answer to the first question has already been given in xiii. 4–12; and the answer to the second question follows in xxv. Hence xxiv. 4 should precede xiii. 3^{b}–12, xxv. 6°. In xiii. 5 the words 'thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil' are unexplained in their present context and are in fact inexplicable, unless xxiv. 2 precedes, in which God tells Baruch that he and many with him should see the judgement of God. But if xxiv. 2 'thou shalt see—and the many that are with thee' originally preceded xiii. 3^{b}–5, then everything is clear. Hence xxiv. 2–4 should precede xiii. 3^{b}–12. 7°. Again, there is no adequate explanation of the 'therefore' in xx. 1. But if xx is read immediately after xiii. 1–3^{a} the text would at once become clear.

Thus, provisionally, the text might be restored as follows:—xiii. 1–3^{a}; xx; xxiv. 2–4; xiii. 3^{b}–12; xxv.

Now we have to remark regarding these sections that their interest is at once *theological and national.* To reassure Baruch, who is plunged in grief over Jerusalem (xiii. 3^{a}), God declares (xx. 1–2) that the days and years will speed more quickly in order to usher in the judgement, which will right all wrongs, and that even Jerusalem has been removed with this end in view. Baruch is then promised that disclosures shall be made on 'the method of the times' (xx. 6) and that 'he †and the many that are with† him' (xxiv. 2) shall witness God's dealings. Baruch, thereupon, asks two questions (xxiv. 4): (*a*) What will befall Israel's enemies? (*b*) when will this judgement be of which God has already spoken (xx. 2)? The answer to (*a*) is given in xiii. 3^{b}–12. But the first words of this answer are lost, somewhat to the effect that 'retribution will come upon the prosperous cities of your enemies'. Baruch, moreover, will be preserved until those last days (xiii. 3) in order to testify together with the surviving righteous (xiii. 5, xxiv. 2) the reason of the retribution that had befallen those cities, and to answer the remonstrances of the tormented Gentiles. In answer to Baruch's second question, he is informed (xxv. 1–2) that he shall be preserved till the sign of the last days has come. This sign shall be a stupor that shall seize the inhabitants of the earth (xxv. 3, 4). Baruch, thereupon, acknowledges that God has shown him 'the method of the times', and told him of the retribution coming upon the Gentiles (xiv. 1). This verse closes the questions of theological and national interest in xiii–xxv. In xiv. 2–xix, which follows, we have a section that is of a purely *theological and individual* interest, as will be seen from the summary at the beginning of these chapters (p. 489).

xxi–xxiv. 1 is mainly of the same theological cast. Their substance, in a word, is that the end cannot come till all souls are born.

Thus the original order of xiii–xxv appears to have been: xiii. 1–3^{a}, xx, xxiv. 2–4, xiii. 3^{b}–12, xxv, xiv–xix, xxi–xxiv. 1.

XIII. 1. Mount Zion is the scene of the revelation here; of the prayer in xxi. 4–25; of the revelation in xxii–xxx; of the seven days' fast in xlvii. 2; and of the prayer and revelation following in xlviii–lii.

3. **thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved**, &c. This promise recurs twice again in B^{2}, i.e. in xxv. 1 and lxxvi. 2. Thus the assumption and preservation of Baruch till the last judgement is the teaching of B^{2}. Cf. also xlviii. 30 and xlvi. 7. In B^{1}, on the other hand, Baruch is to die a natural death (lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1), and go the way of all the earth (xliv. 2). This conflict of accounts is due to the transference of a distinct Enochic function to Baruch in B^{2}. For in Jub. iv. 24 it is said: 'Enoch was set as a *sign* there (in Eden), and that he should testify against all the children of men' (Cf. also x. 17). Enoch's acceptance among Christians was the ground for his rejection by the Jews. Though he was second only to Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic prior to A.D. 40 his functions and achievements were in subsequent Jewish literature assigned to others, e.g. Moses, Ezra, or Baruch. By observing this tendency of Jewish thought we are enabled in lix. 4–11 to conclude that a document, seen to be on other grounds prior to A.D. 70, is later than the rise of Christianity.

be assuredly preserved. The Syriac reveals a Hebraism; lit. = *σωσθεὶς σωσθήσει.*

4. **those prosperous cities.** The text preceding these words seems to have been lost; or preferably (see note on xiii–xxv on p. 487) we should read xiii. 3^{b}–12 after xxiv. 2–4. In any case, xiii. 3^{b}–12 gives an answer to xxiv. 4. The cities here mentioned are Gentile cities. 'A land' is referred to as prospering in xii. 1, 3.

brought upon us this retribution. Cf. the phrase in regard to Israel in lxxvii. 4. Here the Gentile cities suffer as there Israel does.

thou to them, thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil: '⟨This is the evil⟩ and
retribution which is coming upon you and upon your people in its (destined) time that the nations
6, 7 may be thoroughly **smitten.** And then they **shall be in anguish.** And if they say at that time:
8 **For how long?** Thou wilt say to them:

"Ye who have drunk the strained wine,
Drink ye also of its dregs,
The judgement of the Lofty One
Who has no respect of persons."'

9 On this account he had aforetime no mercy on His own sons,
But afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned,

10 Then therefore were they chastened
That they might be sanctified.

OXYRHYNCHUS GREEK FRAGMENT.

		Recto.	*Recto.*	
			. . . . .	
			.⟨	
11 But now, ye peoples and nations, ye are guilty	(19–20)	11. (Ye) peoples and . . .	ο̣π̣η⟨	11
Because ye have always trodden down the earth,		(Ye) have trodden down the earth	τα εθνη κ̣α̣⟨ 14 letters καταπα	
And used the creation unrighteously.		And misused the created things in it.	20 τησαντες την ⟨γην και καταχρησαμενοι	
12 For I have always benefited you.	(21–22)	12. For ye were always being benefited	τους εν αυτη κτισμ̣⟨ασι	12
And ye have always been ungrateful for the beneficence.		But ye were always ungrateful.	υμεις γαρ ευερ γετουμενοι αει· ηχα⟨ριστειτε αει	

XIV–XIX. *The Righteousness of the Righteous has profited neither them nor their City; God's Judgements are incomprehensible; the World was made for the Righteous, yet they pass and the World remains* (XIV). *Answer—Man knows God's Judgements and has sinned willingly. This World is a Weariness to the Righteous but the next is theirs* (XV), *to be won through Character whether a Man's Time here be long or short* (XVI–XVII). *Final Weal or Woe—the supreme Question* (XVIII–XIX).

14 1 And I answered and said: 'Lo! Thou hast shown me the method of the times, and that which	(23–25)	**14.** 1. And I answered and said: 'Behold, thou hast shown me the methods of the times, and that which shall be.	και απεκριθην και ειπο⟩ν ιδου απεδει ξας μοι καιρων ταξεις· κ⟨αι το μελλον	**14** 1

5. **thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil.** 'those like thee', i. e. הדמים לך, are the same as '†the many (= הרבים corrupt for הדמים) who are with† thee' in xxiv. 2. All previous translations have wrongly rendered ܚܙܝ as 'have seen', whereas the context requires that it should be rendered 'shall have seen'. The time referred to is in the future—the end of the world: the evil referred to is not the destruction of Jerusalem in the past, but the retribution which should befall the Gentiles in the last days. To this time of the end Baruch was to be preserved (xiii. 3) to testify to the Gentiles that full retribution had at last come upon them.

those like thee. These are the righteous who shall be surviving in the last days, and who shall join with Baruch in his testimony.

5–7. **This ⟨is the evil⟩ and retribution,** &c. The text in this verse and the next is defective. First of all I have restored with Ryssel 'this is the evil', which fell out through hmt., and read 'retribution' in the singular, as in *v.* 4. Next the text reads 'chastened'. But *v.* 8 shows that the punishment is not corrective, but vindictive. Text = *παιδευθῶσιν*, which I take to be corrupt, as in 1 Sam. xxvi. 10, for *παισθῶσιν* = יִכֶּה. Next, in *v.* 6, the text reads 'shall expect', 'shall hope' = *ἐλπίσουσι* = יוחילו, corrupt for יָחִילוּ = 'shall be in anguish'. The same confusion is found in Jer. iv. 19, in the Hebrew MSS. Finally, in *v.* 7, the text reads 'when' where we require 'for how long', i.e. עד־מתי—not מתי alone.

8. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 7, 8.

the Lofty One. Here only in this book (see 4 Ezra iv. 34; Isa. lvii. 15).

XIV. 1. Baruch has not been shown 'the method of the times'. Chapter xiii has only told us why the retribution has come on the Gentile cities, and when their punishment will be consummated. Disclosures about the method of the times are promised in xx. 6, and would seem to be given in xxiv. 2–xxv, taken together with xiii, or else in xxvii–xxx.

shall be after these things, and Thou hast said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by Thee, shall come upon
2 the nations. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and departed from the world, but that few nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall be said which Thou didst
3 say. For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see?

(25–27) And thou hast said unto me that the retribution which was spoken of by thee shall be †endured† by the nations.

(27–32) 2. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived . . ., and departed from the world, but that few nations will be left in those times to whom . . . the words (which) thou didst say.

(32–33) 3. And what advantage (is there) in this or what worse than (these?) . . .

25 ⟨εσ⟩εσθαι και ειπες μ⟨ο⟩ι·
⟨οτι υπ εθνων
υπενεχθησε⟨ται η υπο σου
λεχθεισα
πραξις και νυν ⟨οιδα οτι 2
πολλοι . . . . .
εισιν οι ᵃμαρτυρησαν⟨τες
και . . . . .
εζησαν· και επορευθη⟨σαν
εκ κοσμου
30 ολιγα δε περι⟨εσται εθνη
εν εκεινοις
τοις καιροις· οι⟨ς . . . . .
. . . ους ειπες
λογους· και τι π⟨λεον εν 3
τουτω η τινα χει
ρονα τ⟨ο⟩υ τ⟨ων
. . . . .

4, 5 But again I will speak in Thy presence: What have they profited who had knowledge before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: "Give
6 us life," but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? And lo! they have been carried off,
7 nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. And if others did evil, it was due to Zion, that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and
8 should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness. But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Thy judgement,
Or who will search out the profoundness of Thy way?
Or who will think out the †weight† of Thy path?
9 Or who will be able to think out Thy incomprehensible counsel?
Or who of those that are born has ever found
The beginning or end of Thy wisdom?
10, 11 For we have all been made like a breath. For as the breath ascends involuntarily, and again dies, so it is with the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not
12 what will befall them in the end. For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear

come upon the nations. This could also be rendered: 'be of service to the nations.' But xiii. 8 is against this rendering.

2. **few nations . . . in those times, to whom,** &c. Do these words refer back to xiii. 3? In that case Baruch complains that few of the Gentile nations will be alive to whom the words in xiii. 5, 8–11 are to be addressed.

4–19. What has the righteousness of the righteous profited them or their city, though the latter should have profited by it? (4–7). Man cannot understand Thy judgement (8, 9), for he is but a breath, his end is a mystery (10, 11); though for that end the righteous may hope for they have treasures of works in heaven, but for us there is only woe here and hereafter (12–14). What Thou hast done on behalf of Thy servants, Thou knowest, but we cannot discover. Can the world be made for man? We pass away and the world abides (15–19).

5. **have not said to the dead.** Cf. Isa. viii. 19ᵇ: 'on behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead?'

6. **nor on their account hast thou had mercy on Zion.** A great difficulty for a Jew. Ten righteous men would have saved Sodom; why did Zion fall? Moreover, the preservation of the world, according to the Talmud (Weber, 208) depends on Israel. See xiv. 18, note.

7. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23–33. Here, however, the *works* not the *persons* of the righteous avail for their city. On the question of good works the thought of the writers in this book, i. e. between A. D. 50 and 80 is: (*a*) the righteous are saved by their works (li. 7), and justified by the law (li. 3; lxvii. 6). (*b*) They trust in them, and are heard of God, as Hezekiah (lxiii. 3, 5), and the prophets (lxxxv. 2). (*c*) These works avail as a defence for their unrighteous fellow citizens (ii. 2), and after their death give merit to Zion (xiv. 7, lxxxv. 10). (*d*) These works go before them to the next world, and are there guarded in God's treasure-chambers, till the final judgement (xxiv. 1); hence the righteous hope for the end, and leave the world without fear (xiv. 12). In 4 Ezra we have no parallels to (*b*) and (*c*), and only seeming parallels to (*a*), as ix. 7, and xiii. 23, where faith is included with works. But to (*d*) we have good parallels in vii. 77 (Ezra's 'treasury of works laid up with the Most High') and in viii. 33. For the doctrine of justification see note on xxi. 9.

8. **weight** (or 'burdensomeness'). There is some corruption here. I see no obvious explanation. The text seems in some form to go back to דרכך אין חקר = 'Thy unsearchable paths'. In this case we should have to suppose that חקר was corrupted into יוקר = 'weight', which led to the omission of אין.

10. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 39 'a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again'.

11. **involuntarily.** Literally 'not from the heart'. Cf. Peshitto on Num. xvi. 28 (Schulthess).
depart not according to their own will. Cf. xlviii. 15; 4 Ezra viii. 5.

12. **the righteous justly hope,** 1 En. cii. 4.

depart from this habitation, because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries.
13 On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to
14 receive the world which Thou hast promised them. But as for us—woe to us, who also are
15 now shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward (only) to evils. But Thou knowest
accurately what Thou hast done by means of Thy servants; for we are not able to understand
16 that which is good as Thou art, our Creator. But again I will speak in Thy presence, O LORD,
17 my Lord. When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak
18 with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee. And Thou didst say that
Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be
known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.
19 And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we,
on account of whom it was made, depart.'

5 1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'Thou art rightly astonied regarding the departure of
2 man, but thou hast not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin. And as regards
3 what thou hast said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered, And as
4 regards what thou hast said: "Man knows not Thy judgement"—On this account hear, and I will
5 speak to thee, and hearken, and I will cause thee to hear My words. Man would not rightly have
understood My judgement, unless he had accepted the law, and I had instructed him in understand-
6 ing. But now, because he transgressed wittingly, yea, just on this ground that he wot (thereof),
he shall be tormented.
7 And as regards what thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this
8 world come, so also again **shall** that, which is to come, **come** on their account. For this world
is to them a strife and a labour with much trouble; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown
with great glory.'

16 1 And I answered and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and
who is able in **his** little **time** to acquire that which is measureless?'

a store of works, or lit. a 'supply'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 77 ('a treasure of works'); Matt. vi. 19, 20; Pss. Sol. ix. 9.

13. **the world which Thou hast promised.** Clearly the spiritual world, 'which does not die' (li. 3); cf. xliv. 13, 15, xv. 7, 8. B² promises no earthly felicity, but only spiritual blessedness.

14. **evils.** What these are is given in xliv. 15; lxxxv. 13.

15. **what Thou hast done by means of Thy servants**, or the Syriac may = 'What Thou hast made out of Thy servants', or, without the diacritic point, 'What Thou hast wrought out of Thy works.' With the rendering in the text, verse 16 comes better before 15, which then runs on naturally to 17 and 18.

17. **speak with a word.** Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb. xi. 3; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

18. **Thou wouldst make for Thy world man**, &c. Cf. Ps. viii. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 54.

the world on account of him. This view of man's dignity seems to occur first in the first century of the Christian era. Why was the world created? (1) Here and in 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44 we are told 'for man'; (2) 4 Ezra vi, 55, 59, vii. 11; Ass. Mosis i. 12 say 'for Israel'; (3) here in xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24 'for the righteous in Israel'. The real Jewish view from the Christian era onwards is (2) or (3). 'On Israel stands the world', Shemoth rabba, xxviii.

19. The 'us' and the 'we' are the righteous in Israel, as xv. 7, xxi. 24. In Pesikta 200ᵇ God is said to have created the world on account of Abraham's merit.

XV. 2. See xiv. 6.

3. See xiv. 8, 9.

5. **the law.** The law and the Messianic expectation were the two centres round which Jewish thought and life revolved. The law predominated at all times, and in B¹ where there is no Messiah, but Jerusalem's restoration is expected, it is supremely exalted (e.g. lxxvii. 15, 16). In B², which does not look forward to restoration or Messiah, the law is further glorified (e.g. xlviii. 24, 27, li. 3, 7), as also in B³ (e.g. lxxxv. 3, 14). On the other hand, in the Messiah Apocalypses A¹ and S we find no mention of the law at all, and only once in A² (xxxviii. 2), though in A³ it rises again into prominence (esp. lxvii. 6, righteousness by the law). Thus the Messianic expectation tends to eclipse the supremacy of the law, and after the Messiah's advent there is no allusion to it (lxx–lxxiv). For fuller treatment and comparison with 4 Ezra see my Commentary.

6. **transgressed wittingly.** Cf. xix. 3, xlviii. 40 (see note *in loc.*), lv. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 72; cf. Luke xii. 48.

7. **as regards . . . has this world come.** See note on xiv. 18. On the parallel in the short hexaemeron in 4 Ezra vi. 55, see xxix. 4, note.

shall . . . come. Emended according to Ryssel by reading ܢܐܬܐ instead of ܐܬܐ.

8. **this world is to them . . . trouble**, &c. Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 14; 4 Ezra vii. 3–14; Ps. xc. 10 'yet is their pride labour and sorrow'; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17. B² regards this world as a place of trial, discipline, and sorrow, unlike B¹. There is a still more ascetic tone about 4 Ezra, and above all in 1 Enoch cviii. 7, 'the spirits of the humble and of those who have afflicted their bodies.'

crown with great glory. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 4. In Hebrew we have here a paronomasia, as in Isa. lxii. 3, עטרה בתפארה רבה.

XVI. 1. **years . . . few and evil.** Gen. xlvii. 9.

in his . . . time. For ܗܢܐ (='this') read ܙܒܢܗ = 'his time'. Cf. xix. 2. There is no need to add 'time', and render 'this his little time,' with Ryssel. Text = 'in this little'.

17 1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'With the Most High account is not taken of much
2 time nor of a few years. For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years,
3 and transgressed that which he was commanded? Therefore the multitude of time that he lived
4 did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. Or wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch as he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel?'

18 1 And I answered and said: 'He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that
2 have imitated him. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp.'

19 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant and said:

"Behold I have placed before you life and death,"
And he called heaven and earth to witness against them.
2 For he knew that his time was but short,
But that heaven and earth endure always.
3 But after his death they sinned and transgressed,
Though they knew that they had the law reproving (them),
And the light in which nothing could err,
Also the spheres which testify, and Me.

4 Now regarding everything that is, it is I that judge, but do not thou take counsel in thy soul
5 regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been. For now it is the consummation of time that should be considered, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame,
6 and not the beginning thereof. Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully
7 entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had. And again, if a man is shamefully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembereth not again his evil
8 entreatment. And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and in his end was destroyed, in vain would have been everything.'

XX. *Zion has been taken away to hasten the Advent of the Judgement.*

20 1 'Therefore, behold! the days come,
And the times shall hasten more than the former,
And the seasons shall speed on more than those that are past,
And the years shall pass more quickly than the present (years).

2 Therefore have I now taken away Zion,
That I may the more speedily visit the world in its season.

XVII. 3. **brought death,** &c. See xxiii. 4 (note).
4. **brought the law.** Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 19.
lighted a lamp. Cf. lix. 2 'lamp of the eternal law'; Ps. cxix. 105 'Thy word is a lamp', &c.

XVIII. 1. **has taken from the light,** i. e. has chosen the light, and not Adam's darkness.
2. The law is light, and Adam is darkness, the primary source of human transgression. This passage agrees with 2 Enoch, and like it does not teach the doctrine of original sin, any more than A^3 (i. e. liv. 15, 16). In 1 Enoch and Jubilees human depravity is traced to the angels who sinned with the daughters of men.

XIX. 1, 2. The choice of light or darkness was the choice of life or death. Later times concluded from Deut. xxx. 19, that the law was to last while heaven and earth should be. Cf. verse 2; Matt. v. 18. Contrast Luke xvi. 17; Mark xiii. 31.
3. **the spheres which testify,** i. e. heaven, and its unfailing lights. The law is part of the heavenly order. Cf. 1 Enoch ii. 1–v. 4.
5. Here the end of all things is looked for—not an earthly felicity in a rebuilt Jerusalem.
6–8. We must consider the end of a man or a matter. Cf. Solon's saying in Herodotus i. 32.
8. **on which death was decreed.** See xxiii. 4 (note).

XX. 1. **Therefore.** It is not clear that this word follows upon anything in xix. It might follow on xviii, but better on xiii. 3^a. Jerusalem has fallen, and the years intervening before the judgement will therefore be shortened. Cf. liv. 1; Matt. xxiv. 22.
the times shall hasten. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6.
2. The fall of Jerusalem prepares the way for final judgement: there is no hope here of its restoration. See i. 4 (note).
speedily visit, lit. 'speed and visit', a Hebraism.
visit, in Baruch in a bad sense, of God's penal visitation. Contrast the N. T. associations of joy, Luke i. 68, &c., and usually in O.T.

3 Now therefore hold fast in thy heart everything that I command thee,
And seal it in the recesses of thy mind.

4 And then I will show thee the judgement of My might,
And My ways which are unsearchable.

5 Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to
6 anyone. And afterwards come to that place and I will reveal Myself to thee, and speak true things with thee, and I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they are coming and tarry not.'

XXI. 1–11. *Fast of seven Days: Baruch's Prayer: God's Answer.*

The Prayer of Baruch the Son of Neriah.

1 1 And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my
soul there, and I eat no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and
2 I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me. And afterwards I came to that place
3 where He had spoken with me. And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought,
4 and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said: 'O Thou that hast made the earth, hear me, that hast fixed the firmament **by the word**, and hast made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and
5 they obey Thee. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which
6 are to be as those things which Thou art doing. Thou that rulest with great thought the hosts that stand before Thee: also the countless holy beings, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of
7 flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne Thou rulest with †indignation†. To Thee only
8 does this belong that Thou shouldst do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. Who causest the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times
9 before they come; have respect unto my prayer. For Thou alone art able to sustain all who are, and those who **have** passed away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who **are**
10 **righteous** [as living (and) being past finding out]. For Thou alone dost live immortal and past

4. **the judgement of My might.** Cf. lxxxiii. 7.
6. **that place.** See xiii. 1 (note).
method of the times. See xiv. 1 note.
are coming and tarry not. Heb. ii. 3. Cf. xlviii. 39.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH SECTIONS. XXI–XLVI. The words 'The prayer of Baruch the son of Neriah' are found in the MS. The fifth Section ends with xxxv.

XXI. 1. **Cedron.** See v. 5.
2. **that place.** Probably Mount Zion. Cf. xx. 6; or else the temple, x. 5.
3. **the Mighty One.** This is the first time this title occurs. It is found in B^1, B^2, B^3, but not in A^1, A^2.

4. **by the word** = حصلاه, emended by Ryssel from حصلاه (= 'in its fullness'). This emendation is justified and necessitated owing to the parallel 'by the spirit.' The text, as I pointed out in my Commentary, is dependent on Ps. xxxiii. 6 'By *the word* of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth.
hast called . . . that which did not yet exist. Cf. xlviii. 8. We seem to have here creation *ex nihilo*. Cf. Philo, *de Iustitia*; which contradicts his usual doctrine. For creation by the word, cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5; 2 Pet. iii. 5; Philo, *de sacrif. Abel et Cain.*
6. **hosts that stand before Thee.** Cf. xlviii. 10; 4 Ezra viii. 21[a].
countless holy beings. Cf. lix. 11; lvi. 14.
which Thou didst make from the beginning. In Jub. ii. 2 the angels are created on the first day (so Job xxxviii. 7 is interpreted). 2 En. xxix. 1 says the second day. And so Targ. Jer I. on Gen. i. 26.
†**with indignation**†. Cf. xlviii. 8. احصصا = 'indignation' seems corrupt for احصصاه = 'reproof'.
7. Ps. cxv. 3, &c.
8. **the drops of rain . . . by number.** Cf. lix. 5; Sirach i. 2; 2 En. xlvii. 5 (note).
9. **have passed away.** Reading with Ryssel حصنه instead of حصبم = 'pass away'.
those who sin, and those who are righteous. The Syriac here and in xxiv. 2; xxi. 11, 12; lxii. 7 follows a Greek mistranslation of the original Hebrew verb צדק, which in this context meant 'to be righteous', i. e. δίκαιος εἶναι, and not 'to be justified', δικαιοῦσθαι, though the LXX rendering is usually the latter. The antithesis in our text is actually found in Job x. 15 and xxxv. 36, 37. Hence in all these passages I have emended the text. Ryssel has accepted this emendation in these five passages, but without acknowledgement.
The doctrine of justification in this Apocalypse differs from that taught in 4 Ezra. (1) In Baruch the law justifies (li. 3; lxvii. 6; lxxxi. 7). In Ezra salvation is by works and faith (ix. 7; xiii. 23). (2) Baruch is absolutely sure of salvation (xiii. 3, &c.). Ezra assumes his future woe till assured otherwise in viii. 47–9, 51–4.
For further treatment see Commentary.
[**as living . . . out**], bracketed as a dittography of the opening clause of the next verse.

11 finding out, and knowest the number of mankind. And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous.

XXI. 12–18. *Baruch's Depreciation of this Life.*

12 Thou knowest where Thou preservest the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of
13 those who have been righteous. For if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this.

14 For of what profit is strength that turns to sickness,
Or **fullness of food** that turns to famine,
Or beauty that turns to ugliness.

15, 16 For the nature of man is always changeable. For what we were formerly now we no longer are,
17 and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain. For if a consummation had not been prepared
18 for all, in vain would have been their beginning. But regarding everything that comes from Thee, do Thou inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask Thee, do Thou enlighten me.

XXI. 19–25. *Baruch prays to God to hasten the Judgement and fulfil His Promise.*

19 How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much
20 wickedness? Command therefore in mercy and accomplish all that Thou saidst Thou wouldst
21 bring, that Thy might may be made known to those who think that Thy long-suffering is weakness. And show to those who know not, **that** everything that has befallen us and our city until now **has been** according to the long-suffering of Thy power, because on account of Thy name Thou hast called
22, 23 us a beloved people. Bring to an end therefore henceforth mortality. And reprove accordingly the angel of death, and let Thy glory appear, and let the might of Thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of

10. **knowest the number of mankind.** Gen. xxiii. 4, 5.

11. **not a few have been righteous.** This optimism contrasts strongly with 4 Ezra's pessimism, e. g. viii. 3 'multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur'. Cf. too viii. 2.

12–13. The balance of this life needs re-adjustment in another life.

13. Quoted from 1 Cor. xv. 19, or else both come from a common source. Life ever changes for the worse (verses 14, 15) and is mortal (16, 17, 22).

14. We have here a stanza of three lines, in each of which there is either a paronomasia or a rhyme. In the second line the text reads 'food of fullness'. On two grounds I have changed this into 'fullness of food'. First we have שׂבעת לחם in Ezek. xvi. 49, and next the rhyme requires it. The stanza runs thus:

מה יואיל חיל נהפך לחלי
או שׂבע מזון נהפך לחסרון
או יופי נהפך לדופי

Instead of לחסרון in the second line we might read לרזון with Ginzberg. As I have shown in my edition of this book, the third line of this stanza recurs in xlviii. 35. See lxxxiii. 11, 12.

19. **How long will that which is corruptible remain?** The final editors answer this question in xl. 3; B^2 answers it in xxiii. 7–xxiv. 1. The writers of this book (esp. the writer of B^2) are impressed with the corruptibility of this present world, the *olam hazzeh*. It all belongs to the sphere of corruption. So too does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the *olam hazzeh*, as in A^1, A^2, and A^3. In A^2 it ends corruption, in A^3 it ends corruption and begins incorruption (lxxiv. 2). See my Commentary, *in loc.*

transgress, or 'pass away', as in verse 9.

20. A prayer for the hastening of the final judgement.

21. The fall of Jerusalem was brought about in God's mercy to hasten the judgement.

that ... has been. So I have emended ܚܙܘ (='and they have seen') into ܢܚܙܘ. If the text is correct then it represents a Hebraism, the perfect with strong waw as a continuation of the imperative, and so='and let them see'.

22. **Bring to an end.** Text reads 'everything' = כל which I take to be a corruption of כַּלֵּה. Schulthess and Ryssel, on the other hand, emend the Syriac ܟܠ into ܟܠܐ = 'restrain', but the next verse supports the emendation in the text.

23. To hasten the final judgement the writer prays to God to end death, to let his glory appear, and the dead rise.

the angel of death. Cf. Rev. vi. 8. Prominent in later Jewish writings. See Testament of Abraham (ed. James).

be sealed. Cf. Isa. v. 14.

treasuries of souls. To these chambers only the righteous were admitted. After his death a righteous man's soul was permitted for seven days to behold the seven ways of the righteous, and a wicked man's the seven ways of the wicked. Then his soul entered these chambers, in Sheol (4 Ezra iv. 35, 41; vii. 101). They were guarded by angels, and were full of rest (1 En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95). At the judgement they were to restore the souls (2 Bar. xxi. 2, 3, xxx. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 32). There were also treasuries of righteous works (see xxiv. 1). Note that the souls of the wicked are not mentioned here.

24 souls restore those which are enclosed in them. For there have been many years like those that are
desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who
25 sleep in the earth, on whose account Thou didst say that Thou hadst created the world. And now
26 quickly show Thy glory, and do not defer what has been promised by Thee.' And ⟨when⟩ I had completed the words of this prayer I was greatly weakened.

XXII–XXIII. *God's Reply to Baruch's Prayer: He will fulfil His Promise: Time needed for its Accomplishment: Things must be judged in the Light of their Consummation* (XXII). *Till all Souls are born the End cannot come* (XXIII).

2 1 And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and
2 power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said unto me: 'Baruch, Baruch,
3 why art thou troubled? He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or who departs by sea
4 but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted? Or he who promises to give a present to
5 another, but does not fulfil it, is it not robbery? Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its
6 fruit in its season, does he not lose everything? Or he who plants a plant unless it grows till the
7 time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it? Or a woman who has
8 conceived, if she bring forth untimely. does she not assuredly slay her infant? Or he who builds
a house. if he does not roof it and complete it, can it be called a house? Tell Me that first.'
3 1, 2 And I answered and said: 'Not so, O LORD, my Lord.' And He answered and said unto me:
'Why therefore art thou troubled about that which thou knowest not, and why art thou ill at ease
3 about things in which thou art ignorant? For as thou hast not forgotten the people who now are
4 and those who have passed away, so I remember those who **are appointed** to come. Because when
Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those
who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might
5 dwell and the dead might be guarded. **Before** therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the
creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead.
6, 7 And again it is given to thee to hear what things are to come after these times. For truly My
redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforetime.

24. Read probably after verse 19.

25. **what has been promised by Thee**, i.e. 'the world which Thou hast promised them' (xiv. 13; cf. lxxxiii. 5).

26. ⟨when⟩. Inserted with Ryssel.

greatly weakened. Cf. xlviii. 25; Dan. x. 17, &c.

XXII. 1. **the heavens were opened and I saw.** Ezek. i. 1; Matt. iii. 16; John i. 52; Rev. iv. 1, &c.

a voice was heard, i.e. the *bath-qôl*. Cf. xiii. 1; Matt. iii. 17; Rev. iv. 1.

3–8. In xxii. 3, 5 God replies, 'What is work without the result, and how can it be judged? So this life requires the consummation for its explanation (xxii. 3, 8 answer xxi. 13–17). Again, God replies 'all in due time' to Baruch's plea for haste (xxii. 6, 7 answer xxi. 19, &c.). Moreover, God is bound by His promise (xxii. 4 answers xxi. 25).

7. **does . . . assuredly slay.** A Hebraism.

XXIII. 1, 2. The future and the end are known only to God, and they alone explain the present. All time is alike to God, and he keeps the due proportion. A reply to xxi.

3. Text reads ܕܐܬܝ ܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܪܫܡ ܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܪܫܡ 'who are remembered, and those who are to come', which I have emended into ܕܐܬܝ ܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܪܫܡ = 'who are appointed to come.'

4. **when Adam sinned and death was decreed.** There are two different views in this work regarding the *physical* effect of Adam's sin on mankind. (1) In B^2, i.e. in xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. Cf. St. Paul. (2) In A^3, i.e. liv. 15, lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only premature death.

See my Commentary *in loc.*

the multitude of those who should be born was numbered. God alone knew this secret (xxi. 10, xlviii. 46). The number was unalterable, and had to be completed before the judgement could come (xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 33–43).

for that number a place was prepared. Cf. 2 Enoch xlix. 2, lviii. 5. In the Tractate Chagiga, fol. 15, col. 1, it is said a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or hell.

the dead might be guarded, i.e. the righteous by angels (1 En. c. 5, &c.; the wicked by the guardians of the gates of Hades (2 En. xlii. 1).

5. The resurrection cannot come till mankind's secret number is fulfilled. In Rev. vi. 11; 4 Ezra iv. 36 the consummation comes with the fulfilling of the number of the saints, not of mankind. According to Jebam. 62ª the Messiah is not to come till 'all the souls have gone forth which are in the chambers' of souls. This chamber is here called גופא.

Before. I emend ܐ̈ (='unless' or 'but') into ܩ̈ܕ.

7. Cf. lxxxii. 2; Luke xxi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

XXIV. *The coming Judgement.*

24 1 'For behold! the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all
those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have
2 been righteous in creation is gathered. For it shall come to pass at that time that thou shalt
see—and †the many that are with† thee—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been
throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all who are born, (alike) those
3 who sin and (those who) are righteous.' And I answered and said: 'But, behold! O Lord, no one
knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come.
4 For I know indeed that which has befallen **us**, but what will happen to our enemies I know not,
and when Thou wilt visit Thy works.'

XXV–XXVI. 1. *Sign of the coming Judgement.*

25 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Thou too shalt be preserved till that time till that
2 sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days. This
3 therefore shall be the sign. When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they
4 shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. And it will
come to pass when they say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: "The Mighty
One doth no longer remember the earth"—yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope,
that the time will then awake.'

26 1 And I answered and said: 'Will that tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and will xxv = B
that necessity embrace many years?'

XXVII–XXX. 1. *The Twelve Woes that are to come upon the Earth: the Messiah and the temporary Messianic Kingdom.*

27 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of xxv xxv
2 them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. In the first part there shall be the begin- 1 = 1
3, 4 ning of commotions. And in the second part (there shall be) slayings of the great ones. And in
5, 6 the third part the fall of many by death. And in the fourth part the sending of the sword. And

XXIV. 1. **the books shall be opened.** Dan. vii. 10; 1 En. xc. 20; Rev. xx. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 20. Here the books record the sins of sinners only, as in 1 En. xc and probably Rev. (as cited). 4 Ezra vi. 10 has also 'another book of life'.

the treasuries in which. Divine storehouses are a familiar idea in the O.T., e.g. of rain (Deut. xxviii. 12). Again, the idea of laying up spiritual things in store is found in the LXX, Prov. i. 18 *θησαυρίζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κακά* (cf. Pss. Sol. ix. 9). One may lay up treasures of works or faith (4 Ezra vii. 77, vi. 5); treasures in heaven (Matt. vi. 19, 20); stores of wrath (Rom. ii. 5). אוצר and *θησαυρός* may mean the treasure itself, and the place where it is stored.

the righteousness of all, &c. The standard of righteousness was the Law. The legalistic wing of the Pharisees held it consisted first and mainly in fulfilling ceremonial observances. See, e.g. the Book of Jubilees. The prophetical wing, from whom emanated most of the Messianic Apocalypses, understood it primarily as the fulfilling of moral duties.

XXIV. 2–4. Probably followed originally on xx. See note on xiii–xxv.

†**the many that are with**† **thee.** See xiii. 5 (note). Read 'those like thee', i.e. the surviving righteous.

3–4. Baruch objects that no man knows when the end may come, and he knows only that Israel is in distress. What will the Gentiles suffer as the penalty (answered xiii. 3^b–12). When will they suffer it? (answered xxv).

4. **us.** Text reads 'me'.

XXV. Answers the question 'When wilt Thou visit Thy works'.

1. **the inhabitants of the earth,** always in a bad ethical sense in Baruch. See note on 1 Enoch xxxvii. 5 (also note in my Commentary on 2 Baruch).

3. **stupor.** Cf. lxxx. 2, and *excessus mentis* 4 Ezra xiii. 30.

4. At the end of the tribulation and torments the time of the judgement has come (cf. xiii. 8). This leaves no room for the Messianic kingdom in xxix, which precedes the judgement.

XXVI. Added by the final editor in order to introduce xxvii–xxx. 1; xxv was originally followed by xiv–xix.

XXVII–XXX. 1. A fragment of a Messiah Apocalypse, A^1. (1) After terrible tribulation over all the earth, imperilling even the elect, a glorious kingdom of joy and plenty was to be established under the Messiah, who afterwards was to return in glory to heaven. The resurrection was to follow. The outlook is thoroughly optimistic. (2) Palestine was to escape the prevailing woes, and since there is no mention of a restoration of Jerusalem or of the setting up of the New Jerusalem, Jerusalem must still have been standing (Contrast B^1 and 4 Ezra xiii. 36). Thus the events of A.D. 70 could not have happened as yet. (3) In B^1 and B^2 Jerusalem is destroyed and its people in exile. The law, too, is the centre of interest and expectation in B^1 and B^2, but the Messiah in A^1, which has no allusion to the law, as B^1 and B^2 have no allusion to the Messiah.

XXVII. 1. We have twelvefold divisions in A^3 (i.e. liii–lxxiv) and 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12, but there of world-history, here only of the tribulations preceding Messiah's coming. These travail-pains (*ὠδῖνες* Matt. xxiv. 8) in the Gospels precede Christ's second coming, and not His first appearance.

5. **the sword.** Cf. Jer. xxv. 16, 27.

7 in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. And in the sixth part earthquakes and
9 terrors. [Wanting.] And in the eighth part a multitude of spectres and attacks of the Shedim.
12 And in the ninth part the fall of fire. And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression. And in
13 the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling
14 together of all those things aforesaid. For †these parts of that time are reserved, and† shall be
15 mingled one with another and minister one to another. For some shall **leave out** some of their own,
and receive (in its stead) from others, and some complete their own and that of others, so that those
may not understand who are upon the earth in those days that this is the consummation of the times.
1, 2 'Nevertheless, whosoever understandeth shall then be wise. For the measure and reckoning of
3 that time are two parts a week of seven weeks.' And I answered and said: 'It is good for a man to
4 come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall. [But I will say this also: xxviii. 4–5
5 Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the = E
case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not
6 corruptible?] But if, O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which Thou hast foretold
7 to me, so do Thou show this also unto me if indeed I have found grace in Thy sight. Is it in one
place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are come to pass, or will the whole earth
experience (them)?'
1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Whatever will then befall (will befall) the whole earth;
2 therefore all who live will experience (them). For at that time I will protect only those who are
3 found in those self-same days in this land. And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that
4 was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. And Behemoth
shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters
which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall
5 be for food for all that are left. The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold and on each (?)

6, 7. **famine . . . earthquakes,** as signs of the end. Cf. lxx, 8; Matt. xxiv. 7, &c.

9. **spectres.** Or 'portents'. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 21.

10. **the fall of fire.** Cf. lxx. 8; 4 Ezra v. 8.

14. As Ryssel has observed, this is corrupt. By reading ܕܠܗܘ instead of ܕܗܘ and omitting the following ܘ we arrive at the following: 'these parts which till that time had been reserved (?) shall (then) be mingled', &c.

15. **leave out.** Text reads ܡܘܬܪܝܢ = 'leave over'. But the context requires the sense of 'omitting', 'leaving out'. The error can be explained, if we suppose that παραλείψουσι, which has both the above meanings, stood before the translator and that he followed the wrong one here.

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Dan. xii. 10: 'the wise shall understand'.

2. Interpretation seems impossible.

3. The difficulty of faithfulness during the woes (cf. xli. 1, lxxv. 5; 4 Ezra xiii. 16–20; Matt. xxiv. 22) and the blessings which await those who endure.

4–5. These verses break the connexion of thought, and no account is taken of them in the context. An answer is given to the question in xliii. 2.

XXIX. 2. **I will protect,** &c. Here God protects His people who are found in the Holy Land, whereas in A^2 the Messiah does so (xl. 2), and in A^3 the Holy Land itself (lxx. 1). In B^2 it is the law that protects the faithful, wherever they dwell (xxxii. 1).

found . . . in this land. Cf. last note, and 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49. A special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that should befall all the earth besides. But this thought is found only in the sections of this book written prior to A. D. 70. It first appears in Joel ii. 32 in Apocalyptic literature, though it was before for a time, in the eighth century B. C., the belief of the Jews. For the privileges attached to residence in Palestine see my Commentary *in loc.*

3. The Messiah's rôle here is passive. Cf. 1 En. xc. 37, 38; 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29. Contrast A^2 and A^3 (e. g. xl) where the Messiah fights, destroys His enemies, and sets up His kingdom.

The phrase 'begin to be revealed' may be corrected to 'the principate of the Messiah will be revealed' (xxxix. 7) or 'Messiah the prince shall be revealed' (Dan. ix. 25).

Whence will Messiah be revealed? Here, and in xxx. 1, it seems from heaven; elsewhere, perhaps, from some place on earth. Cf. John vii. 27: 'When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.' Cf., too, 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32. The Messiah may be already born and yet not know his calling till Elijah comes and anoints him, in Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph.* 8.

The Talmud states that the Messiah was born at Bethlehem on the day of the destruction of the temple, was named Menahem, and afterwards suddenly carried away by a storm (Jer. Berachoth, p. 5).

4. **And Behemoth shall be revealed,** &c. For the full form of this myth see 4 Ezra vi. 49–52. The diction is so similar that both must quote from the same source—a lost short hexaemeron, like that in 4 Ezra vi. 38–54. See my Commentary *in loc.*

Behemoth . . . and Leviathan. See 1 En. lx. 7–9, 24 notes; Targ. Jon. on Gen. i. 21 'And God created great beasts Leviathan and his wife which were prepared for the day of consolation'. Also Targum on Ps. l. 10.

all that are left. An indefinite statement; *quibus vis* in 4 Ezra vi. 52.

5. We have here another fragment of an old Apocalypse, of which we find a version in Irenaeus, v. 33. Papias is there said to ascribe it to our Lord. Irenaeus preserves a longer and fuller form than our text, and all seeds and fruit-trees share in the miraculous fruitfulness in his quotation. 1 En. x. 19 gives a still more fragmentary quotation.

We have, curiously, three diets provided in our syncretistic text for the members of the Messianic kingdom. In

vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each
6 cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine. And those who have
7 hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go
forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the
8 day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the
treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because
these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

30 1 'And it shall come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is
fulfilled, that He shall return in glory.

XXX. 2–5. *The Resurrection.*

2 Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. And it shall come to pass at xxx-
that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the xxx =
righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one B²-
3 assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved. For sum g
they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times. xxv.
4 But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more.
5 For they shall know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived.'

XXXI–XXXIII. *Baruch exhorts the People to prepare themselves for worse Evils.*

31 1 And it came to pass after these things that I went to the people and said unto them: 'Assemble
2 unto me all your elders and I will speak words unto them.' And they all assembled in the valley
3 of the Cedron. And I answered and said unto them:

'Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to thee,
And give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct thee.

xxix. 4 flesh, in verse 5 vegetable, in verse 8 heavenly food, i. e. manna. The second is a return to Adam's food in Paradise.

As to the ten thousand-fold yield of corn and wine Dr. Rendel Harris gives a probable explanation in a misreading of רֹב = 'plenty' in the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28) as רִבּוּ = 10,000.

each branch, &c. For 'each' the Syriac gives 'one' three times over, following the idiom in the Hebrew original.

a cor, about 120 gallons.

6. **rejoice.** Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xii. 34.

behold marvels. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 27, xiii. 50; Matt. xi. 4–6; John vii. 31.

8. **the treasury of manna shall again descend.** In Sibyll. Or. vii. 149 manna is to be the food of the members of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Rev. ii. 17 'hidden manna'.

consummation of time, i. e. the Messianic age. Cf. xxvii. 15. In xxx. 3 the phrase has a different meaning, but there we have the work of B².

XXX. 1. **when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled.** This seems to mean that after His reign the Messiah will return in glory to heaven. 'Advent' may be rendered 'presence', i. e. visible reign on earth.

return in glory, back to heaven, where He was before His revealing on earth. For His pre-existence see 1 Enoch xlvi. 1. 2, xlviii. 3 (note), &c. In 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30 the Messiah and the righteous die at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Then all who have fallen asleep . . . shall rise again. The resurrection here follows immediately on the Messiah's return to heaven: but on his death in 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30. The words 'of Him' spoil the sense, and the parallelism to LXX of Ps. xvi. 9 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.

fallen asleep. We are not told the fate of the living, as A¹ is fragmentary.

2. Here we return to B², and resume the text that ended at xxiv. 1.

3. **they know.** Text reads 'he knows'.

the consummation of the times. Here = the final judgement. Contrast xxix. 8.

4. **waste away.** Cf. li. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 87.

XXXI–XXXV. Baruch assembles and addresses the elders of the people. He exhorts them not to forget Zion and its anguish; the end of all that is corruptible is coming; the law, if they hold fast to it, will protect them when the whole creation is shaken; they are to grieve for the coming woe more than for the past, when the creation shall be renewed. Thereupon Baruch sends away the people, and when they remonstrate against his forsaking them, he rejoins that he is only going to the Holy Place to seek light from God. There he laments over Zion. (A fast of seven days should follow here.)

The subject of Baruch's address is to be found in each instance in the preceding revelation (as in v. 5, x. 4), but it will be observed that this address, xxxi. 3–xxxii. 6, is out of relation to all that has gone before. The gist of the address is (*a*) the end of corruption is at hand; (*b*) the law will save in the coming crisis; (*c*) the present creation must give place to a new and incorruptible creation. Now these questions are discussed later in the dialogues between Baruch and God. Thus, for (*a*) see xlii. 6–8; for (*b*) see xlviii. 22–4, 38–41; for (*c*) see xlviii. 49; lii. 3, 8–9, 16. Thus originally xxxi–xxxv followed lii. Moreover, xliv. 8–15 really concludes Baruch's address in xxxi, xxxii; i. e. it follows xxxii. 6. *Thus xlviii–lii originally preceded xxxi–xxxv.*

XXXI. 1. **all your elders.** See xliv. 1, note.

4 Forget not Zion,
But hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem.

5 For lo! the days come,
When everything that is shall become the prey of corruption
And be as though it had not been.

3 1 'But as for you, if ye prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it shall pro-
2 tect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation. [Because after a
3 little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it may be built again. But that
building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until
5 the time. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and perfected for evermore.] Therefore
we should not **be distressed** so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is
6 still to be. For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will
7 renew His creation. And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to
8 you.' And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way,
9 and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said: 'Whither
departest thou from us, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and
departs from them?

3 1 'Are these the commands which thy companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded thee, and
2 said unto thee: "Look to this people till I go and make ready the rest of the brethren †in† Babylon,
3 against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity"? And now if
thou also forsakest us, it were good for us all to die before thee, and then that thou shouldst withdraw
from us.'

XXXIV–XXXV. *Lament of Baruch.*

34 And I answered and said unto the people: 'Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw
from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you
and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things
I will return to you.'

35 1 And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said:

2 'O that mine eyes were springs,
And mine eyelids a fount of tears.

3 For how shall I lament for Zion,
And how shall I mourn for Jerusalem?

5. **shall become the prey of**, lit. 'shall be taken to'. See xxi. 19, note.

XXXII. 1. **prepare your hearts.** An O.T. phrase, and a favourite expression in B^1 and B^2; cf. xlvi. 5, lii. 7, &c.
the fruits of the law, i.e. good works. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 20, ix. 32.
it shall protect. Cf. xlviii. 22–4, xliv. 13, 14.
shake the whole creation, i.e. to prepare for new heavens and a new earth. The thought comes originally from Haggai ii. 6; cf. Heb. xii. 26.

2–4. Here it is said that *after a little time* Zion will be destroyed. But according to xx. 1–2, xxxi. 4, xxxii. 5, xxxiii. 2–3, xxxv. 1 Jerusalem is already overthrown. These verses also break the connexion of thought between xxxii. 1 and xxxii. 5. The people are to prepare themselves by obedience to the law for the end of all things, xxxii. 1. Compared with this the evils attendant on the fall of Jerusalem are slight. These three verses are closely akin to Tobit xiv. 4–5. Cf. Ber. R. 2 and Pesikta 145 for a similar hope. These verses are an intrusion here.

2. **Zion will be shaken.** Apparently 'after a little time' = by Nebuchadnezzar in 588 B.C.
be built again, i.e. by Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. **again . . . be rooted out**, i.e. by the Romans in A.D. 70.

4. On the heavenly Jerusalem, see iv. 3, note.

5. **be distressed.** I have here followed Bensly's emendation of the Syriac, which has the active form instead of passive.
the evil which has now come = Jerusalem's fall.

6. **two tribulations**, i.e. those accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem and the renewal of creation. Perhaps 'than these two tribulations' is an addition; the text without them would run 'For the trial will be great when', &c.
renew His creation, i.e. replace the corruptible by the incorruptible world. See further li and lii. It was a current expectation after the captivity (cf. Isa. lxv. 17; 1 En. xlv. 4, note; 4 Ezra vii. 75; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1).

7. This verse was originally preceded by xliv. 8–15.
for a few days, i.e. for the seven days' fast, omitted in xxxv. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 18, 19.

XXXIII. 1. 2. See x. 2, note. According to B^1 Jeremiah does not seem to have gone to Babylon. On 'make ready' see note on x. 2. Here the 'in' is decidedly corrupt. See note on x. 2.

3. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 44, 48.

XXXIV. **Holy of Holies.** Cf. x. 5, xxxv. 1; the holy place, xxxv. 4, where the altar stood.

XXXV. 2. From Jer. ix. 1; cf. 1 En. xcv. 1.

4 Because in that place where I am now prostrate,
Of old the high priest offered holy sacrifices,
And placed thereon an incense of fragrant odours.

5 But now our glorying has been made into dust,
And the desire of our soul into sand.'

XXXVI–XXXVII. *The Vision of the Forest, the Vine, the Fountain and the Cedar.*

36 1, 2 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night. And lo! xxx -xl
a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty and rugged rocky mountains surrounded it, and that =
3 forest occupied much space. And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth
4 a fountain peacefully. Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and
those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the greater part of that forest, and
5 overthrew all the mountains which were round about it. And the height of the forest began to be
made low, and the top of the mountains was made low and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it
6 left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. Also when it had cast it down and had
destroyed and rooted out the greater part of that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its
place be recognized, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity,
and it came to a place which was not far from that cedar, and they brought the cedar which had
7 been cast down to it. And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spake and said to that
cedar: 'Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means
8 wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never. And thou didst keep
conquering that which was not thine, and to that which was thine thou didst never show compassion,
and thou didst keep extending thy power over those who were far from thee, and those who drew
nigh thee thou didst hold fast in the toils of thy wickedness, and thou didst uplift thyself always as
9, 10 one that could not be rooted out! But now thy time has sped and thine hour is come. Do thou
also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before thee, and become dust with it,
11 and let your ashes be mingled together. And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till thy
last time come, in which thou wilt come again, and be tormented still more.'

37 And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

XXXVIII–XL. *Interpretation of the Vision.*

38 1 And I prayed and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, Thou dost always enlighten those who are led by
2, 3 understanding. Thy law is life, and Thy wisdom is right guidance. Make known to me therefore
4 the interpretation of this vision. For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law,
and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Thy wisdom.'

THE SIXTH SECTION. XXXVI–XLVI. We must insert a seven days' fast after xxxv to keep the symmetry of the book as constructed by the final editor. The structure of this section is then as follows: first, the omitted fast, then a Messiah vision and its interpretation (xxxvi–xl) with disclosures as to apostates and proselytes (xli. 2–xlii. 8), and an announcement as to Baruch's coming death (xliii), and finally Baruch's address to the people (xliv–xlvi). This section is very composite. xxxvi–xl is a Messiah Apocalypse earlier than A.D. 70; xliii–xliv. 7, xlv–xlvi. 6 belongs to B^1; the rest mainly to B^2.

XXXVI–XL. The Second Messiah Apocalypse, A^2.

(*a*) Date of A^2—before A. D. 70. Unlike B^1 and B^2 it has no mention of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem; nor has it a restoration of the city for the Messiah's rule, or a return of the dispersion. A^2 is optimistic as regards this world, unlike B^2; and centres its hope on the Messiah, not the law, unlike B^1 and B^2.

(*b*) Relation of A^2 to A^1. In A^1 the Messiah has a passive rôle; here an active one, destroying the wicked and vindicating Israel.

XXXVI. 1. These visions are only found in A^2 and A^3. Elsewhere we have direct revelations.

2. This vision is obviously founded in some respects on Ezek. xvii.

8. **rooted out.** This word עקר is constantly used in the Talmud with reference to the future fate of Rome.

11. **in anguish.** See xxx. 5, where the intermediate state involves some degree of happiness or pain.

XXXVII. **unfading flowers.** Cf. Apoc. Pet.

XXXVIII. 1. God Himself interprets this vision for Baruch: but Ramiel the vision in A^3 (see lv. 3).

2. **Thy law is life.** Cf. xlv. 2; Sir. xlv. 5. Hillel (Aboth. ii. 7): 'The more law the more life . . . he who gains knowledge of the law gains life in the world to come.' Also see John vii. 49.

Thy wisdom is right guidance. This is based on the Massoretic text of Eccles. x. 10, where the versions vary.

4. **from my (earliest) days.** This is the Hebrew idiom מִיָּמַי, as in 1 Kings i. 6.

39 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Baruch, this is the interpretation of the vision which thou
2 hast seen. As thou hast seen the great forest which lofty and rugged mountains surrounded, this is
3 the word. Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion,
4 and it will be subjected to that which comes after it. Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be
5 destroyed. And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it
6 will hold fast for times, and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and
7 creep into the forest. And it will come to pass when the time of its consummation that it should fall has approached, then the **principate** of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain
8 and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of its host. And as touching that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and the fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.

40 1 'The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict
2 him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which
3 I have chosen. And his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end,
4 and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation.'

XLI–XLII. *The Destiny of the Apostates and of the Proselytes.*

41 1 And I answered and said: 'For whom and for how many shall these things be? or who will be xli–xlii
2 worthy to live at that time? For I will speak before thee everything that I think, and I will ask of = B^2
3 Thee regarding those things which I meditate. For lo! I see many of Thy people who have with-
4 drawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. But others again I have seen
5 who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. What therefore will be to
6 them? or how will the last time receive them? Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?'

42 1, 2 And He answered and said unto me: 'These things also will I show unto thee. As for what thou didst say—"To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)?"—to those who have
3 believed there shall be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there shall be the contrary of these things. And as for what thou didst say regarding those who have drawn

XXXIX. 3–5. Of the four world-empires here mentioned undoubtedly the first is Babylon (ver. 3), and the fourth Rome (5–7; xxxvi. 5–10). The second and third are probably Persia and the Diadochi. The fourfold division of world-empires is due to Dan. vii, where the fourth kingdom is decidedly different, as 4 Ezra xii. 11–12 admits.

6. **the truth will be hidden.** Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1, where the same statement is made about Rome.

7. **the principate of My Messiah.** For ܫܘܪܝܐ = 'beginning', read ܫܘܠܛܢܐ = 'principate', as in xl. 3, lxxv. 8. See xxix. 3, note.

XL. 1. Who is this last leader? Probably Pompey, as 'his impieties' suggests (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 24–35).

The Talmud says a single leader, called Armilus, was to unite in himself all hatred and hostility against God's people. See Weber, 365, 366.

My Messiah. In A^1 (i. e. xxvii–xxx. 1) God Himself protects Israel and destroys their enemies, and the Messiah only appears after this (xxix. 3). Here the Messiah takes the active part.

convict of . . . impieties. So Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 37.

2. **protect the rest,** &c. See xxix. 2, note.

3. **for ever, until** . . ., or 'for the age'. Cf. lxxiii. 1. The Messianic kingdom belongs to the *olam hazzeh* (see xxi. 19, note).

XLI, XLII. These two chapters belong to B^2, and originally followed xxx. As in xx, the times are hastened (xlii. 6) in order to usher in the end, the resurrection, and the life of incorruption. The chief topics in these chapters are: (1) the ultimate destiny of the apostates; (2) that of the proselytes.

XLI. 1. Baruch's question goes back to xxx. 2–5; which it originally preceded in B^2. For the question cf. lxxv. 5.

3. These apostates may be Christians.

yoke of Thy law. 'Yoke' means 'obligation'. Cf. Sirach li. 26. Cf. for this phrase Pss. Sol. vii. 8, xvii. 32; Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1. Contrast Matt. vi. 29, 30.

4. The proselytes, i.e. the גרים. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 133.

their vanity, i.e. idols (Deut. xxxii. 21).

fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. The writer follows the Hebrew text of Ps. xxxvi. 8, as against the LXX and Syriac. The phrase is used of a proselyte in Ruth ii. 12. Cf. Shabbath 31^a.

5. **the last time,** described in xxx. 2–5.

XLII. 2. **those who have believed.** See liv. 5, note; also xxi. 9, note.

4 near and those who have withdrawn this is the word. As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples, the time of these was
5 the former, and was accounted as something exalted. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the **people** which had separated itself, the
6 time of these (is) the **latter**, and is accounted as something exalted. And time shall succeed to time and season to season, and one shall receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation shall everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons.
7, 8 For corruption shall take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it. And the dust shall be called, and there shall be said to it: "Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until its time".'

XLIII. *Baruch told of his Death and bidden to give his last Commands to the People.*

43 1 'But, do thou, Baruch, direct thy heart to that which has been said to thee,
And understand those things which have been shown to thee;
For there are many eternal consolations for thee.

2 For thou shalt depart from this place,
And thou shalt pass from the regions which are now seen by thee,

And thou shalt forget whatever is corruptible,
And shalt not again recall those things which happen among mortals.

3 Go therefore and command thy people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to thee and speak with thee.'

XLIV. 1–8, XLV–XLVI. *Baruch tells the Elders of his impending Death, but encourages them to expect the Consolation of Zion.*

44 1 And I, Baruch, went from thence, and came to my people, and I called my first-born son and [the Gedaliahs] my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them:

'Behold, I go unto my fathers
According to the way of all the earth.

4. The apostates have only this world.
mingled peoples. Jer. xxv. 20, 24.
5. **of the people.** The Syriac reads 'peoples', which does not suit Israel, though it does suit the proselytes.
separated itself, i. e. the legalistic Israel by the 'fence' of the law (cf. xlviii. 23). The 'separatists' are the Pharisees.
the latter. So Kabisch emends. The text reads 'the former'. Thus the proselytes inherit the world to come.
6. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 37.
8. **Give back,** &c. Cf. l. 2. The earth gives back the body; Sheol the soul, in virtue of its relation to which the body is conceived as persisting, and even sensitive. Job xiv. 22.

XLIII–XLVI. These chapters belong to B^1, with the exception of xliv. 8–15. They do not belong to B^2, for in xliii. 2, xliv. 2, lxxviii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, Baruch is to *die an ordinary death* and *forget all the concerns of mortals*, whereas in B^2 he is to be *preserved till the last day to testify* against the Gentile oppressors of Israel, xiii. 3, xxv. 1, xlviii. 30. Again the people are assured of good tidings in store for them xlvi. 6, as in lxxvii. 12, and bidden to look for the restoration of Zion (lxxxi. 1, 4 taken with i. 4, vi. 9), whereas in B^2 there is no consolation of any kind for them in this world.

XLIV. 8–15 belongs to B^2; for the present world is hopeless—defiled with evil xliv. 9, and with its corruption about to pass away xliv. 8; it is, moreover, to be given over to oblivion xliv. 9—a statement in flat contradiction with iv. 1. Accordingly all hope is to be directed to the world to come xliv. 15, the promised inheritance xliv. 13, the world of incorruption xliv. 12. *The original position of* xliv. 8–15 *was after* xxxii. 6. These verses presuppose xlviii–lii, just as xxxi–xxxv presuppose them; see note on xxxi–xxxv.

XLIII. 1. Refers probably to some lost passage of B^1.
2. **thou shalt depart.** The word and the context indicate ordinary death here. Cf. xliv. 2.
whatever is corruptible. Cf. xxi. 19, note.
3. **command thy people,** i. e. impart to them the disclosures just made to Baruch. As Baruch has just been told of his coming death, the word 'command' (צַוֵּה) is here used in the technical Hebrew sense of giving one's last command.
this place. This conflicts with xlvii. 1—to Hebron.

XLIV. 1. **son.** Elsewhere only in xlvi. 1.
[the Gedaliahs]. Possibly this phrase belongs to the text, but has originated in a corrupt transliteration of הַגְּדוֹלִים 'the great men'.
seven of the elders. Seven only, as the city is now destroyed. In v. 5, before its fall, he summons them all.
2. Contrast xiii. 3 (see note).

3 But withdraw ye not from the way of the law,
But guard and admonish the people which remain,
Lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One.

4 For ye see that He whom we serve is just,
And our Creator is no respecter of persons.

5 And see ye what hath befallen Zion,
And what hath happened to Jerusalem.

6 For the judgement of the Mighty One shall (thereby) be made known,
And His ways, which, though past finding out, are right.

7 For if ye endure and persevere in His fear,
And do not forget His law,
The times shall change over you for good,
And ye shall see the consolation of Zion.

8, 9 Because whatever is now is nothing, xliv. 8-15
But that which shall be is very great. = B^2
For everything that is corruptible shall pass away,
And everything that dies shall depart,
And all the present time shall be forgotten,
Nor shall there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils.

10 For that which runs now runs unto vanity,
And that which prospers shall quickly fall and be humiliated.

11 For that which is to be shall be the object of desire,
And for that which comes afterwards shall we hope;
For it is a time that passes not away,
12 And the hour comes which abides for ever.

And the new world (comes) which does not turn to corruption those who depart **to its blessedness**,
And has no mercy on those who depart to torment,
And leads not to perdition those who live in it.

13 For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of,
And theirs is the inheritance of the promised time.

14 These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom,
And with them are found stores of understanding,
And from mercy have they not withdrawn,
And the truth of the law have they preserved.

15 For to them shall be given the world to come,
But the dwelling of the rest who are many shall be in the fire.'

45 2 'Do ye therefore so far as ye are able instruct the people, for that labour is ours. For if ye teach them, ye will quicken them.' xlv–xlvi. 6 = B^1

46 1 And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: 'Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree
As to take thee from us quickly?

3. **commandments of the Mighty One.** Cf. xlviii. 38.
5. These words vividly recall vi–viii. See note on xliii–xlvi above.
6. **which, though . . . right.** The text = 'which are past finding out and right'.
7. **the consolation of Zion**, i.e. its restoration. Cf. lxxxi. 1, 4; for the temple was to be rebuilt, according to B^1. (Cf. vi. 9.)
8–15. These verses should be read after xxxii. 6. See note on xliii–xlvi above.
9. **corruptible.** Cf. xxi. 19, note.
12. **the new world.** Cf. the new creation (xxxii. 6), and li. 3; lii. 9, 16.
who depart to its blessedness. The text here has 'on its beginning', which gives no parallel to 'to torment' in the next clause, and no sense in itself. A corruption in the original Hebrew easily explains the difficulty and restores the sense, באשרו for בראשו. Ryssel reproduces this emendation without acknowledgement.
14. This verse presupposes li. 3, 7. The treasures in xxiv. 1 are those of righteousness.
15. **in the fire.** Cf. xlviii. 39, 43, lix. 2, lxiv. 7, lxxxv. 13.

XLV. B^1 reappears here, and the connexion broken at xliv. 7 is resumed.
2. **if ye teach**, &c. Cf. Ps. cxix. 50, 93. This is the true scribe's work. Cf. xxxviii. 2, xliv. 7.

2 And truly we shall be in darkness,
And there shall be no light to the people who are left.

3 For where again shall we seek the law,
Or who will distinguish for us between death and life?'

4 And I said unto them: 'The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist;
Nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel a wise man
Nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.

5 But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may obey the law,
And be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding;
And prepare your souls that ye may not depart from them.

6 For if ye do these things,
Good tidings shall come unto you.

[Which I before told you of; nor shall ye fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before.' xlvi. *c*-7 =
7 But with regard to the word that I was to be taken I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.]

47 1 And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them: 'Behold! xlvi. ii. =
2 I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me.' And I came to that place where the word had been spoken unto me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

XLVIII. 1–47. Prayer of Baruch.

48 1 And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said

2 'O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times,
And they stand before Thee;
Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away,
And they do not resist Thee;

Thou arrangest the method of the seasons,
And they obey Thee.

3 Thou alone knowest the duration of the generations,
And Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many.

4 Thou makest known the multitude of the fire,
And Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.

5 Thou explorest the limit of the heights,
And Thou scrutinizest the depths of the darkness.

XLVI. 4. **a son of the law** = בר מצוה, i. e. one bound to observe the Law. An answer to the question put in iii. 6^{b}. The expression seems to occur here first in existing literature. The verse means: There never should be lacking wise teachers and obedient servants of the Law. The expression has nothing to do with בר מכילאן as Ryssel suggests.

5. **be subject.** Obedience to the Rabbis is here enforced.

6 *c*–7. This addition was made by the final editor to adapt the fragment of B^{1} just given to its new context. Contrast xlvi. 1.

6 *c*. **the torment.** This refers to xliv. 12, 15.

7. **I was to be taken.** Cf. xiii. 3, note, xlviii. 30. The idea of the ascension into heaven of great heroes in Jewish history was a familiar one. See Commentary *in loc.* Also N.T. (Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16).

The Seventh Section. XLVII–LXXVII. First we have Baruch's fast of seven days, followed by his prayer (xlvii. 2–xlviii. 24). Then in the dialogue ensuing various revelations are made to Baruch touching the coming woes and the judgement (xlviii. 26–41), and the resurrection (l–lii). There follows a Messiah Apocalypse (liii–lxxiv = A^{3}). In lxxvi Baruch is told of his coming translation, and in lxxvii he addresses the people.

This section is composite; xlviii–lii is derived from B^{2}; liii–lxxiv from A^{3}; lxxv–lxxvi from B^{2}; and lxxvii from B^{1}.

XLVII. 1. Why this journey to Hebron? Baruch has received no such command in our text. This verse is probably original to B^{1} or B^{2}; it seems, moreover, corrupt. After dismissing the people, Baruch addresses them! The 'gone forth' and 'went thence' possibly refer to 'the cavern in the earth' in xxi. 1. As chapters xxi–xxiv. 1, xxx. 2–5, xli, xlii belong to B^{2}, and in some sense form a whole, they may be connected with the cavern as their scene. If so, xlvii. 1 belongs to B^{2}.

2. Conflicts with verse 1, and is due, like xliii. 3, to the final editor.

6 Thou carest for the number which pass away that they may be preserved,
And Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be.

7 Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made,
And the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not.

8 With nods of fear and †indignation† Thou commandest the flames,
And they change into spirits,

And with a word Thou quickenest that which was not,
And with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come.

9 Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee,
And Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders.

10 Armies innumerable stand before Thee
And minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod.

11 Hear Thy servant
And give ear to my petition.

12 For in a little time are we born,
And in a little time do we return.

13 But with Thee hours are as a time,
And days as generations.

14 Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing
15 And take not account of our works; For what are we?

For lo! by Thy gift do we come into the world,
And we depart not of our own will.

16 For we said not to our parents, "Beget us,"
Nor did we send to Sheol and say, "Receive us."

17 What therefore is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath,
Or what are we that we should endure Thy judgement?

18 Protect us in Thy compassions,
And in Thy mercy help us.

19 Behold the little ones that are subject unto Thee,
And save all that draw nigh unto Thee:

And destroy not the hope of our people,
And cut not short the times of our aid.

20 For this is the nation which Thou hast chosen,
And these are the people, to whom Thou findest no equal.

21 But I will speak now before Thee,
And I will say as my heart thinketh.

22 In Thee do we trust, for lo! Thy law is with us,
And we know that we shall not fall so long as we keep Thy statutes.

XLVIII. 6. See xxiii. 4, note.
Thou carest for. The text here follows a wrong sense of פקד in the Hebrew original, and so gives 'commandest'.
that they may. Text reads 'and they are'. The Greek translator appears to have rendered וְיִשָּׁמֵר wrongly.
8. **†indignation†.** See note on xxi. 6.
flames . . . spirits. Cf. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.
9. **the spheres . . . in their orders.** Cf. 1 En. ii. 1; 2 En. xxx. 2, 3; Pss. Sol. xix. 2, 3.
10. **in their orders.** Jews held there were ten orders; Christians nine.
13. We should expect 'time is as hours', &c.
15. **depart not.** In xiv. 11 men 'come not of their own will'. In 4 Ezra viii. 5 the two statements are combined.
18. See lxxv. 6.
19. **subject unto Thee.** Cf. xlii. 4 = Jews.
that draw nigh. Cf. xli. 4, xlii. 3 = proselytes.
20. Cf. xxi. 21; 4 Ezra v. 27.
the nation, a necessary emendation (ܐܘܡܬܐ for the unmeaning ܥܕܡܐ). Ceriani proposes 'the servant'.
22. See xv. 5, note.

23 [To all time are we blessed at all events in this that we have not mingled with the Gentiles.]
24 For we are all one celebrated people,
Who have received one law from One:

And the law which is amongst us will aid us,
And the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us.'

25, 26 And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. And He answered and said unto me:

'Thou hast prayed simply, O Baruch,
And all thy words have been heard.

27 But My judgement exacts its own
And My law exacts its rights.

28 For from thy words I will answer thee,
And from thy prayer I will speak to thee.

29 For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as he
30 could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor accepted My long-suffering. There-
31 fore thou shalt surely be taken up, as I before told thee. For that time shall arise which brings affliction; for it shall come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it shall be turbulent coming in
32 the heat of indignation. And it shall come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth shall be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgement has drawn nigh.
33 For there shall not be found many wise at that time,
And the intelligent shall be but a few:
Moreover, even those who know shall most of all be silent.
34 And there shall be many rumours and tidings not a few,
And the doings of phantasmata shall be manifest,
And promises not a few be recounted.
Some of them (shall prove) idle,
And some of them shall be confirmed.
35 And honour shall be turned into shame,
And strength humiliated into contempt,
†And probity destroyed,†
And beauty shall become ugliness.
36 And many shall say to many at that time:
"Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself,
And whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?"

23. This verse is bracketed as a prosaic intrusion.

24. **one law from One.** lxxxv. 14. This is directed against Christians.

the law . . . will aid us. Cf. xxix. 2, note; and xxxii. 1. Cf., too, *De singularitate cler.* 15 (Cyprian, Ed. Hartel ii, 190) 'sicut Esaias ait, legem inquit in adiutorium dedit.'

29. The Syriac text is unintelligible.

31–41. The last woes and the final judgement. Cf. xxvii–xxix. 1; lxx. 2–10.

32. **shall be moved.** Text reads ܢܫܬܡ (='shall rest') which I emended in 1896 into ܢܬܙܥ 'shall be moved'.

33. Cf. lxx. 5. This verse resembles what Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotes as from Baruch: 'Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis.'

34. Cyprian again seems to quote 'alii autem sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta'. For the many impostors cf. Matt. xxiv. 11, 24.

35. Of the four lines in this stanza three give a series of paronomasiae when retranslated into Hebrew, as in xxi. 14. Thus the first, second, and fourth run:

כבוד יהפך לקלון
עז יורד אל בוז
יופי יהיה לדופי

As regards the third it is certainly corrupt. The analogy of the other three leads us to expect a paronomasia here also. The Syriac is ܘܣܟܠܬܢܘܬ ܘܡܕܥ, where the first word may be corrupt for ܘܣܟܠܘܬ. The text would then = 'and understanding would become foolishness.' This at once gives a good sense and a paronomasia on the Hebrew, i.e. שכל יהיה לכסל.

On the last line cf. xxi. 14; lxxxiii. 12.

36. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 9–11. Does Cyprian refer to this in his quotation (*Testim.* iii. 29)?—'Quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non invenietis.'

37 And whilst they are meditating these things,
Then envy shall arise in those who had not thought aught of themselves (?)
And passion shall seize him that is peaceful,
And many shall be stirred up in anger to injure many,
And they shall rouse up armies in order to shed blood,
And in the end they shall perish together with them.

38 And it shall come to pass at the self-same time,
That a change of times shall manifestly appear to every man,
Because in all those times they polluted themselves
And they practised oppression,
And walked every man in his own works,
And remembered not the law of the Mighty One.

39 Therefore a fire shall consume their thoughts,
And in flame shall the meditations of their reins be tried;
For the Judge shall come and will not tarry.

40 Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was transgressing.
But My Law they knew not by reason of their pride.

41 But many shall then assuredly weep,
Yea, over the living more than over the dead.'

42 And I answered and said:
'O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?
And what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent?

43 For all this multitude are going to corruption,
Nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours.

44, 45 But again I will speak in Thy presence. Thou, O LORD, my Lord, knowest what is in Thy
46 creature. For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and Thou knowest the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee, who have
47 existed and not confessed Thee as their Creator. And as regards all these their end shall convict them, and Thy law which they have transgressed shall requite them on Thy day.'

XLVIII. 48–50. *Fragment of an Address of Baruch to the People.*

48 ['But now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous.
49 And I will recount their blessedness
And not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them.
50 For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory world in which ye live, ye have endured much labour,
So in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light.']

37. Cf. lxx. 6.

38. **walked every man**, &c. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 8.
the law of the Mighty One. Cf. xliv. 3, 7.

40. **knew when he was transgressing.** Cf. Ep. Barn. v. 4, and see xv. 6 note, where Israel is referred to as knowing the law. Here all men know when they do wrong. Cf. Rom. ii. 14, 15.
My Law they knew not by reason of their pride. The Talmud says the Gentiles rejected the law, which was designed for all nations. See, too, 4 Ezra vii. 72, 73.

41. The load of sin increases with time, and so will its penalty.

42–50. What havoc Adam and Eve have wrought by the spiritual death and torments they brought upon their posterity! Yet God, as Creator, knows what is in man; the number of men that are to be, and their sins (42–6). The law and the judgement will give all their due, so let us inquire rather about the blessedness to come for the righteous who now awhile endure labour.

42. The mention of fire shows that spiritual death is here traced to Adam and Eve, whereas in xvii. 3, &c., it is only physical death that is so traced. In 4 Ezra both are always traced to Adam (e.g. iii. 21, 22). But this spiritual death is not due to the incapacity of man for righteousness after the fall, but to his following of his own choice in the steps of Adam.

46. **command the dust to produce Adam.** 4 Ezra iii. 4, 5; vii. 116.
the number . . . born. See xxiii. 5, note.

48–50. A fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people, as verse 50 shows, and not to God. Another fragment of this same address, originally preceding 48–50 here, is given in liv. 16–18, and yet another, following 48–50, in lii. 5–7.

49. **be silent in celebrating.** A Hebrew idiom.

50. Cf. xv. 8.

XLIX–LII. *The Nature of the Resurrection Body: the final Destinies of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

49 1 'Nevertheless, I will again ask from Thee, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask mercy from Him who made all things.
2 "In what shape will those live who live in Thy day?
Or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue?
3 Will they then resume this form of the present,
And put on these entrammelling members,
Which are now involved in evils,
And in which evils are consummated,
Or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world
As also the world?"'
50 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Hear, Baruch, this word,
And write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn.
2 For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead,
[Which it now receives, in order to preserve them].
It shall make no change in their form,
But as it has received, so shall it restore them,
And as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them.
3 For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that
4 those who had departed have returned (again). And it shall come to pass, when they have severally recognized those whom they now know, then judgement shall grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of shall come.
51 1 'And it shall come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the **aspect** of those
2 who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly shall become worse than it is, as they shall suffer torment.
3 Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour shall be glorified in changes, and the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to
4 them. For over this above all shall those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped
5 their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. When therefore they see those, over whom they are now exalted, (but) who shall then be exalted and glorified more than they, they shall respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former shall yet
6 more waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms. For they shall first behold and afterwards depart to be tormented.

XLIX. 2. **In what shape**, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35 'How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they come?'
splendour, or perhaps 'appearance'; also in li. 3, 5.
3. **entrammelling members**, lit. 'members of bonds'.

L–LI. The nature of the resurrection body. The world in its renewal becomes undying (li. 3), incorruptible (lxxiv. 2) and invisible to mortal vision (li. 8). This conception of transformation, which is as old as Isa. lxv. 17–lxvi, was applied in due course to those who were to live in the renewed world. This is done partially in Isa. lxv. 17–25, but fully in Dan. xii. 2. Also in 1 Enoch civ. 4, 6, &c. Thus the spiritual transformation was a familiar idea to the Pharisees before the writers of Baruch lived; while 1 Cor. xv. 35–50 is in one of its aspects the logical sequel of Isa. liv. 17. Paul was not altogether an innovator, but an able and advanced expositor of some current Jewish views.
Opposed to this spiritual view of the future life lay the materialistic one prevalent among people and Rabbis alike, which said the blessed should beget children, and eat the flesh of Leviathan. (Weber 383, 384.)
L. 2. See notes on xi. 4; xlii. 8; 1 Enoch li. 1. The resurrection united soul (from Sheol, its abode, xxi. 23) and body (resting in the earth, xlii. 8). Note that here the earth preserves the body intact, as committed to it.
4. The object for which the dead are raised is for common recognition. So also *Beresh. rab.* 95 and the later Judaism. Contrast the silence of the N.T.

LI. 1. This transformation of the living also is mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 51.
aspect. So Ceriani emends the text.
3. **justified in My law.** See xv. 5, note.
root of wisdom. lix. 7; Sir. i. 6, 20; Wisdom iii. 15.
their splendour. Their bodies gradually are assimilated to their new environment.
4. **rejected**, i.e. wicked Gentiles as well as Israelites.
stopped their ears, follows Hebrew of Zech. vii. 11; not LXX.
5. **waste away**, not 'be annihilated'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 87.

7 But those who have been saved by their works,
And to whom the law has been now a hope,
And understanding an expectation,
And wisdom a confidence,
Shall wonders appear in their time.
8 For they shall behold the world which is now invisible to them,
And they shall behold the time which is now hidden from them:
9 And time shall no longer age them.
10 For in the heights of that world shall they dwell,
And they shall be made like unto the angels,
And be made equal to the stars,
And they shall be changed into every form they desire,
From beauty into loveliness,
And from light into the splendour of glory.
11 For there shall be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there shall be shown to them the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who [are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a 12 command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. Moreover, there shall then be 13 excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. For the first shall receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away.
14 For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation,
And laid down the burthen of anguish.
15 For what then have men lost their life,
And for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?
16 For then they chose ⟨not⟩ for themselves this time,
Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away:
But they chose for themselves that time,
Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils,
And they denied the world which ages not those who come to it,
And they rejected the time of glory,
So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before.'

2 1 And I answered and said:
'How can **we** forget those for whom woe is then reserved?
2 And why therefore do we again mourn for those who die?
Or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol?
3 Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment,
And let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time.
4 [But even in the face of these things will I speak.
5 And as for the righteous, what will they do now?
6 Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer:
For why do ye look for the decline of your enemies?
7 Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you,
And prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you.']

9. After this verse read probably verses 13 and 14, then 10, 11, and 12 as climax.
10. Note spiritual conception. The risen righteous live in the heights of the invisible world (8, 10), and their glory is more than that of the angels (12).
equal to the stars. 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.
11. **living creatures . . . beneath the throne.** Rev. iv. 6.
armies of the angels. Cf. 2 Enoch xvii; Test. Lev. iii. 3. The brackets indicate a gloss or dittograph.
13. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 42; also Matt. xix. 30.
15. Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.
16. I have added a negative in the first clause, as the sense requires it—an addition accepted by Ryssel. So too in lvi. 14, where Ceriani also inserts it.
of glory. So Ryssel has emended text which reads 'and glory'.

LII. 1. **we.** Text reads 'I' which Ryssel has emended.
2, 3. We should weep rather for those destined to torments than those who depart to Sheol.
5–7. See note on xlviii. 48–50.
6. Cf. lxxxviii. 6; James i. 2. The sentiment looks Christian.

LIII–LXXIV. The Messiah Apocalypse.

LIII. *The Vision of the Cloud with black and white Waters.*

53 1 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was liii–liv
ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it, and lo! it was full of waters white and = A
black, and there were many colours in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great
2 lightning was seen at its summit. And I saw the cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it
3 covered all the earth. And it came to pass after these things that that cloud began to pour
4 upon the earth the waters that were in it. And I saw that there was not one and the same like-
5 ness in the waters which descended from it. For in the first beginning they were black **and many**
for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and
after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again
6 black and again bright. Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous
7 than the bright. And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters,
and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled
8 with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction. And
after these things I saw how that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, seized
9 hold of it and hurled it to the earth. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate
the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought
10, 11 devastation. And it took hold of the whole earth, and had dominion over it. And I saw after
these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround
12 that lightning and to become subject to it. And by reason of my fear I awoke.

LIV–LV. *Baruch's Prayer for an Interpretation of the Vision: Ramiel's advent for this Purpose.*

54 1 And I besought the Mighty One, and said:

'Thou alone, O Lord, knowest of aforetime the deep things of the world,
And the things which befall in their times Thou bringest about by Thy word,
And against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times,
And the end of the seasons Thou alone knowest.

2 ⟨Thou⟩ for whom nothing is too hard,
But who dost everything easily by a nod:

3 ⟨Thou⟩ to whom the depths †come† as the heights,
And whose word the beginnings of the ages serve:

LIII–LXXIV. The third Messiah Apocalypse, or A^3. In date it seems to be prior to A. D. 70 (lxviii. 5–6), and subsequent to A. D. 50. If this is the date of this section, it is distinct from B^1 and B^2, which were composed subsequently to the fall of the Temple. In B^1 and B^2 there is no expectation of the Messiah, whereas in A^3 the Messiah is the centre of interest. Again, it appears to be distinct from A^1; for in A^1 the Messiah does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed, whereas in A^3 the Messiah is the agent of their destruction. The relations of A^3 to A^2 are doubtful. They could come from the same hand. The warlike character of the Messiah in this section is noteworthy.

LIII. In this vision a cloud rises from the sea with its summit crowned with lightning. After six successions of black and bright waters, comes the blackest shower of all. Then the lightning flashes forth and heals the earth.

1. **a very great sea.** Cf. Dan. vii. 2.

5. **and many.** Here, as the words in the next line 'not many' show, we expect 'and many'. Hence with Ryssel I emend ܣܓ into ܣܓܘ.

6. For the twelvefold division of history see 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12.

7. These black waters are interpreted in lxix, lxx. They symbolize the travail pains of the Messiah.

8. The lightning on the cloud symbolizes the Messiah. The imagery is derived from Dan. vii. 13.

9. **lightning shone . . . whole earth.** Cf. Matt. xxiv. 27 'as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man'.

12. Are these twelve rivers the Gentiles submitting to the Messiah, or the twelve tribes of Israel?

LIV. 1. Before this chapter the MS. inserts the words 'The Prayer of Baruch'.

2. I have with Ryssel restored 'Thou' at the beginning of verses 2, 3, 4. The context requires this restoration.
for whom nothing is too hard. This is a rendering of the phrase found in Gen. xviii. 14; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27.

4 ⟨Thou⟩ who revealest to those who fear **Thee** what is prepared for them,
That thenceforth they may be comforted.

5 Thou showest great acts to those who know not;
Thou breakest up the enclosure of those who are ignorant,
And lightest up what is dark,
And revealest what is hidden to the pure,
[Who in faith have submitted themselves to Thee and Thy law.]

6 Thou hast shown to Thy servant this vision;
Reveal to me also its interpretation.

7 For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought Thee, I have received a response,
And as regards what I besought, Thou didst reveal to me with what voice I should praise Thee,
And from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to Thee.

8 For if my members were mouths,
And the hairs of my head voices,
Even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise,
Nor laud thee as is befitting,
Nor could I recount Thy praise,
Nor tell the glory of Thy beauty.

9 For what am I amongst men,
Or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I,
That I have heard all these marvellous things from the Most High,
And numberless promises from Him who created me?

10 Blessed be my mother among those that bear,
And praised among women be she that bare me.

11 For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One,
And with the voice of praise I will recount His marvellous deeds.

12 For who doeth like unto Thy marvellous deeds, O God,
Or who comprehendeth Thy deep thought †of life†.

13 For with Thy counsel Thou dost govern all the creatures which Thy right hand has created,
And Thou hast established every fountain of light beside Thee,
And the treasures of wisdom beneath Thy throne hast Thou prepared.

14 And justly do they perish who have not loved Thy law,
And the torment of judgement shall await those who have not submitted themselves to Thy power.

15 For though Adam first sinned
And brought untimely death upon all,
Yet of those who were born from him
Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

16 [For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward.

17 But now, as for you, ye wicked that now are, turn ye to destruction, because ye shall speedily be visited, in that formerly ye rejected the understanding of the Most High.

18 For His works have not taught you,
Nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.]

4. **Thee.** So I emend text = 'Him'.
5. **in faith.** See note on liv. 21. I have bracketed this line as a later addition.
10. An interpolation? it breaks the connexion. Cf. Luke xi. 27.
14. Cf. xlviii. 40.
15–19. The two doctrines of fate and free-will, though seen to be mutually exclusive, were accepted *theoretically* as equally imperative by the Pharisees. St. Paul alone develops them into naked antagonism. The general tendency was to insist on free-will as here, and in the Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 224 sq.). See my Commentary, *in loc.*
15. The effect of Adam's sin is limited to physical results—the premature death of his descendants. Contrast the pessimism of 4 Ezra.
untimely. See xxiii. 4, note.
16–18. See xlviii. 48–50, note. These verses break the context and are out of place here. They properly precede xlviii. 48–50. A direct address to the wicked could not occur in a prayer to God.
18. God's law can be learnt in nature. Cf. Rom. i. 20. This argument is as old as the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah (e.g. Ps. xix. 1).

19 Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul,
But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.

20 But do Thou, O Lord, expound to me regarding those things which Thou hast revealed to me,
And inform me regarding that which I besought Thee.

21 For at the consummation of the world vengeance shall be taken upon those who have done wickedness according to their wickedness,
And Thou wilt glorify the faithful according to their faithfulness.

22 For those who are amongst Thine own Thou rulest,
And those who sin Thou blottest out from amongst Thine own.'

55 1 And it came to pass when I had finished speaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there under
2 a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the branches. And I wondered and was astonied, and pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that
3 they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. And when I was pondering on these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and he said unto me:

4 'Why does thy heart trouble thee, Baruch, and why does thy thought disturb thee?
5 For if **owing** to the report **which** thou hast only heard of judgement thou art so moved,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt see it manifestly with thine eyes?

6 And if with the expectation wherewith thou dost expect the day of the Mighty One thou art so overcome,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt come to its advent?

7 And, if at the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly thou art so wholly distraught,
How much more when the event will reveal marvellous things?

8 And if thou hast heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and art grieved,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt behold what the majesty will reveal,
Which shall convict these and cause those to rejoice.'

LVI–LXXIV. *Interpretation of the Vision. The black and bright Waters symbolize the World's History from Adam to the Advent of the Messiah.*

56 1 'Nevertheless, because thou hast besought the Most High to reveal to thee the interpretation
2 of the vision which thou hast seen, I have been sent to tell thee. And the Mighty One hath assuredly made known to thee the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creation even unto its consummation,
3 of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth. For as thou didst see a great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration of the world (= αἰών) which the Mighty One made when he took counsel to make the world.
4 And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the world had come into being in a small degree, and **was established** according to the multitude of
5 the intelligence of Him who sent it. And as thou didst previously see on the summit of the cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith Adam the first man transgressed.

19. See verse 15, note. Man's guilt and sin are due to his own action, and are not derived from Adam. The evil impulse is not sin unless obeyed. It is placed in man, say the Talmudists, to be overcome (Weber, 217 sq.).

21. **the faithful according to their faithfulness.** Here 'faithfulness' is contrasted with 'wickedness', so it = 'righteousness' or 'fidelity to the law'; but elsewhere in this work 'faith' = 'belief'. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 5 for the former sense.

LV. 3. **Ramiel.** Cf. lxiii. 6; 1 En. xx. 7 (Greek); 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Syriac); Sibyll. Or. ii. 215–17. In 4 Ezra Ramiel answers a question, as here. Elsewhere he has charge of souls for judgement.

5. **owing . . . which.** The text is defective. I have added ܡܢ after ܓܝܪ and ܕ before ܫܡܥܬ. Ceriani adds ܟܕ after ܓܝܪ. With the latter reading we should render 'if when thou hast only heard a rumour of His judgement'.

LVI. 3. **a great cloud . . . this is the duration of the world.** The twelve alternate black and bright waters, and the last black water, symbolize the thirteen periods of the world's history prior to the Messiah's kingdom, which is foreshadowed by the lightning that shone on the cloud's summit.

4. **was established.** So Ceriani has emended.

6 For [since] when he transgressed
Untimely death came into being,
Grief was named
And anguish was prepared,
And pain was created,
And trouble consummated,
And **disease** began to be established,
And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood,
And the begetting of children was brought about,
And the passion of parents produced,
And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
And goodness languished.

7, 8 What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things? This is the beginning of the black
9 waters which thou hast seen. And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the
10 darkness of darkness was produced. For he became a danger to his own soul: even to the angels
, 12 became he a danger. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. And
13 some of them descended, and mingled with the women. And then those who did so were tormented
14 in chains. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is ⟨no⟩ number, restrained
15 themselves. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters
16 of the deluge. These are the black first waters.

7 1 'And after these (waters) thou didst see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his
2 generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them. Because at that
time the unwritten law was named amongst them,
And the works of the commandments were then fulfilled,
And belief in the coming judgement was then generated,
And hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up,
And the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted.
3 These are the bright waters, which thou hast seen.

8 1 'And the black third waters which thou hast seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the
nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of
2 Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve. Never-
theless, these also perished at last.

9 1 'And the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and
2 Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them. For at that time the lamp
of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the
3 promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them. But
also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of
4 the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself. For He showed him
many admonitions together with the principles of the **law** and the consummation of the **times**, as
also to thee, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, **in the pattern of which the**

6. **disease.** Text = 'boasting' = תהלה, corrupt for מחלה = 'disease', or ܫܘܒܚܐ = 'boasting' is corrupt for ܟܘܪܗܢܐ = 'disease', as in lxxiii. 2. 'Disease' comes with the Fall, but it disappears on the advent of the kingdom, lxxiii. 2.

Sheol . . . demanding. For Sheol's hunger, cf. Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14.

10. Man's physical nature became a danger to his spiritual; because of it the angels fell through lust, and in it resided the evil impulse.

11. **they enjoyed liberty**, i.e. the angels. Cf. 1 En. vi. 2, note.

14. **⟨no⟩ number.** Ceriani restored the negative.

LVII. The first bright period is from Abraham to Jacob.

2. This tendency to trace the observance of the law to the patriarchs had already reached its most extreme expression in the Book of Jubilees.

the world . . . to be renewed. In A^1 and A^2 at the close of the Messianic kingdom, which in A^3 ends this world and begins the next (lxxiv. 2).

LVIII. 1. **the service . . . serve.** The text follows the Hebrew of Exod. i. 4, not the LXX.

LIX. 2. **the lamp . . . darkness.** A Rabbinic application of Isa. ix. 2.

the eternal law. Cf. xvii. 6; xv. 5, note.

torment of fire, i.e. a material fire to torment the wicked after the resurrection. Cf. xliv. 15, &c.

4. **law . . . times.** Text reads 'laws . . . time'.

the pattern of Zion. Cf. Exod. xxv. 40, &c.

in the pattern of which . . . made. So by a change of a single letter I have emended the text, which read 'which was to be made in the pattern of the sanctuary', &c. This emendation is followed by Ryssel.

5 sanctuary of the present time was to be made. But then also He showed to him the measures of
the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of
6 rain: And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgement:
7. 8 And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge: And the
height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and the consummation of the ages, and the beginning
9 of the day of judgement: And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come:
10 And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of
11 hope: And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the flaming
hosts, and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs
of the angels, and the treasuries of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the
12 law. These are the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen.

60 1 'And the black fifth waters which thou hast seen raining are the works which the Amorites
wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their
2 mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution. But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days
of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them.

61 1 'And the bright sixth waters which thou didst see, this is the time in which David and Solomon
were born.

2 And there was at that time the building of Zion,
And the dedication of the sanctuary,

And the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then,
And many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary.

3 And peace and tranquillity existed at that time,
4 And wisdom was heard in the assembly:

And the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations,
5 And the holy festivals were fulfilled in blessedness and in much joy.

6 And the judgement of the rulers was then seen to be without guile,
And the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth.
7 And the land [which] was then beloved by the Lord,
And because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands,
And the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions.

8 These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

62 1 'And the black seventh waters which thou hast seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the
2 counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold: And all the iniquities which
3 kings who were after him iniquitously wrought. And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols
4 which Israel practised at that time. And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred
5 until women eat the fruit of their wombs. And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine
6 tribes and a half, because they were in many sins. And Salmanasar king of Assyria came and led

5–11. Here one of Enoch's functions is for the first time transferred to Moses. Cf. another such transference to Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50. Enoch, like the LXX, was much appealed to by Christians, and like it, therefore, fell into disuse by the Jews. This aggressive attitude of Judaism cannot be earlier than 50 A. D., and therefore places this writing (A^3) after that date. It is prior to A. D. 70 (lxviii. 5).

5. **the depths of the abyss.** 1 Enoch xviii. 11; xxi. 7–10, &c; 2 Enoch xxviii. 3.
the weight of the winds. 2 Enoch xl. 11. Cf. 1 Enoch xli. 4.

8. **the greatness of Paradise.** The measures of Paradise are taken by the angels for Enoch. Cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 1–4; lxx. 3, 4.
the beginning of the day of judgement. A definite reckoning is given in 2 Enoch xxxii. 2–xxxiii. 2; lxv. 7–10; and indefinite measures in 1 Enoch lxxxiii–xc; xci–civ.

10. **the mouth of Gehenna.** Cf. lxxxv. 13; 1 Enoch xxvii. 2, 3, &c.
the station of vengeance. Many places of vengeance are described in the two books of Enoch: 1 Enoch xviii. 12–16; xix; xxi; xxii. 10–13; liv. 1–6; xc. 24–7; 2 Enoch x; xl. 2.
the place of faith, and the region of hope. These seem to be the places of intermediate bliss. Cf. 1 Enoch xxii. 5–9.

11. **the likeness of future torment.** 2 Enoch xl. 12.
lightnings . . . thunders. 1 Enoch xli. 3, &c.
the orders of the chiefs of the angels. The Syriac has 'chief' (sing.). Cf. xlviii. 10; 2 Enoch xx. 1, 3.

LX. 1. **mingling of their pollution.** Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 15 *ἐν φυρμῷ ἀναμίξεως.*
2. **of the judges.** The Syriac has 'judgement'.

LXI. 7. **by the Lord.** The text = *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*, where I take *καιρῷ* to be corrupt for *Κυρίῳ*, and *ἐκείνῳ* to be a later addition. I have bracketed the 'which'.

LXII. 4. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 28, 29.
6. i. e. Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii. 3, 6. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

them away captive. But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness. These are the black seventh waters which thou hast seen.

3 'And the bright eighth waters which thou hast seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of Hezekiah king of Judah and the **grace** ⟨of God⟩ which came upon him. †For when Sennacherib was stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him.† When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (i.e.) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: nay, more he wished to overthrow Zion also: then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spake with the Mighty One and said: "Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion."

And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise,
And He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous.

And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with thee. And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command). And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth. And Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also was freed from tribulation. And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

4 'And the black ninth waters which thou hast seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah. For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and he wrested judgement, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drove forth their priests lest they should minister in the sanctuary. And he made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One. And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. But also against the two tribes and a half went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as thou hast now seen. And to such a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase, that it removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary. On this account Manasseh was at that time named "the impious", and finally his abode was in the fire. For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him for the hour. For he had not lived perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might know by whom finally he should be tormented. For he who is able to benefit is also able to torment.

5 'Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things. These are the black ninth waters which thou hast seen.

LXIII. 1. **the grace.** The MS. originally read 'bounty'. I have with Ryssel added 'of God'. Ryssel emends and reads 'the benignity of God'.

2. This verse is very corrupt.

3. **Hezekiah trusted in his works.** See xiv. 7, note. There is a play on Hezekiah's name in the words when retranslated into Hebrew חזקיה התחזק על. Cf. Sirach xlviii. 22, and 17.

4. There is a play again on 'Sennacherib' and 'destroy' in Hebrew סנחריב עתיד להחריב.

7. In 2 Kings xix. 35; Isa. xxxvii. 36, 185,000 is the complete number of the slain. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, only the slaughter of the chiefs is mentioned. The text combines the two accounts.

8. Cf. Sanh. 94ª, where it is said that the souls were burnt up but the bodies preserved.

LXIV. 3. **he made an image with five faces: four of,** &c. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7 says 'he set the graven image of the idol'. The Syriac version, however, gives 'and he set the four-fronted image'. Cf. the Arabic, and also the Talmud, *Sanh.* 103ᵇ 'at first he made for it one face, and in the end he made for it four faces that the Shechinah might see and be provoked'.

6. **removed the praise.** Sanh. 103ᵇ says Manasseh erased the divine name and overturned the altar.

7. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–19, on the other hand, implies that Manasseh was really forgiven on his repentance.

8. **his prayer.** 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; The Prayer of Manasseh in the Apocrypha.
the brazen horse. Cf. the Targum of Chronicles on 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Also Apost. Const. ii. 22; Anastasius on Ps. vi; Suidas (under *Μανασσῆς*).

9. Text corrupt.

LXV. The writer holds thus that Manasseh, though he prayed, did not really repent. Cf. Sanh. 101, and Sanh. 10, and contrast Debarim rabba 2, where Manasseh is to be saved at the last.

66 1 'And the bright tenth waters which thou hast seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah
king of Judah, who was the only one at the time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all
2 his heart and with all his soul. And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels
which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and
exalted the righteous, and honoured all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests
to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and necromancers from
3 the land. And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the
4 sepulchres the bones of the dead and burned them with fire. [And the festivals and the sabbaths
he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets
which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when
5 they were living, he cast them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them. And he was
zealous with zeal for the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time,
so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of
6 his life. **Therefore** he shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One
7 beyond many at a later time. For on his account and on account of those who are like him were
8 the honourable glories, of which thou wast told before, created and prepared. These are the bright
waters which thou hast seen.

67 1 'And the black eleventh waters which thou hast seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling
Zion.

2 Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One,
That Zion was so delivered up,
And that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts,
And **assemble** before their idols and say,

"She is trodden down who ofttimes trod down,
And she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)"?

3 Dost thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices,
Or that His name is glorified?

4 [But how will it serve towards His righteous judgement?]

5 Yet after these things shall the dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation,
And in shame shall they dwell in every place.

6 Because so far as Zion is delivered up
And Jerusalem laid waste,
Shall idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles,
And the vapour of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion,
And in the region of Zion in every place lo! there is the smoke of impiety.

7 But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion,
And he will boast over the people,
And he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High.

8 But he also shall fall at last. These are the black waters.

68 1, 2 'And the bright twelfth waters which thou hast seen: this is the word. For after these things
a time will come when thy people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of
3 perishing together. Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence.

LXVI. 2. **necromancers**, i.e. אוב. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 6.

4. The words bracketed might come after 'to their ministry' in verse 2.

6. **Therefore.** Here I have emended ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܕ (='now', to wit, 'he who') into ܗܟܝܠ ='therefore'. But the original is doubtful.

7. Cf. xiv. 18.

LXVII. 2. **assemble.** The Syriac reads ܟܢܫܐ (='crowds') corrupt for ܟܢܫܘ (='assemble').

6–7. With Jerusalem's destruction godlessness is everywhere triumphant. A^3 is unaware of the divine interposition to save the sacred vessels and destroy Zion by angels which B^1 narrates (vi. 4–10; lxxx. 1–3). Here in A^3, too, the Gentiles (lxvii. 2) and the King of Babylon (lxvii. 7) boast over the fall of Zion. Contrast the ideas of B^1 in vii. 1 and lxxx. 3, where such boasting is provided against.

6. **righteousness which is by the law.** See xv. 5, note.

LXVIII. 2, 3. The danger of the Jews according to the book of Esther and their deliverance. This is the second earliest allusion to this O.T. book. The first is in 2 Macc. xv. 36.

4, 5 And they will have in (due) time much joy. And at that time after a little interval Zion will again be builded, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and
5, 7 also the Gentiles will come to glorify it. Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning. But it will
8 come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

9 1 'For the last waters which thou hast seen which were darker than all that were before them, those
2 which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world. For
3 the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall. For as to the enormities and the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of
4 them. And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age.
5 On his account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the consummation.

70 1 'Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this
2 is the word. Behold! the days come, and it shall be when the time of the age has ripened,
And the **harvest** of its evil and good seeds has come,
That the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers
Perturbation of **spirit** and stupor of heart.

3 And they shall hate one another,
And provoke one another to fight,
And the mean shall rule over the honourable,
And those of low degree shall be extolled above the famous.

4 And the many shall be delivered into the hands of the few,
And those who were nothing shall rule over the strong,
And the poor shall have abundance beyond the rich,
And the impious shall exalt themselves above the heroic.

5 And the wise shall be silent,
And the foolish shall speak,
Neither shall the thought of men be then confirmed,
Nor the counsel of the **mighty**,
Nor shall the hope of those who hope be confirmed.

6 And when those things which were predicted have come to pass,
Then shall confusion fall upon all men,
And some of them shall fall in battle,
And some of them shall perish in anguish,

7 And some of them shall be **destroyed** by their own. Then the Most High will reveal those peoples whom He has prepared before,
And they shall come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left.

8 And it shall come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war shall die in the earthquake,
And whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake shall be burned by the fire,
And whosoever gets safe out of the fire **shall be destroyed** by famine.

6. The second temple was less esteemed. See Mal. i–ii; 1 En. lxxxix. 73, 74; Ass. Mos. iv. 8. This temple then was standing when liii–lxxiv was written.

LXIX. 1. **last.** Syriac = 'other'.
the last waters, &c. See liii. 7.
2–4. This division recalls Sirach xlii. 24.
3. **and.** So I emend the Syriac (='of') with Ryssel.
kinds: or 'methods'.
4. **beyond those which.** The travail-pains of the Messiah are developed in lxx–lxxii.

LXX. 1. The words bracketed spoil the scheme of the writer. In lxviii the last black waters come after the bright twelfth waters.
2. **harvest . . . spirit.** In both cases in the plural in the MS.
3–10. For these last woes cf. xxv. 2–4; xxvii; xlviii. 31–9; 4 Ezra v. 1–12; vi. 20–4; ix. 1–9; xiii. 29–31.
3, 5. Cf. xlviii. 37, 36.
5. **the mighty.** I have here changed the singular into the plural; in lxx. 2 the plural into the singular.
6. **destroyed by their own.** Cf. Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 35, 36. The Syriac 'hindered' is due to a corruption in the original Hebrew, יִבָּלְאוּ for יִבָּלוּ.
7. **whom He has prepared before.** Are these the hosts of Gog and Magog?
8. **the earthquake . . . fire.** Cf. xxvii. 7, 10; 4 Ezra ix. 3 and v. 8.
shall be destroyed. So Ceriani emends text, which = 'shall add'.
famine. Cf. xxvii. 6.

9 [And it shall come to pass that whosoever of the victors and the vanquished gets safe out of and
10 escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] For all the earth shall devour its inhabitants.

71 1 'And the holy land shall have mercy on its own,
And it shall protect its inhabiters at that time.

2, 3 This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this is the interpretation. For I have come to tell thee these things, because thy prayer has been heard with the Most High.

72 1 'Hear now also regarding the bright **lightning** which is to come at the consummation after these
2 black (waters): this is the word. After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when the nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, he shall both summon all the
3 nations, and some of them he shall spare, and some of them he shall slay. These things therefore
4 shall come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. Every nation, which knows not Israel
5 and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared. And this because some out of
6 every nation shall be subjected to thy people. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.

73 1 'And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom,
That joy shall then be revealed,
And rest shall appear.

2 And then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth.

3 And no one shall again die untimely,
Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall.

4 And judgements, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges,
And blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred,
And whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed.

5 For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils,
And on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled.

6 And wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men,
And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child.

7 And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,
Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

74 1 'And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build be toilworn;
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.
2 For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible,
And the beginning of that which is not corruptible.
3 Therefore those things which were predicted shall belong to it:
Therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not.
4 This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters.'

9. An interpolation? Verse 10 is the natural sequel to verse 8. The appearance of the Messiah and the extermination of the Gentiles are at least anticipated if not premature here.

LXXI. See xxix. 2, note.
3. Cf. liv. 1.

LXXII. 1. **the bright lightning.** The Syriac has 'the bright waters', which contradicts the vision in liii. 7–11. The same emendation is necessary in lxxiv. 4. The verb must be read in the sing. to agree with its subject.
4–6. The Messiah was to extend his dominion over the Gentiles (Ps. lxxii. 11, 17; Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19–21; Zech. xiv; 1 En. xc. 20; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32). A harsher view grew up in the first century B.C. In 1 Enoch xxxvii–lxx and Assumpt. Mos. x the Gentiles are to be annihilated; so in 4 Ezra xiii. 37, 38, 49, and later Judaism. The Messiah here, as in xxxix. 7–xl; 4 Ezra xii. 32, is a warrior who slays Israel's enemies with his own hand. Cf. Isa. xi. 4. Contrast His passive rôle in xxix. 2 of this book.

LXXIII. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.
6. Cf. Isa. xi. 6–9; lxv. 25; Sibyll. Or. iii. 620–3, 743–50.

LXXV. *Baruch's Hymn on the Unsearchableness of God's Ways and on His Mercies through which the Faithful shall attain to a blessed Consummation.* lxxv-lxxvi = B².

75 1 And I answered and said:

'Who can **understand**, O Lord, Thy goodness?
For it is incomprehensible.

2 Or who can search into thy compassions,
Which are infinite?

3 Or who can comprehend Thy intelligence?
4 Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind?
5 Or who of those who are born can hope to come to those things,
Unless he is one to whom Thou art merciful and gracious?

6 Because, if assuredly Thou didst not have compassion on man,
Those who are under Thy right hand,
They could not come to those things,
But those who are in the numbers named can be called.

7 But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come,
And submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt,
We shall come again and remember those things which have passed,
And shall rejoice regarding that which has been.

8 But if now we know not wherefore we have come,
And recognize not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt,
We shall come again and seek after those things which have been now,
And be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen.'

LXXVI. *Baruch bidden to instruct the People for forty days and then to hold himself ready for his Assumption on the Advent of the Messiah.*

76 1 And He answered and said unto me: ['Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to thee as thou besoughtest], hear the word of the Most High that thou mayst know what
2 is to befall thee after these things. For thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not
3 unto death, but **thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation** of the times. Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there shall pass before thee all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top(s) of the mountains, and the depth(s) of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayst see what thou art leaving, and
4 whither thou art going. Now this shall befall after forty days. Go now therefore during these days and instruct the people so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times.'

LXXV–LXXVI. Here B² returns. Baruch addresses God and not Ramiel, who in lv. 4-lxxiv. has been explaining the vision in liii.

LXXV. 1. **understand.** Syriac reads ܡܬܕܡܐ = 'be likened to', which I have emended into ܡܬܝܕܥ = 'understand', omitting the following ܠ.

2. The mercies of God are not much dwelt on in this book. The righteous are fully conscious of their own merit (cf. xiv. 7). But cf. lxxxi. 4; lxxv. 5, 6.

6. **who are under Thy right hand.** Cf. Ps. lxxx. 17.

7, 8. **We shall come again,** i.e. we shall rise and meet with our fate according as we are obedient and righteous or not.

LXXVI. 1. The words bracketed are inserted by the final editor.
hear the word of the Most High. Cf. xiii. 2; xxv. 1.

2. **thou shalt be preserved until the consummation of the times.** The Syriac here has 'unto the preservation of the times'. From xxv. 1 we see we must read 'thou shalt be preserved unto the times', or rather the fuller form we find in xiii. 3 'thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times'. Ryssel has adopted this suggestion.

3. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1–3; Matt. iv. 8.

4. **forty days.** Cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, and 4 Ezra xiv. 23, 42–5.

LXXVII. *Baruch's Admonition to the People and his writing of two Letters—one to the nine and a half tribes in Assyria and the other to the two and a half in Babylon.*

77 1 And I, Baruch, went thence and came to the people, and assembled them together from the lxxv
2 greatest to the least, and said unto them: 'Hear, ye children of Israel, behold how many ye are who lxxx
3 remain of the twelve tribes of Israel. For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law more B^1
4 excellent than to all peoples. And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High,

He brought vengeance upon you and upon them,
And He spared not the former,

And the latter also He gave into captivity:
And He left not a residue of them,
5 But behold! ye are here with me.

6 If, therefore, ye direct your ways aright,
Ye also shall not depart as your brethren departed,
But they shall come to you.

7 For He is merciful whom ye worship,
And He is gracious in whom ye hope,
And He is true, so that He shall do good and not evil.

8 Have ye not seen here what has befallen Zion?
9 Or do ye perchance think that the place had sinned,
And that on this account it was overthrown?

Or that the land had wrought foolishness,
And that therefore it was delivered up?

10 And know ye not that on account of you who did sin,
That which sinned not was overthrown,
And, on account of those who wrought wickedly,
That which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies?'

11 And the whole people answered and said unto me: 'So far as we can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember
12 He in His mercy knows. Nevertheless, do this for us thy people: write also to our brethren in Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of hope, that thou mayst confirm them also before thou dost depart from us.

13 For the shepherds of Israel have perished,
And the lamps which gave light are extinguished,
And the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink.

LXXVII–LXXXVI. These chapters belong to B^1 with the exception of lxxxiii and lxxxv. The chief differences between B^1 and B^2 are: in B^1 an earthly felicity is looked for, the dispersion is to return, and the earthly Jerusalem to be rebuilt; in B^2 none of these things are expected. In B^1 Baruch is to die, in B^2 to be translated; in B^1 Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, in B^2 he is.

LXXVII. 1. **from the greatest to the least.** This order belongs to the later books; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30; Esther i. 5, 20. Contrast Gen. xix. 11; 1 Sam. v. 9; Jer. vi. 13, &c.

4. **upon you,** i.e. the two and a half tribes = 'the former' in the next line.
upon them, i.e. the nine and a half tribes = 'the latter'.
left not a residue. This denies the Samaritan claim.

5. **here with me.** Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 33. Ryssel misunderstands and tries to emend.

6. **they shall come to you.** Seems to include the nine and a half tribes. Cf. lxxviii. 7.

7. **do good and not evil.** Cf. Jer. xxi. 10; Amos ix. 4.

9. The place itself had not sinned, therefore the angels, instead of the king of Babylon, had destroyed it. Cf. v–viii; lxxx.

10. Note that Jerusalem's fall is attributed here not only to the sins of the two and a half tribes, but also of the nine and a half. Cf. Jer xi. 17; 1 Bar. ii. 26; Ass. Mos. iii. 5.

12. **to our brethren in Babylon,** i.e. the two and a half tribes. Cf. verse 19. In 4 Baruch the letter is addressed to Jeremiah; not so here. See x. 2, note. This letter is lost.
depart, i.e. die (xliii. 2, note).

14 And we are left in the darkness,
And amid the †trees of the forest†,
And the thirst of the wilderness.'

15 And I answered and said unto them:
'Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law:
And though we depart, yet the law abideth.

16 If therefore ye have respect to the law,
And are intent upon wisdom,
A lamp will not be wanting,
And a **shepherd** will not fail,
And a fountain will not dry up.

17 Nevertheless, as ye said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon, and I will send
by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of
18 a bird.' And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch,
came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but
19 I was alone. And I wrote these two epistles: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes;
20 and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men. And I called the eagle
21 and spake these words unto it: 'The Most High hath made thee that thou shouldst be higher than
22 all birds. And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till
thou hast passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and hast gone to the
23 people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle. Remember, moreover, that, at the time
of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark.
25 Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded. Solo-
mon also, in the time of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything,
26 commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it. And now let it not
weary thee, and turn not to the right hand nor the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that thou
mayst preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto thee.'

LXXVIII–LXXXVI. The Epistle of Baruch the Son of Neriah which he wrote to the Nine and a Half Tribes.

8 1 These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half
2 tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written. Thus saith Baruch
3 the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity: 'Mercy and peace.' I bear in mind, my
brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved us from of old, and never hated us, but above
4 all educated us. And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one bond,
5 inasmuch as we are born from one father. Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the
words of this epistle before I die, that ye may be comforted regarding the evils which have come
upon you, and that ye may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren; and
again, also, that ye may justify His judgement which He has decreed against you that ye should be

14. **left in the darkness**: xlvi. 2; 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

†**trees** = עצי, possibly corrupt for עצבי = 'toils'. But whether this is so or not, the general sense is clear. In verse 13 three things have been lost: shepherds to guide the people, lamps to give light to them, and fountains to satisfy their thirst. Now, owing to the loss of the lamps, the people are 'left in darkness', owing to the loss of the fountains they suffer from the 'thirst of the wilderness'. Hence the second line must deal with the evils that followed on the loss of the shepherds, and its restoration must satisfy this requirement. Accordingly I offer the following suggestion: that ܒܗܝܠܐ ܕܥܒܐ is corrupt for ܡܢ ܒܠܝ ܪܥܝܐ = 'without pasture', or 'without a shepherd'.

16. **shepherd.** So Ceriani emends ܪܥܝܢܐ = 'mind', into ܪܥܝܐ.

17. **by means of men.** In 4 Baruch an eagle carries Baruch's letter to Jeremiah at Babylon.

21. Cf. 4 Baruch vii. 3: 'Elect above all the birds of heaven.'

23. Cf. Gen. viii. 11; 4 Baruch vii. 10.

LXXVIII. 1. The nine and a half tribes. In this book the tribes of Israel carried away by the king of Assyria are always so designated, except in i. 2. Cf. John Malalas 158. In 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called 'the ten tribes' in the Latin version, 'the nine and a half tribes' in the Syriac and Arabic versions, and 'the nine tribes' in the Ethiopic version.

2. **Mercy and peace** + 'unto you' c. Cf. 1 Tim. i. 2.

3. In the genuine parts of B[1] Baruch speaks frequently in the first person singular, but not in the interpolated portions.

5. **justify.** See xxi. 9, note. Cf. Ps. li. 4.

carried away captive—for what ye have suffered is disproportioned to what ye have done—in order
6 that, at the last times, ye may be found worthy of your fathers. Therefore, if ye consider that ye
have now suffered those things for your good, that ye may not finally be condemned and tormented,
then ye will receive eternal hope; if above all ye destroy from your heart vain error, on account of
7 which ye departed hence. For if ye so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who
always promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget
or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

79 1 Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came
2 up against us. For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the command-
3 ments which he commanded us, yet he hath not chastened us as we deserved. For what befell you
we also suffer in a pre-eminent degree, for it befell us also.

80 1 And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city,
the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and
2 they destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be rooted out. Nevertheless, they hid **all**
3 the vessels of the sanctuary, lest **the enemy should get possession of them.** And when they
had done these things, they delivered thereupon to the enemy the overthrown wall, and the plundered
house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up, lest
the enemy should boast and say: 'Thus by force have we been able to lay waste even the house of the
4 Most High in war.' Your brethren also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused
5, 6 them to dwell there. But we have been left here, being very few. This is the tribulation about
7 which I wrote to you. For assuredly I know that ⟨the consolation of⟩ the inhabitants of Zion
consoleth you: so far as ye knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the
tribulation which ye endured in having to depart from it.

81 1, 2 But regarding consolation, hear ye the word. For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed
for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

3 'How long will these things endure for us?
And will these evils come upon us always?'

4 And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies,
And the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion,
And He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation,
And He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish,
And He made known to me the mystery of the times.
And the advent of the hours he showed me.

82 1 Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that ye may comfort yourselves regarding the
2 multitude of your tribulations. For know ye that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our
enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that the consummation which the Most
High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgement,
is by no means far off.

5. **the last times**, i.e. the Return, verse 7.

7. **those who were more excellent.** The patriarchs.

with much mercy. In 4 Ezra xiv. 34, 35, after death the righteous obtain mercy. Here Israel obtains it in their Return.

gather together . . . dispersed. Cf. lxxvii. 6; lxxxiv. 2, 8, 1c. For the Return spoken of in the O.T. and elsewhere, see my Commentary, *in loc.* The return in B^1 accords well with the rebuilding of Jerusalem expected in B^1. See i. 4; vi. 9, notes.

LXXIX. **2. chastened.** Cf. i. 5; xiii. 10.

LXXX. This chapter resembles and implies vi–viii, but conflicts with lxvii.

2. **all the vessels.** Syr. 'the vessels of the vessels' = כלים מכלי, corrupt for כל כלי.

lest the enemy should get possession of them. Syr. reads 'lest they should be polluted by the enemy' = פן יחלו מאויבים, corrupt for פן ינחלום אויבים, as in vi. 8.

4. Jeremiah not mentioned. See x. 2, note.

5. Jer. xlii. 2.

7. **⟨the consolation of⟩ the inhabitants of Zion consoleth,** &c. صحصا requires a subject. In lxxvii. 12 the people ask Baruch to send to their brethren in Babylon 'a scroll of hope'. Hence some such word is needed here, i.e. حصلا = 'consolation' as in lxxxi. 1, 4. Ryssel proposes most extraordinarily to insert 'tribulation' where I have added 'consolation'. The tribulation of the Jews in Zion is to comfort the exiles in Babylon!

LXXXI. As in lxxx. 7 the nine and a half tribes were consoled when Jerusalem prospered and were grieved at its downfall, Baruch has now a word of consolation for them touching Zion; for God has comforted him by a revelation regarding it.

1. **consolation**, i.e. Zion's restoration. Cf. xliv. 7.

4. **mystery.** ch read 'mysteries.'

LXXXII. I am doubtful whether lxxxii. 2–9 belongs to B^1 or B^2; perhaps the latter.

3 For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles,
Though they act impiously,
But they shall be like a vapour:

4 And we behold the multitude of their power,
Though they do wickedly,
But they shall be made like unto a drop;

5 And we see the firmness of their might,
Though they resist the Mighty One every hour,
But they shall be accounted as spittle.

6 And we consider the glory of their greatness,
Though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High,
But as smoke shall they pass away.

7 And we meditate on the beauty of their gracefulness,
Though they have to do with pollutions,
But as grass that withers shall they fade away.

8 And we consider the strength of their cruelty,
Though they remember not the end (thereof),
But as a wave that passes shall they be broken.

9 And we remark the boastfulness of their might,
Though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them,
But they shall pass away as a passing cloud.

83 1 [For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, lxxxiii = B²
And He will assuredly bring on His hours.

2 And He will assuredly judge those who are in His world,
And will visit in truth all things by means of all their hidden works.

3 And He will assuredly examine the secret thoughts,
And that which is laid up in the secret chambers of all the members of man.
And will make (them) manifest in the presence of all with reproof.

4 Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expec-
5 tant, because that which is promised to us shall come. And let us not now look unto the delights
6 of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end. For the ends of the times and of the seasons and whatsoever is with them shall assuredly pass by
7 together. The consummation, moreover, of the age shall then show the great might of its ruler,
8 when all things come to judgement. Do ye therefore prepare your hearts for that which before ye believed, lest ye come to be in bondage in both worlds, so that ye be led away captive here and be
9 tormented there. For that which exists now or which has passed away, or which is to come, in all these things, neither is the evil fully evil, nor again the good fully good.

10 For all healthinesses of this time are turning into diseases,
11 And all might of this time is turning into weakness,
And all the force of this time is turning into impotence,
12 And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation.

3, 4. **a vapour . . . a drop.** Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 61, vi. 56 (Isa. xl. 15).
5. **accounted as spittle.** The text here and in 4 Ezra vi. 56 agrees with LXX against the Hebrew.

LXXXIII. This chapter seems to belong to B². The times are to be hastened (lxxxiii. 1, 6) and everything brought to judgement (2, 3, 7); let them attend not to the present but to the end and its joys (4, 5), and hold to their old faith, to avoid torment in the world to come (8), for this world is passing away with its strength, its virtues and its lusts (9–23). There is a close connexion between lxxxiii and xx. This chapter seems to have formed originally part of Baruch's address to the people, and to have followed on xliv. 8–15.

3. See 4 Ezra xvi. 65. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 5; also Heb. iv. 12.
4. **Let none therefore,** &c. Cf. Col. iii. 2 *τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε.*
promised. See xiv. 13, note.
8. **prepare your hearts.** See xxxii. 1, note.
that which before ye believed, refers to apostates, i.e. Christians who had left Judaism. Cf. xli. 3.

10. Probably we have here a play on words כל־מרפא מעתה יהפך למרוה.
11, 12, 13. **might . . . beauty . . . dominion.** xxi. 14; xlviii. 35.

And every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful,
13 And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame,
14 And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence,
And every vain splendour and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin.

15 And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption,
16 And every clamour of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness.

17 And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone,
18 And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death,
And every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgement of torment.

19 And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth,
20 And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgement and condemnation,
21 And every love of lying is turning to contumely through truth.

22 Since therefore all these things are done now, does anyone think that they will not be avenged? But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

84 1 Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live: for I have said (it) lxxx = B[1]
that ye should learn the things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded me to instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgement before I die.
2 Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you and said:
3 'If ye transgress the law ye shall be dispersed, but if ye keep it ye shall be kept.' And other
4 things also he used to say unto you when ye the twelve tribes were together in the desert. And after his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there came upon you what had been
5 predicted. And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you:
6 for ye have forsaken the law. Lo! I also say unto you after ye have suffered, that if ye obey those things which have been said unto you, ye will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid
7 up and reserved for you. Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that ye may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defence
8 in the presence of Him who sent me. And remember ye the law and Zion, and the holy land and
9 your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the sabbaths. And deliver ye this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers
10 delivered (them) to you. And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the
11 multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers. For if He judge us not according to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

85 1 [Know ye, moreover, that lxxxv = B[3]
In former times and in the generations of old our fathers had helpers,
Righteous men and holy prophets:

2 Nay more, we were in our own land
[And they helped us when we sinned],

12. **beauty . . . hateful.** Cf. xlviii. 35.
14. **glory . . . shame.** Again a play on words in the Hebrew כבוד . . . קלון.

LXXXIV. 1. **learn . . . instruct you.** So b d g h i l W P. c reads 'above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One wherein I should instruct you'.

2. See xix. 2, note. In this verse we get several traces of the Hebrew original: the idiom העד העיד; the play on 'keep' and 'kept'; and perhaps a paronomasia in 'transgress' and 'be dispersed' תסורו and תוורו.

be kept. So all MSS. but c which reads 'be planted'.

6. The nine and a half tribes must endure chastisement before they could attain to the promised happiness. This chastisement was for their well-being (lxxviii. 6); was less than they deserved (lxxix. 2), and was intended to make them worthy of their fathers in the last days (lxxviii. 5).

10. **that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you.** Cf. 4 Ezra x. 24. The return to Palestine is to follow the reconciliation (lxxviii. 7).

the rectitude of your fathers. For their merit see xiv. 7, note; and contrast this next verse.

LXXXV. An interpolation, B[3]. The restored Jerusalem and the return expected in B[1] is here implicitly denied, as in B[2]. This world is lost, and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption. B[3] is more individualistic than B[2], and moreover was written outside Palestine (lxxxv. 2, 3), whereas B[2] seems to have been written in Jerusalem. B[3] is the most pessimistic part of this book.

1–3. In these verses we have a strophe of five lines and an antistrophe. I have bracketed two clauses in verse 2 as interpolations.

1. Jeremiah's generation seems far in the past.
2. The writer is among the Dispersion.

they helped us. Cf. 4 Baruch ii. 3.

And they interceded for us with Him who made us,
[Because they trusted in their works],
And the Mighty One heard their prayer and forgave us.

3 But now the righteous have been gathered
And the prophets have fallen asleep,
And we also have gone forth from the land,
And Zion has been taken from us,
And we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law.

4 If therefore we direct and dispose our hearts,
We shall receive everything that we lost,
And much better things than we lost by many times.

5 For what we have lost was subject to corruption,
And what we shall receive shall not be corruptible.

6 [Moreover, also, I have written thus to our brethren to Babylon, that to them also I may attest these very things.]

7 And let all those things aforesaid be always before your eyes,
Because we are still in the spirit and the power of our liberty.

8 Again, moreover, the Most High also is long-suffering towards us here,
And He hath shown to us that which is to be,
And hath not concealed from us what will befall in the end.

9 Before therefore judgement exact its own,
And truth that which is its due,
Let us prepare our soul
That we may possess, and not be taken possession of,
And that we may hope and not be put to shame,
And that we may rest with our fathers, and not be tormented with our enemies.

10 For the youth of the world is past,
And the strength of the creation already exhausted,
And the advent of the times is very short,
Yea, they have passed by;
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port,
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to (its) consummation.

11 And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship ye may have rest
12 and not be condemned when ye depart. For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things,

There shall not there be again [a place of repentance, nor] a limit to the times,
Nor a duration for the hours,
Nor a change of ways,
Nor place for prayer,
Nor sending of petitions,
Nor receiving of knowledge,
Nor giving of love,

trusted in their works. The dead righteous avail not, only the living. See xiv. 7, note; lxiii. 3.

3. **we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law.** The law was Israel's everlasting and unconditional possession. Cf. Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 38. The land, the sanctuary, and the kingdom of David were conditional (Mechilta, 68^b). Cf. xlviii. 22. With the law Israel could not fall.

6. This verse is due to the final editor.

7. **the power of our liberty**, i. e. enjoy free-will. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 37; Acts i. 7; v. 4; Pss. Sol. ix. 7. On the doctrine see liv. 15, note.

8. **hath shown to us.** In B^1 Baruch does not use the plural 'we' and 'us' in this connexion. See lxxviii. 3 note.

9. **that we may possess,** &c. Probably corrupt.
rest with our fathers. Cf. xi. 4.

10. **the youth of the world is past.** Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 10, 16; v. 50–66.

12. [**a place of repentance nor**]. This phrase is a dittograph of what follows later. The idea is here in its wrong context, whereas it is in its right context later. Finally it is against the parallelism.

Nor place of repentance for the soul,
Nor supplication for offences,
Nor intercession of the fathers,
Nor prayer of the prophets,
Nor help of the righteous.

13 There there is the sentence of corruption,
The way of fire,
And the path which bringeth to Gehenna.

14 On this account there is one law by one,
One age and an end for all who are in it.

15 Then He will preserve those whom He can forgive,
And at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.]

86 1, 2 When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. And meditate
3 thereon, above all on the days of your fasts. And bear me in mind by means of this epistle, as I also bear you in mind in it, and always. Fare ye well.

LXXXVII. *The Dispatch of the Letter to the Nine and a Half Tribes.*

87 1 And it came to pass when I had ended all the words of this epistle, and had written it sedulously to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dismissed and sent it.

HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH.

nor place of repentance. 4 Ezra ix. 12. This is the universal teaching in the Books of Enoch and 4 Ezra.
intercession of the fathers. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 102–15; 2 Enoch liii. 1.

14. **one law by one.** Moses is meant; in the Ass. Mos. iii. 12, he is called the mediator of the law. Thus this verse is directed against Christians. It seems out of place.

LXXXVI. 3. **Fare ye well** (a b d e f g h i W P). > c.

LXXXVII. This chapter is found only in c, but it belongs to the book. Cf. lxxvii. 17, 20-6.
bound it to the neck of the eagle. 4 Baruch vii. 8.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH
OR III BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

Until the end of the last century this apocalypse was unknown. Its existence was surmised from a passage in Origen (*de Princip.* ii. 3. 6), 'Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur.' About 1896 the Rev. E. C. Butler, O.S.B., drew the attention of Dr. M. R. James to a manuscript in the British Museum of a Greek apocalypse which answered in part to Origen's description. It contains an account not of seven heavens but of five, but the conclusion is evidently incomplete, and the existence of other heavens is implied. This text was edited and published by Dr. James in 1897. A Slavonic version of the book had been known previously, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205–9, by Novakovic in 1886. This version, however, is less complete than the Greek, and mentions only two heavens.

Neither the Greek nor the Slavonic represents more than a condensation of the original.

In its present form the work is a composite production, belonging to the second century A. D. The Jewish original has been worked over by a Christian redactor, whose purpose it is to sound a note of stern warning to the unconverted Jews, and also to instil into the minds of Christians the need of patience and forbearance in dealing with them (see § 8 below).

§ 2. The Title.

There are two superscriptions to the book. The first begins Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ.; the second Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ. Dr. James names it *Apocalypsis Baruchi Tertia Graece*, and it is referred to as 3 Baruch in this edition.

§ 3. The MSS.

The only known Greek manuscript of this apocalypse is that numbered Add. 10073 in the British Museum, which contains in addition several other works and fragments. It is a minuscule MS. on Italian paper, of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Slavonic text published by Novakovic was found in a manuscript which possibly dates from the sixteenth century. This version is more abridged than the Greek. The main points of contact and difference between the two versions are indicated in the notes.

§ 4. Relation to other Baruch Literature.

1. *The apocryphal book of Baruch* (1 Baruch). There is no point of contact between this book and 3 Baruch save that both raise the problem of the sufferings of Israel (cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1–8 and 3 Bar. i).

2. *The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Baruch). There are several similarities of expression in this apocalypse and our text. They are indicated in the notes. The parallelisms are not so close as to imply the necessary dependence of our apocalypse upon the Syriac. In 2 Baruch lxxvi. 3, Baruch is promised certain cosmical revelations, but the book contains no record that the promise was fulfilled. It has been contended that 3 Baruch was written to supply the deficiency in 2 Baruch. Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*) holds it to be questionable whether the author of 3 Baruch used 2 Baruch, and thinks that 2 Bar. lxxvi. 3 makes against rather than for such a supposition. 'The assumption is untenable that the Gk. apoc. was written to show the actual fulfilment of the promise. The critical point in the Syr. apoc. lies in this chapter, when Baruch before leaving the earth obtains a full survey of it, that he may see what he is leaving, and whither he is going. This idea is based upon an opinion held by Akiba b. Joseph (*Sifre Num.* 136) and others, that God allowed not only

Moses, but other favoured pious men, to behold before their death the whole world and all the mysteries of nature. Now if the Gk. apoc. was complementary to the Syriac, the author of the former would not have failed to join his story of Baruch's passage through the heavens to that of his last act on earth.'

3. *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (4 Baruch). In the Christian interpolation as to the vine in 3 Bar. iv occurs τὸ πικρὸν τούτου μεταβληθήσεται εἰς γλυκύ, which recalls τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἁλμυρὰ γενήσονται in 4 Bar. ix. 16. But this cannot be held to be a very close parallelism. In ch. xi of our apocalypse Michael is called ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν and in 4 Bar. ix. 5 (Aeth.) he is described as the archangel who holds open the gates of righteousness until the righteous enter in. The closest references to 4 Baruch in 3 Baruch are in the superscription, in which mention is made of the long sleep of Abimelech in the Garden of Agrippa (cf. 4 Bar. iii. 9–v. 30). But it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the superscription is a later addition, especially as it is in the third person, whereas ch. i is in the first.

§ 5. Relation to other Apocalyptic Literature.

1. *Slavonic Enoch.* There is a very close connexion between 2 Enoch xi–xv and 3 Bar. vi–ix. In each case there is a reference to the chariot of the sun and of the moon, the attendant angels, the renewing of the sun's crown. 2 En. contains the only reference in literature to the existence of more than one phoenix at a time, and associates with them other birds called chalkydri. In 3 Baruch there is only one phoenix, and it, in language like that of the birds in 2 En. xv. 1 f., sings 'Light-giver, give to the world radiance.'

2. *Apoc. Pauli.* The reference to the defilement of the sun by the unrighteousness of men (3 Bar. viii) finds a parallel in *Apoc. Pauli* 4 '.Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum: permitte me et faciam eis ⟨quae⟩ sunt virtutes meae, ut cognoscant quia tu es solus deus. Et facta est uox ad eum dicens: Haec omnia noui; oculus enim meus uidit et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos, dum ad usque conuertentes peniteantur. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me omnes ego iudicabo.'

Chs. xii and xiii of our apoc. find a close parallel in chs. 7–10 of *Apoc. Pauli* (see note below under ch. xii). James thinks it likely that *Apoc. Pauli* is a *pasticcio* of a rather late date. The relation of the two books to each other is not clear. It is not likely that 3 Baruch has been altered to bring it into conformity with *Apoc. Pauli*, for as we shall endeavour to show (see § 8 below), the three classes of angels with their respectively full, half-full, and empty baskets were essential to the purpose of the Christian redactor. It is not improbable that the motive which induced him to work over this apocalypse to give it a Christian form is to be found in the didactic use he could make of this incident. Either then the passage in *Apoc. Pauli* is derived from 3 Baruch, or both are taken from a common source.

3. A few points of contact with the *Story of Zosimas* (*Apoc. Anecdota* 1) are indicated in the notes. They are not such as to imply necessary dependence.

§ 6. Composite Nature of the Text.

The framework of this apocalypse is characteristically Jewish. The story that the vine was the forbidden tree, the cosmic revelations, showing kinship with the Enoch literature, and the angelology —all mark it out as a work of Jewish origin. The hand of a Christian redactor can be traced in certain interpolations. In ch. iv a long passage is introduced to reconcile the story that the vine was the forbidden tree with the use of wine in the Eucharist. This section is full of Christian phrases (see notes). The Editor's influence is most evident in the concluding chapters (xi–xvii). The original conclusion is missing from our text, and these chapters probably represent a somewhat drastic treatment of the groundwork. It is probable that we have to deal here not merely with interpolations, but with a partial reconstruction of the text. So far as possible the influence of the redactor is indicated in the notes.

James attributes the lists of sins in chs. iv, viii, xiii to Christian influence, and compares them with Matt. xv. 19 and Gal. v. 21 (cf. also Rom. i. 29–31). It may of course be so, but it is not a necessary assumption. The lists are by no means the same. Our apocalypse does not reproduce the order of either Matt. or Paul, and it omits some of the sins enumerated by them. It must be admitted, however, that all included in the lists of 3 Baruch occur in some form in the Pauline Epistles (except μαντεία). But on the other hand it must be remembered that such lists were part of the stock-in-trade of the Jewish, and indeed of other ancient writers. *The Tests. of the Twelve Patri-*

archs speak of spirits of πορνείας, ἀπληστείας γαστρός, μάχης, ἀρεσκείας καὶ μαγγανείας, ὑπερηφανείας, ψεύδους, ἀδικίας (T. Reub. iii. 3–6); τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας (T. Dan. i. 6); τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ φθόνου (T. Sim. iii. 1); τοῦ θυμοῦ (T. Dan. ii. 4); ἐπιθυμίας, πυρώσεως, ἀσωτίας, αἰσχροκερδίας (T. Jud. xvi. 1). There are also similar lists in Wisd. xiv. 25 f. αἷμα καὶ φόνος, κλοπὴ καὶ δόλος, φθορά, ἀπιστία, τάραχος, ἐπιορκία . . . μοιχεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια; and in 2 En. x. 4, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, devilish magic, stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, and murder.

Deissman (*Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 320 ff.) contends that the Primitive Christian lists of virtues and vices were based on Jewish and pagan series. He refers to counters used in an ancient game, which have been discovered, upon which are inscribed a large number of popular names of vices and virtues. 'Although we have not yet recovered all the counters necessary for the game . . . the parallels with St. Paul strike us immediately. Take for instance the list of vices in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. With the exception of "covetous", which is rather colourless, and "idolaters", which is not to be expected in a pagan list, all these will be found substantially word for word on the counters.' He also points to some striking parallels between the lists in St. Paul and Plautus.

§ 7. The Author.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.*) is of opinion that the author was a Jewish Gnostic of the beginning of the second century, 'when gnosis was at its height both among Jews and Christians'. He bases his view upon the mediatorial functions ascribed to Michael and his angels, and upon the traces of Greek and Oriental mythology found in the Apocalypse. But it is difficult to discern Gnostic influences in the teaching as to mediation, since it shows little advance on Tobit and T. Levi (see § 10 below, and note on ch. xii). But if there is not sufficient evidence to show that the author was a Gnostic, it is clear that his Judaism was tempered by a Hellenic-Oriental syncretism.

§ 8. The Christian Redactor.

Apart from the interpolation as to the vine, the hand of the Christian redactor is most evident in the concluding chapters. It is said of the men committed to the charge of the angels who bring empty baskets, that they will not enter the Church, nor among spiritual fathers (ch. xiii); they are to be 'provoked against a people that is no people, a people that has no understanding'; they are 'despisers of God's commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaim God's words to them' (ch. xvi). The Slavonic says: 'They do not gather together in the church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings.' It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that in each case the reference is to the Jews. Their provocation 'against a people that is no people' when read in the light of Rom. x. 19 can only refer to the anger of the Jews against the Gentile Christians. To whom is the phrase 'instead of prayer they bring cursings' so applicable as to the Jews?

4 Baruch like 3 Baruch seems to be in part at any rate a Jewish work recast by a Christian editor. According to Dr. Rendel Harris the former was issued in its present form soon after A. D. 136 as an eirenicon to the synagogue after Hadrian's edict banishing the Jews from Jerusalem. It was in effect an invitation to the Jews to evade that edict by submitting to baptism and joining the church, since the edict did not apply to Christians. According to Dr. Harris the book reflects a conflict between the old school of Jews and the Gentile Christians for the possession of the intermediate party, the Judaeo-Christians of various types. 'What makes one a little more confident in this interpretation that it was an appeal on the part of the Gentile Christians, or at least of the Gentilizing Christians to the more conservative, half-convinced among their Jewish brethren, is that we find from the account that some undecided people in the middle ground came part way to Jerusalem, and then returned; and that on their returning to Babylon they were received with an intimation that as they had secretly departed from them, they would not be received again: Babylon would have none of them. This, according to the story, leads to the formation of a new colony which is derisively called Samaria. Now this is not difficult of interpretation, if we imagine that there were those who had gone so far from Judaism as to provoke an edict against their being received again into ecclesiastical fellowship, and yet had not come so near to Christianity as to be able to pass the baptismal standards. In this case, then, one result of the Hadrian edict is the formation of a new Ebionite movement in Palestine. This exactly agrees with the statements of Epiphanius and Jerome as to the origin of Ebionism; they attempted to be both Jews and Christians, and ended by being neither' (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 15).

There were therefore three parties in the writer's mind, the Jews who stubbornly resisted the Gospel, the middle party of waverers, and the Christians. It seems to me that the same parties are reflected in 3 Baruch. The angels with the full baskets represent the Christians (ch. xii); those with

the half-full baskets the half-converted Jews (ch. xii); and those with the empty baskets the Jews who stubbornly resisted and opposed the Gospel (chs. xiii, xvi). Ch. xvi (especially in the Slavonic) exhorts the angels to be patient with Israel, and at the same time announces terrible judgements against the people if they continue unrepentant. The purpose of the Christian redactor was therefore to appeal to the church for patience and long-suffering in their endeavour to convert the Jews, and also to utter a note of stern warning to the Jews themselves.

§ 9. The Date.

The limits within which our Apocalypse must have been written are, on the one hand, 2 Enoch (A.D. 1–50), of whose influence it bears traces, and, on the other hand, Origen, who describes it. If the reference to Abimelech's long sleep, in the superscription, occurred in the original, then it must be dated subsequent to 4 Baruch (A.D. 136). But as we have seen, it is possible that the superscription is a later addition. We shall probably not err in dating the original 3 Baruch near the beginning of the second century, especially as its syncretism harmonizes with the tendency of that age.

The data for determining the date of the Christian redaction are even fewer, for as the Apocalypse which Origen saw contained an account of seven heavens, the passage in *de Princip.* does not fix a *terminus ad quem* for our form of the text. But since (as shown in § 7 above), like 4 Baruch, its motive seems to be the conversion of Jews and Ebionites, it is probable that the same circumstances called it forth, and that it was written soon after A.D. 136. The suggestion may be hazarded that the superscription referring to Abimelech was added by the Christian redactor as a result of his acquaintance with 4 Baruch.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that πνευματικοὺς πατέρας and ἱερεύς, as applied to a Christian minister, are undoubtedly later expressions, but it is possible that a later editor or scribe is responsible for them.

§ 10. Theology of the Book.

1. *The Seven Heavens.* Traces of the belief in a plurality of heavens are to be found in the O.T. (Deut. x. 14, 1 Kings viii. 27, Ps. cxlviii. 4), and more clearly in the N.T. (2 Cor. xii. 2, Eph. i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Heb. iv. 14, vii. 26). The conception is found in Babylonian, Parsee, and Greek thought, as well as in apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature. It also appears in early Christian writings. The subject is treated at length in its relation to Greek, Oriental, Jewish, and Christian literature in Charles's *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (pp. xxx–xlvii), and by Salmond in Hastings' *D. B.* (ii. 321–3). It will suffice here to indicate the teaching of apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature on the subject.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The account is found in T. Levi ii. 7–iii. 8, which contains several redactions of the original text. Charles is of opinion that the original description of three heavens has been transformed into a description of the seven.

The First Heaven. The waters above the firmament, and the treasuries of fire, ice, and snow. It is a gloomy place and contains the instruments for the punishment of wicked men (α).

The Second Heaven. Characterized by brightness. Abode of the angels who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (α). Treasuries of fire, snow, and ice (A α, β, A β, S^1).

The Third Heaven. Angelic armies who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (β, A β, S^1).

The Fourth Heaven. 'Thrones and dominions' who sing praise to God.

The Fifth Heaven. Angels who carry up men's prayers to the angels of the presence.

The Sixth Heaven. Archangels who make propitiation to God for the sins of men.

The Seventh Heaven. The abode of God.

2 Enoch.

The First Heaven. Great sea. Rulers of the stars. Treasuries of snow, ice, clouds, and dew and their guardians (iii–vi).

The Second Heaven. Darkness. Imprisoned angels awaiting judgement (vii).

The Third Heaven. Paradise prepared for the righteous; and, on the north, Hell for the wicked (viii–x). Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2–4.

The Fourth Heaven. Sun, moon, and attendant angels; phoenixes and chalkidri. An armed host of angels praising God (xi–xvii).

The Fifth Heaven. The Watchers whose brethren are imprisoned in the Second Heaven (A). Great hosts (B).

The Sixth Heaven. Seven bands of angels, set over the works of creation, and the souls of men (xix).

The Seventh Heaven. Abode of God and the archangels (xx).

Ascension of Isaiah. Sammael and his angels are located in the firmament. Then follow six heavens, each with a throne and angels increasing in glory with each successive heaven. Isaiah is transfigured as he ascends from heaven to heaven. The seventh heaven is the abode of God and all the righteous. Here too are stored the garments of the saints (vii–xi; cf. iv. 14 ff.).

3 Baruch.

The First Heaven. A plain. The builders of the Tower of Babel.

The Second Heaven. A plain. The designers of the Tower of Babel.

The Third Heaven. A great serpent. Hades. Sun, moon, and attendant angels. The Phoenix.

The Fourth Heaven. Plain. A pool. Birds (= souls of the righteous) singing praise to God.

The Fifth Heaven. Michael receives men's prayers from the angels. There is a suggestion of other heavens beyond.

Chagigah 12. The Seven Heavens are enumerated according to name.

Vilon serves no purpose whatever, save that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening, and renews every day the work of creation.

Rakia is that in which are set sun and moon, stars and constellations.

Shechakim is that in which the millstones stand, which grind manna for the righteous.

Zbul contains the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple. The altar is built there, and Michael offers sacrifice upon it.

Makhon contains the treasuries of hail, the high dwelling-place of harmful dews, the chamber of the whirlwind and of the storm, and the retreat of noisome vapour. And their doors are made of fire.

Araboth is that in which are righteousness, judgement, and grace; the treasuries of life and peace and blessing; the souls of the righteous; the spirits and souls which are about to be created; and the dew with which the Holy One is about to quicken mortals. There are also celestials and seraphs, and holy beings and ministering angels, and the throne of glory and the King, the Living God.

2. *Doctrine of the Mediation of Angels.* Perhaps the most characteristic doctrinal feature of this Apoc. is its teaching as to the mediation of Angels (xi–xvii). There are traces of this doctrine in the O.T. (Gen. xvi. 7 ff., xxi. 17 ff., xxviii. 12). There was a great development in Israel's angelology in post-exilic days (Is. lxiii. 9, Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1). This was due to three causes: (*a*) Advancing ideas of the Divine transcendence, and a growing feeling against anthropomorphic conceptions of God. (*b*) 'A tendency to personify abstract conceptions such as the "spirit" of a nation, and a further tendency to locate these personified forces in the supersensible world, from whence they ruled the destinies of men' (Davidson). (*c*) The stimulus of contact with Persian thought. The seven archangels, e.g., are connected with the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas. It is important to notice, however, that there is only one clear instance in the O.T. of angels interceding on behalf of men (Zech. i. 12). They are the messengers of God to man, not of man to God.

But the belief in the mediation of angels was not by any means universally accepted in post-exilic times. P never mentions angels, nor do they play a prominent part in the Apocrypha. Tobit, a book which bears evident marks of Persian influence, refers to the intercession of Raphael (iii. 16 f., xii. 12, 15). The mediation of a supernatural being is referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 12–15, but he is not called an angel. There is a marked dearth of references to angels in the other apocryphal books. In 4 Ezra (vii. 102 ff.) mediation of any kind is explicitly denied. It is only when we turn to the Pseudepigrapha that we find a highly developed doctrine of angels. Among the passages which explicitly teach angelic mediation are Eth. En. ix. 3 ff., xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 2, 16, civ. 1; T. Levi iii. 5; Test. Abraham xiv. The subject is treated at length in Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, pp. 37–44. See, too, notes below on chs. i, ii, xi, xii.

According to A. xxxiii. 8 the Sadducees denied the existence of angels. It is difficult to know how this is to be interpreted, since they received the written Scriptures. It may be, as Davidson suggests, that 'they interpreted the angelophanies of the written Scriptures received by them in a rational way as personified natural forces.' The Essenes held exaggerated doctrines on the subject. The Pharisees appear to have held a middle position, but it must be remembered that Pharisaism is a wide term, and that in all probability Eth. En. (in part), and the *Tests. of the Twelve Patriarchs* emanated from Pharisaic circles.

The N.T. reflects the current angelology, but its whole tendency is opposed to the conception of the mediation of angels. This idea occurs, however, in Rev. viii. 3. Swete is of opinion that the reference is the same in Heb. i. 14.

The only advance in our Apocalypse is in the introduction of the three classes of angels, who

intercede for three classes of men. In other respects its doctrine does not differ from that of 1 Enoch, Tobit, and Test. Levi, and it cannot therefore be said that it marks an advance in the direction of Gnosticism. It is true that underlying 3 Baruch there is an advanced conception of the divine transcendence. At no point in the narrative is the veil that hides God lifted, and we are not permitted to behold even Michael's communion with Him. In 1 Macc. God is even more remote, for His transcendence is modified by no angelic mediation. Doctrines of the mediation of angels owed their origin in part to a feeling that such teaching was one-sided, and closed the door to communion with God. Gnosticism was an elaborate attempt to bring a transcendent God into some sort of touch with the world, through a hierarchy of mediators. But such teaching as appears in 3 Baruch does not go beyond beliefs that were current in some Jewish circles.

3. *The Fall.* The forbidden tree was the vine, which the angel Sammael planted (see notes below on ch. iv). As in Wisd. (ii. 24) and 2 En. (xxxi. 3) Adam's disobedience is due to the Devil, who is prompted by envy. Too much must not be deduced from a writer's silence, but it may be noted that 3 Baruch does not enumerate inherited depravity and death among the consequences of the Fall. Adam 'obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God'. His descendants suffer in so far as they are participators in the same sin, and those which spring from it, 'the men who now drink insatiably . . . transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire.' This is not unlike the teaching of 2 Baruch, 'Adam is therefore not the cause save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19).

§ 11. Bibliography.

The Greek text is edited (with an introduction) by Dr. M. R. James in Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, vol. v, No. 1, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, iii, 1897. A German translation, with introduction and notes by Ryssel, is included in Kautzsch, *Die Apok. und Pseudep. des A. T.* ii. 446–57, 1900. The Slavonic version was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205–9, 1886, and a German translation (with introduction) by Prof. Bonwetsch appeared in 1896 in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Heft i. An English translation of this version, by Mr. Morfill, appears in Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, v. 1.

The article of Ginzberg on this Apocalypse in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and that of Zenos in Hastings' *D. C. and G.* (i. 86 f.), should be read.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

OR III BARUCH

Prologue.

1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.

2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river † Gel † weeping over the captivity of
3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.

1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and **sorrowing** on account of the people, and that
2 Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying: Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they
3 reproach us and say, Where is their God? And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God,
4 the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all ⟨the things⟩
5, 6 of God. For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said these things to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke
7 God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these. And I Baruch said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer.
8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

PROLOGUE. 2. **Gel.** James suggests that Kedron is meant. 'Part of the word has gone and ΚΕΔ- has passed into ΓΕΛ-.' Cf. 2 Bar. v. 5; xxi. 1; xxxi. 2.

Abimelech was preserved. See 4 Bar. iii. 9–v. 30, where it is recorded that Abimelech fell asleep in the garden of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and did not awake for sixty-six years.

the farm of Agrippa. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 12) identifies this with the fertile valley below Solomon's Pools, known as Solomon's Gardens. See Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 7. 3, 'There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he (Solomon) use to go out in the morning.' Cf. Eccles. ii. 5 f.

3. **the beautiful gates.** Cf. 2 Bar. x. 5; also Josephus, *B. J.* v. 5. 3, 'There was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered with silver and gold.' Cf. Acts iii. 2.

where the Holy of holies lay. James holds that the words *ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια* allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels (2 Macc. ii. 1–8; 2 Bar. vi. 7–10; 4 Bar. iii. 7 f.). It is better, however, to translate it as above. Cf. 2 Bar. xxxiv 'I will . . . go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you, and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination.'

I. 1. **sorrowing.** Ryssel (in Kautzsch) reads *πενθῶν* for *ἔχων*. Cf. 2 Bar. vi. 2; x. 5; xxxv. 1.

2. **Thy vineyard.** Cf. Isa. v. 1; 4 Ezra v. 23.

For similar laments cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1–8; Pss. Sol. vii. 1–3; 2 Bar. iii. 5 f.; v. 1; xiv. 5 f.; 4 Ezra iii. 28 f.; v. 28 f.

3. **O man, greatly beloved,** *ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν*. The phrase occurs in Dan. x. 11 f. (Theodot.).

6. **other mysteries.** Either some previous revelations have dropped out, or, as James suggests, the phrase is an assimilation to the words of the angel in chapters ii and v.

7. **I will not continue to speak.** The Slavonic forbids Baruch to add a word to the revelation, but the context makes it clear that *προσθήσω* is here to be translated as above.

the day of judgement. *ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως* is not necessarily a Christian phrase. It occurs in T. Levi iii. 3; Pss. Sol. xv. 13; 1 Enoch (Giz. Gk.) x. 6; xxii. 11. See too Jub. iv. 19; 2 Enoch xxxix. 1; 4 Ezra vii. 102, 113; xii. 34 (*dies iudicii*). Ginzberg (*JE*) says that יוֹם הַדִּין is an expression which occurs more frequently in Rabbinic literature than in the N.T.

8. **angel of the powers.** This phrase occurs in 1 En. (G^{g1}) xx. 1; cf. 1 En. lxi. 10. Michael is called *ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων* in Test. Abraham xiv. In 2 Thess. i. 7 we find *ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως*, which is taken by some to refer to the angels set over the cosmic forces. There is a striking passage in Philo which seems to throw light on the subject. 'There is only one God, but this one God has about Him innumerable powers as helpers and saviours of all created existences. Among them are punitive powers. . . . By these powers the incorporeal intelligible world was built. . . . There is, moreover, in the air a high and holy choir of incorporeal souls in attendance upon the heavenly powers—angels as the prophetic Scriptures are accustomed to call them. . . . The King communes with His powers, and uses them as His servants, for the performance of such duties as are not appropriate to God Himself' (*De Confus. ling.* xxxiv). The six highest powers are Divine Logos, Creative Power, Sovereign Power, Mercy, Legislation, and Punitive Power (*De profugis*, xviii. See Pfleiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, iii. 41 f.). As Philo identifies

The First Heaven.

2 1 And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river
2 which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. [And he took me and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter
3 through it, and we entered as though *borne* on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey.] And he showed me within the heaven a plain; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of
4 oxen, and the horns of stags, and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs. And I Baruch asked the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed,
5 or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in order that I may also tell the sons of men? And the angel whose name is †Phamael† said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as is *the distance* ⟨from North to South, so great⟩ is the length of the plain which thou didst see. And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries. But
6, 7 I said, I pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

The Second Heaven.

3 1 And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there
2 also a door like the first and said, Let us enter through it. And we entered, being borne on wings
3 a distance of about sixty days' journey. [And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of
4 men, whose appearance was like *that* of dogs, and *whose* feet *were* like *those* of stags. And I asked
5 the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these. And he said, These are they who gave

Michael and the Logos (*Quis rer. div. haeres*, xlii), it is probable that the Philonic powers correspond with the archangels.

Pfleiderer (*op. cit.*, p. 43) thinks that the six Philonic powers are ultimately derived from 'the six Amesha Spentas which surround the throne of Ahura Mazda, among whom the three chief are Vohu Mano, the Divine Logos; Asha Vahista, the Highest Righteousness; and Kshathra Vairya, the kingdom of Good-will—representatives, that is, of creative intelligence, power, and goodness, just as the highest Powers of Philo are.'

II. 1. **where the firmament has been set fast.** Cf. 1 En. xviii. 5; xxxiii. 2.

a river. According to James this river is the Ocean (Apoc. Pauli xxi; xxxi; Test. Abr. B viii; 1 En. xvii. 5 f.). But Ginzberg (*JE*) holds that it is מַיִם הָעֶלְיוֹנִים (the upper waters), and quotes in support Gen. R. iv. 3 and Chag. 15 a.

no one can cross. Cf. Zos. ii *οὐ δύνασαι διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὰ ὕδατά μου διακόψαι . . . καὶ εἶπεν ἡ νεφέλη· Ζώσιμε . . . δι' ἐμοῦ οὐ διέρχεται πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οὐδὲ πνοὴ ἀνέμου οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ὁ πειράζων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ δύναται διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ.*

breeze. The above passage from Zos. makes it likely that *πνοή* is to be translated 'breeze' here, and not 'living creature' as in ch. viii, and in Ps. cl. 6 (LXX).

2. **the first heaven.** See Introd. § 10 (1).

a door. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 23; Rev. iv. 1. In 2 En. xiii. 8 the gates through which the sun goes forth are mentioned.

as though borne on wings. Cf. Zos. ii; 1 En. xiv. 8.

3. **a plain.** Cf. Zos. iii.

men . . . lambs. Ginzberg (*JE*) says this means they were transformed into demons (Sanh. 109 a). For this reason they are not in the place of torment, which is in the third heaven, but at the entrance to heaven (Chag. 16 a).

5. **Phamael.** This is corrupt. The Slavonic preserves the true reading 'Phanuel'. According to 1 En. xl, he is one of the four angels of the presence who stand on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel. He is 'set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life'. But in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) ix. 1 Uriel is mentioned in place of Phanuel. James thinks there is the bare possibility that he is to be identified with Ramiel, who appears in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) xx. 7, and in 2 Bar. lv. 3 is described as presiding over true visions, which agrees with the description of Baruch's angel in 3 Bar. xi, as 'the interpreter of the revelations, to those who pass through life virtuously'. Ramiel is also mentioned in 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Lat. *Hieremihel*); and in Sib. Or. ii. 215–17 he is said to be one of the five angels who know all the evils that men have wrought, and 'shall from dark gloom then lead to judgement all the souls of men, before the judgement-seat of the great God immortal'. Ryssel points out that the form Eremiel appears in the Apoc. of Sophonias.

the distance from earth to heaven. Cf. Chag. 'And is not from the earth to the firmament a journey of five hundred years, and so too the interspace of the firmaments?'

⟨from . . . great⟩. James supplies *ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου, τοσοῦτον.*

length of the plain. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 32.

7. James points out a parallel to this story in the *Book of Jashar* (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 1107 f.). 'There were three classes of builders. One said, 'Let us ascend and fight against heaven'; these were dispersed. The second said, 'Let us go up and set our gods in heaven'; these were changed into monkeys and baboons. The third said, 'Let us go up and smite heaven with our bows and arrows'; these slew each other.

III. 1. **a second heaven.** See Introd. § 10 (1).

5. **gave counsel.** Cf. Mark iii. 6, where *συμβούλιον διδόναι* = 'to take counsel'.

counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and
6 continued to make bricks. And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they
7 had built the tower to *the height of* four hundred and sixty-three cubits. And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see ⟨whether⟩ the heaven is made of clay, or of
8 brass, or of iron. When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

The Third Heaven.

1 And I Baruch said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now
2 show me all things for the sake of the Lord. And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. ⟨And I proceeded⟩ with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days'
3 journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra
4 in length. And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. And I said,
5 Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him? And the angel said, The dragon is he
6 who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them. And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from
7 the sea, which does not sink at all. Baruch said, And how ⟨does this happen⟩? And the angel said, Hearken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of
8 all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink. And I said, I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray. And the angel said to me, It is the vine, which the angel **Sammael** planted, **whereat** the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore

a woman . . . child-birth. Ginzberg (*JE*) refers to a similar Rabbinic legend about a woman in Egypt (Pirke R. El. xlviii).

IV. 2. **let us proceed.** There is no mention here of entry into a third heaven, and when the next heaven is entered in ch. x, the scribe has changed its number from fourth to third, as is evident from the fact that in ch. xi the fifth heaven is mentioned. At what point in the narrative is the entry made into the third heaven? In ch. vii the angel says to Baruch, 'All that I showed thee is in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through, and gives light to the world.' It would harmonize with this to place the entry into the third heaven at the commencement of ch. vi. But against this is the fact that Hades (ch. iv) is usually located in the third heaven (cf. 2 En.). It seems best therefore to follow James in placing the transition here. It should be noted that the Slavonic account of the third heaven shows fewer signs of mutilation than the Greek.

3. **a serpent.** The relation of the dragon to Hades is not clear. Here they seem to be separate, but in ch. v they are united. The closest parallel is to be found in the Pistis Sophia, p. 319, which says 'caligo externa magnus *δράκων* est, cuius cauda in suo ore est extra *κόσμον* totum, et circumdat *κόσμον* totum'. There are said to be within this dragon twelve places of chastisement, where souls are tormented (James, p. lxi). The Slavonic reads 'So the angel took me to the light, a journey of thirty-two days, and showed me a great field; the mind of man could not comprehend it; and in that field there was a very great mountain, and on it lay a serpent as from the East to the West, and it bent down, drinking from the sea every day a cubit, and ate the earth like grass. And I Baruch said to the angel: My Lord, why does this serpent drink from the sea a cubit during the day, and how is it that the sea does not become scanty? And the angel said to me: Listen, Baruch, God made three hundred three and thirty great rivers . . . There are many other great rivers, and they all go into the sea, and the sea is filled. On account of this God made this serpent, and ordered it to drink of the sea a cubit a day, so that the sea should not increase nor diminish'.

4. **this monster around him.** *τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής*; James thinks this may be corrupt and that the dragon encircled Hades, and not vice versa.

5. Cf. Greek goblin Eurynomus.

6. **which does not sink at all.** Lit. 'and nothing is lacking from it'.

7. **the Gericus.** James suggests that Gericus = *γυρικός* = the Ocean; but this is hardly likely in view of the fact that it is mentioned as one of the rivers which supply the sea. The Slavonic speaks of three hundred and thirty-three rivers, and mentions Aphia, Avaria, Agorenik, Dunav, Ephrat, Asavat, Zietnust, Ineus, Tigris.

8. **the tree which led Adam astray.** The transition is sudden, but there may be a hiatus in the narrative. Baruch is still in the third heaven where Paradise was placed, and by now the angel may have shown him it. In the Slavonic the story of the vine does not break into the description of the dragon, but comes after it.

the vine. For the conception of the vine as the forbidden tree cf. Sanh. 70a; Gen. Rabb. xix. 8. (See art. 'Vine', *JE*.) It is related of Shamdon (Asmodeus) that at the planting of the first vine by Noah, he helped with the work and said to Noah: 'I want to join in your labour and share with you; but take heed that I take not of your portion, lest I do you harm' (Gen. R. xxxvi. 3; see art. 'Demonology', *JE*). The story does not occur elsewhere in the exact form of that of the text.

the angel Sammael (i.e. סַמָּאֵל). Greek Σαμουήλ. Slavonic reads 'Satanïl' (cf. 2 En. xviii. 3, xxix. 4 f., xxxi. 4). For Sammael cf. Asc. of Isa. i. 8 *et passim*. He was originally one of the chief archangels, but tempted Eve with a view to making the earth his kingdom. Thenceforth he is the chief of the Satans, the angel of death, and Israel's special foe (*v.* Charles' *Asc. of Isa.* p. 6. Cf. also Deut. Rabb. xi and Pirk. R. El. xiii, quoted in *JE*).

whereat. For *ὅτινι* in text read *ᾧτινι*.

9 the devil being envious deceived him through his vine. [And I Baruch said, Since also the vine
has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgement of the curse of God, and *was* the
10 destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful? And the angel said, Thou askest aright.
When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine
thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest *mountains*, *then* the water
entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot
11 of the vine and cast it outside. And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out
12 of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found. But he found also the shoot of the
vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to
13 him the things concerning it. And he said, Shall I plant it, or what *shall I do*? Since Adam
was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying
14 these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it. And when
he had completed the prayer *which lasted* forty days, and having besought many things and wept,
15 he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant. But God
sent his angel Sarasael, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith
the Lord: Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing,
and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human
race obtained condemnation, *so* again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the
16 upward calling, and the entry into paradise]. Know therefore, O Baruch, that as Adam through
this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now
drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the
17 glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire. For ⟨no⟩ good comes through it.
For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity *his* brother, nor a
father *his* son, nor children *their* parents, but from the **drinking** of wine come all *evils*, such as
murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established
by it.

5 1, 2 And I Baruch said to the angel, Let me ask thee one thing, Lord. Since thou didst say to me
3 that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly? And the
angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown ⟨by⟩ three hundred men, so
great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.

6 1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; and he showed me a chariot and four,
2 under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, ⟨and⟩ the
chariot ⟨was⟩ drawn by forty angels. And behold a bird circling before the sun, **about nine**
3 **cubits away**. And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the

the devil being envious. Cf. Wisd. ii. 24; 2 En. xxxi. 3.

9–15. The passage in brackets is clearly an interpolation by the Christian redactor, who felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist.

15. **Sarasael.** Perhaps to be identified with Saraqael, 'one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits who sin in the spirit' (1 En. xx. 6).

bitterness . . . sweetness. Cf. 4 Bar. ix. 16 *τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἁλμυρὰ γενήσονται.*

the blood of God. Cf. Acts xx. 28.

the upward calling. Cf. Phil. iii. 14.

16. **drink.** Text reads *δρῶντες.* The emendation *χρῶντες* will not do, as *χρώμενοι* is required. It is perhaps best (with Ryssel) to read *πίνοντες.*

are surrendering themselves. *προξενοῦσιν.*

17. **⟨no⟩.** *οὐ*, which the sense clearly requires, has dropped out of the text.

drinking. For *πτώσεως* in text read *πόσεως* (James).

murders, &c. Cf. Introd. § 6. See Matt. xv. 19; Gal. v. 21; Apoc. Pauli 6; Did. iii and v.

V. 3. **His belly is Hades.** Slavonic reads 'As great as is the bottom of hell, so great is his belly'.

⟨by⟩. James translates 'a plummet of 300 men', but it seems best, with Ryssel, to insert *ὑπό.* The meaning is then, as far as a plummet can be thrown by the strength of 300 men.

VI. 1. **where the sun goes forth.** The courses of the sun and moon are placed in the fourth heaven in 2 En.

a chariot and four. Slavonic says that the horses were winged angels.

a crown of fire. This conception prevailed among the Greeks, as may be seen from the monuments. It occurs in Rabbinic lit. Cf. Pirk. R. El. vi; Num. R. xii. 4 (Ginzberg, *JE*).

drawn by forty angels. Cf. 2 En. xi. 4 f.

2. **about nine cubits away.** Text reads *ὡς ὄρει ἐννέα.* James reads *ὄρη* for *ὄρει*, but that leaves the meaning obscure. It is possible that the original reading was *ὡς ὀρεύων*, where *ὀρεύω* is to be translated 'guard'. But there is very little support for the use of the word in this sense; LS only mentions Hesychius. Dr. J. H. Moulton has drawn my attention to the fact that in Petrie Papyri i, p. 78 *ἕκαστος τῶν ὁρῶν* is taken to be 'each of the watchers' by Mahaffy on Bury's suggestion, with the admission that the word exists nowhere else, except in its compounds. Perhaps it is best to adopt *ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα* from the Disputation of the Panagiote, a very late document which is clearly based on our text (James, p. lxv). I am indebted to Dr. Moulton for this suggestion.

4, 5 guardian of the earth. And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me. And
the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery
6 rays. For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other
7 living creature. But God appointed this bird *thereto*. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on
his right wing very large letters, *as large* as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four
8 thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read,
9 and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth. And
10 I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, His name is called
11 Phoenix. ⟨And I said⟩, And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and
12 the dew of earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm,
and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt
13 see the glory of God. And while he was conversing *with me*, there was as a thunder-clap, and the
place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound?
And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates
14 of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came which said, Light-
15 giver, give to the world radiance. And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this
16 noise? And he said, This is *the bird* who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth. For as
men do through the mouth, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in his own speech.
For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

7, 1, 2 And I said, And where does the sun begin its labours, after the cock crows? And the angel
said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven,
and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou
3 shalt see the glory of God. And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared

4. **this bird.** Cf. 2 En. xii, xv, which speaks of several phoenixes. According to Jewish authorities, the Phoenix is referred to in Job xxix. 18. Charles (2 En. p. 12) mentions the following references to this bird among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. There are also several references in patristic writers. According to Pliny (*N. H.* x. 2) there is only one phoenix at a time, who, at the close of his long life, builds himself a nest with twigs of cassia and frankincense on which he dies. From his corpse is generated a worm, which grows into a young phoenix. Pliny says that the young bird buries his father on the altar in the City of the Sun, but Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 28) has it that he burns him there. There are traces of a similar tradition both in Egyptian and in Indian literature. A writer in the *Encyc. Brit.* thinks that the prototype of the phoenix is a bird called bennu, mentioned in the 'Book of the Dead', and other Egyptian texts. This bird was one of the sacred symbols of the worship of Heliopolis, and according to Wiedemann (*Ztsch. f. Aeg. Sprache*, xvi, p. 89 f.) was a symbol of the rising sun, and is called 'self-generating', 'the soul of Ra', and 'the heart of the renewed sun'. Further, this writer points out that it is significant that both 'bennu' and φοῖνιξ mean 'palm-tree'. James mentions a parallel in Indian literature—the bird Gadura, who carried Aruna on his back, and placed him in front of the sun, where he acted as charioteer and screened the world from the sun's consuming rays (*Mahabarata Adi Parva* xvi–xxxiv, especially xxiv). In none of these references is the phoenix represented as the sun's daily companion. That tradition appears only in 2 En. text A (there is no reference to the phoenix in B), in 3 Bar., and in the Disputation of the Panagiote.

7. **modii.** A modius = 200 ὀργυιαί (ὄργυια = the length of the outstretched arms, usually estimated at about 6 ft.).

8. **wings of fire.** Slavonic reads 'son of the Father', which is evidently due to Christian influence.

12. **a worm**, &c. In other accounts the worm develops into a new phoenix.

13. **the place was shaken.** Cf. Acts iv. 31; 4 Ezra vi. 29.

the three hundred and sixty-five gates. This is evidently intended to correspond with the number of days in the year. 2 En. speaks of twelve gates, six on the east and six on the west (chs. xiii, xiv). 1 En. says that there are twelve portals with twelve windows each to the right and left of each of them (ch. lxxii. 3, 7).

14. **Light-giver . . . radiance.** Cf. 2 En. xv. 1 f. 'Then the elements of the sun called Phoenixes and Chalkidri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord. The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world.'

15. **the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth.** It is doubtful whether there is not here a confusion between the tradition of the phoenix and that of the heavenly cock. As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo. According to an Armenian tradition the heavenly cock first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator (Hastings, *Dic. R. & E.* iii. 694 ff.). Dr. J. H. Moulton has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in the Vendidad, *Farg.* xviii (*S. B. E.* iv, p. 193), where Sraosha, the angel who sets the world in motion, is likened to 'the bird named Parôdas [fore-seer] which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, the bird that lifts up his voice against the holy dawn', and calls men to worship and firelighting, lest Bûshyasta, the long-handed demon of procrastination, come upon them.

16. **as men do through the mouth.** ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα is difficult and probably corrupt. James conjectures that the meaning is 'For as articulate-speaking beings do, &c.', but admits there is no such usage of δίστομος elsewhere. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation τὰ διὰ στόματος, the τά being taken to represent οἱ ἄνθρωποι or something similar.

the cock. Cf. Ber. 60 b. 'Blessed be He Who has given the cock intelligence [to distinguish between day and night]. In the Fragments of the Apoc. of Adam (*Apoc. Anec.* i. 144) it is said that the cock crows when the seraphim clap their wings.

VII. 1. **begin its labours.** ἀποσχολεῖται.

4 in. front, and grew less and less, and *at length* returned to his full size. And behind him I saw the
shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its head, the sight of which we were
5 not able to gaze upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out
his wings. But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and
6 hid in the wings of the angel. And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt
also see their setting.

8 1 And he took me and led me towards the west; and when the time of the setting came, I saw
again the bird coming before *it*, and as soon as he came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown
2, 3 from its head. But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these
things, I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is
4 the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through
the day—four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have
been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I Baruch said, Lord, and where-
5 fore are its beams defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness
and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness,
murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which
are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed.
6 But *thou askest* concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the
7 sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said
before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.

9 1 And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time *came* **the chariot** of the
2 moon, along with the stars. And I Baruch said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how
3 it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait and
thou shalt see it also shortly. And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting
on a wheeled chariot. And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of
4 angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me,
5 They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another
6 time decreases? And ⟨he said to me⟩, Listen, O Baruch: This which thou seest had been written
7 by God beautiful as no other. And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael
when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was
8 angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how does it not also shine
always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers
cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars
are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is
consumed by the heat of the sun.

3. **grew less and less.** The bird Gadura in *Mahabharata Adi Parva* (xxiv) diminishes its size.
4. **which draw it.** Lit. 'bearing along with it'.
6. **their setting.** i.e. of the sun and the Phoenix.

VIII. 1. **before it.** i.e. the sun.
2. **exhausted.** This is the meaning which the context demands for τεταπεινωμένον.
4. Cf. 2 En. xiv. 2 (B) 'When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its chariot, and goes out without light. And they put the crown on it again at the Eastern gates.' See also Eliyahu R. ii (Ginzberg, *JE*).
5. **because it beholds.** T. Levi iii. 1 says that the lowest heaven is dark because it beholds 'all the unrighteous deeds of men'. Cf. Lat. Apoc. Pauli 4 'Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum'.
fornications, &c. Cf. Introd. § 6.
7. **unless . . . no living creature would be preserved.** The language is similar to that of Matt. xxiv. 22 and Mark xiii. 20, but that does not necessarily imply dependence. The writer has chosen the most natural form of words to express his idea.

IX. 1. **they.** The sun and the phoenix.
along with the stars. Text reads καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ τῆς σελήνης καὶ με⟨τὰ⟩ τῶν ἀστέρων. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ, τὸ ἅρμα (or ἡ ἅμαξα) τῆς σελήνης κτλ.
3. Slavonic reads 'the moon is like a woman sitting on a chariot, and [like] oxen drawing her chariot are forty angels'. The idea of the chariot drawn by oxen and lambs is Greek.
7. **shortened its days.** The Slavonic attributes the fall of the moon to the fact that it laughed at the fall of Adam and Eve. R. Simeon b. Pazzi declared that at the time of the creation the moon was of the same size as the sun. The moon then objected that it would not be decorous for two kings to use one crown, whereupon God diminished her size (Hul. 60 b; see art. 'Moon', *JE*). For other versions of the story see Shebuot 9 a, and Gen. R. vi. 3 (Ginzberg *JE*).
8. **shine . . . only in the night.** Cf. Apoc. Mosis xxxvi.

The Fourth Heaven.

X. 1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a **fourth**
2 3 heaven. And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were
in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here *on earth*. But I saw a crane *as great* as
4 great oxen; and all *the birds* were great beyond those in the world. And I asked the angel, What
5 is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it? And the angel said,
Listen, Baruch: The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is *the place* where the
6 souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs. But the water is
7 that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase. And I said again to
the angel of the Lord, But ⟨what⟩ *are* these birds? And he said to me, They are those which
8 continually sing praise to the Lord. And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which
9 descends in rain is from the sea? And the angel said, *The water* which descends in rain—this also
is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is ⟨only⟩ from
10 the latter source. Know therefore henceforth that from this *source* is what is called the dew of
heaven.

The Fifth Heaven.

XI. 1, 2 And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And
I said, Lord, is not this gate-way open that we may enter? And the angel said to me, We cannot
enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see
3 the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound?
4 And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander *of the angels*, comes down to receive the
5 prayers of men. And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened. And they opened *them*, and
6 there was a roar as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to
7 face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and *that* of all our order. And the commander Michael
said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life
8 virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander

X. 1. **a fourth heaven.** Text reads *τρίτον*. See note on ch. iv.

2. **a pool of water.** As James indicates, this is probably the *Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη* referred to in Apoc. Mosis xxxvii and Apoc. Pauli 22.

3-5. For the idea that the souls of the righteous are transformed into birds, see Sanh. 92 b, 'And the soul may say: The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like a bird.'

7. **said again to.** *λέγω* is used here and in ch. xv with an acc. without a prep., in the sense of the dative of the person addressed.

8. **how do men say,** &c. Slavonic reads: 'How do men say that the clouds go out of the sea and rain on the earth? And the angel said to me: The race of man is deceived knowing nothing. All the water of the sea is salt, for if the rain came from the sea, no fruit would grow on the earth.' The meaning of the Greek seems to be that while the rain is derived in part from the sea, those elements which are responsible for the dew and for the growth of fruit are derived from the other waters upon earth.

XI. 2. **Michael.** Michael, one of the archangels, was commonly regarded as Israel's special protector. See Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. In Ass. Moses x. 2, it is said that he will avenge Israel on its enemies at the end of the world. In T. Levi v. 6 f., he is the angel 'who intercedeth for the nation of Israel, and for all the righteous', and in T. Dan vi. 2 he is 'a mediator between God and man', specially concerned for 'the peace of Israel'. He is mentioned in N. T. in Jude 9, Rev. xii. 7–9, and according to Charles (Hastings *D. B.* iii. 362 b) he is referred to in Acts vii. 38. In Targ. *Cant.* viii. 9, he is called 'Israel's chief'. In Yalkut Shimeoni, *Bereshith* 132, he is described as the prince over all the angels, and as Israel's representative and portion in the presence of God. In Chag. 12 b, he is called 'the Advocate of the Jews' (Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, p. 84). In Test. Abraham xiv, Michael appears as intercessor on behalf of Abraham, and the combined intercession of Michael and Abraham wins a sinner's entry into paradise.

who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In 4 Bar. ix. 5, Michael is called the archangel of righteousness who leads the righteous to heaven; and in the Ethiopic version it is added that he holds open the gates of righteousness, until the righteous enter in.

the Kingdom of Heaven. This phrase is not necessarily a Christian interpolation. Cf. Ps. ciii. 19; Dan. iv. 34; Test. Ben. ix. 1 (*ἡ βασιλεία κυρίου*), Ass. Moses x. 1 ('And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation'), Sib. Or. iii. 47 f. (*τότε δὴ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φανεῖται*).

4. **Michael comes down.** According to Chag. 12 b the altar upon which Michael offers up sacrifice stands in the fourth heaven.

5. **the gates.** Slavonic says that the names of those men who may enter the gates are written on them (cf. Apoc. Pauli 19).

opened. The idea that the gates of heaven are opened at a fixed time to receive the prayers of men is found in the fragments of the Apoc. of Adam, where it is stated that at the tenth hour 'the gate of heaven opens in order to let in the prayers of every living thing. . . . At this hour all that a man asks of God is granted him' (*Apoc. Anecdota*, i. 143).

Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel ; its depth *was* as great as *the distance* from heaven to
9 earth, and its breadth as great as the *distance* from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that
which Michael the archangel is holding ? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous
enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

12 1 And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And
2 they gave them to Michael. And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things
3 brought hither from beside them? And he said to me, These are angels ⟨who⟩ are over the
4, 5 **righteous**. And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel. And the angel
6 said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels bearing baskets
which were ⟨neither⟩ empty nor full. And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near,
7 because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said, Come hither, also, ye
8 angels, bring what ye have brought. And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was
with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

13 1 And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold
how we are overclouded, O Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from
2 them. And Michael said, Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to
3 the end ; but say to me what ye ask. And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander,
transfer us from them, for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good
4 in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed. For we do not behold them entering [into
Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor] into any good work. But where there is murder,
there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries,
jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like,
5 then are they *workers* of such works, and of others worse. Wherefore we entreat that we may
depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall
come to pass.

14 1 And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as
2 thunder. And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now
presenting the merits of men to God.

15 1, 2 And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened ; and he brought oil. And
as for the angels which brought the baskets *which were* full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take

8. **an exceedingly great vessel.** Cf. Rev. v. 8, 'Golden bowls of incense which are the prayers of the saints' (cf. viii. 3). The cabalistic work Zohar (thirteenth century A.D.) says that the angel Sundelfon forms of the prayers a crown for the Almighty.

XII. 1. **angels.** The function of presenting the prayers of men to God is not limited to Michael in Jewish literature. Tob. xii. 5 reads 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One'. T. Levi iii. 5 ff. reads 'In [the heaven next to] it, are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord, for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous: offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering'. Then follows a reference to the subordinate angels mentioned in our text, 'And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence.' Apoc. Pauli in the Greek mentions the coming of three classes of angels, two joyful and the third dejected. The first are the guardians of the godly, the second of the ascetics, and the third of the worldly. The last class desire to be relieved of their charge, but their request is not granted. The first of these classes is omitted in Latin and Syriac. For the significance of the three classes of angels in our text, see Introd. § 8.

baskets, *τὰ κανίσκια.* This form, which occurs three times in our Apoc., is regular. But *ὁ κάνισκος* and *ἡ κάνισκος* (xv) do not appear to occur elsewhere.

flowers. The Spanish text of 4 Ezra adds to a list of names in i. 40 'et angelos duodecim cum floribus' (*Cambridge Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, p. 85).

3. **who are over the righteous.** Text reads *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν*, which hardly harmonizes with the context. As Slavonic reads 'These are they who wait upon righteous men', it is perhaps best to follow Ryssel and read *δικαίων* for *ἐξουσιῶν*.

6. ⟨**neither**⟩ **empty nor full.** Text reads *κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα.* From the context it is evident that the baskets were partly filled. It is therefore necessary to read ⟨*οὔτε*⟩ *κενὰ οὔ*⟨*τε*⟩ *γέμοντα.*

the prizes. Cf. Phil. iii. 14 ; 1 Cor. ix. 24.

XIII. 4. **entering [into Church . . . nor],** *εἰσελθεῖν* [*ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ, οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας οὐδὲ*] *εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἕν.* The clause in brackets is a Christian interpolation. The construction *εἰσελθεῖν ἐν* is clumsy, the original sequence being evidently *εἰς.* The expression *πνευματικοὶ πατέρες* is distinctively Christian. It is possible that *εἰς πατέρας* stood in the original, as the official title 'father' was in use among the Scribes (Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.). If the whole phrase is an interpolation it is later than the Christian redactor. At the martyrdom of Polycarp the mob shouted, 'This is the Christians' father' (Mart. Polyc. 12), but there is no evidence that at this time Christians themselves applied the term to their bishops. In the West, in Cyprian's time, the bishop was known as *papa.* It is not till the fourth century that we find teachers of a past generation described as 'fathers' (Ath. *Ep. ad Afros* 6). See Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 5.

fornications, &c. See Introd. § 6.

XV. 2. **which were full,** *πλήρης.* Ryssel reads *τλήρη*, but it is more probable that *πλήρης* is used indeclinably (cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 50).

filled them. i.e. the baskets.

it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good works.
3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the **half-empty** baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and
4 deliver *it* to the sons of men. [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those *who brought* the **half-empty** baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord, Ye are faithful over **a few things**, I will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your Lord.]·

1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of
2 countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone. But since they angered me in their works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against *a people that is* no people, a
3 people that has no understanding. Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust ⟨and⟩ hail with lightnings and anger, and
4 punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons. For they did not hearken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do *them*, but were despisers of my commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

2 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew. And the angel took me and
3 restored me to the *place where I was* at the beginning. And having come to myself, I gave glory
4 to God, who counted me worthy of such honour. Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

3. **he said also to.** λέγω is used with the simple accusative of the person addressed.
half-empty. Text reads *ἀποκένους*. The context makes it clear that the angels referred to are those bearing the baskets which were neither full nor empty. We must therefore read *ὑποκένους*, somewhat empty.
4. The words in brackets are a Christian interpolation, as is evident not only from the quotation from Matt., but also from the fact that the re-enumeration of the first two classes of angels destroys the symmetry of the passage.
half-empty. For *ἀπόκενα* read *ὑπόκενα*.
over a few things. Text reads *ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ*. It should probably read *ἐπὶ ὀλίγα*. Cf. Matt. xxv. 20.
I will set you. For *καταστήσει* in text read *καταστήσω* (Ryssel).

XVI. 1. Slavonic reads 'But Michael said: Listen, ye angels of God; it is not ordered that you should depart from sinful men, but you are ordered to labour for them till they repent and return. I will judge them, saith the Lord. And again there was a voice from the heavens: Attend upon the sinners till they repent; for if they do not repent, then ye shall inflict upon them a cruel disease and sudden death, and locusts and caterpillars, frost and thunder and hail and demons and the destruction of cities; and ye shall strangle their children, because God is not feared [among them] and they do not gather together in the Church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 10.
2. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21; Rom. x. 19.
3. **punish them severely,** *διχοτομήσατε*. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 51.
4. The Greek text has nothing to say as to the future destiny of the righteous and of the wicked, but the Slavonic reads 'The angel said to me: Look, servant of God, and see the resting-place of the righteous, and their glory and joy and delight: and again see the resting-place of the wicked, their tears and sobs and worms that never sleep. The sinners call to heaven: O just judge, have pity upon us. And I Baruch said to the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are the sinners. And I said to the angel: Bid me, my Lord, that I may weep with them so that the Lord may hear my voice and pity them. A voice came from heaven saying: Take Baruch to the earth, that he may tell to the sons of men all the secrets of God, which he has seen and heard.' The absence of any parallel to this passage is further evidence of the free treatment of the concluding sections of the original by the editor of the Greek text in its present form.
the priests who proclaimed my words to them. The term *ἱερεύς* does not seem to have been applied to the Christian ministry till the end of the second century.

XVII. 2. **restored . . . beginning.** See 2 Bar. vii. 2 (note).
3. Cf. 2 Bar. liv. 8 f.

IV EZRA

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Fourth Book of Ezra (or 2 Esdras) is extant in a number of translations, all of which have been made, apparently, from a lost Greek version ; and this, there is reason to believe, was itself made in the first instance from a Hebrew original. The extant translations are in the following languages: Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic (two independent versions), and Armenian. The most important of the versions is the Latin ; and it is through this version, incorporated in many important Latin Biblical MSS., that the book has passed first into the Latin Bible (the Vulgate), as an appendix ; and thence into our Bibles as one of the Deutero-canonical books, or official *Apocrypha*. The Ezra-Apocalypse proper corresponds to chapters 3–14 of the 2 Esdras of our Apocrypha (or the Fourth Book of Ezra of the Vulgate). Chapters 1 and 2 and 15 and 16 belong only to the Latin form of the book: the Oriental versions recognize only chapters 3–14. The chief conclusions reached by the present Editor regarding the Ezra-Apocalypse are the following: (*a*) The work is of composite character. In its present form it is a compilation made by an Editor or Redactor (R), and was published by him about the year A. D. 120, in the early part of the reign of Hadrian. The sources utilized by R were—

(1) a Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) which was originally published in Hebrew in the year A. D. 100, and is almost wholly embodied in our book. It is contained in chapters 3–10 mainly (= the first four visions), together with a certain amount of interpolated material.

(2) To this have been appended three independent pieces, extracts from other apocalypses, viz. the Eagle-Vision (= ch. 11–12), denominated A (= Adlergesicht), the Son of Man Vision (= ch. 13), denominated M (= Menschensohn), and the Ezra-legend (= ch. 14 mainly), denominated E^2.

(3) Extracts from another source have also been utilized by R and interpolated in S. These are from an old Ezra-Apocalypse (denominated E), and detail the signs which precede the End of the world (iv. 52–v. 13a and vi. 11–29). This source may also have been utilized by R in his compilation of the passages vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

The whole has been compiled in its present form by R, the different material being welded together by redactional links and adjustments. But the distinctive features of the sources have not been seriously affected. The purpose of the compilation appears to have been to commend the apocalyptic literature to certain Rabbinical circles which were hostile, and to secure for it a permanent place within orthodox Judaism. With this end in view the Redactor invested the whole composite work with the name of Ezra—a name specially honoured in the Rabbinical Schools—and took care to select material in which the cruder elements of the older apocalyptic had been largely refined away. The compilation thus represents a fusion, to some extent, of the Rabbinical and Apocalyptic types of thought of a novel kind. Its importance for the history of Rabbinical doctrine and for the elucidation of the earlier (pre-Talmudic) phases of Judaism is very great. Together with the twin-Apocalypse 2 Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later, it may be regarded as the product of a school of writers; in the one case—4 Ezra—we have a writing which reflects the influence of the School of Shammai ; in the other—2 Baruch—one that reflects the work of a school of writers under the influence of Aqiba.

§ 2. Title of the Book.

In most of the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (1–2 and 15–16) are distinguished from the Apocalypse proper by a separate enumeration, and are marked off as separate books. A common arrangement is the following :

1 Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah of the Canon.
2 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 1–2 (2 Esdras i–ii of our Apocrypha).
3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha (3 Esdras of the Vulgate).
4 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 3–14 (our Apocalypse).

5 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 15–16 (2 Esdras xv–xvi of our Apocrypha).
According to this enumeration:
2 Esdras = chapters 1–2.
4 Esdras = „ 3–14 (our Apocalypse).
and 5 Esdras = „ 15–16.
This is adopted by James (*BJ*, p. xxvii).[1]

The prevailing usage of the Latin MSS. (including the important codices SA) is to designate chapters 3–14 (= our Apocalypse) as the Fourth Book of Ezra (4 Ezra). (See also Vol. I, pp. 2–3 of this work on this question.—*Gen. Edit.*)

The Oriental versions are also inconsistent in the titles they employ. In Ar.[1] and Ethiop. the Apocalypse (= chapters 3–14) is called *The First Book of Ezra*. The Syr. and Ar.[2] attach no number to the title. It seems probable that the title prefixed to the lost Greek version was Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, as Clement of Alexandra quotes from our Apocalypse as from Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης (cf. Clem. Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16), while St. Ambrose also uses the name *propheta Ezra* (cf. also the opening words of 4 Ezra i *liber Ezrae prophetae secundus*). Another possible form (suggested by Westcott) is Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα.

§ 3. The Ancient Versions.

(*a*) The Latin. The text of the Old Latin version reproduced in the Vulgate rests upon late MS. authority, and is full of corruptions and inaccuracies. The first serious contribution towards the formation of a critical text was made by Sabatier in the eighteenth century, who noted the variants of the *Codex Sangermanensis* (Codex S) in his great corpus of the Latin texts of the Bible.[2] A further advance was made by Volkmar in 1863, who published a Latin text, adding the variants of a Zürich MS. (*Codex Turicensis*, thirteenth century), in his edition of our Apocalypse.[3] A few years later Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Iudaeorum* (Leipzig, 1869), and Fritzsche (*Libri Vet. Test. pseudepigraphi selecti*, Leipzig, 1871) published critical editions of the Latin text embodying readings from other MSS. But all previous work in this direction was dwarfed into insignificance when Bensly in 1875 published his epoch-making contribution to the critical study of 4 Ezra—*The missing fragment of the Latin translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge). Up to this time all known MSS. of the Latin text yielded a defective text of chapter 7: a long passage (some 70 verses) was missing between verses 35 and 36 of this chapter, as was shown clearly by the Oriental versions which attest the missing verses. In 1875 Bensly had the good fortune to discover the Latin text of the missing fragment in a ninth-century MS. which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens. The discovery was without delay communicated to the world in a splendid edition of the text of the fragment, enriched with a valuable introduction and commentary. Bensly's *Missing Fragment* (*MF*) is valuable not only for the text of the fragment itself, but for the textual study of the whole book. It abounds with notes, remarks, and accurate information which make it indispensable for the serious student of the Latin Bible. The curious lacuna in chapter 7 which characterizes all known Latin MSS. (except the few enumerated below) is due to the mutilation of the great Codex S (preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris).[4] In 1856 Prof. Gildermeister, in collating this MS., discovered that a leaf (which had originally contained the missing fragment) had been (no doubt purposely) cut out in early times. 'From this and other indications he drew the indisputable and highly important conclusion that *all MSS. of 4 Esdras which do not contain that passage were ultimately derived from the Codex Sangermanensis*. . . . Codex S is the oldest known manuscript of 4 Esdras and is the parent of the vast majority of extant copies.'[5]

Besides (1) Codex S the following are among the most important MSS. for text-critical purposes:
(2) Codex A (i. e. *Codex Ambianensis*). This is the MS. in which Prof. Bensly discovered the missing fragment. It was apparently written in the ninth century, and, though closely related to S, has an independent value by the side of it.
(3) Codex C (*Codex Complutensis*, formerly at Complutum) known as the Bible of Alcala. It is now in the Library of the Central University at Madrid. The text is independent of S and A; date ninth to tenth century. This MS. contains the missing fragment, and curiously enough the text of the latter had been transcribed by Prof. Palmer in 1826, but never published by him. After the publication of *MF* in 1875 this transcript was found among Prof. Palmer's papers, and was printed in the *Journal of Philology* in 1877 (vii. 264).

[1] The Latin MSS. vary considerably in the enumeration: see for further details the present writer's Ezra-Apocalypse, p. iv; Bensly, *MF*, pp. 85–86; and *BJ*, pp. xxvi foll.
[2] *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, tom. iii (Rheims, 1749). The date of Codex S is 822.
[3] *Das vierte Buch Esra* (Tübingen, 1863), pp. 3–213.
[4] *Fonds latins*, 11505.
[5] *BJ*, p. xiii.

(4) Codex M (*Codex Mazarinaeus*): in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris. The existence of this MS. was made known by M. Berger in 1885. Its text (which includes the missing fragment) is of the same type as that of C (eleventh century).

To these—the principal MS. authorities—must now be added:

(5) Codex V (= *Codex Abulensis*) now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. It is known as the Bible of Avila. Its text is unmutilated, and appears to be a copy of Codex C (early thirteenth century). It was discovered by M. Berger.

(6) Codex L (*Codex Legionensis*) in the Library of San Isidro de Leon at Leon. This Codex (in 3 vols.) contains a remarkable text of 4 Ezra, which diverges from that of all other authorities. According to Violet these peculiarities are largely due to deliberate revision by a late transcriber. Its date, according to the same scholar, is probably about 1300. See further Violet, pp. xxii–xxiv.

(7) The latest discovered unmutilated text is a MS. which is denoted N (Codex N) by Violet. It is preserved at Brussels, and its existence was first made known in October, 1906 (by D. Donatien de Bryne, O.S.B.). It is part of a Bible in 4 vols.; the writing is of the twelfth century. According to Violet its text is closely related to that of M (hence the choice of the symbol N).

For the special MS. evidence that exists for chap. viii. 20–36 (the so-called *Confessio Esdrae*) see the introductory section to that passage in the present writer's edition of the book (*EA*, p. 176); and cf. further the introductions of *BJ* and Violet for this point, and for the MS. evidence generally: also Bensly *MF*.

The critical edition of the text of the whole book, which Bensly was prevented from completing by death, was finally edited and published, with a valuable introduction, by Dr. M. R. James, in 1895.[1] A splendid critical edition of the Latin text, with a full apparatus criticus, and with German translations of the Oriental versions (also provided with an apparatus criticus) in parallel columns has been edited by Dr. Bruno Violet for the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, and recently published.[2]

Both Bensly (with James) and Violet agree in the conclusion that broadly the MSS. yield two types of text: the one, represented by the group SA, may be styled the French recension (= Violet's ϕ); the other, the Spanish recension, represented by the group CMNVL (= Violet's ψ). On the whole the former group (ϕ) yields a decidedly superior text to that of the latter (ψ).

See further on this point Violet, § 12. Violet also (p. xxvi) calls attention to the existence of a number of Latin MSS. containing the unmutilated text of our book, which are in existence at various libraries, but have not as yet been utilized for the criticism of the text.

The Latin translation of the book, which, like the Oriental versions, was made from the lost Greek version, is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it (see *BJ*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv). Possible but doubtful citations are made by Tertullian (4 Ezra viii. 20) and Cyprian (4 Ezra v. 54, 55). It has also been supposed that Commodian the Christian poet of the third century, cites 4 Ezra xiii. 40 f. It is interesting to note in this connexion that it seems fairly probable that in the time of Ambrose the Latin text of the additional chapters 15–16 was already current 'in the version in which we possess them and . . . that they were also attached to chapters 3–14'.[3] The Latin version as a whole is singularly faithful and literal, and it is not difficult to arrive at the Greek text underlying it. It has itself suffered a certain amount of internal corruption in transmission; but this, with the aid partly of new MS. evidence, and partly of the other versions, can often be corrected successfully. From every point of view it is the most valuable of the versions that have come down to us.

Of the Oriental versions the most valuable is (*b*) THE SYRIAC. This is far more faithful and less paraphrastic than the other Oriental versions. The Syriac text of the book is unfortunately only known to us in a single MS. authority—the great Ambrosian (sixth century) Bible-Codex at Milan, which has been made available for scholars by the Italian scholar A. Ceriani. In this Codex 4 Ezra follows the Baruch-Apocalypse, and precedes the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah (here reckoned as one book: viz. *the second Book of Ezra*): 4 Ezra has no number attached to it. A printed edition of the Syriac text has been published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana* (vol. v, fasc. i, 1868); and it is also included in the photo-lithographic reproduction of the Ambrosian Codex. Ceriani's Latin translation of the Syriac text of 4 Ezra is reprinted, with some improve-

[1] *The Fourth Book of Ezra* in *Texts and Studies* (vol. iii, no. 2): Cambridge.

[2] *Die Esra-Apocalypse* (4 Esra): Erster Teil: *Die Ueberlieferung*. Leipzig, 1910. (A second volume is to follow.)

[3] *BJ*, p. xliii. For the whole subject of the ancient quotations of 4 Ezra cf. the full discussion (with the passages set out in full) in *BJ*, pp. xxvii f.

ments, in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum*, pp. 212 ff. Like all the Oriental versions the Apocalypse in the Syriac text consists of chapters 3–14 of the Latin only.. A translation (in German) with critical notes is printed in Violet, vol. i.

(*c*) THE ETHIOPIC. This version was first published in 1820 by the famous Orientalist Richard Laurence (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel; editor of *1 Enoch* and of *The Ascension of Isaiah*). Laurence's Latin translation of the Ethiopic text, revised by Praetorius, is printed in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 262 ff.). A critical text of this version, based upon the collation of several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann and published after his death.[1] A French translation, based upon Dillmann's critical text, was published by Basset in 1899. The Ethiopic version is not so valuable as the Syriac. It is much more paraphrastic and free in its handling of the text, but it sometimes attests interesting and important readings, and is important for the criticism of the Greek text underlying it. A German translation, based upon Dillmann, is printed in Violet, vol. i (with critical notes).

(*d*) THE ARABIC VERSIONS. Two independent Arabic versions of the book are in existence which (following Gunkel) we may designate Ar.[1] and Ar.[2]. Of the first Arabic version (Ar.[1]) two MSS. are known to be in existence—the original MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (part of the Laudian collection), and a transcript of this preserved at the Vatican. An English translation was made by Simon Ockley from the Oxford MS., and appeared in William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* (vol. iv, 1711), and a Latin version, made from Ockley's English, and corrected by Steiner from the Arabic text, is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 323 ff.). The Arabic text was first published by Ewald in *Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*[2]

In this MS. our book appears as 1 Ezra; then follows Ezra-Nehemiah as 2 Ezra, succeeded by the Book of Tobit. A curious fact concerning the Oxford MS. is that there is a lacuna in the text of one page, which is supplied by the Vatican transcript. There are two other lacunae common to both MSS. In 1898 Violet, however, found in the Oxford MS. itself (but displaced) the missing page, which is given in the Vatican transcript in its right place (see further Violet, pp. xxxi–xxxvi). This version, which is exceedingly free, was also made from a Greek text; whether it—or the Greek text underlying it—has been revised is uncertain. A German translation, with critical notes, is given in Violet.

The *Second Arabic Version* (Ar.[2]) is an independent version made directly from the Greek. It exists in a complete form in a Vatican MS. (Arab. 462) which has been edited and published, with a Latin translation, by Gildemeister (*Esdrae liber quartus arabice e cod. Vat.*, Bonn 1877). Extracts from this version are contained in an Oxford (Bodleian) MS. 260; and a fragment containing ch. vii. 75–91 has been found in a Paris MS. by Violet.

This version contains some interesting and valuable readings which have led Gunkel to postulate the existence of a second Greek version, made from the Hebrew original, which he supposes to have been the basis of this version.

Gunkel supports this view by citing chap. viii. 23 where Ar.[2], alone among the versions, renders *ceaseless* (*eternal*) = Heb. לָעַד: the other versions imply *for a witness* (= לְעֵד). Evidently there were two Greek readings, representing two renderings of a single Hebrew text. One has been followed by Ar.[2]; the other by the other versions. Again, in xiv. 3 Ar.[2] has *Sinai* (= סיני) where the other versions have *bush* (= סנה)—phenomena which point to different readings in the Greek, due to a difference of reading the Hebrew. But it is not necessary to infer from such instances (which, in any case, are few) that two different recensions of the Greek existed. The readings more probably represent marginal variants or corrections in the Greek exemplar used. In any case, as Violet has shown, both Ar.[1] and Ar.[2] go back to one recension of the Greek, which is characterized by a lacuna in the text, viii. 50–ix. 1 being omitted. It is probable that different MSS. of this Greek recension (if it may be so called) were used by the translators of Ar.[1] and Ar.[2].

Thus Ar.[2], though it is very free and paraphrastic on the whole, is often an important textual witness, and must never be neglected.

It is interesting to notice that Ar.[2] agrees with the Syr. in omitting the first half of xi. 30 (= *et vidi quomodo complexa est*), and again with the Syr. in attesting (in xi. 43) a clause which has fallen out in all the other versions (= *that thou shouldst forsake us also*).

Two further fragments of an Arabic version independent of Ar.[1] and Ar.[2] are also known; but these seem to be of secondary importance, depending, as they not improbably do, on the Latin

[1] *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici* tomus v (Berlin, 1894, pp. 152–93).
[2] 1863, vol. xi (also reprinted separately).

version. [See further Violet, xxxi–xxxix: Violet gives a German translation of both Ar.[1] and Ar.[2] with critical notes.]

(*e*) THE ARMENIAN. This version was first printed in the Armenian Bible of 1805 (Venice), and again in the Armenian edition of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament (Venice, 1896). A Latin translation (by J. H. Petermann) is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 378 ff.), and a German one by Violet. The version is exceedingly free, and possesses little or no value for the criticism of the text. It may have been made from the Syriac.

(*f*) FRAGMENTS AND TRACES OF OTHER VERSIONS. An important discovery of some fragments of a Sahidic version of our book was made known in 1904.[1] The fragment in question covers chap. xiii. 29–46; but the leaf containing it is unfortunately much damaged. The recovery of other parts of this version, which is not impossible, would probably afford valuable help in reconstructing the underlying Greek text, if, as is likely, the Sahidic was made directly from the Greek. The Sahidic translation would certainly embody many of the original Greek words as loan-words.

Traces also exist of an old Georgian version of our book. [See further Violet, pp. xl ff.]

§ 4. THE LOST GREEK VERSION.

The dependence of all the versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian) upon a lost Greek version hardly needs any detailed proof. The differences between the versions can constantly be explained by corruptions of a Greek text underlying them.

To select a few instances out of many: in v. 28 the Latin has *praeparasti* (= ητοιμασας) *unam radicem super alias*; but the Oriental versions rightly render 'thou hast dishonoured (= ητιμασας) the one root', &c. Again in vii. 26 the Latin has *et apparebit sponsa* [*et*] *apparescens civitas* = 'and the bride shall appear even the city appearing' (so Syr. substantially); but the true text, represented by the Ethiopic and Armenian runs: *then shall the city that now is invisible appear* = και φανησεται η νυν μη φαινομενη πολις which was misread by the Latin και φαϊνησεται η νυμφη φαινομενη πολις. In x. 28, again, the true text represented by the Latin and the Oriental versions, with the exception of the Ethiopic, runs: *for he it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment* (εκστασιν); but the Ethiopic has *search* for *bewilderment*, misreading εκστασιν as εξετασιν.

Further, the internal evidence of the versions singly often clearly demonstrates dependence upon a Greek underlying text. Thus the Latin sometimes reproduces Greek constructions (e. g. the genitive absolute, v. 55), and Greek genders unknown to Latin (e. g. x. 23 *signaculum Sion . . . resignata est*: 'seal' being treated as fem. as in Greek=η σφραγις). See further on these points *MF*, pp. 17 f.; *EA*, pp. xi, xviii (see also Index V of the latter work under *Greek constructions* and *Greek words*).

Positive evidence of the existence of such a Greek version as is desiderated by the evidence of the secondary versions is afforded by actual citations in the early patristic literature, as well as by the existence of Greek works which have been based upon, or imitated from, the lost Greek version. The most certain of the citations are the citation of v. 35 in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, iii. 16; and of viii. 23 in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7; while *Const. Apost.* ii. 14 contains a passage, the language of which is strongly reminiscent of vii. 103 (*fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest*). The passage in question runs as follows:—

Εἰ δὲ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐ τιμωροῦνται, οὔτε υἱοὶ ὑπὲρ πατέρων, δῆλον ὡς οὔτε γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, οὔτε οἰκέται ὑπὲρ δεσποτῶν, οὔτε συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, οὔτε φίλοι ὑπὲρ φίλων, οὔτε δίκαιοι (*v. l.* δίκαιος) ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων. ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔργου τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσεται.

A knowledge of the Greek 4 Ezra appears to be presupposed, also in the Hippolytean fragment περὶ τοῦ παντός.[2] The alleged citations in our book of the *Epistle of Barnabas* are, however, more than doubtful (see the notes on v. 9 below). For a full discussion of these points reference must be made to *BJ*, pp. xxvii–xxx; cf. also *EA*, p. xii. For later Greek works which have imitated the Greek 4 Ezra (viz. the Apocalypses of Esdras and Sedrach), see Violet, pp. l–lix.

The reconstruction of the lost Greek text from the Latin version of our book has been carried out with a considerable amount of success by Hilgenfeld (with the assistance of Lagarde and Hermann Rönsch). It is printed in *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 36–113), and is a most valuable piece of work. Volkmar, also, in his edition of our book (*Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1863) has constantly suggested Greek renderings which are often important for this purpose; while in Gunkel's commentary some

[1] In the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Band 41, Heft 2, pp. 138–40).
[2] Also cited sometimes as 'Hippolytus *Against Plato*'.

useful notes of a similar character by Wilamowitz are occasionally cited. An elaborate reconstruction is promised by Violet.

A specimen of the Greek translation of part of the additional chapters, which do not strictly belong to the Ezra-Apocalypse, viz. 4 Ezra xv. 57–59, has been discovered (1909) among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and been published with other papyri in the collection of Grenfell and Hunt. This important find encourages the hope that parts, or even the whole, of the lost Greek version of the Apocalypse proper may yet come to light.

Gunkel (*ap.* Kautzsch) has propounded a theory that two independent Greek translations of a Hebrew original were made; while the Lat., Syr., Ethiop., Ar.[1] (and possibly the Armenian) rest upon one of these, Ar.[2], he thinks, rests upon a mixed Greek text, made up of the edition used by the other versions, and a second made independently and later. The evidence adduced for this view is, however, very slight, and has already been dealt with above in § 3*d* (in connexion with Ar.[2]). The textual phenomena are susceptible of an alternative and simpler explanation, viz. that Ar.[2] has embodied marginal variants occasionally; while, in other respects, it has handled its Greek text rather freely, omitting considerable portions. [For Volkmar's theory of a second Greek recension see *EA*, p. xiii.]

§ 5. The Original Hebrew Text.

The most recent investigators of the textual problems of our book are agreed in postulating a Hebrew text as the original form in which 4 Ezra was composed. These scholars include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet.[1] The opposite view (of a Greek original) has been championed by Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld.

The fullest discussion of the grounds for assuming a Hebrew original is that of Wellhausen.[2] It may be said, without qualification, that judged by any of the properly applicable tests, the phenomena point to a Semitic original. THE SYNTAX REFLECTS CHARACTERISTICALLY HEBREW FEATURES. Thus the sentences are co-ordinated with rather than subordinated to each other, and in consequence it is sometimes difficult to determine exactly where the protasis of a hypothetical sentence ends, and the apodosis begins.

Cp. e.g. iii. 12 (*et factum est cum coepissent multiplicari . . . et multiplicaverunt filios . . . et coeperunt . . . impietatem facere*, &c.); iii. 17 f. (*et factum est cum educeres semen eius ex Aegypto et adduxisti eos . . . Et transiit gloria tua*, &c.); iii. 29 f.; v. 4 ff.; v. 31; vi. 18 f. In some of these cases the punctuation of the editors is not certainly correct—the sentences should, perhaps, be run on.

Note also turns of expression as *et factum est et* and *et erit et*, which are essentially Hebrew modes of expression, as also are *et ecce* (very frequent in chapters 10 and 11), and *et vidi et ecce* (iv. 48, xi. 1 f.) or *et audivi et ecce* (vi. 18). All these, as Wellhausen points out, are characteristically Hebrew, and not Greek.

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXAMPLES OF STRONGLY MARKED HEBRAISMS: the complement of the relative by a demonstrative pronoun, e. g. *de quibus si mihi renunciaveris ex his* (iv. 4), *de quo me interrogas de eo* (iv. 28), *in quo stas super eum* (vi. 14), *super quem stabam super eum* (vi. 29), *qui per semet ipsum liberabit creaturam suam* (xiii. 26).

The last instance cited is an excellent example of the ambiguity which may arise from the misunderstanding of the Hebrew relative and its complement (the Heb. relative particle אשר does not distinctly express either number or case). Similar instances of misunderstanding also occur in ix. 20 (*propter cogitationes quae in eo advenerunt* should be *p. c. eorum qui in eo*, &c.); and in xiii. 40 (*quem captivum duxit Salmanassar* should be *quas* or *quos captivos duxit*, &c.).

The construction of the Hebrew infinitive absolute with the finite verb is of extraordinarily frequent occurrence. It is usually rendered by a particle or by an abstract substantive.

The following are illustrative of numerous examples: *excedens excessit cor tuum* (iv. 2); *festinans festinat saeculum pertransire* (iv. 26); *mensura mensuravit tempora et numero numeravit tempora* (iv. 37); *odiens odisti populum tuum* (v. 30). The number of these examples might be somewhat increased if the instances could be added where the Syr. attests the same construction without the support of the Latin.

One of the characteristic features of Hebrew, which it shares with other old Semitic languages, is the paucity of its adverbs. The language, consequently, is forced to adopt other modes of speech in order to express the adverbial idea. The infinitive absolute often does duty in this way (expressing intensity or iteration: = *surely*, *much*, *often*, &c.). But sometimes other methods are resorted to. Thus repeated action (= *again*) is expressed in Hebrew by such phrases as *to add to do* (הוסיף + another verb). This usage is reflected in our text by such un-Greek expressions as *adiciam* (*dicere*)

[1] Among earlier scholars Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, vol. 7) held this view; earlier still Jo. Morinus.
[2] *Skizzen*, vi, pp. 234–9 (1899).

coram te (v. 32); *superdixerunt* (vii. 23); *noli ergo adicere inquirendo* (viii. 55); *adiciam dolorem* (ix. 41); *adposui adhuc loqui* (x. 19).

The usage of prepositions is often Hebrew rather than Greek (see the examples cited in *EA*, p. xv f.). The characteristic features of Hebrew style are marked throughout all sections of the book. Thus in the dialogue between the seer and the angel the expression *he answered* (*I answered*) *and said* constantly recurs; cf. also *ask . . . and say*, v. 46, 50. Before the *oratio recta saying* (= לאמר) is constantly prefixed, *dixit dicens* even occurring (xi. 37, xii. 40). Such diffuseness is a well-known feature in Hebrew composition. Another characteristic feature in the dialogue is the self-designation of the human speaker as *thy servant*, while the angel is addressed as *domine* (cf. v. 45–56, vi. 12, vii. 75, 102, viii. 6, 24, x. 37, xii. 8, xiii. 14); in the case of a woman *thine handmaid* (ix. 43, 45).

The title of address *O dominator domine* (*O Lord that bearest rule*, R.V.) which occurs several times is properly applicable only to God = Δέσποτα κύριέ μου (Heb. יהוה אדני or אדני יהוה).

Characteristically Hebrew, again, is the artless simplicity with which sentences (esp. imperative forms of speech) are constantly expanded by the use of redundant expressions.

The following examples are cited by Wellhausen: *vade pondera mihi* (iv. 5); *venite et eamus* (iv. 14); *venite ascendentes debellemus* (iv. 15); *vade et interroga* (iv. 40), &c. The materializing of the action is detailed by the side of the description of the action itself: e.g. *Respexi oculis meis et vidi* (ix. 38); *apertum est os meum et inchoavi dicere* (ix. 28). Especially frequent is the somewhat similar use of *incipere* (= Heb. הואיל): cf. vi. 8, 19, 32; vii. 75, 88, 97, 122, 126, &c. (cf. the similar use of ἄρχεσθαι in the Gospels). The ollowing are also examples of expanded descriptions of simple actions, which are characteristically Hebrew: *surge super pedes tuos* (v. 15; vi. 13, 17; x. 30; xi. 7); *capax est tibi visus oculorum videre* (x. 55); *torquent me renes mei* (v. 31); *cogitationes meae ascenderunt super cor meum* (iii. 1); *conturbatus est sensus cordis tui* (x. 31); *ne expavescat cor tuum* (x. 55); *vultus tuus tristis* (v. 16); *amara animo* (ix. 41); *figmentum manuum tuarum* (iii. 5; viii. 7); *plantavit dextera tua* (iii. 6). The bare mention of the person who is the instrument or object of an action is not sufficient; the organ through which the action is performed must also be mentioned. Thus the writer says *thy right hand has planted* for *thou hast planted*, *thy countenance is sad* for *thou art sad*, &c.

Further examples of genuine Hebraisms are the following: *dixi in corde meo* (iii. 28); *accepisti in corde tuo* (vii. 16); *reddere animam suam* (vii. 75); *non dirigentur viae eorum* (εὐοδοῦσθαι v. 12); *dare vocem suam* (= נתן קולו v. 5, 7); *nomen uni vocasti* (vi. 49); *nomen tuum invocatum est super nos* (iv. 25, x. 22); *fiebat species coruscus* (x. 25); *factus est in uno casus eorum* (iii. 10); *factus est Iacob in multitudine magna* (iii. 16); *factus est in vano* (iv. 16); *concupiscentia gustus multiformis* (vi. 44).

A number of words are used also in a sense that can only be explained by Hebrew usage: cf. e.g. *confractio* (vii. 108 and note), *cor maris* (iv. 7), *flumen* (= *the River* sc. Euphrates, xiii. 40), *lignum* = tree (iv. 13; v. 5 = Heb. עץ = both *wood* and *tree*), *multus* for *magnus* (Heb. רב, x. 38, &c.), *nationes* (= דורות or תולדות iii. 7 and note), *nomina* (*names* = individuals, persons, iii. 36), *opus* (= Heb. פעלה *reward* vii. 35, cf. iii. 33 note *n*), *proximus* = ? Heb. קרוב (v. 11 *interrogabit regio proximam suam*), *radix* used in a technical sense (v. 28, in another technical sense viii. 53 note *t*), *a saeculo* (= מעולם ix. 7, 18), *sermo* = דבר (vii. 101 *ut videant qui predicti sunt sermones*), cf. also x. 5, *spiritus intellectus* (v. 22), *unicus* (= יחיד v. 28), *vas bellicosum* (= כלי מלחמה xiii. 9, 28), *via* (= Heb. דרך *mode* or *kind*; cf. vii. 80, iv. 3 and often: see note *v*, p. 145); among verbs the following, which reflect Hebrew usage, may be noted: *vincere* and *vinci* (= Heb. זכה and חוב, iii. 21, vi. 28, vii. 115, 128), *confortare* (= חזק v. 15, &c.), *congregari* (= נאסף vii. 33), *inquirere iustitiam ab* (= דרש מן vi. 19 and note), *spernere* used absolutely, like καταφρονεῖν (= בנד vii. 76, 79, &c.).

It would, no doubt, be possible to explain isolated examples in the lists given above without recourse to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original; but the cumulative effect of the whole evidence creates a presumption which amounts to a certainty that the Greek text which underlies the extant versions was itself a translation from a Hebrew original. The whole book is coloured by Hebrew diction, Hebrew modes of thought and characteristic modes of expression.

This conclusion is in no way weakened by the fact that Graecisms are of not infrequent occurrence. As Wellhausen remarks, Graecisms occur in the LXX. Attention has already been called to the fact of the occurrence of Greek usages and constructions in the Latin text.[1] These merely reflect the Greek text on which the Latin translator worked. Of Graecisms proper in the Greek translation itself a good instance is *in eo quod misereatur* (vii. 132) = ἐν τῷ οἰκτείρειν, several examples of which occur (ἐν τῷ + infin.). Occasional word-plays in the Greek may also be explained as due to the translator.[2]

[1] For a full and detailed list see Volkmar, pp. 313 ff.
[2] A good example of this occurs in xii. 24–5.

One other criterion exists by which the hypothesis of a Hebrew original may be tested: viz. whether the hypothesis will explain, or is compatible with, the variations that exist in the versions. A certain number of these are due to internal corruptions in the versions themselves.[1] But a large number of cases remains where divergent readings of the Greek can best be explained by the hypothesis of corruption in the original Hebrew text (for examples see the notes in the following commentary).

Again *ex hypothesi* it ought to be possible throughout to arrive at an approximation to the underlying Hebrew text. This has been constantly borne in mind by the present editor, and it can confidently be asserted that, all through, the textual phenomena are compatible with a Hebrew original.

An apparent exception to this rule occurs in vi. 56 where the LXX of Isa. xl. 15 (*like unto spittle*) is followed against the Masoretic Hebrew text. But this can be explained without violence to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The word-play in the Greek of xii. 24–25 has already been referred to.

In the previous discussion it has been assumed throughout that a *Hebrew* original is postulated. The textual phenomena certainly point to this rather than Aramaic. The constant use of such expressions as *et factum est*, *et erit*, *et ecce*, and, above all, the recurring use of the infinitive absolute, point to a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic original.

It remains to add a word on the relation of the Hebrew original to the versions. The extant versions are, as has already been pointed out, translations directly from the lost Greek version (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may have been made from the Syriac). The original Greek version was itself a translation of the Hebrew text which embraced the Apocalypse proper (i. e. chapters iii–xiv of 2 Esdras in the Vulgate form). To this original Greek version were appended (in the third century) the additional chapters (i–ii and xv–xvi of the Vulgate and our own official Apocrypha). They were composed in Greek and are of Christian origin. In the time of Ambrose apparently the Latin version of chapters xv–xvi was already current, and it is probable that these chapters were already attached to chapters iii–xiv (see further *BJ*, p. xliii; and for the whole subject of this section *EA*, pp. xiii–xix).

§ 6. The Composite Character of the Text.

Is the present form of 4 Ezra a compilation, made by an editor from different sources? Or is it, on the whole, a uniform composition which in a real sense goes back to a single author? The latter alternative is accepted by (among modern scholars) Gunkel[2] and F. C. Porter[3]; the former is upheld by Kabisch and Dr. Charles.

At the outset we are confronted with a *datum* that strongly suggests the use by an editor of an independent source. In the very first verse we read: *I Salathiel who am also Ezra* (iii. 1). This strange identification of Salathiel with Ezra cannot be justified historically, nor can it be explained as due to defective historical knowledge on the part of the original writer of this section of the book. The only adequate explanation is that an editor or compiler is using an independent writing in which the seer who is the recipient of the revelations that follow, spoke in the name of Salathiel, and that the compiler who utilized this written source was anxious, for some reason, to connect it with the name of Ezra; accordingly he inserted the words *who am also Ezra.*

What other explanation is possible? If it be assumed that the author wrote the words, then we must suppose that he thought of himself sometimes as Ezra, sometimes as Salathiel. But such an assumption is surely far-fetched, and in the highest degree unnatural. If the author had wished to speak throughout in the name of Ezra it would have been perfectly easy for him to do so. The importation of Salathiel would in that case be perfectly gratuitous. On the other hand, if the identification be due to a compiler who is using sources, all is explained.

We may assume, then, that the present form of our book reveals unmistakably the hand of a Compiler or Redactor (R) who has used as a source an originally independent Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It remains to determine what are the limits of S, so far as it is embodied in our own book, and what are its relations to other parts of the book.[4]

§ 7. The Sources of the Book.

No question arises in connexion with regard to chapters 3–10 which, apart from the eschatological passages, may be assigned as a whole to S. The Redactor (R) will, of course, be in evidence

[1] A good example of internal corruption in the Latin is vii. 4 (*altum* for *latum*).
[2] In Kautzsch.
[3] *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers* (1909), p. 336.
[4] See further the discussion of this point in *EA*, p. xxi f.

occasionally; but there will be little difficulty in assigning limits to his work after the more important question as to what other main sources, if any, are embodied in our own book has been discussed.

This resolves itself into the question whether the author of S can have embodied in his work the 5th, 6th and 7th visions of the book (chapters xi–xiv), or whether these are to be regarded in the light of appendices, drawn from independent sources, and inserted in their present position by R.

The famous Eagle-vision (chapters xi–xii) has all the appearance of an independent writing. It has a style and form of its own. But the all-important fact about it is that it reveals eschatological conceptions which are radically opposed to those of S. The latter holds strongly to a dualistic and transcendental view. There are two ages; one the present corruptible age, and the other the glorious incorruptible age that is to succeed the present one, after the Final Judgement. The hopes of S are fixed on the latter; he gives up the present as hopeless (see further § 10 (1)). On the other hand. in the Eagle-vision a strongly political view is held. The writer's hopes are fixed on the annihilation of the Eagle (i. e. the Roman Empire). It is this that will mark the decisive moment; the Day of Judgement will dawn, according to this writer's conception, when the Roman Empire is annihilated by the Messiah, and the Rule of God becomes a reality upon the earth. The two conceptions are difficult to harmonize. Doubtless the compiler (R) did try to harmonize them by combining them in thought; he doubtless anticipated that the world, even after the victory of the Messiah over Rome, would still come to its predestined end which would usher in the final Day of Judgement. But can such a conception be attributed to S? If anything is certain about this writer it is that he wrestles with real difficulties, and strives to reach a real solution. He is not a mere collector of opposed opinions. The conviction that dominates the whole thought of S is that the evil which reigns in the present order is so deep-rooted that nothing less than the dissolution of the present world and the ushering in of the future and better world (or age) will suffice to eliminate the wrongs and unrighteousness that now exist.[1] Is it conceivable that S can at the same time have held the view that the annihilation of the oppressive world-power by the Messiah will usher in a new age in the present world, which will bring felicity to those who live on into it, and justify the ways of God by making the divine rule a reality upon the earth? No. This older view was doubtless well known to S, and had failed to satisfy him. In his agonizing struggle for fresh light he implicitly repudiates the older eschatology, with its political hopes and somewhat materialistic aspirations, and takes refuge in a transcendental view. Consequently we are justified in treating the Eagle-vision (A) as an independent source which owes its position in the book to R.[2] The general theme of the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii)—viz. the annihilation of hostile powers and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom—is identical with that of the Eagle-vision. For the reasons already advanced it cannot, therefore, belong to S. Its eschatology also is different from that of the Eagle-vision, as will be shown later. Consequently it must be regarded as an independent writing. Though in tone and in some of its characteristic conceptions the final chapter (xiv) of our Apocalypse is much more akin to S than the two independent sources already referred to, it yet cannot be regarded as belonging to the Salathiel-apocalypse. The situation presupposed throughout this chapter (with the exception of some interpolations due to R) is that of the historical Ezra, living in the fifth century B.C.; it cannot, therefore, be brought into accordance with the situation of Salathiel (who lived a century earlier) as this is implied in S.[3]

Thus, as a result of our discussion, so far, we have reached the conclusion that the Salathiel-apocalypse (S) is contained within chapters iii–x of our book; while outside of and independent of this at least three other independent sources have been used, viz. the Eagle-vision (chapters xi–xii = A), the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii = M), and an Ezra-piece (ch. xiv = E^2).

The combination of these elements into the present whole of the Ezra-apocalypse will have been the work of the compiler (R). In the process of redaction the hand of R will naturally be evident especially in fitting together the diverse material, and in the work of harmonization. It becomes important, therefore, to determine the extent and limits of R's work.

But before this is attempted the question of the possible existence of another source within our book remains to be discussed. Within the chapters which contain S there are four eschatological passages, marked by special features, the relation of which to S it is important to determine. These passages are the following: (1) iv. 52–v. 13 a, (2) vi. 11–29, (3) vii. 26–44, and (4) viii. 63–ix. 12. In general they contain eschatological descriptions, of a well-known traditional type, which set forth the 'signs' that are to precede the end of the world, and usher in the Final Judgement.

Thus (1) describes the 'signs' that precede the End as follows: it will be a time of commotions, and the general break up of moral and religious forces (v. 1–2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed

[1] Cf. especially iv. 26–43 (which should be carefully read).
[2] See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 246 ff.
[3] Cf. further *EA*, pp. 306–7.

(v. 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (v. 4–8, cf. vi. 21–22), and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (v. 10–12). In (2) the description of the signs that precede the End is taken up again and interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. It also contains a description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' (vi. 13–28). In (3) a description is given of the sudden revelation of the Messiah, his 400 years' reign on the earth and death, and finally a vivid delineation of the dissolution of the world interwoven with a description of the Judgement itself (vii. 26–44). In (4) the signs of the End are again reviewed (viii. 63–ix. 12).

Are these passages integral parts of S? Or can S have been responsible for their insertion in their present contexts? The traditional character of the passages as a whole is generally conceded; they belong to a type which has many parallels elsewhere. Is it conceivable, then, that S took up this widely current traditional material, and embodied it in his own work? An examination of the first of the passages (iv. 56–v. 12) mentioned discloses unmistakable marks of interpolation. Its awkward insertion in its present context cannot be due to S; it was doubtless interpolated by R. The second passage is parallel to and depends upon the first. If (1) is an interpolation, it follows that (2) must be also. The source from which R excerpted them was, Kabisch thinks, an old Ezra-apocalypse, containing eschatological descriptions of the 'signs' preceding the End, and of the End itself. It may be denominated E (=Ezra-apocalypse; so Kabisch). For similar reasons the third and fourth passages (vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12) cannot belong to S or have been inserted in their present contexts by S. Kabisch believes that both these passages have been drawn from E. The present writer, however, thinks that in their extant form both are the work of R, who may have drawn upon E, but has also utilized other material. They are in fact a compilation of diverse elements (cf. the discussion in *EA*, pp. 108 ff. and 199 ff.).

The results thus reached may be stated as follows: the present form of our apocalypse is due to a Redactor (R) who used the following sources:

(1) S, A SALATHIEL-APOCALYPSE which (so far as it has been utilized) is embodied in iii. 1–31, iv. 1–51, v. 13b–vi. 10, vi. 30–vii. 25, vii. 45–viii. 62, and ix. 15–x. 57; in addition the two sections xii. 40–48 and xlv. 28–35 are probably misplaced pieces which belong to S (see the introductory sections *ad loc.*).

(2) E, AN EZRA-APOCALYPSE, from which iv. 52–v. 13a and vi. 13–29 are extracts. Their present position is due to R, who has also drawn upon this source in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

(3) A, THE EAGLE-VISION, contained (with revision by R) in chapters xi–xii.

(4) M, A SON OF MAN VISION, contained (with much revision and insertions by R) in chapter xiii.

(5) E^2, AN EZRA-PIECE, contained in xiv. 1–17 a, 18–27, 36–47.

(6) R is responsible for the compilation of the book as a whole. By means of redactional links and adjustments he has fitted the different elements of the book together; the following passages (redactional links) are due to his hand: iv. 52 (*as for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part but*) introducing the extract from E which follows: (v. 1–13 a), vi. 11–12 (introducing the second extract from E which follows in vi. 13–28), vi. 29, x. 58–9 (transition to the Fifth vision), xii. 49–51 (transition to the Sixth vision), xiv. 49–50 (conclusion of the book). In the process of adjustment R has also, apparently, misplaced certain sections of S. Besides the two sections already mentioned (xii. 40–8 and xiv. 28–35) the following also fall under this category: v. 14–15 and xiii. 57–8. The following are the longer insertions which were probably compiled in their present form, as well as inserted by R: iii. 32–6, vii. 26–44, viii. 63–ix. 12, and xiii. 13 b–24: R is also responsible for a certain amount of revision in the fourth and following visions (especially in the interpretation): x. 45 (*in eo* altered in the original Heb. to *in ea*) and x. 46 (*David* altered into *Solomon*), xi. 12 (*on the right side*), xi. 20 (*upon the right side*), xii. 8 (*completely*), xii. 9, xii. 14, xii. 15 (*the twelve*), xii. 26 b–28. xii. 32 (partly), xii. 34, xii. 39, xiii. 26 b, xiii. 29–32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48, xiii. 52 (*or those that are with him*). For minor adjustments made by R reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxvii.

The above analysis agrees, in the main, with the results of Kabisch's masterly discussion in his essay on our book.[1] The present editor, however, differs from Kabisch in assigning rather more to R—in particular the sections vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12 which appear to be compilations by him.

Thus the book as a whole is a compilation from different sources. In the case of EA and M we have only extracts from larger works (see further *EA*, p. 244 f., 285 f.). In the case of E^2 we have also a piece which was extracted from a larger source (cf. *EA*, pp. 301). Only

[1] *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (1889).

in the case of S, which forms the groundwork of the whole book, have we a source which is substantially preserved in its entirety—though even here there are some curtailments. With S the compiler interwove extracts from other (Ezra) apocalypses, and then invested the whole with the name of Ezra (cf. the case of 1 Enoch, which is a compilation of extracts from a number of Enochic apocalypses interwoven with fragments of a Noah-apocalypse).[1]

§ 8. The Date of the Sources and of the final Redaction.

Fortunately in the opening verse of the book we have a precise statement which points definitely to an exact date for the original appearance of the Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It is stated in iii. 1 that it was *in the thirtieth year of the downfall of the city* that Salathiel was in Babylon and underwent the experiences detailed in the visions that follow; and this statement is confirmed in iii. 29 (*these thirty years*). This date, which probably is intended to refer to the original publication of S, points to the year A. D. 100 (i. e. thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70) as the time when S originally appeared or was completed as an independent work. For reasons supporting this view reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxviii f. The place of composition of S was probably Palestine, and not Rome as Kabisch supposes (ibid.).

With regard to the dates of the other sources embodied in our book, E is marked by traditional features which suggest that it was current long before it was utilized by R, who has handled it with considerable freedom.[2] From the absence of any clear indication that the horrors of the struggle which culminated in A. D. 70 have coloured the delineation of the Messianic 'woes' in these passages it may be inferred that E had assumed literary form some time before A. D. 70.[3] Kabisch suggests as a possible date about 30 B.C.

The date of the original composition of the Eagle-vision (A) may be more definitely determined. The one usually favoured is some time in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81–96); but a date in the reign of Vespasian (A. D. 69–79) is quite possible, and not improbable (see the point fully discussed *EA*, p. 249).

In the case of the Son of Man vision (M) the interpretation of the vision presupposes a time for its composition before A. D. 70 (cf. *EA*, p. 286). As the Christology of M is more advanced than that of E it is probable that it was reduced to written form at a later date than the latter, though it must be remembered that the actual vision in M (4 Ezra xiii. 1–13 a) embodies traditional elements that are much older.

On the other hand, E^2 (ch. xiv) clearly implies a date subsequent to A. D. 70. The emphasis laid upon the representation of Ezra as the restorer of the Law that has been burnt (xiv. 21) points unmistakably to this. Kabisch regards this source as of contemporaneous origin with S, and this is quite possible; in tone it occasionally resembles S. But all that can be said with certainty is that it must have been composed some time between A. D. 70 and the time of the Redactor (? *c.* A. D. 120); it is probable that some considerable time elapsed between the Fall of Jerusalem and the time of its composition; consequently a date at or about A. D. 100 is not improbable.

The limits within which the final redaction of our book must have taken place may be fixed as A. D. 100–135. It is clear that the book cannot have been published in its present form before the former date in view of the explicit reference in iii. 1 to *the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city*; and on the other hand, it would have been impossible for a Jewish book of this kind to have found its way into Christian circles after the Bar-Kokba revolt, when Church and Synagogue had become hopelessly alienated. Sufficient time must be allowed before A. D. 132–135 for the Hebrew original to have been translated into Greek, and for the Greek version to have won its way into Christian circles. The date of the original publication cannot, therefore, be placed much after A. D. 120. Can it be placed any earlier?

We have already seen reason to believe that the explicit time-determination given in iii. 1 marks the date of the publication of S—not that of the whole book. If that be so, sufficient time must be allowed for S to have become well known in the circles to which R belonged, and for the work of compilation to have taken place. A number of indications suggest that at the time when the Redactor compiled the work feeling towards Rome on the part of Jewish circles in Palestine had become embittered.[4] This was the case after the suppression of the Jewish rebellions in A. D. 116–117;

[1] For later apocalyptic literature circulating under Ezra's name cf. pp. 470 seq. of this vol.; *BJ*, pp. lxxxvi ff.

[2] We have extracts from E, probably in v. 1–12, vi. 12–28; while it has, apparently, been utilized by R in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

[3] The reference to *the humiliation of Sion* in vi. 19^b is probably a later interpolation; see *EA*, p. xxx.

[4] The insertion of the Eagle-vision by R is evidence of this.

and though with the accession of Hadrian a better feeling manifested itself, this was of short duration, and the old spirit of hostility soon re-asserted itself. These various indications point to a date about A. D. 120 as the time when the Redactor wrote and completed his work. It may have been somewhat later.

A similar date (between A. D. 120–130) is suggested by Charles as the time when 2 Baruch was edited in its final form (in Hebrew and then translated into Greek).

§ 9. The relation of 4 Ezra to 2 Baruch.

It is evident from a comparison of parallel passages[1] that a relation exists between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch of the closest and most intimate description. To determine the exact details of this relationship is not possible here in view of the complex critical problems involved by the composite character of the text of each book. All that can be attempted is to set forth some of the *data* that will serve to indicate the lines of a solution.

The composite character of 4 Ezra has already been indicated in the former part of this Introduction (see above §§ 6 and 7). In the case of 2 Baruch also the editor (Dr. Charles) finds it necessary to analyse the book into a number of sources, which are denominated A^1, A^2, A^3 (i. e. the three Messianic apocalypses, which look for a personal Messiah, being chapters xxvii–xxxi, xxxvi–xl, and liii–lxxiv); as in these sections Jerusalem is represented, according to Dr. Charles, as still standing it may be concluded that they assumed literary form before A. D. 70: another set of passages, denominated B^1 (= i–ix. 1, xxxii. 2–4, xliii–xliv. 7, xlv–xlvi, lxxvii–lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi f.), which are optimistic as to the future of the present world-order, but do not expect the advent of a personal Messiah, may be grouped partly with A^1, A^2, A^3; but the date of composition of B^1 must be subsequent to A. D. 70 as the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile are presupposed. Dr. Charles also distinguishes two other sources, viz. B^2 (= x–xxv, xxx. 2–xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5–xxxv, xli–xlii, xliv. 8–15, xlvii–lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii) and B^3 (= lxxxv): both B^2 and B^3 are pessimistic in their view of the present world-order, and do not look for a Messianic kingdom; their hopes are fixed on the advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world; they also presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, and therefore assumed literary form subsequent to A. D. 70.

The broad results of this critical analysis suggest that 2 Baruch is a compilation from diverse elements similar, in many respects, to 4 Ezra. In both cases older documents, containing the national eschatology, have been combined with later elements which reveal a fundamentally different outlook. The elements B^2, B^3 in 2 Baruch are comparable with S in 4 Ezra, while A^1 has affinities with the E source of 4 Ezra, and the date of its composition may be much the same. As to the date of composition of A^2 and A^3 the present writer must confess to some doubts. The former of these, A^2, i. e. the fountain and cedar vision, is a vision of the fall of the Roman power, and may be compared with the Eagle-vision (A) of 4 Ezra. Like the latter it is a dream-vision, and may very well be of much the same date (some time in the reign of Vespasian or Domitian). May it not have formed one of the collection of dream-visions from which the Eagle-vision of 4 Ezra was excerpted? The possibility must of course always be allowed for that the actual material of the vision is older than its interpretation. In A^2 (the cloud and water vision) there is apparently a fusion of early and later elements. It has several points of contact with E^2 of 4 Ezra, and in its present form may well be of much the same date as regards literary composition (some time between A. D. 70 and 100, or even later); its reflective and theological tone harmonizes with this view. The material of the vision is probably one of the older elements, as also is the eschatological scheme of the Messianic 'woes' in ch. lxx.

The numerous points of contact between B^1, B^2 in 2 Baruch and S in 4 Ezra may be seen from the list of parallel passages in Dr. Charles's edition of 2 Baruch (pp. 170–1; cf. also pp. lxix–lxx in *EA*). It looks sometimes as if one were actually citing the other.

In each book we apparently have the work of a school of apocalyptists. The schools are, it would seem, rival schools. One is answering the other. The present writer believes that 4 Ezra represents the work of a somewhat earlier school of apocalyptists who were under the influence of Shammaite teachers (such as Eliezer b. Hyrqanos); while 2 Baruch embodies the work of a rather younger school, who were under the influence of Aqiba. The latter work answers the former; and, on the whole, it gives answers decidedly more in accordance with what later became orthodox Judaism. Thus whereas in 4 Ezra vii. 119 (*O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants!* a passage belonging to S) Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the whole race, this teaching

[1] See the list printed in Charles's edition of 2 Baruch, pp. 170–1.

is expressly refuted in 2 Baruch (cf. liv. 19: *Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul,* a passage which belongs to A^3 according to Dr. Charles's analysis).

It seems probable that 2 Baruch in its final form was edited and put forth soon after the appearance of 4 Ezra in its present form; i. e. some time between A. D. 120 and 135, perhaps very soon after A. D. 120. Like 4 Ezra it was originally written in Hebrew, and soon after its appearance in this language was translated into Greek.

§ 10. The Theology and Eschatology of the Book.[1]

The book as a whole presents, as Gunkel has pointed out, two kinds of material: '(1) properly apocalyptical and especially eschatological mysteries; this material is to be compared with Dan. vii. ff. or Revelation iv ff.; (2) religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology and find in it either their answer or their occasion; this material is comparable with the speculations of the Pauline letters. The author put these problems in general before the mysteries, as being of greater importance, an order which can be compared with that of Revelation.'[2] In the light of the critical analysis given in §§ 6 and 7 above by 'author' here we must understand, for the purposes of our discussion, Redactor. The latter, in compiling our book, must have placed the discussion of the religious problems, which is embodied in S, first, because this discussion was felt to be concerned with one of the burning subjects of the day—the religious significance of the Fall of Jerusalem. The appendices to S (chapters xi–xiv) were intended to supplement the Salathiel-apocalypse by setting forth some classical expressions of the older eschatology. As will be seen, the eschatology of S, both explicit and implicit, is in many respects of a fundamentally different character.

(1) *The theology and eschatology of* S. The author of S appears to have been in close touch with the circles of the Teachers of the Law, and may have actually been a member of the scribal class (cf. viii. 29). Like many Pharisees of the time he valued and practised an ascetic mode of life (cf. vi. 32, and the frequent references to fasting in the first four visions). As a Jew he postulates the fundamental beliefs of Judaism. He insists on God's unity and uniqueness; God and God alone, without the intervention of any mediatorial agency, is responsible for creation, and God alone will exercise the functions of Judge at the final judgement (vi. 1–6). Israel is God's elect people (v. 27; cf. the whole passage v. 23–30; vi. 58; viii. 16, &c.), with whom God entered into a special covenant-relation (iii. 14 f.), and for whose sake the world was made (vi. 55, vii. 11). The Law is a special divine gift to Israel (iii. 19 f., ix. 31 f.). It had indeed been offered to the other nations of the world but deliberately rejected by them (cf. vii. 23, 24, vii. 72); Israel, on the other hand, had accepted it, and had thereby acknowledged the divine sovereignty. In consequence Israel is the true representative of humanity before God—the other nations are 'nothing'; by rejecting the divine gift they have put themselves outside the pale (vi. 56, vii. 23 f.). The apocalyptist glorifies the Law (cf. esp. ix. 29–37), but is perplexed by the problems presented by it in its relation to Israel. These problems are debated in the first part of the book. Why is the chosen people given up as a prey to the heathen? Because of its sins? But the sins of the godless heathen far outweigh those of Israel; why, then, should the former be allowed to lord it over and oppress the latter? (cf. v. 29, iii. 28). To these questions no satisfactory answer can be found in the Law alone. The Law is impotent to redeem and save the sinner (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). To a race doomed to sin the promises of the Law are a mockery (vii. 116–31). The utmost that the seer can hope from the Law is that while the many are born to perish, but few shall be saved. The answers to the problem of the nation to which the apocalyptist struggles in the debate are the following:

(a) *God's ways are inscrutable.* Man cannot understand or fathom the most ordinary elements of the material world: how, then, can he hope to comprehend the things of the incorruptible world? (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.).

(b) *Human intelligence is finite and limited.* The angel enforces the point that the human intelligence must keep within its own prescribed bounds by a parable taken from the sea and the forest (iv. 12–21). The seer protests that he has no desire to explore heavenly secrets, but that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth, and is told that the New Age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (iv. 22–32).

(c) *The course and duration of the present world has been pre-determined.* Evil must run its course; the harvest of evil must first be gathered before the good can take its place (iv. 28–31); but everything has been pre-determined—the number of the righteous elect, and the duration of the present

[1] For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. xxxiv–lvii.
[2] Cited by F. C. Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

age—and things as they are will not be moved nor stirred *till the measure appointed be fulfilled*. But when the predestined moment shall have come nothing will be able to delay its consummation (iv. 33–43). That moment, it is hinted, will soon arrive (iv. 44–50).

(d) *In spite of all appearances to the contrary God loves Israel now and always*. The apocalyptist never wavers in his conviction that God's love for Israel exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation (v. 31–40; cf. viii. 47).

The one positive result reached in the discussion so far is an eschatological one. The future age will solve all difficulties. This is a fundamental conviction of our apocalyptist. The present age, in his view, is hopelessly involved in evil: it is *full of impotence and sorrow*. The contrast between the two ages—the present and the future—is emphasized in the strongest possible manner throughout. The corruptible world, and all that is mortal, will dissolve and be succeeded by the incorruptible world and immortality. It will thus be seen that the apocalyptist's view of the present world-order is extremely pessimistic. He gives up the old hope of a renovation and purification of the present world, and fixes his gaze and his hopes on the future world or age—the age of true life and immortality wherein

corruption is passed away,
weakness is abolished,
infidelity is cut off,
while righteousness is grown,
and faithfulness is sprung up (vii. 114).

But having won his way to this position the apocalyptist still finds himself baffled and perplexed with sore difficulties.

In answer to the difficulty that *the coming age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto many* (vii. 47) the angel can only say that the few are precious and the many worthless (vii. 49–61). This naturally fails to satisfy the seer, who protests that man had better not have been created at all (cf. vii. 62–9) or at least been restrained from sinning (vii. 116–26). Against the logical result of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132–40). Moreover, he is answered by the angel that his love for creation comes far short of the divine love.

It will have become apparent from the previous discussion that the author of S realizes the inherent weakness of the Law as a redemptive power. He thus approaches to the attitude of mind of St. Paul (cf. Rom. viii. 3 f.); and it is clear that this attitude of mind was by no means so rare and isolated a phenomenon in contemporary Judaism as is sometimes supposed. This becomes even more apparent when we examine the doctrine of sin as it emerges in our Apocalypse together with the related doctrine of salvation by faith and works.

It is important to remember that in the theology of S it is *the acceptance of the Law that is the standard by which men must be judged at the last, not the observance of it*. True, the Law, once given, ought to have been observed. But so far is this from being the case that very few, if any, even in Israel have lived up to the divine requirements as set forth in the Law:

For in truth
There is none of the earth-born that has not dealt wickedly,
And among those that exist who has not sinned (viii. 35).

So conscious is the apocalyptist of this that he reckons himself among the sinners (cf. vii. 48, vii. 64, vii. 118, 126, viii. 17, viii. 31). Thus, according to S, sin is conceived as consisting essentially in unfaithfulness to the Law (cf. ix. 36: *we who have received the Law and sinned must perish*). The result has been alienation and estrangement from God (vii. 48); and this result is due, in some way, to the sin of Adam which has involved the fall of the entire human race (cf. vii. 118). Man's infirmity is to be traced to the *evil heart* (*cor malignum*) which was developed in Adam and transmitted to his descendants (cf. iii. 20–2 and iii. 25–6). The effect of the Law was nullified because of the *evil germ* (*root* iii. 22) or *grain of evil seed* (*granum seminis mali*) *which was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning* (iv. 30). This *evil root* or *grain of evil seed* doubtless corresponds to *the evil impulse* (*yeṣer hā-raʿ*) of Rabbinic theology. Adam clothed himself with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of the *evil impulse*. The *evil heart*, thus developed, inevitably led to sin and death. The evil seed sown in the heart of Adam was transmitted to his descendants (iv. 30) with the result that *the infirmity became inveterate* (iii. 22). All men have fallen into sin (viii. 35), and, as a consequence, *this age* [the present world-order] *is full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27); the *ways of this world* have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12). The *evil heart* has *estranged from God* and *brought into destruction . . . not a few only, but wellnigh all that have been created* (vii. 48); for *all the earth-born are defiled with iniquities,*

full of sins, laden with offences. At the most, judged by the standard of the Law, only a few can hope to be saved (vii. 45).

Exactly how the fall of Adam and the universal state of sin are connected is nowhere explicitly stated. That the two things are connected is certainly implied in vii. 118. It is true Adam's descendants share his responsibility for what has happened in that they have deliberately followed his example in clothing themselves with the *evil heart* (iii. 26); the moral responsibility of each individual member of the race is not denied. Probably at the back of the apocalyptist's thought lies the idea that Adam by his transgression lost much of his power of resisting the *evil impulse* or *thought*, and transmitted this weakness to his descendants. It is noteworthy that the fall of man is nowhere in our apocalypse attributed to external agency (demonic incitement).

The corruption of the human race is regarded as due to a development of something inherent in man's nature (*yeṣer hā-raʿ* of Rabbinic theology); but by representing the Law as powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery (iii. 22), our apocalyptist directly contradicts the orthodox Rabbinic view, according to which the *evil yeṣer* could be—and as a matter of fact has been by the pious in Israel generally—successfully resisted by the study of the Law and the practice of good works. In S also the entry of physical death into the world is directly connected with the Fall. Thus, according to this teaching, both physical and spiritual death are a legacy from Adam. For a comparison of these positions with that of St. Paul see *EA*, p. xlii.

In fact the doctrine of our apocalyptist ultimately resolves itself into a pure and lofty individualism. His view of sin as universal, owing to its root in the evil heart which is also universal, leads him to manifest a certain compassion for and sympathy with the perishing masses of mankind:

> *But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?*
> *Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?*
> *For in truth*
> *There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,*
> *And among those that exist who has not sinned* (viii. 34, 35).

Where all are involved in a state of unrighteousness before God there is little room for self-gratulation. One of the most striking features in S is the absence of the note of self-confidence, based upon Israel's possession of the Law, which is so prominent in 2 Baruch.[1] The Law in S rather brings terror by its condemnation than hope of salvation. The universal need is mercy rather than the award of the Law; and so the apocalyptist is driven to appeal, against the Law, to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness (cf. vii. 132–viii. 3, viii. 36).

Nowhere is the individual note more clearly sounded than in what may be described as our apocalyptist's *eschatology of the individual.* This is set forth, with great wealth of detail, in vii. 75–101, which gives a long description of the state of the soul after death and before the judgement. It is further stated (vii. 102–15) that no intercession will be allowed on the Day of Judgement:

> *The Day of Judgement is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth . . . none shall pray for another on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on another; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness* (vii. 104–5).

While the theology of S recognizes the Day of Judgement and an intermediate state for the soul between death and judgement, it knows of no resurrection of the body. In the description of the state of the soul after death it is made clear that the soul enters at once into a state of blessedness or the reverse, according as it is righteous or wicked. The souls of the righteous are guarded in *chambers*, and there, in great tranquillity and happiness, await the final judgement; the souls of the wicked, on the other hand, move about restlessly in torment. These conditions—though they will be intensified—are not to be essentially altered on the Day of Judgement itself. This practically means that judgement sets in immediately after death, and that a man's fate is virtually determined by the present life—which is the doctrine of the Book of Wisdom and of Hellenistic Judaism.[2]

It has already been pointed out that the writer of S discards, implicitly, the older eschatology of the nation. He does not look forward to a restoration of the Jewish State, or a rebuilding of Jerusalem; nor to a renewed and purified earth under the conditions of the present world-order. His hopes are fixed on the advent of the new and better world which is to follow the collapse of the

[1] In this book (especially in the section written after A. D. 70) 'the Law is everything; it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlviii. 22, 24)'. (Charles's note on *Ap. Bar.* xv. 5, p. 31.)

[2] For a fuller discussion of the position of S regarding the resurrection-belief see *EA*, p. xlviii f.

present world. Consequently he anticipates merely the catastrophic end of the present world-order —his theology does not allow of any intermediate Messianic Age. The new Jerusalem which is to come will be the Heavenly City, which is shown to Salathiel in his final vision (x. 25 f.), and which belongs to the future incorruptible age. As to the precise time when the end of the present order is to come the apocalyptist has no definite knowledge; but he is made to understand that the decisive moment is not far distant (cf. iv. 41, iv. 44–50); the appointed time has been pre-determined by God (iv. 36 f.), as well as the number of the righteous elect, and till this number shall have been completed the promised salvation cannot come (iv. 36). God's purpose is fixed, but it is beyond the power of the human mind to fathom it (cf. v. 34–40, vi. 6, vii. 11, vii. 20). There is thus a strong element of determinism in S; but the freedom of the human will is also emphatically asserted—the two truths are set side by side.

The theology of S is essentially other-worldly. The writer's dualism is emphatic and pronounced. The present age and the future, above and below, are in fundamental opposition. The same violent contrast characterizes the material and the spiritual (cf. iv. 11). The body, regarded as the prison-house of the soul, is described as *this corruptible vessel* (vii. 88). It is significant that in S there is no resurrection of the body; what is anticipated is practically a pure immortality of the soul. According to S the human heart, which has received the Law, is essentially a *corruptible vessel*, which belongs to the present order and will perish (ix. 36). In contrast to the present world-order, which *is full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27), and the ways of which, owing to man's sin, have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12), *the ways of the future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality* (vii. 13). In the future age, which is already prepared:

The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
Infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
Hades fled away;
Corruption forgotten,
Sorrows passed away;
And in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest (viii. 53, 54).

The pessimistic view of the present world-order which is characteristic of S naturally harmonizes with the ascetic tendencies to which reference has already been made. Taken together all these various tendencies—which are also marked in other apocalyptic literature—suggest, perhaps, the influence of Alexandrine rather than specifically Palestinian thought. But it must not be forgotten that Palestine was saturated with Hellenistic influence at this period, and that Palestinian Judaism was profoundly affected by it. The partial elimination of Greek elements, and the hardening and crystallization of the Rabbinic type of thought, was only effected later. The religious significance of S has been well set forth by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes in a sentence. Our apocalyptist, he says, 'despairs of a life of absolute obedience to the Law, even by Israel, not to speak of the world. The unconscious and unexpressed cry of the book is for a moral dynamic, which legalism could not supply.'[1]

(2) *The theology and eschatology of the other original sources.* Of the remaining original sources of our Apocalypse apparently the oldest is E. The contents of this source, so far as it is embodied in our book, are purely eschatological in character. The themes with which it deals are (1) the Messianic 'woes', i. e. the signs and portents that are to usher in the End of the world (iv. 56–v. 13 a, vi. 21–2); (2) the End of the world (this is announced by the Voice of God, but not actually described: vi. 13–20, 23–4); (3) the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' and live on into the Messianic Age (vi. 25–8). It seems probable that E in its original form regarded the age of felicity, that was to follow the judgement, as a Messianic kingdom, of indefinite duration, set up on a purified earth; but, apparently, there was no Messiah, though certain heralds of the Messianic Age were to appear—the *men who have not tasted death from their birth*—whose task it was to convert the surviving members of the human race to *a different spirit* (vi. 26–8). This eschatological scheme is of the older type, common in the prophetic books of the Old Testament and in the older apocalypses (e. g. 1 Enoch i–xxxvi). As has been pointed out in a former chapter, E has probably been utilized by R in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12, and, in any case, only appears in our book in fragments. This fact makes it difficult to determine its theological positions precisely. It is possible that one of the missing portions contained an account of the resurrection, the place of which has been taken in R's compilation by vii. 31. The description of the Messianic 'woes' has many traditional features which find close parallels in similar descriptions elsewhere (cf. *EA*, p. 41).

[1] *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 240.

In the case of the Eagle-vision (ch. xi–xii) the dominating eschatological conception is a political one. Wickedness is concentrated in godless imperial Rome[1] and the judgement will be effected when Rome is destroyed by the Lion of Judah, i. e. *the Messiah . . . who shall spring from the sced of David* (xii. 32). The overthrow of the Roman Empire is to be followed by the setting up *on earth* of the theocratic kingdom under the direct rule of God. The author was apparently a zealot (see these points fully discussed in *EA*, pp. 246 f.). The Messiah appears in a very active rôle here as the instrument for overthrowing the Roman Empire.

Very different eschatological conceptions emerge in the Son of Man vision (M = ch. xiii). These have been fully discussed in *EA* (pp. 282–6), to which the reader must be referred. One feature, however, that comes out in the interpretation of the vision calls for special mention here. This is the emphasis that is laid on *the Law*. The heavenly Messiah destroys his enemies *without labour by the Law* (xiii. 38). Further, in the legend of the Ten Tribes, which is given in the same context, their deliverance and ultimate return are represented as due to a return on their part to the observance of the Law. In order to do this they leave their heathen surroundings and migrate to *a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep the statutes which they had not kept in their own land* (xiii. 41 f.). In other words, to the author of this apocalyptic piece the Law is the standard of piety, and he can only conceive of the restoration of the lost Tribes as due to a whole-hearted acceptance of the 'yoke of the Law'.

In the last of the original sources embodied in our book, viz. E^2 (i. e. the Ezra-legend given in ch. xiv) the most outstanding doctrinal feature is the conception of the Messiah (God's Son) as pre-existing in heaven, surrounded by a community of elect ones. This agrees with the representation of the heavenly Son of Man of the Parables of 1 Enoch (xxxvii–lxxi). Just as in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 Enoch lxx. 1 f.), so here Ezra's assumption to remain henceforth with God's Son, in company with other elect ones, *until the times be ended*, is described (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 9). So too, as in the Parables, the heavenly Messiah is not to appear until the End and the coming of the Judgement (cf. xiv. 9, 10 and notes). The world history is divided into twelve parts, nine and a half of which have already passed in the time of the historical Ezra (i. e. the middle of the fifth century B. C.). This suggests that the apocalyptist conceives the world to have already entered upon the last period of tribulation (the last three and a half years of woe of Dan. ix. 27), and regards the approach of the final consummation as imminent (cf. xiv. 11, 12 and notes). Another feature of E^2 is its pessimistic outlook on the present world-order. It also assigns a high place to the Law and the other Scriptures, but by the side of the apocalyptic books (cf. *EA*, pp. 304–7).

(3) *The theology and eschatology of the Redactor* (R). The Redactor who is responsible for the present form of our Apocalypse has impressed a certain unity on the book, which, though it involves the combination of conceptions essentially disparate, yet serves to reveal a whole which he contrived to combine (by the insertion of connecting links and supplementary matter at different points) into one system in his own thought.

The groundwork of his compilation is the Salathiel-apocalypse. But evidently he felt it necessary to supplement this with extracts from other apocalypses which represent very different points of view. From the position and bulk of S in R's compilation it may be inferred that he was specially interested in its main theme—a discussion of the religious problems involved in the fall and destruction of Jerusalem. The element in S which is concerned with the eschatology of the individual, involving, as it does, the discussion of the problem of the origin and prevalence of sin, to which the misery of the world is due, would doubtless have appealed to R with special force. On the other hand, R was not prepared to discard the older hope of the coming of Messianic redemption for the nation, and so found it necessary to append the Eagle and Son of Man visions (ch. xi–xiii). The combination of these elements results in the following eschatological scheme, which was adopted by R:

(1) The period of 'woes' preceding the advent of the Messiah (iv. 56–v. 13 a, vi. 11–28) will first occur.

(2) The Messiah and his immortal companions (Enoch, Elijah, &c.) will then suddenly be 'revealed', the new Jerusalem will appear and a temporary Messianic kingdom, lasting 400 years, set up in which those who have survived the Messianic 'woes' are destined to enjoy a period of felicity (vii. 26–8 R). In ch. xii. (M) the active work of the Messiah is described more fully. There, a principal part of his mission is to destroy the assembled enemies of the divine rule (= 'the wars of Gog and Magog'), and gather together the lost Ten Tribes who are to be brought back to the Holy Land. Apparently the destruction of the hostile forces is conceived as closing the period of 'woes'.

[1] Cf. the 'Beast' of the Johannine Apocalypse.

After the annihilation of the last enemies has been effected, the 'survivors', who are defined as *those that are found within my holy border* (xiii. 48) shall be defended by the Messiah (xiii. 49, cf. xiii. 26 b), and see *very many wonders*. Presumably the rule of the Messiah here indicated was conceived by R to synchronize with the 400 years' reign referred to in vii. 28, though this was not its significance in the original vision.

(3) The temporary Messianic kingdom and the rule of the Messiah will terminate in his death and that of all human beings, and creation will revert to primaeval silence for seven days (vii. 29–30).

(4) This will be followed by the Resurrection and the Final Judgement (vii. 31–44).

It should be noted that the Eagle-vision (ch. xi–xii), which depicts the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Lion of Judah (i. e. the Messiah), has no logical place in this scheme. The eschatological drama, as outlined above, was inherited by R from tradition, which was too firmly rooted to be ignored. But in the Eagle-vision we ought probably to see an expression of the real hopes which animated our compiler. Living at a time when Israel had suffered—and was still suffering—so much at the hands of Rome his hopes for the Messianic deliverance were naturally concentrated on the prospect of the annihilation of the oppressive world-power, and the incarnation of all wickedness.

Such is the scheme of the national eschatology as it was combined in the mind of R. How essentially incompatible the diverse elements of which it is composed really are needs no further demonstration.

In combination with and supplementing this our compiler accepted the eschatology of the individual as set forth in S. In contrast with S, R has much greater confidence in the Law as such as a protective power to the Jew (cf. iii. 26–36, and see further *EA*, pp. lv–lvii).

§ 11. Relation of the Apocalypse with the New Testament.[1]

A number of resemblances in thought, and (occasionally) of diction, with the New Testament occur in 4 Ezra; but nothing which suggests direct dependence.

Gunkel, it is true, thinks that 4 Ezra xii. 42 (*For of all the prophets thou alone art left to us . . . as a lamp in a dark place*) is cited in 2 Pet. i. 19 (*And we have the word of prophecy more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place*). But the common use of such a figure may be explained as due to its currency, possibly in apocalyptic circles, before the writing of 4 Ezra and 2 Peter.

In 4 Ezra iv. 28 the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest is applied metaphorically to evil, and it is stated that the harvest of evil must first be reaped before the good can take its place; the thought here is parallel with that of the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii); cf. in particular Matt. xiii. 39: *the enemy that sowed . . . is the devil, and the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels.*

In 4 Ezra iv. 36 the seer is reminded by the angel that he cannot know the duration of the time that must elapse before the End (though elsewhere it has been revealed to him that the End is imminent); in other words the exact moment cannot be fixed—it is known to God alone. The passage runs:

Number me the days that are not yet come (the implication being—you cannot); cf. Mark xiii. 32 and parallels: *But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.*

There is a certain amount of literary contact between the Johannine Apocalypse and 4 Ezra, which, however, does not amount to direct literary dependence, but, probably, points to a common source or sources; thus 4 Ezra ix. 35 and Rev. vi. 9–11 seem to be related in this way[2]; so in 4 Ezra iv. 41 *the underworld* (*infernum* = *Sheol*) is used as in Rev. i. 18, &c., as the place where the wicked dead remain in the intermediate state.

An abundance of resemblances in thought or diction has been pointed out in the notes on the text.[3] One or two examples may be given here: in 4 Ezra vii. 88 the body is called *this corruptible vessel*; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53 *this corruptible*; in 4 Ezra ix. 37 *the Law*, it is said, *perishes not but abides in its glory* (i. e. the Law is heavenly and divine); cf. Rom. vii. 14 (*the Law is spiritual*), 2 Cor. iii. 7 f., &c., &c.

The close parallels in thought as to the origin and prevalence of sin between S and St. Paul have already been pointed out in § 10 (1).

[1] For the affinities of the Book with other early literature cf. *EA*, pp. lxx–lxxiv.
[2] Cf. Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, pp. 272 f.
[3] The passages cited in this connexion in the writer's larger work are registered in Index IV of *EA*, pp. 375–8.

§ 12. Bibliography.

Besides the works already referred to in this Introduction, the following are also important for the study of 4 Ezra:—

(*a*) Editions of Text.

Syr. (*Cer.*) = The Syriac Text of 4 Ezra, printed in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Tom. v (pp. 41–111).

(*b*) Translations with Notes, etc.

Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra*; edited by Prof. Gunkel in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900), (contains a valuable introduction, critical translation, and notes).
Ball = critical notes on 2 Esdras in *The Variorum Apocrypha*, by C. J. Ball.

(*c*) Essays, Discussions, etc.

Rosenthal = *Vier Apokryphische Bücher, aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, von Dr. F. Rosenthal (Leipzig, 1885).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht*, von Richard Kabisch (Göttingen, 1889).
Vaganay = *Le Problème eschatologique dans le IVe livre d'Esdras*, par Léon Vaganay (Paris, 1906).
Wellhausen = *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, von J. Wellhausen; sechstes Heft (Berlin, 1899).
F. C. Porter = *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers*, by F. C. Porter (London, 1909).
[Cf. also Charles's discussion in the introduction to his edition of *The* (Syriac) *Apocalypse of Baruch*; also articles in the Bible Dictionaries (*DB* and *EB*) and in *JE*.]

(*d*) Other Works referred to.

Bousset, *RJ*^{2} = *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (2nd ed.), von D. Wilhelm Bousset (Berlin, 1906).
Charles, *Eschatology* = *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, by R. H. Charles (London, 1899).
Derenbourg = *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, par J. Derenbourg (Paris, 1867).
Drummond, *JM* = *The Jewish Messiah*, by James Drummond (London, 1877).
Köhler = *Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (Leipzig, 1910).
Köberle = *Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum* (München, 1905).
RWS = *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (2nd ed., 1911).
Schechter, *Aspects* = *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, by S. Schechter (London, 1909).
Volz = *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, von Paul Volz (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903).
Weber = *Jüdische Theologie*, von F. Weber; 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1897).

Also the following editions of ancient works:—
Ps. Sol. = *The Psalms of the Pharisees* (*or Psalms of Solomon*), edited and translated by Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891).
Mekilta = the early Jewish Midrash so called (on Exodus); Hebrew text edited by Friedmann.
Sifra, Sifre = the early Jewish Midrashim so called (on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).

Abbreviations Employed.

EB = *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols.).
DB = *Dictionary of the Bible.*
DCG = *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (ed. Hastings, 2 vols.).
JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (12 vols.).
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vols. i–xx).
TB = Talmud of Babylon.
TJ = Talmud of Jerusalem.
OL = Old Latin.
PBH = Post Biblical Hebrew.
Bensly, MF = *The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra, discovered and Edited with an Introduction and Notes*, by Robert L. Bensly, M.A. (Cambridge, 1875).
BJ (= *Bensly and James*) = *The fourth Book of Ezra: the Latin version edited from the MSS.* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., with an introduction by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. iii, no. 2, Cambridge, 1895).
Hilg. = *Messias Iudaeorum* (containing the Latin text and Latin translations of the Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian texts, and a reconstruction of the lost Greek text underlying them, with critical notes), Leipzig, 1869.
Violet = *Die Esra-Apokalypse* (*IV. Esra*), *Erster Teil: Die Überlieferung*, herausg. von Lic. Dr. Bruno Violet (contains a critical edition of the Latin text, and carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions and valuable critical notes), Leipzig, 1910.
Volkmar = *Das vierte Buch Esra* (being Part II of the *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*), herausg. von Dr. Gustav Volkmar (contains Latin text, commentary, German translation and elaborate Introduction; the critical notes are often useful), Tübingen, 1863.
Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra* in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen, 1889).
EA = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (critical translation with Commentary and Introduction), edited by G. H. Box (London, 1912).

IV EZRA

THE FIRST VISION.

(iii. 1–v. 19.)

(I. iii. 1–3) INTRODUCTION (S).

1 In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I, Salathiel—[who am also Ezra]—was in Babylon,

THE FIRST VISION (iii. 1–v. 19).

(1) CONTENTS. In the person of Salathiel (Ezra) the writer, bewailing, some thirty years after the event, the desolation of Sion and the continued prosperity of Babylon, gives vent to his grief and despair on account of the ruin which has befallen Jerusalem at the hands of her Roman conquerors in A.D. 70. He finds it difficult to understand the meaning of this appalling catastrophe. How can it be reconciled with God's providence and justice? It is true the human race is corrupt and steeped in sin; but the reason why all men have sinned is that sin goes back to Adam, and Adam sinned because the root of sin was inherent in his nature (cf. iii. 20 f.). God had chosen Israel and given them His Law, but so long as the evil germ remained in man's nature, the Law was powerless to produce righteousness (cf. iii. 19, 20). Hence perfect righteousness could not justly be expected even from Israel. On the other hand, nations far more godless and faithless than Israel are allowed to remain in prosperity, and trample underfoot the chosen people.

The seer's protests are answered by the angel Uriel. The most serious part of the charge levelled by the seer against the justice of God's providence had been the implication that God, as Creator, was ultimately responsible for the inherent evil of man's nature, and hence cannot justly punish men for sin. To this indictment the angel replies (cf. Job xxviii) that the seer cannot understand the simplest things that are bound up with his daily life; how, then, can he hope to understand the ways of the Most High? God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 1–11). The seer rejoins despairingly: 'It would have been better that we had never been created, than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not know why we suffer.' The angel replies that it is foolish and senseless to seek to know what is beyond nature. Man belongs to the earth; his vision is bounded by the finite; therefore it is vain for him to seek to comprehend what is heavenly and infinite (iv. 12–21). The seer, disclaiming any desire to be curious about the ways above, protests that what perplexes him most of all is a fact of daily experience, viz. that Israel, God's chosen people, should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen. This is answered as follows: the present age is hastening fast to its close; the new age that is about to dawn will solve all difficulties. God's remedy for the present state of things will not be consummated within the present order, but will be realized in the future world. The present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (iv. 22–32). If the solution lies in the future the question naturally arises at this point, how soon will it come? This question is asked impatiently by the seer. The answer is: till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come; but when the moment has arrived nothing (not even men's sins) can delay its consummation (iv. 33–43). The seer again inquires more particularly as to the time of the End. Is the present age more than half gone? He is shown, by a vision, that by far the greater part of the present age has run its course (iv. 44–50). In reply to a further question the angel states that he cannot tell whether the End will come within the seer's own lifetime (iv. 51–52). An interpolated passage (from E) narrates the signs of the near approach of the End (v. 1–13). The first vision thus falls into the following divisions:

i. *Introduction* (iii. 1–3) (S).
ii. *The first questions* (the seer's difficulties stated) (iii. 4–36) (mainly S).
iii. *The divine reply* (iv. 1–v. 13):
(*a*) iv. 1–11; (*b*) iv. 12–21; (*c*) iv. 22–32; (*d*) iv. 33–43; (*e*) iv. 44–50; (*f*) iv. 51–v. 13 (S) (E).
iv. *Conclusion of the Vision* (v. 14–19) (S).

(2) THE MISSING INTRODUCTION TO THE VISION. As Kabisch has pointed out, a number of indications suggest that in the original form of S the present vision was preceded by an introductory piece, explaining the preparation of the seer for what follows. It is probable that a command to fast seven days preceded the first vision in its original form (cf. vi. 35, where the 'three weeks' of fasting mentioned implies this). It may, therefore, be concluded that before the prayer of Salathiel (iii. 4 f.) there stood originally an introductory section detailing the appearance of the angel Uriel, the command to the seer to fast seven days, and the fulfilment of this command. Then followed a dream-vision the conclusion of which has been misplaced by R, and now stands in v. 14–15. This again was probably followed by some such statement as: 'So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping as the angel commanded me. And it came to pass after seven days' (cf. v. 20). Here followed the words 'my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts', &c. (iii. 1 ff.). The whole of this introductory section has been cut out by R, apparently, as unimportant (see further *EA*, pp. 4–6).

1. **In the thirtieth year.** The thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is primarily meant, i.e. 556 B.C. But typically this was designed, doubtless, to suggest the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, i.e. A.D. 100; this probably fixes the date of the publication of S (see Introduction, § 8). For the opening of the book in this way cf. Ezek. i. 1.

Salathiel. The Hebrew form of the name is *Shĕ'alti'el*. Shealtiel is mentioned as the father of Zerubbabel in Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Neh. xii. 1; but in 1 Chron. iii. 17 as his uncle.

[who am also Ezra]. The identification of Ezra and Salathiel is, of course, impossible chronologically. Ezra appears first in history a century later (459-458 B.C.) than the date here presupposed (556 B.C.). The words are doubtless a gloss due to R (see Introduction, §§ 6 and 7).

S and as I lay upon my bed I was disquieted. [a]. . . . . .
. . . . . [a] and my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts;
because I saw Sion's desolation on the one hand (matched) with the abundant wealth of Babylon's
3 inhabitants on the other. And my spirit was stirred profoundly, and in my agitation I began to address the Most High.

II. iii. 4–36. The First Questions: Whence arise the Sin and Misery of the World? How can Israel's continued Affliction be reconciled with the Divine Justice?

4 And I said: [b] O Lord my Lord,[b] was it not thou who in the beginning, when [c] thou didst form the
5 earth—and that thyself alone—didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam [c], a lifeless body? But yet it was both itself the formation of thy hands and thou breathedst into
6 him the breath of life, so that he was made living before thee. And thou leddest him into Paradise,
7 which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came forward; and to him thou commandedst [d] one only observance of thine [d], but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him [e] and for his generations [e], and from him were born nations and tribes, peoples and clans innumerable.
8 And every nation walked after their own will, and behaved wickedly before thee, and were ungodly
9 —but thou didst not hinder them. Nevertheless again in (due) time thou broughtest the Flood
10 [f] upon the earth and [f] upon the inhabitants of the world, and destroyedst them. And [g] their fate [g]
11 was one and the same; as death (overtook) Adam, so the Flood (overwhelmed) these. Nevertheless one of them thou didst spare—Noah with his household (and with him) all the righteous his
12 descendants. And it came to pass that when the inhabitants upon the earth began to multiply, and [h] there were born [h] children also and peoples and nations many, that they began to practise
13 ungodliness more than former (generations). And it came to pass that when they practised
14 ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose thee one from among them whose name was Abraham: him
15 thou didst love, and unto him only didst thou reveal [i] the end of the times [i] secretly by night; and with him thou didst make an everlasting covenant, and didst promise him that thou wouldst never
16 forsake his seed. And thou gavest him Isaac, and to Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau. And thou
17 didst set apart Jacob for thyself, but Esau thou didst hate; and Jacob became a great host. And it came to pass that when thou leddest forth his seed out of Egypt, and didst bring them to the Mount Sinai,

18 Thou didst bow down the heavens,
didst make the earth quake

[a–a] *For the lacuna here see the discussion on the previous page.* [b–b] 𝔏: O dominator Domine (*R.V.* O Lord that bearest rule) = Δεσποτα κυριε (*Hilg.*): = 𝔐 אדני יהוה [c–c] *reading* plasmasti terram . . . et imperasti pulveri et dedit tibi Adam *with BJ and Violet*: *so* 𝔖 (*cf.* Ethiop. Ar.[1]): *Lat. MSS.* plantasti terram . . . et imperasti populo (*so SA*: orbi *CM*) tuo et dedisti Adam (*so SA*: *cf. the rendering of A.V.*) [d–d] 𝔏 diligentiam unam tuam: *the Oriental Versions render* commandment (*for this sense of* diligentia *cf. Bensly, 'Missing Fragment'*, p. 56) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental Versions*): 𝔏 et in nationibus eius [f–f] *so* 𝔖 *and* Ethiop.; 𝔏 Ar.[1] > [g–g] 𝔏 casus eorum: 𝔖 their destruction (*cf.* Ethiop.) [h–h] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 multiplicaverunt (*so* 𝔖) [i–i] *reading* temporum finem *with C*

4. **in the beginning.** Cf. Gen. ii. 7 f. In accordance with the wide philosophic outlook of the apocalyptists the writer begins his survey with Creation. On the other hand, the prophets characteristically begin with the Exodus from Egypt, which marked the birthday of Israel as a nation. Cf. Jer. ii. 2; Hos. xi. 1.

6. **before ever the earth came forward.** According to one view current in later Jewish circles Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was one of seven things created before the world (viz. Torah, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the Messiah; cf. *Pesaḥ* 54*a*, *Nedar.* 39*b*, *Ber. rab.* xx). For this view, as regards Paradise, our text here is the earliest literary evidence. It was deduced from Gen. ii. 8 (where the Hebr. word *miqqedem*, understood as = 'from the beginning' [not 'eastward'] was interpreted to mean 'before' the creation of the world [1]). According to the earlier view the Garden of Eden was one of the things created on the third day: cf. *Book of Jubilees*, ii. 7, and Charles's note on the passage. *Paradise* has varying meanings in apocalyptic literature. The conception of an earthly and heavenly paradise is also to be noted. Here Eden as man's primitive home of blessedness is meant. See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 195 ff.

10. **And their fate was one and the same.** A like fate overtook both Adam and the generation of the deluge. Note that the survey begins with Adam; contrast 2 Pet. ii. 4.

13. **thou didst choose thee one,** &c. Cf. Gen. xii. 1.

14. **unto him only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night.** The vision described in Gen. xv. 9 f. was later invested with an extended significance; it was supposed to give an intimation of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel, which are interpreted to be Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome (cf. Targums *ad loc.*).

16. **Jacob became a great host.** Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.

18. **Thou didst bow down the heavens,** &c. The whole description is of a theophany, and may be compared with Ps. lxviii. 7 ff. The particular theophany referred to is described in Exod. xix. 16 f.

[1] So the Targums (cf. also the Syriac and Latin versions, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion). According another view, however, the expression means 'before the creation of man': cf. *Gen. rab.* xv.

and convulsedst the world—
Thou didst cause the deeps to tremble
and didst alarm the spheres.
19 And thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold,
To give Law to Jacob's seed
and Commandment to the generation of Israel.
20 And yet thou didst not take away from them the evil heart, that thy Law might bring forth fruit
21 in them. For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome;
22 and likewise also all who were born of him. Thus the infirmity became inveterate; the Law indeed
was in the heart of the people, but (in conjunction) with the evil germ; so what was good departed,
23 and the evil remained. So the times passed away and the years came to an end; and (then) thou
24 didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; and thou commandedst him to build the
25 City (which is called) after thy name[j], and to offer thee [k] oblations therein of thine own [k]. And after
26 this had been done many years, the inhabitants of the City committed sin, in all things doing even
as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also [l] had clothed themselves with [l] the evil
28 heart: and so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies. Then I said in my heart:
29 Are their deeds any better[m] that inhabit Babylon? Has he for this [n] rejected [n] Sion? It came to
pass when I came hither and saw ungodly deeds innumerable, and myself saw many sinners [o] these
30 thirty years [o], that my heart [p] was perturbed [p]: for I have seen
how thou dost suffer the sinners
and dost spare the ungodly,
how thou hast destroyed thy people
and preserved thine enemies;
31 and hast not made known at all unto any how this course of thine shall be abandoned. Have the
32 deeds of Babylon been better than those of Sion? [Has any other nation known thee beside Israel?
33 Or what tribes have so believed thy covenants as those of Jacob?—whose reward (nevertheless) hath
not appeared nor their labour borne fruit! For I have gone hither and thither through the nations
34 and seen them in prosperity, although unmindful of thy commandments. Now, therefore, weigh
thou our iniquities, and those of the inhabitants of the world, in the balance and so shall be found

(S A >): *cf.* S Ethiop. [j] S + and a house [k–k] *reading* in ea de tuis oblationes *so* CM = S: *cf.* Ar.[1.2] (*thus* et oblationes, *cf. A.V. and Vulg., is a corruption*) [l–l] *so* S *Ethiop.*: L utebantur (*emend to* induebantur *with Hilg.*) [m] *Ethiop.* + than ours (*cf. Ar.*[1]) [n–n] *so* S Ar.[1]: L *corrupt*: dominabit SA (? *read* damnavit *with Violet, or* abominavit *with Gunkel*) [o–o] *so* Ar.[1] (Ethiop.): L hoc tricesimo anno (*a misrendering of original Hebrew*) [p–p] L excessit (= εξεστη)

19. **thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold.** The writer, in accordance with the developed Jewish conceptions of Jahveh's majesty and transcendence, pictures God as appearing in theophany on earth (at Sinai) in a gradual descent from His throne in the highest of the heavens through the lower heavens by their successive 'gates'. The idea of a plurality of heavens is implied. In the earlier form of this doctrine there were three, in the later form (which was already current in the first century A.D.; cf. 2 Enoch) there were seven heavens. The 'gates' alluded to in our text are apparently those of the four lowest heavens. See further *EA*, p. 14.

20. **the evil heart**, Lat. *cor malignum*. In this and the following verses (21–22, 25–26) the subject of Adam's transgression and the hereditary tendency to sin (created by his lapse) in all his descendants is introduced. It is pursued in iv. 30–31, and in vii. 118 Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race ('O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned the fall was not thine alone but ours also who are thy descendants'). The inherent infirmity of human nature is a dominating idea in the apocalyptic writer's mind, and a characteristic note of his pessimism. In the stress he lays on Adam's sin he reminds us of St. Paul (cf. Rom. v. 12 f.). The *cor malignum* is regarded as the result of Adam's yielding to the evil impulse (the *yeṣer ha-ra'* of Rabbinic theology, called the 'grain of evil seed' [*granum seminis mali*] in iv. 30. In vii. 92 it is called 'the evil thought (*cogitamentum malum*) which was fashioned with them').

that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them. Cf. Rom. vii. 5; v. 20.

21. **clothing himself with the evil heart.** Adam 'clothed himself' with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of 'the evil impulse'. The 'evil heart' thus developed inevitably led to sin and death.

22. **the Law indeed was in the heart of the people.** Cf. the conflict described in Rom. vii. 7 f., and especially vii. 20 f.

what was good departed. i.e. the good tendency (the *yeṣer ha-ṭob*) was entirely overcome. The Law was powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery. This is clean contrary to Rabbinic theology, which emphasizes the power of the Law to keep the evil tendency in check and overcome it: cf. the dictum: 'The Law wears away the evil *yeṣer* as water wears away stone' (*T. B. Suk.* 52 *b*).

24. **thou commandedst him to build.** David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46.

oblations therein of thine own. The supreme glory and unique distinction of the divine city consists in its being the place where sacrifice and oblation were properly and regularly offered to God.

31. **how this course of thine** (lit. **this way**) **shall be abandoned.** God's course of action is meant. S renders: 'how thy way may be comprehended.'

32–36. For the reasons for assigning these verses to R see *EA*, p. 6 f.

R 35 [q] which way the turn of the scale inclines [q]. Or when was it that the inhabitants of the earth did
36 not sin before thee? Or what nation hath so kept thy precepts? [r] Individual men of note [r] indeed
thou mayst find to have kept thy precepts; but nations thou shalt not find.]

III. The Divine Reply; God's Ways are Inscrutable.

(iv. 1–v. 19.)

(*a*) iv. 1–11. *The human spirit can only hope to understand dimly and in part* (S).

S **4** 1, 2 Thereupon the angel answered me who had been sent to me, [and whose name was Uriel]; and
he said to me: Thy heart hath utterly failed thee regarding this world; and thinkest thou to
comprehend the way of the Most High?

3 Then said I: Yes, my Lord.
And he answered me, and said: Three ways have I been sent to show thee, and three similitudes
4 to set before thee: if thou canst declare me one of these I also will show thee the way thou desirest
to see, and teach thee [s] whence comes [s] the evil heart.

5 And I said: Speak on, my Lord.
Then he said unto me:
Come, weigh me the weight of the fire;
Or measure me [t] the measure [t] of the wind,
Or recall me the day that is past.

6 Then answered I and said: Who of the [u] earth-born [u] could [v] do so [v] that thou shouldst ask me
about such matters?

7 And he said to me: Had I asked thee
How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea?
Or [w] how many springs [w] in the source of the deep?
Or how many [x] ways [x] above the firmament?
[y] Or where are the portals of Hades [y]?
Or where the paths of Paradise?

[q–q] 𝔏 momentum (*inferior MSS.* nomen tuum) puncti ubi declinet [r–r] 𝔏 homines per nomina [s–s] *reading* unde sit (*with one Codex*); quare sit S A C M = 𝔖 Ethiop. Ar.[1] [t–t] *reading* satum = 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]) *for* flatum S C M [u–u] 𝔏 natorum [v] *reading* hoc facere (A* *); *cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*; *other Latin MSS.* > hoc [w–w] *so Ar.*[1] *Ethiop.* 𝔏 quantae venae [x–x] emending venae of 𝔏 *to* viae (*cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*) [y–y] *so* 𝔖 *and other Oriental VSS.* 𝔏 > (*by homoioteleuton*; *cf. next clause*) [z–z] *so Oriental*

---

36. **Individual men of note.** Such as Job, regarded as a non-Israelite of conspicuous piety: cf. St. Paul's treatment of the theme of the law-abiding Gentile in Rom. ii. 26 f.

(*a*) iv. 1–11. The angel (or rather archangel; cf. iv. 36) Uriel is sent to the seer, and propounds three problems to him which he is unable to answer. If these are beyond his capacity, how can he presume to challenge the inscrutable ways of God? The general character of the passage is similar to parts of Job (cf. especially Job xxviii). For the dialogue between the angel and Salathiel cf. e.g. Zech. i–vi, Dan. x, &c.

1. **Uriel.** Uriel (= ? 'the fire of God', Heb. *'ûr-'ēl*) is mentioned again in verse 36, v. 20, and x. 38 (not again in the Bible). He was one of the four chief angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel), of whom Michael was the highest (cf. Lueken, *Michael*, p. 32 f.). According to 1 En. xx. 2 Uriel was 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'.[1] In 1 En. x. 1 (Greek) he is the divine messenger who is sent to warn the son of Lamech. So here. The problems he propounds to Ezra accord with the character assigned to him and his name. The first ('weigh me the weight of the fire') is suggested by the meaning of the name Uriel—'Fire of God'. The others are concerned with the waters of the deep (*tĕhôm*), and with the underworld. Uriel is thus designated, therefore, as being 'the archangel of fire and of Gehenna, where flame is the chief element' (cf. *JE*, xii. 383). Later he became (mistakenly) associated with light (Heb. *'ôr*), and was regarded as the enlightener ('he who brings light to Israel', *Num. rabb.* ii. 10). In 1 En. xl, Fanuel, one of the four 'presences' (Michael, Rufael, Gabriel, Fanuel), is, apparently, Uriel under another aspect. For Uriel as propounder and answerer of questions as here, cf. 1 En. xxi. 5, 9; xxvii. 2; xxxiii. 3, 4.

2. **Thy heart hath utterly failed thee**, &c. For the sentiment cf. John iii. 12.

5. **fire . . . wind.** For the conjunction of 'fire' and 'wind' cf. iii. 19, viii. 22, Wisd. xiii. 2. The four winds were regarded as having their dwelling-places in the four corners of the earth. Here they were detained in 'treasuries' and issued forth from time to time through 'portals' (cf. 1 En. xxxv f., where the portals which open into heaven from the ends of the earth are spoken of; cf. also 4 Ezra vi. 1). According to Rev. vii. 1 the four storehouses of the winds are guarded by four angels. As their dwelling-place was fixed at the extremities of the earth the winds would be under the supreme rule of Uriel, 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'. To the ancients the wind was a supremely mysterious agent (cf. Eccles. xi. 5, 'as thou knowest not the way of the wind', and John iii. 8).

measure me the measure of the wind. Cf. Job xxviii. 22 for the similar idea of 'weighing' the wind; and for the whole verse, 2 Bar. lix. 5 (cf. also 1 En. xli. 4, 2 En. xl. 11).

7. **How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea.** Cf. Job xxviii. 16–17.

paths of Paradise, i.e. leading to Paradise; the heavenly Paradise is meant.

---

[1] 'Over thunder and earthquake', according to the Eth. text; the Greek gives as above. [Probably the clause 'and whose name was Uriel' was added by R.]

8 Perchance thou wouldst have said to me:
Into the deep I have not descended,
nor as yet [z]gone down[z] into Hades;
Neither to heaven have I ever ascended,
[a]nor entered Paradise[a].
9 But now I have only asked thee of the fire, the wind, and the day [b]that is past[b],—things without which thou canst not be; and yet thou hast vouchsafed me no answer about them!
10 He said moreover unto me: [c]What belongs to thee[c]—the things that have intermingled with thy
11 growth—thou art incapable of understanding; how then should thy vessel be able to comprehend the way of the Most High? [d]For the way of the Most High has been formed without measure[d], [e]how, then, should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible[e]?

(*b*) iv. 12–21. *The dialogue continued: it is foolish and senseless to demand what is against nature* (S).

12 [f][And when I heard these things I fell upon my face][f] and said unto him: It would have been better [g]that we had never been created[g] than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not [h]to know[h] why we suffer.
13 And he answered me and said: [i]Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth,[i]
14 and took counsel, and said: Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may retire before
15 us, and we will make us [j]more woods[j]. In like manner also the waves of the sea took counsel, and said: Come, let us go up and wage war against the wood of the field, that there also we may win us
16, 17 more territory. The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; likewise,
18 also, the counsel of the waves of the sea, for the sand [k]stood up[k] and stopped them. If thou, now,
19 hadst been judge between them whom wouldst thou have justified or whom condemned? I answered and said: Both have taken a foolish counsel; for to the wood the land has been assigned, and [l]to the sea a place[l] to bear its waves.
20 Then he answered me and said: Thou hast judged aright; but why hast thou not given judgement
21 in thine own case? For just as the earth has been assigned to the wood, and [m]the place of the sea to bear its waves[m]; even so the dwellers upon earth can understand only what is upon the earth, [n]and they who are above the heavens[n] that which is above the heavenly height.

(*c*) iv. 22–32. *The dialogue continued: The seer protests that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth. He is told that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties* (S).

22 Then answered I and said: I beseech thee, O Lord, wherefore have I been endowed with an

VSS. 𝔏 > [a-a] *so Ethiop. Arm.* (*cf.* Ar.[2]); 𝔏 𝔖 > [b-b] *so* Ethiop. (*cf.* Ar.[1]): 𝔏 per quae (= 𝔖; *v. l.* quem) transisti [c-c] 𝔏 quae tua sunt: 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*one reading*) *Arm.* > [d-d] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar. Arm.*): 𝔏 > (*by homoioteleuton*) [e-e] *so* 𝔖 *substantially* (nor is it possible, &c.): *cf. Ethiop.* Ar.[1]: 𝔏 et iam exteritus corrupto saeculo intellegere incorruptionem? [f-f] *so Oriental Versions*: 𝔏 *corrupt* [g-g] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 nos non adesse [h-h] *reading* intellegere (= 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] *Arm.*): *for* intellexi (S A C) [i-i] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 *is corrupt* [j-j] 𝔏 alias silvas: 𝔖 *Ethiop.* a new wood [k-k] *so* 𝔏 stetit (= εστη) = 𝔖 Ar.[1]; *but Ethiop. and Arm.* stayed (= εστησε) [l-l] *reading* mari locus (C, &c.); *but S A* maris locus = 𝔖 [m-m] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et mare fluctibus suis [n-n] 𝔏 qui super coelos: *Ar.*[2] *Arm. interpret as plural* (they who are above the heavens): 𝔖 *as sing.* (he who is above, &c.)

---

9. **things without which thou canst not be.** Man cannot live apart from wind, warmth, and the passing day; cf. for the thought Wisd. ix. 16.

10. **What belongs to thee—the things . . . thy growth.** The 'things' referred to include fire and wind, two of the four primal elements (fire, wind, earth, and water); for these cf. Wisd. vii. 17, xiii. 1, xix. 18 (τὰ στοιχεῖα). There may be an allusion, as Gunkel suggests, to man's living organism (the microcosm) being compounded of the elements (cf. viii. 8). This view is of Oriental origin.

thy vessel. The body is the 'vessel' of the soul or understanding.

(*b*) iv. 12–21. In answer to Salathiel's despairing interjection the archangel further enforces the point of the preceding paragraph by a parable, taken from the sea and the forest. The idea of the sea being held in check and kept within prescribed bounds by the divine power is an ancient one, and forms the motive of some early mythological Creation myths (cf. Job. vii. 12, xxxviii. 8 f.). The application of the idea to the wood seems to be original to the apocalyptist (so Gunkel).

12. **It would have been better that we had never been created,** &c. The seer here takes the pessimistic view of the school of Shammai on the question whether it would have been better for man never to have been created. According to *T. B. Erub.* 13*b* the controversy lasted two and a half years.

17. **the sand stood up and stopped them.** Cf. Jer. v. 22.

(*c*) iv. 22–32. Disclaiming any desire 'to be curious about the ways above', the seer protests that his difficulties are very real and rooted in daily experience. He is above measure perplexed because the chosen race—the people that bear God's sacred name of Israel—should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen (*vv.* 22–25). He is assured in

S 23 understanding to discern? For I meant not to ask [o]about the ways above[o] but of those things we daily experience;
Why is Israel to the heathen given over for reproach,
thy beloved people to godless tribes given up?
The Law of our fathers [p]has been brought to destruction[p],
the written covenants exist no more;
24 We vanish from the world as locusts,
our life is [q]as a breath[q].
25 We indeed are not worthy to obtain mercy; but what will he do for his own name whereby we are called? It is about these things that I have asked.

The Answer.

26 Then he answered me and said: [r]If thou survive[r] thou shalt see, and if thou livest long thou shalt marvel; for the age is hastening fast to its end.
27 Because it is unable to bear the things promised [s]in their season[s] to the righteous; for this age is full of sorrow and impotence.
28 For the evil [t]concerning which[t] thou askest me is sown, but [u]the ingathering of it[u] is not yet
29 come. Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and unless the place where the evil is sown
30 shall have passed away, the field where the good is sown cannot come. For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit of ungodliness has it produced unto this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come!
31 Reckon up, now, in thine own mind: [v]if[v] a grain of evil seed has produced so much fruit of
32 ungodliness, when once the ears [w]of the good seed[w] shall have been sown without number, how great a floor shall they be destined to fill?

(*d*) iv. 33–43. *The dialogue continued. In reply to his question, When shall these things be? the seer receives the answer—When the number of the righteous is complete* (S).

33 Then I answered and said: [x]How long and when[x] shall these things (be coming to pass)? [y]For[y] our years are few and evil.
34 And he answered me and said: Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High; for thou art hastening [z]for thine own self[z], but the Exalted One on behalf of many.

[o-o] *reading* de superioribus viis (C) = S *Ethiop. Ar.*[2]: de superioribus tuis S A [p-p] *reading* in interitum (S A); C M in inritum (*so BJ*) [q-q] *reading* ut vapor = S Ethiop.: ut pavor S A M [r-r] *so* Ethiop. (= εαν μεινῃς): L si fueris (= εαν μεν ης) [s-s] L in temporibus: S *Ethiop.* > [t-t] *reading* de quo . . . de eo (*cf.* S *Ethiop.*): de quibus S A [u-u] *reading* destrictio ipsius (S A*): *v. l.* destructio [v-v] *so Ethiop.*: L S > [w-w] *so* S Ethiop.: L > [x-x] *reading* usquequo et quando (= S *Ethiop. Arm.*): quo (*for* usquequo) S A [y-y] *so* S *Ethiop.*: L quare [z-z] *reading* propter temetipsum = S Ethiop. L *corrupt.* [a-a] *so* S *Ethiop.*: L usquequo spero sic

---

reply that the present age is hastening to its close, and that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (*v.* 26). It is further explained to him why the present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (*vv.* 27–32). Cf. the reference in a similar connexion to the harvest of good and bad seed in 2 Baruch lxx. 2.

23. **the written covenants.** The expression is a synonym for the Law (Scriptures). In *T. B. Berak* 48 *b* the Law (*Torah*) is said to have been given 'by three covenants', viz. those with Israel at Sinai, at Gerizim, and in the plains of Moab; cf. Rom. ix. 4, and Sir. xliv. 11, Wisd. xviii. 22. For the destruction of the Law cf. xiv. 21 f.

25. **what will he do for his own name.** Cf. Isa. lxiii. 19; 2 Baruch v. 1; also 4 Ezra x. 22.

whereby we are called. lit. 'which is called upon us'. The expression implies ownership. Cf. Isa. xliii. 7; 2 Chron. vii. 14; James ii. 7. Israel's election is appealed to.

27. **this age is full of sorrow and impotence.** It is characteristic of the apocalyptic writer's pessimism that he gives up the present age entirely. It must be destroyed absolutely, and an entirely new order take its place. The older view that the present world should be renewed in a purified form is abandoned.

28. **the ingathering of it.** For the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest applied metaphorically to evil, cf. the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii), and in particular Matt. xiii. 39.

32. **be destined to fill.** The harvest of good, when once it has been sown (immediately after the end of the present evil age), will in the golden future far surpass the previous harvest of evil. The argument *a minori ad maius* is characteristically Jewish.

(*d*) iv. 33–43. The seer's impatient question—'How long? when shall these good things come to pass?'—is rebuked. Everything has been predetermined. Till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come. But when the moment has arrived nothing can delay its consummation. The point is further enforced by a similitude. On the whole passage cf. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 293 f.

34. **Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High.** The seer is rebuked for selfish impatience. The Most High is no less ready to 'haste' than himself, but determines His action in accordance with the interests of all (many); cf. v. 33. As Gunkel remarks, such admonitions to be patient are a standing feature of apocalyptic writings. Acquiescence in the divine will was the highest virtue in a time when even the most pious sighed for the end of the present world.

35 Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls of the righteous in their chambers?
[a] How long are we (to remain) here?[a] When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?'
36 And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply, and said: Even when the number [b] of those like yourself[b] is fulfilled!
For he has weighed the age in the balance,
37 And with measure has measured the [c] times[c],
And by number has numbered the [c] seasons[c]:
Neither will he move nor stir things,
till the measure [d] appointed[d] be fulfilled.
39 Then I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, [e] but behold[e] we are all full of ungodliness. [f] Is it, perchance,[f] on our account that [g] the threshing-floor of the righteous is kept back[g]—on account of the sins of the dwellers upon earth?
40 So he answered me and said: Go and ask the woman who is pregnant, when she has completed her nine months, if her womb can keep the birth any longer within her?
41 Then said I: No, Lord, it cannot. And he said to me: [h] The underworld and the chambers of

[b-b] *reading* similium vobis = 𝔖 Ethiop. Ar.[2]: seminum S A C M (*corrupt*) [c-c (c c)] 𝔏 tempora . . . tempora: 𝔖 times . . . hours (*changing expression, prob. rightly*) [d-d] 𝔏 praedicta [e-e] *so Ethiop.* (*and* 𝔖 *by an easy emendation*): 𝔏 sed et (*? read* ecce *for* et) [f-f] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 et ne forte (*? read* num forte) [g-g] *reading* prohibeatur iustorum area (C M) = Ethiop. (*cf.* 𝔖): *v. l.* impleatur (S A), non impleantur (iustorum areae) [h-h] *so* 𝔖 Ethiop. (*hence Violet emends* 𝔏 infernum et promptuaria animarum): 𝔏 (MSS.) in inferno promptuaria animarum

35. **by . . . the righteous.** i.e. the righteous dead.
in their chambers. Lat. *in promptuariis suis* = *ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις αὐτῶν*. The word *promptuaria* recurs in iv. 41, vii. 32, 95 (cf. v. 9, 27, vi. 22); also in Ps. cxliv. 13, and apparently not again in the Vulgate. These 'chambers' are the 'treasuries of souls' referred to sometimes in apocalyptic books (cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 23, 'And let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them'; 1 En. xxii. 3 f.). These 'treasuries' or 'habitations' (*habitacula*, 4 Ezra vii. 80) were reserved for the righteous only (vii. 80), who entered them at death, and there enjoying 'great quietness' and 'guarded by angels', they awaited the final judgement (vii. 95). Then the 'chambers' were to restore the souls committed to them (vii. 32, cf. iv. 42; 2 Bar. xxi. 3, xxx. 2). According to the Talmud (*T. B. Shabbath* 152*b*) the souls of the righteous dead are beneath the throne of God (cf. Rev. vi. 9 f., where the souls of the righteous who have suffered martyrdom are represented as being 'beneath the [heavenly] altar'). In a few passages in the Rabbinical literature the word *treasury* (Heb. *'ōṣār*) is used in this connexion: cf. e.g. *Midr. rab.* on Qoheleth (iii. 21), where the souls of the righteous are said to be 'placed in the treasury', which is located in the heavenly 'height'. According to 4 Ezra vii. 41, however, these 'treasuries' or 'chambers' are placed in Sheol (the lower world). But the alternative reading is better (see *ad loc.*).

36. **Jeremiel.** Gk. Ἱερεμιήλ (= Heb. ירחמאל). This archangel may confidently be identified with Ῥεμιήλ (note that the Syr. of our verse actually reads *Ramiel*), who appears in the Greek (Gizeh) text of 1 En. xx. as the seventh of the seven archangels (1, Uriel; 2, Raphael; 3, Raguel; 4, Michael; 5, Sariel [= Eth. Saraqâêl]; 6, Gabriel; 7, Remiel [= Jeremiel]). In the Ethiop. text the first six only are mentioned; but, doubtless, the Greek is right in enumerating seven. The last (= Jeremiel) is described as 'one of the holy angels whom God appointed to be over those who rise [from the dead]' (*ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων*). This agrees admirably with the rôle assigned to him here as the archangel who has charge of the souls of the righteous who are guarded in the 'treasuries', and await the final judgement and resurrection. [Only two of the seven archangels are mentioned in 4 Ezra, viz. Uriel and Jeremiel.]
those like yourself is fulfilled. The end of the age and the 'regeneration' can only take place when the number of the saints has been completed. This is also the view represented in Rev. vi. 11 ('until their fellow-servants . . . should be fulfilled'); Swete, *ad loc.*, aptly cites from the Anglican Burial Service, 'that it may please thee . . . shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom.' According to Rev. vii. 4 the number of the 'sealed', i.e. the elect, is 144,000. In 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 the number that is to be fulfilled is of mankind as a whole (all who should be born)—a view which is referred to in Rabbinical literature (see the references cited by Charles on *Ap. Bar.*, *loc. cit.*). This number was a secret known only to God Himself (2 Bar. xxi. 10, xlviii. 46).
36–37. **weighed . . . measured . . . numbered.** The times and periods of the course of the world's history have been predetermined by God. The numbers of the years have been exactly fixed. This was a fundamental postulate of the apocalyptists, who devoted much of their energy to calculations, based upon a close study of prophecy, as to the exact period when history should reach its consummation. One scheme especially favoured divided history into a world-week of seven millenniums, corresponding to the week of Creation (cf. vii. 30, 43; according to 2 Pet. iii. 8 [cf. Ps. xc. 4] a day = 1,000 years). Here, however, as in the case of the number of the righteous (elect), no definite number is mentioned. The categories of 'weight', 'measure', and 'rule' (or 'number') are also applied to Creation generally; cf. *Test. Twelve Patr.* Naph. ii. 3; Wisd. xi. 20 ('by measure, number, and weight thou didst order all things') Philo, *Somn.* ii. 29 ('God . . . measures, weighs, and numbers all things, and circumscribes them with bounds and limits'). In the O.T. similar expressions are occasionally met with; thus in Job xxviii. 25 the winds are said to be 'weighed' and the waters 'measured'; in Isa. xl. 12 the mountains and hills; cf. 1 En. xliii. 2 (the stars); also 4 Ezra iv. 5. The underlying idea is predestinarian (cf. Charles on 1 En. xlvii. 3).
41. **the underworld and the chambers of souls.** For the text cf. crit. note. The treasury of the souls of the righteous dead is, no doubt, meant. Gunkel, indeed, and some other scholars take the 'chambers of souls' here to refer to unborn souls, not to those of the righteous dead. In this case an antithesis is intended between *promptuaria animarum* and *infernum*; the latter (= Sheol) is the place where all the dead are received, the abode of all departed souls; the former the abode of souls yet unborn (cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 [same antithesis between abode of unborn and

S 42 souls [h] are like the womb: for just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the
43 travail; even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning. Then to thee it shall be showed concerning those things that thou desirest to see.

(*e*) iv. 44–50. *The dialogue continued. In reply to a further question, the seer is shown by a similitude that the End will come soon* (S).

44 Then I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be
45 sufficient, show me this also: whether there be more to come than is past, or whether the more part
46 is already gone by us? For what is gone by I know, but what is to come I know not.
47 And he said to me: Stand to the right, and I will explain the meaning of a similitude unto thee.
48 So I stood, and saw, and lo! a blazing furnace passed by before me; and it happened that when the flame had gone by I looked and lo! the smoke remained still.
49 Thereupon there passed by before me a cloud full of water, and sent down much rain with a storm; and when the rain-storm was past the drops remained therein still.
50 Then said he unto me: Consider for thyself; for as the rain is more than the drops, and as the fire is greater than the smoke, so has the measure of what is past exceeded by far; but there are still left over—the drops and the smoke!

(*f*) iv. 51–v. 13. *The signs which precede the End* (E) (R).

51 Then I made supplication, and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? [i] Who [i] shall be (live) in those days?
52 He answered me, and said: [As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee

(*so BJ*) [i–i] 𝔏 vel quis; *so* 𝔖: *but Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] What [shall happen in those days] [j–j] *reading* in excessu

departed spirits]; xlviii. 16, lii. 6, lvi. 6). But in *v.* 35 the *promptuaria* are undoubtedly the chambers containing the souls of the righteous dead. It would be strange if a few verses later the same expression were used, without any limiting phrase, to denote something else. In this case the *infernum* (underworld, Sheol) will be a general term for the abode of the souls of the wicked dead, where they await the final judgement. This is the meaning of Sheol (Hades), apparently, in the Johannine Apocalypse, where Hades and Death are always combined, and (like the wicked) are consigned to the lake of fire (cf. Rev. i. 18; vi. 8; xx. 13, 14; and see Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 352).

(*e*) iv. 44–50. The seer now asks, but in a more subdued and less impatient manner, whether more of the drama remains to be enacted than what is already past. He is shown a vision of fire and storm, of which nothing remains, after they have gone by, but the smoke and the rain-drops, and is told that in a like manner the greater part of the world's history that precedes the End is already past.

47. **Stand to the right.** The Arabic renders: 'Turn thyself towards the right side and look'; but the expression may mean upon the right side of the speaker. The seer is bidden to stand upon the right side of the angel in order that both (now facing one way) may watch the spectacle as it passes; presumably before this they had been standing face to face.

(*f*) iv. 51–v. 13. In reply to a further question as to whether he shall live to see 'those days' and as to what will then happen, the seer is given a description of the signs of the End. These are set forth in detail (v. 1–12). It will be a time of commotions and the general break up of moral and religious forces (*vv.* 1–2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed (*v.* 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (*vv.* 4–9, vi. 21–22); wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (*vv.* 10–12). There is a further reference to these 'signs' in ix. 3 f.

A close examination of the passage makes it clear that the section detailing the 'signs' (v. 1–12) cannot belong to S. In iv. 51 the seer asks: 'Thinkest thou that I shall live in those days? Or who (*v. l.* what) shall be in those days?'—the 'days' = the time of the End. The answer that follows (in the present form of the text) is: ['As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part, but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof.' Only the latter part of this verse (the words outside the brackets) is an answer to Salathiel's question. He had not said a word about the 'signs'. The attempt to evade this difficulty in some of the versions (Ethiop. and Arab., cf. Vulg.) by substituting 'what' for 'who' (against the Latin and Syriac) in the second half of the question only complicates matters by introducing another (and totally different) question. It is no answer to Salathiel to tell him some of the signs that shall precede the End. He desires to know whether he himself shall live to see the End. Moreover, the description of the 'signs' that follows (v. 1–12) is in tone and style alien to S. It is in any case much older, and bears marks of being traditional. Of course it is conceivable that S may have used such older material; but if he had done so he would have invested it with some of the marks of his own style. He cannot have been responsible for its awkward introduction here. No doubt the passage has been inserted by R from E. The original sequence of S here (the inserted passage being ignored) will have been as follows: 'Then I made supplication and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? Or who shall be in those days? He answered me, and said: Concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof. If, however, thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast [again] seven days, thou shalt hear yet greater things than these' (iv. 51, 52, v. 13 *b*).

The passage is really a descriptive list of the Messianic 'woes', and bears a general likeness to other eschatological descriptions of the signs that precede the End. See further *EA*, p. 41, and the literature there cited.

52. **the signs concerning which thou askest me.** To the instructed the events which were to precede and herald the End were a 'sign'; cf. ix. 1 f. (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14).

)S of them in part; but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge (thereof).

5 1 Concerning the signs, however:
Behold, the days come when the inhabitants of earth shall be seized [j] with great panic [j],
And the way of truth shall be hidden,
and the land be barren of faith.
2 And iniquity shall be increased above that which thou thyself now seest or that thou hast heard of
3 long ago. And the land that thou seest now to bear rule [k] shall be a pathless waste [k]; and men
4 shall see it forsaken: if the Most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see it after [l] the third (period) in confusion [l].
Then shall the sun suddenly shine forth by night
and the moon by day:
5 And blood shall trickle forth from wood,
and the stone utter its voice:
The peoples shall be in commotion,
[m] the outgoings (?) (of the stars) [m] shall change.
6 And one whom the dwellers upon earth do not look for shall wield sovereignty, and the birds shall take to general flight,
7 and [n] the sea [n] shall cast forth its fish.
And one [o] whom [o] the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice.

multo = 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*); *Lat. MSS.* incensu multo [k-k] *reading* erit incomposita [et sine] vestigio *with BJ* (*bracketed words not in Lat. MSS.*): *Violet reads* et erit incomposito vestigio, '*in unordentlichen Trümmern*': 𝔖 unstable and untrodden [l-l] *reading* post tertiam turbatam (C) [tubam A] [m-m] 𝔏 gressus (egressos S): 𝔖 = ἀέρες (*so Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2]): *Ethiop.* = ἀστέρες [n-n] 𝔏 mare Sodomiticum (*corrected text*): *so Oriental VSS.*; *but* Sodomiticum *prob. to be deleted* [o-o] *reading* quem *for* quam

---

in part. The description here is supplemented in vi. 11–28.

v. 3. **the land**, &c. The Roman Empire is, of course, meant.

shall be a pathless waste. Lit. 'shall be disordered and pathless' (corrected text; see crit. note).

4. **after the third (period) in confusion.** For the text cf. crit. note (probably ἡμέραν has fallen out). Some noun of time must be supplied (Ethiop., 'after the third month'; but Arm., 'after the third vision'). Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, pp. 268, 269, notes) has shown how significant a rôle the number $3\frac{1}{2}$ plays in the eschatological tradition. The mystic number has been applied to periods, years, months, and days (in Daniel the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years are variously reckoned as 1150, 1290, and 1335 days; cf. Dan. viii. 14, xii. 11, and xii. 12; in Rev. xi. 3, xii. 6 as 1260 days). In 4 Ezra xiv. 11 f. according to one form of the text $2\frac{1}{2}$ world-periods remain ($9\frac{1}{2}$ of the 12 parts having passed already); and there, as in our passage, the number ($2\frac{1}{2}$) denotes part of the period that is to elapse before the final destruction of the evil and oppressive world-power, i.e. Rome. So here 'after the third [day, i.e. period]' means more exactly towards the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ 'days' which remain before Rome's dominion comes to an end. [Hilg. and others understand *the land after the third* (cf. Syr.), i.e. the fourth kingdom of Daniel (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 11, where 'the fourth kingdom that appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel' is identified with Rome). The Arab. interprets: 'thou shalt afterwards see these three signs,' i.e. those of the sun and moon, the blood, and the stones that follow.]

sun . . . shine forth by night, &c. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 4, 5 for emended text.

5. **blood shall trickle forth from wood, and the stone utter its voice.** Cited in *Ep. Barnabas* xii. 1 as from a prophetic writing (probably not 4 Ezra): see further *EA*, p. 44.

the outgoings (?) (of the stars) shall change. For text see crit. note. The textual evidence suggests that the Oriental Versions read 'stars', or something like it, in their Greek text (ἀήρ, ἀέρες, confused with ἀστήρ, ἀστέρες), while the Lat. simply represents some word like ἔξοδοι. Possibly a combination of these readings may produce an approximation to the original text; such as, 'the outgoings of the stars are changed' or 'the stars change their outgoings' [ימירו מוצאי הכוכבים]. Cf. Ps. lxv. 8 (9): 'Thou makest the "outgoings" of the morning and evening to rejoice.' These 'outgoings' or 'exits' (cf. *exitus*, vi. 1) were the portals through which the stars proceeded and the winds blew; cf. 1 En. xxxiv–xxxvi. See further *EA*, p. 45.

6. **one whom . . . shall wield sovereignty.** i.e. the Antichrist (the wicked tyrant of the last days).

and the birds . . . flight. Birds, possibly as creatures which soar aloft, were regarded in antiquity as possessing supernatural knowledge. They could foresee impending events.

7. **and the sea shall cast forth its fish.** So Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vii. 246) and Charles. The Lat. and all the versions have 'sea of Sodom'. If this be right the portent will consist in the Dead Sea casting out fish, as no fish can live there; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 8 f., where the bitter waters of the Dead Sea are pictured as sweetened and made full of life by the stream issuing from the Temple. Local features are, however, out of harmony with the context, which depicts a convulsion of nature on the largest scale. Hence 'of Sodom' is probably to be deleted as an incorrect gloss, which was already present in the original Heb. text (suggested by 'salt waters . . . in the sweet' in *v.* 9?). ['Sea of Sodom' is one of the names given to the Dead Sea in the Talmud.] For the general conception cf. Isa. l. 3.

And one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice: *et dabit vocem noctu quem* [emended from *quam*] *non noverunt multi, omnes autem audient vocem eius*: so Wellhausen, Charles. The Latin erroneously refers the relative (אשר) to *voice*, thereby depriving the sentence of a subject. With this emendation the clause *non noverunt multi* becomes more intelligible. A mysterious personage is indicated by a voice which all can hear: cf. Josephus' account of the mysterious voice heard in the Temple saying 'Let us

E 8 [p]And the earth o'er wide regions shall open,[p]
and fire burst forth for a long period:
The wild beasts shall desert their haunts, [q]and women bear monsters[q].
vi. 21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and [r]dance[r]. And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty.)
v. 9 Salt waters shall be found in the sweet; friends shall attack one another [s]suddenly[s].
10 Then shall intelligence hide itself,
and wisdom withdraw to its chamber—
by many shall be sought and not found.
11 And unrighteousness and incontinency shall be multiplied upon the earth. One land shall also ask another and say: Is Righteousness—that doeth the right—passed through thee? And it shall answer, No.
12 And it shall be
In that time men shall hope and not obtain,
shall labour and not prosper.
13 Such are the signs I am permitted to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast seven days, thou shalt hear again greater things than these.

IV. v. 14–19. Conclusion of the Vision (S).

S 14 [Then I awoke, and my body trembled greatly; my soul also was wearied even unto fainting.
15 But the angel who came and spake with me took hold of me, strengthened me, and set me up upon my feet.]
16 And in the second night Phaltiel, the captain of the people, came unto me, and said: Where hast
17 thou been? And why is thy countenance sad? Or knowest thou not that Israel has been entrusted
18 unto thee in the land of their exile? Rouse thyself, then, and eat a morsel of bread, and do not desert us as a shepherd does (who leaves) his flock in the power of noxious wolves!
19 Then said I unto him: Depart from me, and come not nigh me for seven days; then thou mayst come unto me [t]and I will explain matters unto thee[t]. And when he heard what I said he left me.

[p–p] = S (χασμα *or* χασματα *for* χαος): L et chaus fiet per loca multa parient menstruatae monstra (menstruatae = *a corrupt doublet of* monstra)
[q–q] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop.*): L et mulieres
[r–r] *reading* scirtiabuntur (C)
[s–s] *so* S *Ethiop.*; L omnes
[t–t] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop.*): L >

---

depart hence', which he relates as a portent (*Jewish War*, vi. 5. 3 [299]; in the same context he relates other similar 'portents').

8. **The earth o'er wide regions shall open,** lit. 'a fissure (reading χάσμα for χάος: see crit. note) shall arise over wide regions'; cf. Zech. xiv. 4. The Armenian also supports this reading. The fissure starts and spreads over a widening area (*per loca multa*).

vi. 21-22. **And one-year-old children,** &c. These verses, which are obviously out of harmony with their present context in chapter vi, find an appropriate place here. For the feature referred to cf. Matt. xxiv. 19.

v. 9. **friends shall attack one another suddenly.** Cf. vi. 24.

13. **fast seven days.** Cf. 2 Bar. xx. 5, 6; and Charles's note on 2 Bar. v. 2. In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days' duration, followed by a revelation, are referred to (v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51), and probably one preceded the first vision (cf. iii. 1 and notes).

v. 14–19. Conclusion of the Vision. In their present position the opening verses of this section (v. 14–15)—which clearly form the conclusion of a dream-vision—are misplaced. They have, presumably, been transferred from their proper position (at the conclusion of the lacuna in iii. 1) to their present place by R, so as to form the conclusion of the first vision.

The following verses (v. 16–19) in narrative form belong to the original framework of S, and imply an earlier passage (in the missing introduction after iii. 1), giving the command to the seer to repair to a certain spot in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and there by a seven days' fast prepare for the reception of further direct revelations. The section should be compared with the parallel passage, xii. 30–48 (also from the framework of S).

14. **I awoke,** viz. from sleep. Clearly this is the sequel of a dream-vision.

16. **Phaltiel.** Lat. *Phalthiel*, Gk. Φαλτιήλ = Heb. פלטיאל. [This name occurs in 2 Sam. iii. 15 as that of Michal's husband; in Numb. xxxiv. 26 of a prince of Issachar; cf. *Piltai* in the list Neh. xii. 17 (a representative of a priestly house in the time of Zerubbabel). Violet suggests that the Phaltiel of our text may originally have been the *Pelatiah* (= פלטיה) who is mentioned as one of the 'heads of the people' in the time of Nehemiah, in the list Neh. x. 22 (= the *Pelatiah* of 1 Chron. vi. 21). This would suit the time of Ezra but not Salathiel. The historical reference must remain uncertain.] The variants in the Lat. Codd. include *Salathiel* (so Vulg., A. V.), *Psalthiel*, *Spalthiel*; the Ethiop. has *Phelteyāl*; Syr. *Psaltiel*; Arm. *Phanuel*.

17. **that Israel has been entrusted unto thee.** Salathiel is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon, cf. xii. 42.

18. **as a shepherd,** &c. For the image cf. Matt. x. 15.

IV EZRA 5. 20–30

THE SECOND VISION.

(v. 2c–vi. 34.)

I. v. 20–22. INTRODUCTION.

20, 21 So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, even as the angel Uriel commanded me. And
22 after the seven days the thoughts of my heart began to oppress me again grievously; then my soul recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began once more to address the Most High.

II. v. 23–40. THE PRAYER AND ITS ANSWER.

(*a*) *The prayer* (v. 23–30.)

23 And I said: O Lord my Lord, [u] out of all the woods [u] of the earth and all the trees thereof thou
24 hast chosen [v] thee [v] one [w] vine [w]; out of all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one
25 planting-ground; out of all the flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one lily; out of all the depths of the sea thou hast replenished for thyself one river; out of all the cities that have been built
26 thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself; out of all birds that have been created thou hast called for thyself one dove; out of all the cattle that have been formed thou hast provided thee one sheep;
27 and out of all the peoples who have become so numerous thou hast gotten thee one people: and the law [x] which thou didst approve out of all (laws) [x] thou hast bestowed upon the people whom thou didst desire.

28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up the one unto the many, and dishonoured the one root above the rest, and scattered thine only one among the multitude?

29 And (why) have [y] they who denied thy promises been allowed to tread under foot those that have
30 believed thy covenants [y]? If thou didst so much hate thy people they ought to have been punished with thine own hands.

[u–u] *so* 𝔖 (*cf.* Ar.[1]): 𝔏 ex omni silva (= *Ethiop.*) [v–v] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [w–w] so Oriental VSS.: 𝔏 vineam (*vineyard*) [x–x] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 ab omnibus probatam legem [y–y] *reading* conculcaverunt qui contradicebant sponsionibus tuis eos qui tuis testamentis credebant (*Lat. MSS. have* quique *for* eos qui): *so Oriental VSS.* (*see BJ*)

THE SECOND VISION (v. 20–vi. 34). After a further fast of seven days the seer (Salathiel) again makes complaint to God. Why has God's chosen and beloved people Israel been given up to oppressors? (v. 20–30). The angel answers, as before, by showing that man is unable to comprehend the things nearest to himself; how then can he hope to fathom the judgements of God, or compass God's love? (v. 31–40). The dialogue is continued by the seer asking what the lot of those shall be who have died before the End comes, and is told that their lot will not be worse or better than that of those who survive. The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world is set forth in a series of striking analogies. The feebleness of age is, the angel declares, manifested in Mother Earth (v. 41–55). In the section that follows (v. 56–vi. 6) the prophet is assured that the End of the present age and the inauguration of the new order shall come by the agency of God alone. The present age of heathen (Roman) oppressors shall be succeeded by the glorious incorruptible age (vi. 7–10). A long passage detailing the signs of the last time and the End follows (vi. 11–28) and the vision concludes (vi. 30–34).

The vision thus falls into the following divisions—

i. *Introduction* (v. 20–22) (S).
ii. *The seer's prayer and its answer* (v. 23–40), viz. (a) *The prayer* (v. 23–30) and (b) *the answer* (v. 31–40) (S).
iii. *The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world* (v. 41–55).
iv. *The End of the age shall come by God alone* (v. 56–vi. 6).
v. *The parting asunder of the times* (vi. 7–10) (S).
vi. *The signs of the last time and the coming of the End* (vi. 11–28 (29)) (E).
vii. *Conclusion of the vision* (vi. 30–34).

v. 23–40. This section falls into two parts, viz. (*a*) the prayer of Salathiel (Ezra) (v. 23–30); and (*b*) the answer conveyed in a dialogue by the archangel Uriel (v. 31–40).

(*a*) v. 23–30. THE PRAYER OF SALATHIEL (Ezra). Following on a carefully constructed exordium, which emphasizes in a variety of well-chosen figures Israel's unique position as the chosen people of God, Salathiel (Ezra) appeals to God once more with the question, Why has the beloved people been given up to heathen oppressors? Why has it been allowed to go into exile and be scattered?

23. **out of all the woods**, &c. The figures illustrating Israel's choice that follow have largely been drawn from the Old Testament. For the vine cf. Isa. v. 7, Ps. lxxx. 9 (10); for the lily cf. Canticles ii. 2 (interpreted allegorically of Israel), and Hos. xiv. 5; for the stream, Isa. viii. 6, Canticles iv. 15; for the dove, Ps. lxxiv. 19, Canticles ii. 14; for the sheep, Isa. liii. 7, Ps. lxxix. 13 ('sheep of thy pasture'), cf. Ps. xxiii and lxxx. 1 (2); and for the root, 1 En. xciii. 8 ('race of the elect root'); cf. also Rom. xi. 17 f. It is well known that the allegorical interpretation of Canticles is very old; in fact the book was only admitted into the Canon on this interpretation. Gunkel aptly notes that our passage already implies such an interpretation of the book.

25. **thou hast sanctified Sion**. Cf. e.g. Ps. cxxxii. 13.

26. **one dove**. The dove is a favourite emblem of Israel, especially of Israel unjustly persecuted (cf. *Midrash rabba* to Canticles i. 15, iv. 1); so here.

27. **out of all (laws)**. For the idea of the superiority of the Mosaic Law above the laws of other nations cf. Deut. iv. 8 (cf. also Rom. i. 32, ii. 16).

30. **with thine own hands**, i.e. by famine, pestilence, or earthquake (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13), but not by the hand of foreign foes.

(*b*) *The answer: in spite of all God loves Israel now and always* (v. 31–40).

S 31 Now when I had spoken these words the angel who had before come to me on the previous night
32 was sent unto me: and he said to me:
Hear me, and I will instruct thee:
Attend unto me, and I will speak again before thee.
33 And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said: Art thou in sore perplexity of mind touching Israel? Lovest thou him better than he that made him?
34 And I said: No, lord: but of very grief have I spoken; for every hour I suffer agonies of soul in striving to comprehend the way of the Most High, and to seek out [z] the decree of his judgement [z].
35 And he said unto me: Thou canst not. And I said: Wherefore, Lord? Why then was I born? Wherefore did not my mother's womb become my grave
that I might have been spared the sight of Jacob's misery,
and the distressful toil of the stock of Israel?
36 And he said unto me:
Number me [a] the days that are not yet come [a],
gather me the rain-drops that are scattered,
make me the withered flowers bloom again;
37 Open me the chambers that are closed
and bring me forth [b] the spirits [b] shut up in them;
[[c] Show me the image of faces thou hast never seen [c]]
or show me the image of a voice;
and then I will display to thee [d] the
objective [d] thou askest to see.
38 And I said: O Lord my Lord, why who is able to understand such matters save he who has not his dwelling among men?
39 As for me, I am unwise [e] and powerless [e]: how then should I essay to speak of these things of which thou questionest me?
40 Then said he unto me: Just as thou art unable to do even one of these things that have been mentioned, even so thou art powerless to discover my judgement or the goal of the love that I have declared unto my people.

III. The Place of Successive Generations in the Divine Plan of the World (v. 41–55).

(*a*) v. 41–49. *The succession of generations accords with the Divine plan; God's judgement reaches all alike.*

41 And I said: But lo, O Lord, [f] thou art ready to meet (with blessing) [f] those who survive in the end; but what shall our predecessors do, or we ourselves or our posterity?

Ethiop. Ar.): 𝔏 > [f–f] *reading* praees = προφθαινεις (תקדם): 𝔖 thou hast promised (*cf. Ethiop.*): *Violet emends* [z–z] 𝔏 partem iudicii eius: cf. viii. 18. [a–a] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 qui necdum venerunt (*those who are not yet come*) (*cf.* 𝔖): *prob.* τας ημερας *had fallen out of the text rendered by* 𝔏 [b–b] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 flatos (= 𝔖) [c–c] *so* 𝔖 (*supported by Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 > [d–d] 𝔏 laborem (= κοπον: *prob. a mistake for* σκοπον: *cf. Ar.*[2]: *so Hilg.*) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 (*cf.*

(*b*) v. 31–40. The Answer to the Prayer. The archangel Uriel is again sent to reason with him in answer to his complaint. As in iv. 1–11, Uriel, by a series of hard questions, demonstrates to the seer his inability to fathom God's judgements or comprehend the 'goal' of the divine love for the chosen people. The dialogue form is here resumed.

33. **Lovest thou him better**, &c. The apocalyptist never doubts that God's love for His people exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation; cf. viii. 47.

35. **Wherefore did not my mother's womb**, &c. Cited in Clem. Alex. *Stromateis*, iii. 16; cf. Job iii. 11; x. 18, 19; Jer. xiv. 17.

36. **the days that are not yet come.** For text see crit. note. The apocalyptist is reminded that he cannot know whether the days that remain to the present order shall be few or many.

37. **the spirits shut up in them.** Or 'winds' (see crit. note). If winds are meant the reference will be to storehouses where the winds are shut up, and only let loose by angelic agency; cf. 1 En. xli. 4, lxxvii, and Rev. vii. 1.

v. 41–55. The dialogue is continued. The seer suggests that it would be better to be alive with the final generation when the End comes. Or why could not God have made all generations of men to live at once upon the earth, so that all might share under equal conditions in the great vindication? In answer he is shown by some striking analogies drawn from life that the succession of generations is according to the divine plan: 'So have I disposed the world which I created' (v. 41–49). The seer proceeds to ask whether our Mother Earth is still young. Are the last-born

42 And he said unto me: I will liken my judgement to a ring; just as there is no retardation of them that are last, even so there is no hastening of those that are first.
43 Thereupon I answered and said: Couldst thou not have created them all at once—those who have been, those who (now) exist, and those who are to be—that thou mightst display thy judgement the sooner?
44 He answered me and said: The creation may not proceed faster than the Creator; nor could the world hold all at once those created in it.
45 And I said: How then is it that thou hast (just now) said to thy servant that [g]thou wilt verily quicken[g] all at once the creation created by thee? [h]If, then, they (i.e. all of the created) shall indeed be alive all at once,[h] and [i]creation[i] shall be able to sustain them, it might even now support them (all) present at once.
46 And he said unto me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it: If thou bringest forth ten children, why (dost thou bring them forth) each in its own time? Demand, therefore, that it produce ten all at once.
47 And I said: It cannot possibly, but (only each) in its own time.
48 Then said he unto me: [j]Thus have I also made the earth the womb for those[j k] who, in their own
49 time, are conceived by it[k]. For just as the young child does not bring forth, nor she that is aged any more, so have [l]I also[l] disposed the world which I have created [m] by defined periods of time[m].

(*b*) v. 50–55. *The Earth has grown old and its offspring degenerate.*

50 Thereupon I asked [n]him[n] and said: Seeing thou hast now showed me the way, I would fain speak (further) before thee. [o]Is our mother,[o] of whom thou hast told me, still young? Or does she now approach old age?
1, 52 He answered me and said: Ask a woman who has borne (children), and let her tell thee; say to her: Why are (the children) whom thou hast lately brought forth not like the first, but inferior [p]in
53 stature[p]? And she also shall answer thee: Those that are born in vigorous youth are of one
54 fashion, and those born in old age, when the womb fails, are otherwise. Consider, therefore, thou
55 also that ye are inferior in stature in comparison with your predecessors; and so, also, (will be) your posterity than yourselves: even as creation is already grown old, and is already past the strength of youth.

to promittis [g–g] *reading* vivificans vivificabis (*so* S *Ethiop.* Ar.[1]): vivificans vivificabit S A [h–h] *restoring* si ergo viventes vivent in unum = S: > S A C M (by homoioteleuton) [i–i] *so* L: *Ethiop.* the world [j–j] *so* S: L et ego dedi matricem terrae his [k–k] L qui seminati sunt super eam per tempus [l–l] *so* S *Ethiop.* (= καγω): L ego [m–m] so *Ethiop.* (Ar.[1]): L S > [n–n] *so Oriental VSS.*: L > [o–o] *reading* num mater nostra (num *for* nam) = S [p–p] so L: *Ethiop.* in strength: Ar.[1] in stature and strength (*so v.* 54): S = L

---

generations inferior to those who were born in their mother's youth? In reply he is told that the Earth is now grown old—'past the strength of youth'—and that there is a corresponding degeneracy in the latest-born generations (v. 49–55). The eagerness of the seer that the End of the present world should be hastened is a striking feature.

41. **thou art ready to meet**, viz. with blessing and salvation.

those who survive in the end. Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 7; Luke ii. 29 f. The old view, which is reflected in the older literature of the Bible, that the 'community' as a whole was to be the subject of salvation would naturally give rise to such questions as this. With the rise of the doctrine of a future life, and the growing recognition of the religious claims and position of the individual, this view was modified. Not merely the generation that happened to live on into the Messianic (or, as here, the future) Age, but all the pious individuals of previous generations who had died should (by means of a resurrection) participate in the blessedness of the final age. A similar problem (viz. how the righteous dead could share in the felicity that comes to the final generation of the living) is dealt with in 1 Thess. iv. 13 f. It is not clear, however, that the writer of S believed in a resurrection of dead bodies. See further *EA*, p. 121, and p. xlviii f.

42. **just as there is no retardation**, &c., i.e. just as in the case of a ring or circle there is neither beginning nor end, so God's judgement will reach all generations at one and the same time; cf. 2 Bar. li. 13.

45. **How then is it that thou hast (just now) said**, i.e. how is the statement in the previous verse (44) to be reconciled with that made earlier (in *v.* 42) to the effect that all generations will be quickened simultaneously to receive the judgement? Lat. *quomodo dixisti* = πῶς ἔλεγες;

46. **unto it**, sc. the womb.

49. **disposed the world . . . by defined periods of time.** The earth in its earliest stage (as a child) brought forth no human inhabitants, neither will it do so in extreme old age; but only in the vigour and decline of youth.

55. **even as creation is already grown old.** The thought of the world's growing old is not uncommon in literature; cf. in this book, iv. 44 f., xiv. 10, 16; also 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; Lucretius ii. 1150 f. The representation of the latest generation as inferior in 'stature and strength' to the ancients (cf. Gen. vi. 4) comes to expression in Philo (cf. *de Mund. Opif.*, § 49). The feeling that they were standing at the end of the age is characteristic of the apocalyptists.

IV. The End of the Age shall come by the Agency of God alone.

(v. 56–vi. 6).

S 56 Then said I: O Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, show thy servant [q] by whom [q] thou wilt visit thy creation.

6 1 And he said unto me: [r] In the beginning of the terrestrial world [r]
before ever [s] the heavenward portals [s] [t] were standing [t], or ever the [u] wind-blasts [u] blew;
2 before the rumblings of thunderings did sound,
or ever the lightning-flashes did shine;
When
the foundations of paradise were not yet laid,
3 nor [v] the beauty of its flowers [v] yet seen;
Before ever [w] the motive powers (of heaven) [w] were established,
or the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
4 Before ever the heights of the air were uplifted,
ere the spaces of the firmaments were named;
ere the footstool of Sion [x] was appointed [x].
5 Before the years of the present [y] were reckoned [y],
[z]ere the counsels of present-day sinners were spurned [z],
or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed—

[q–q] so 𝔏 (per quem) = 𝔖 *and Ethiop.* (*one reading*): *but Ethiop.* (*one reading*) *Ar.*[1] on account of whom [r–r] 𝔏 initium (*v. l.* initio) terreni orbis: *Oriental VSS. vary*: 𝔖 the beginning by the Son of Man, but the end by myself alone (for as before, *&c.*); cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] [s–s] 𝔏 exitus saeculi [t–t] 𝔏 (S A C) starent = *Oriental VSS.*; *v. l.* statuerentur (M) [u–u] 𝔏 conventiones (*Gunkel emends to* convectiones) ventorum [v–v] so 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 decores flores [w–w] 𝔏 motus virtutes (*so BJ read*); or motuum virtutes = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*so Violet*) [x–x] 𝔏 (S A) aestimaretur (*corrupt*): 𝔖 was established (= firmaretur): *Hilg. suggests* aedificaretur, *Gunkel* destinaretur [y–y] 𝔏 investigarentur [z–z] 𝔏 et antequam abalienarentur eorum qui nunc peccant adinventiones: 𝔖 before the follies of sinners

---

v. 56–vi. 6. In this section God is directly addressed, and God is the speaker. In response to the prophet's question, Through whom shall the End come? the answer is given, Through the God of Israel alone. A polemical aim is clearly to be detected in the passage. The apocalyptist will not allow any of the essentially divine attributes or functions to be assumed by any intermediate agency, therein agreeing with the view of orthodox Rabbinic Judaism. The polemic is directed against views which were held by early Christians, but which were probably not confined to Christian circles. At the same time it is possible that what the apocalyptic writer has in mind here is the Christian doctrine of the return of Christ in glory to judge the world. The burden of the passage is that just as Creation was brought into being at the beginning by God alone (without any intermediate agency), so the End of Creation will be brought about by God alone. It may be described as a splendid development of the theme expressed in Ps. xc. 2. The description of the works of Creation is one of great power and imaginative force. The conceptions of Creation underlying it are traditional and of great antiquity (cf. especially the Babylonian Creation-myths and see Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, p. 401 n. and especially p. 419). It should be compared with the parallel passage in Prov. viii. 24–9. [Cf. also the description of the Day of Judgement in vii. 39 ff.]

vi. 1. **In the beginning of the terrestrial world.** For the alterations introduced into the text of the Oriental Versions here under Christian influence see crit. note.

the heavenward portals, i. e. the portals open to heaven; cf. 1 En. xxxiv.

3. **the beauty of its flowers.** The flowers are those of the heavenly Paradise (originally the stars).

the motive powers (of heaven). The powers meant are probably the same as 'the powers of heaven' of Matt. xxiv. 29, i. e. angelic powers who move the heavens and the stars. Others, however, prefer to adopt the reading *motuum virtutes* (see crit. note) = 'powers of movements', i. e. earthquakes.

4. **the spaces of the firmaments**, lit. 'the measures (i. e. measured or defined spaces) of the firmaments': the divisions into which the heavens were separated (cf. 2 En. iii f. for a description of the different heavens).

were named. The names of the seven heavens are enumerated in *T. B. Hag.* 12 *b*.

5. **or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed.** It should be noted that it is the persons of the faithful that are here 'sealed', exactly as in Rev. vii. 4 (the 144,000 'who were sealed'); cf. Rev. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4. (In Rev. xiii. 16, xiv. 9, xx. 4 a mark of the opposite kind is mentioned.) [Some of the best Lat. codices make the 'sealing' in our text apply to 'the merits' of those 'who have gathered faith for a treasure'; thus C M have *consignarentur eorum merita qui* (with partial support from S and A but against the versions). Thus 'merits' here would balance 'abominations' (or 'machinations') in the preceding clause.] 'Faith' in this passage seems to mean the righteousness which comes from fidelity to the Law (or 'fidelity to the O. T. religion'). So in v. 1, vi. 28. It plays a conspicuous rôle in eschatological doctrine, and in such passages it is not always easy to be sure of the exact shade of meaning intended. Where the Law is valued and emphasized it will mean (as here prob.) the righteousness which results from fidelity to the Law (cf. 2 Bar. liv. 21). In vii. 34 it = fidelity to the Law, just as its opposite *incredulitas* = disloyalty in vii. 114. In ix. 7, 8, xiii. 23 'faith' and 'works' are combined (as complementary). But the Law as such is not always necessarily the object of 'faith' (cf. 2 Bar. lvii. 2, faith is prophecy of coming judgement). (Cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 31–4.)

6 Even then had I these things in mind ; and through me alone and none other were they created ; as also the End (shall come) through me alone and none other.

V. The Parting Asunder of the Times.

(vi. 7–10) (S).

7 Then answered I and said: What shall mark the parting asunder of the times? When shall the End of the first (age) and the beginning of the second be?
8 And he said unto me: [a]From Abraham to Abraham.[a] [b]For from him sprang Jacob and Esau,[b]
9 [c]but Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning.[c] [d]The heel of the first age is Esau ;
10 the hand of the second is Jacob.[d] [e]The beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel.[e] Between heel and hand seek naught else; Ezra!

VI. The Signs of the Last Time and the End.

(vi. 11–28) (E) (R).

(*a*) vi. 11–12. *Redactional Introduction.*

1, 12 [I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, [f](I beseech thee) that thou show[f] thy servant the last of thy signs of which thou didst show me a part in the night that is past.]

(*b*) *Description of the End* (vi. 13–20, 23, 24) *together with some misplaced verses describing the signs that precede the End* (vi. 21–22).

13 And he answered and said unto me: Stand up upon thy feet, and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding

were yet invented [a–a] *reading* ab Abraham usque ad Abraham (S A) = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (Ar.[1]) : *v. l.* usque ad Isaac (C M) = Ar.[2] (*also v. l. in Ethiop.*) [b–b] *so* 𝔏 = *Ethiop.* (cf. Ar.[2]) : 𝔖 from Abraham was born Isaac and from Isaac was born Jacob and Esau (= Ar.[1]) [c–c] so 𝔏 = 𝔖 : *but Ethiop. Ar.*[1] > [d–d] *so* 𝔖 : 𝔏 finis enim huius saeculi Esau, et principium sequentis Iacob (= *Ar.*[1] *cf. Ethiop.*) [e–e] *so* 𝔖 = Ar.[1] (*cf. Ethiop.*) : 𝔏 *defective* [f–f] 𝔏 ut demonstres

6. **had I these things in mind.** Creation, Gunkel remarks, regarded as predetermined by and the outcome of thought, is a loftier conception than that of creation through the Word. The truth of this statement depends upon the conceptual content of the Word.

as also the End . . . through me alone, &c. This clause is omitted by the Oriental Versions for dogmatic reasons.

vi. 7–10. In allegorical language, probably derived from current tradition, the apocalyptist indicates that the present corrupt age (symbolized by Esau) will be succeeded immediately, without a break, by the glorious future age of incorruption (symbolized by Jacob). The connexion in thought with what precedes seems to be: just as there is no room in the divine acts of creation and judgement for a mediatorial Messiah, so in the transition from the present to the future age, there is no room for a Messianic interim—the temporary Messianic kingdom which precedes the dissolution of the present world. This interpretation harmonizes with the thought of S. See further *EA*, p. 68.

8. **From Abraham to Abraham.** For text see crit. note. The meaning is, the interval between the old age and the new is no longer than that between Abraham and his immediate descendants: i.e. 'it will be a case of immediate succession' (Ball). The new age will follow the old without a break. This answers the first question in *v.* 7 ; the answer to the second is given in *vv.* 8 *b*–10.

10. **Between heel and hand,** &c., i.e. do not look for any interval between the two ages.

vi. 11–28. The passage as a whole is parallel to iv. 56–v. 13 *a*, and embodies material taken from the same older source (E). The theme of the earlier passage is the signs that precede the End. Here, however, the description of these signs is interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. The text appears to be in some confusion. The subject of *vv.* 13–20 and 23 is the End of the world; in *vv.* 21, 22 the description of the signs that precede the End is continued from iv. 56–v. 13 *a*, and probably belongs to that passage in its original form, while *vv.* 25–28 describe the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes; *vv.* 11–12 and 29 appear to be redactional additions, designed to adapt the older material here embodied to its present context (so Kabisch).

The section will thus fall into the following divisions:—

(*a*) Redactional introduction (*vv.* 11–12) ;
(*b*) Announcement of the End of the world, the speaker being the Divine Voice [of God] (*vv.* 13–20, 23, 24), together with some inserted [misplaced] verses describing the signs preceding the End (*vv.* 21, 22) ;
(*c*) Description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes (*vv.* 25–28).

See further *EA*, p. 71.

(*a*) vi. 11–12. The redactional character of these introductory verses is evident. They show clearly that R intended all that follows (*vv.* 13–29) to be understood as descriptive of the signs preliminary to the End; *v.* 11 seems to have been imitated from v. 56 *a*.

(*b*) vi. 13–20, 23–24 (*vv.* 20–21 belong to ch. v, between *vv.* 8 and 9 ; see *ad loc.*). In its present form the eschatological material embodied in this passage is in a fragmentary condition. But it is all probably derived from one source (E).

13. **And he answered.** 'He', i.e. the angel.

Stand up upon thy feet. Cf. Ezek. ii. 1 ; Dan. vii. 4, viii. 18.

E 14,15 loud; and it shall be if the place whereon thou standest, [g] be greatly shaken [g], [h] when it (i. e. the voice) speaks [h] [i] with thee [i] be not thou terrified; for the word is of the End, and the foundations of the
16 earth [j] shall understand [j] that the speech is concerning themselves. They shall tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end is to be changed.
17 And it happened that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened: and lo! a voice spake, and the sound of it was as the sound of mighty waters.
18 And it said:

Behold the days come, and it shall be,
When I am about to draw nigh
to visit the dwellers upon earth,
19 And when I require from the doers of iniquity
([k] the penalty of) their iniquity [k];
R [[l] *And when the humiliation of Sion*
shall be complete,[l]]
E 20 And when the Age which is about to pass away
shall be sealed

then [*will I show these signs*]: the books shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all see [m] together.

vv. 21–22 misplaced.

21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. And suddenly shall the
23 sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty;) And the
(E) R trumpet shall sound aloud, at which all men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear.
24 And at that time [*friends shall war against friends like enemies*], the earth shall be stricken with fear [*together with the dwellers thereon*], and the springs of the fountains shall stand still so that for three [n] hours [n] they shall not run.

(*c*) vi. 25–28 (29). *The felicity of those who survive the Messianic Woes.*

25 And it shall be whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he
26 shall be saved and shall see my salvation and the end of my world. And the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth, shall appear. Then shall the heart of the inhabitants [o]⟨of the world⟩[o] be changed, and be converted to a different spirit.

[g–g] *reading* commotione commovebitur (C M) [h–h] 𝔏 in eo cum loquitur (= εν τῳ λαλειν) [i–i] *so* Oriental VSS.: 𝔏 > [j–j] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 intellegetur [k–k] *so Ethiop.* (= την αδικιαν αυτων): 𝔏 iniustitia sua (= τῃ αδικιᾳ αυτων) [l–l] *this clause is prob. due to R; cf. EA*, p. xxx. [m] 𝔖 + my judgement [n–n] *so* 𝔏 &c. *Ar.*[2] years [o–o] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental VSS.*): 𝔏 > [p–p] *so* 𝔏, &c.: *Ar.*[1] the evil heart [q–q] so 𝔏 (tantis

17. **the sound of it . . . mighty waters.** Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The divine voice is meant.

18. **Behold the days come.** A common O.T. phrase, especially in the prophetic literature; cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 12; often in Jeremiah.

19. [**And when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete**]. The fall of Jerusalem is regarded as marking a definite step towards the speedy advent of the divine judgement; cf. 2 Bar. xx. 2. The clause is probably due to R (see *EA*, p. xxx).

20. [**will I show these signs**]. These words are probably due to R, who desired to invest the substance of the section (which is concerned with the final judgement) with the character of a description of the signs preceding the End.

the books shall be opened, i.e. the celestial books in which are recorded the deeds of the righteous and wicked. See 1 En. xlvii. 3 and notes.

23. **the trumpet**, i.e. the trumpet, the blowing of which ushers in the last Judgement. See further *EA*, p. 75.

24. [**friends shall war against friends like enemies**]. This clause, which belongs logically to a description of the signs preceding the End (cf. v. 9), has probably been added by R.

and the springs of the fountains . . . not run. Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6.

for three hours. The number 'three' in such connexions seems to be a favourite one in apocalyptic tradition.

(*c*) vi. 25–28 (29).

26. **the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth.** Men who were removed from the earth without dying are meant. In this connexion figure especially Enoch and Elijah (cf. Wisd. iv. 10 f. [? Enoch], Jub. iv. 23, 1 En. xxxix. 3 f., lxx. 1–3, 2 En. xxxvi. 2, all of Enoch; 1 En. lxxxix. 52 of Elijah). Such men were expected to return with the Messiah in order to inaugurate a period of felicity and salvation (cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 52). Elijah is especially prominent in this connexion in Rabbinic literature (his rôle was, as high priest, to anoint the Messiah, to promote Israel's repentance and reunion, and to bring about the resurrection of the dead) (cf. Volz, p. 192 f.). Moses and Elijah sometimes appear together in their capacity of forerunners of the Messiah (cf. *Midr. Deb. rab.* x. 1; and in the Gospels the account of the Transfiguration, Mark ix. 2 f., Matt. xvii. 1–8, Luke ix. 28–36). The mysterious two witnesses of Rev. xi are also perhaps Elijah and Moses, though in the antichrist tradition they are Elijah and Enoch; cf. Bousset, *Antichrist*, ch. xiv. In 4 Ezra xiv. 9 ('thou shalt be taken away from men, and from

27 For [p] evil [p] shall be blotted out,
and deceit extinguished;
28 Faithfulness shall flourish,
and corruption be vanquished;
And truth, which [q] for so long a time [q] has been without fruit, shall be made manifest.
29 [And it came to pass while he spake to me, [r] behold, by little and little (?) the place whereon I stood rocked to and fro [r].]

VII. Conclusion of the Vision.

(vi. 30–34) (S).

31 And he said unto me: These things came I to show thee [s] this night [s]. If therefore thou wilt petition yet again, and fast seven days more, I will tell thee yet again greater things than these [t].
32 For thy voice has surely been heard before the Most High; for the Mighty One has seen thy rectitude, and marked also thy chastity which thou hast had ever since thy youth.
33 Therefore has he sent me to show thee all these things, and to say unto thee: Be of good cheer, and fear not!
34 [u] Be not over-solicitous [u] in the case of former times to indulge idle thoughts, [v] lest solicitude overtake thee [v] in the last times.

THE THIRD VISION.

(vi. 35—ix. 25.)

I. Introduction.

(vi. 35–37) (S).

35 And it came to pass after this that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that

temporibus): S for many years (*so Ethiop.* [*some MSS.*]; cf. *Ar.*[1] *Arm.*) [r–r] *reading* ecce paulatim movebatur locus super quem stabam super eum = S *Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar. Arm.*); *Lat. MSS. corrupt* [s–s] so S: L et ventura nocte (*see further EA*, p. 80) [t] L + per diem: *other VSS.* (*with possible exception of Ar.*[1]) > [u–u] L et noli festinare [v–v] L ut non properes

---

henceforth thou shalt remain with my Son'), Ezra is assigned a place among the immortal companions, as also is the case with Baruch (cf. 2 Bar. lxxvi. 2). Jeremiah also appears in this rôle in 2 Macc. ii. 1 f., xv. 13; cf. Matt. xvi. 14, and see further *EA*, p. 78.

Then shall the heart . . . be changed, viz. by the preaching of the witnesses. This function was particularly associated with Elijah; cf. Mal. iv. 6 (= iii. 24 Hebr.).

29. **And it came to pass**, &c. On this verse see *EA*, p. 79.

vi. 30–34 (S). Here the speaker is again the archangel Uriel, and vi. 30 forms the immediate continuation of vi. 10. The usual direction to fast seven days is given, together with a promise of yet greater disclosures. The seer is assured that his prayer for fuller revelation has been heard especially because of his 'righteous dealing' and 'chastity' practised since youth.

31. **greater things than these.** Lat. adds here *per diem.* This is not represented in the Oriental Versions with the possible exception of the Arab.[1]. Hilg. emends to *pridem* and takes with the following verse (*pridem iam auditu audita est vox tua*; cf. with this Arab.[1] *nam nunc precatio tua audita est*, &c.). In any case *per diem* probably represents something which belongs to the opening words of *v.* 32.

32. **thy chastity.** Lat. *pudicitiam* = *τὴν σεμνότητα.* Heb. צניעותך (post-Biblical). Notice this ascetic touch. Chastity, like fasting (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 47, 2 Macc. xiii. 12), is here apparently regarded as intensifying the power of prayer: like fasting also a state of chastity was regarded in certain circles (especially Essene) as a necessary preliminary for the reception of higher revelation.

34. **Be not over-solicitous**, &c. The general sense is: 'Do not by your over-curious questioning and speculation trifle with your chances of eternal happiness at the last.'

vi. 35–ix. 25. The Third Vision. The long vision that follows forms the climax of the three visions with which the Apocalypse opens, and is preceded by a seven days' fast (in preparation for the revelation) which completes a cycle of three weeks' fasting. The general sequence of the thought will appear from the headings of the following divisions, into which the vision naturally falls. For a more detailed account of the argument reference must be made to the introductions to the several sections that follow:—

i. *Introduction* (vi. 35–37).
ii. *The problem propounded in its final form: If the world was created for Israel's sake, why is Israel deprived of its inheritance?* (vi. 38–59) (S).
iii. *The debate renewed: The corruption of the present world makes the path to the future world of felicity narrow and difficult* (vii. 1–25) (S).
iv. *The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the world* (vii. 26–44) (R).
v. *The debate continued* (from vii. 25): *Israel's election and the problem of righteousness* (vii. 45-ix. 22) (with the exception of viii. 63-ix. 12, which belongs to R, all this section is to be assigned to S).
vi. *Conclusion of the vision* (ix. 23–25) (S).

S 36 I might fulfil the three weeks that had been commanded me. And in the eighth night my heart
37 was troubled within me again, and I began to address the Most High. For my spirit was greatly inflamed, and my soul was in distress.

II. The Problem propounded in its Final Form: If the World was created for Israel's Sake why is Israel deprived of its Inheritance?

(vi. 38–59) (S).

38 And I said: O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak at the beginning of the creation upon the first
39 day, saying: Let heaven and earth be made! and thy word perfected the work. Then was the spirit hovering; darkness and [w] silence [w] were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet
40 before thee. Then thou didst command [x] a ray of light [x] to be brought forth out of thy treasuries, that then thy works might become visible.

41 Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament, and didst command it [xx] to make a division between (the waters and) the waters [xx] that the one part might go up, the other remain beneath.

42 On the third day thou didst command the waters to be gathered together in the seventh part of the earth; six parts thou didst dry up and preserve, [y] in order that (issuing) from them there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow [y].

43 But as soon as thy word went forth the work was done.

[w–w] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 = silentium soni 𝔖 radiance of light *partly* 𝔖: *see further EA*, p. 86
[x–x] 𝔏 (*best reading*) lumen aliquod luminis: *v. l.* lumen luminosum:
[xx–xx] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 = ut divideret et divisionem faceret inter aquas
[y–y] *so* [z–z] *following* 𝔖: 𝔏 et concupiscentia gustus multiformis
[a–a] *so* 𝔖

---

vi. 35–37.

35. **the three weeks that had been commanded me.** So far only two fasts of seven days have been mentioned, viz. one before the second vision and another here before the third. The author evidently is thinking of another before Vision I, which in the present form of the text is not mentioned, but doubtless was there originally. The three successive weeks of fasting culminate in the most important and the longest of the three visions. Cf. Dan. x. 2, which has served as a model for this passage: 'In those days I, Daniel, was mourning three weeks' (then follows a description of the fasting). This long fast preceded the vision which was highest in the scale of importance (Dan. x. 4 f.).

vi. 38–59. Salathiel first enumerates the works of Creation in their order, and then proceeds to ask how it is that the chosen race, for whose sake the world has been created, are dispossessed of their inheritance. The problem, which has already formed the theme of the first and second visions, is here propounded in its final form. In the first vision the question assumed the form: How will the Divine Name be vindicated when the only people that bears it (viz. Israel) is prostrate before the heathen? In the second vision the seer asks: Why, if the people that has been chosen above all others must be punished, has it been handed over to be oppressed and down-trodden by those who scorn the divine covenants? Why did not God Himself undertake the task of disciplining His elect? Here, in the third vision, the question is: If the present world is in such evil case (cf. iv. 26 f.) why is it not subjected to Israel, for whose sake the world has been created? The discussion of the question is taken up at the point reached in the previous vision (vi. 8–10). Why is this world Esau's, and only the future world Israel's, if it is indeed the case that this world was created for Israel's sake? In the account of Creation which is here given the original writer betrays his acquaintance with the haggadic exegesis of the Rabbis. See further *EA*, p. 83. For the various works of Creation that follow on different days cf. Gen. i, Jub. ii, &c.

38. **thy word perfected the work.** Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 17; also Ps. xxxiii. 6, 2 Pet. iii. 5, Heb. xi. 3.

40. **that . . . thy works might become visible.** According to Rabbinic tradition (cf. *T. B. Hag.* 12 *a*), though the luminaries did not shine till the fourth day (cf. *v.* 45 of this chapter) light was created on the first day: 'the light which the Holy One, blessed be he, created on the first day, Adam observed, and saw by its means from one end of the world to the other.' This light was afterwards withdrawn and reserved by God for the righteous in the world to come (ibid.). The heavenly light from which the light that shone on the first day emanated was older than Creation, and belonged to God's essence. The luminaries receive their light from the spark of this heavenly light, which is immeasurably more intense than the light visible on earth. This is the light which the righteous shall enjoy in the future world (cf. *Hag.* ibid.; Isa. lx. 19; Rev. xxi. 23). In 2 En. xxv. 1–3 there is a mystical account of the emergence of the heavenly light above God's throne.

41. **Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament.** This passage is cited by Ambrose (*De Spiritu Sancto*, ii. 7): 'Esdras nos docuit dicens in tertio (vulgo quarto) libro: Et in die secundo iterum creasti spiritum coelorum.' As Gunkel remarks, 'spirit' here = 'angel' (as often in the Book of Enoch). This is apparently a midrashic amplification of the Biblical text in Gen. i. 6. The divine command, 'Let there be a firmament,' must, it was assumed, have been addressed to an animated being, here = 'the spirit of the firmament' (cf. the pagan 'God of heaven' = *Anu*, *Baal shamayim*, &c.).

42. **seventh part of the earth; six parts.** This is clearly the reflex of old tradition: see the note *ad loc.* in *EA*, p. 86.

in order that . . . there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow. The sentiment that the Creator produced the land with the essential purpose of seeing its cultivation associated with the sanctions of religion is a natural one from the agricultural point of view, and is often implied or expressed in Jewish literature. See further *EA*, p. 86. Gunkel discovers a reference to the creation of Paradise here: see *op. cit.* ibid.

44 For immediately there came forth
Fruits in endless abundance,
[z] in pleasure of taste exquisitely varied [z],
Flowers of inimitable colour
[a] (trees infinitely varied in form) [a],
and odours of scent [b] indefinable [b].
This was done the third day.
45 But on the fourth day thou didst command that there should come into being the brightness of
46 the sun, the light of the moon and the order of the stars; and didst command them that they should
47 do service unto man, [c] who was about to be formed [c]. Upon the fifth day thou didst bid the seventh
part, where the water was gathered together, to bring forth living creatures, birds, and fishes; and
48 so it came to pass. The dumb and lifeless water produced living creatures that for this the nations
49 might declare thy wondrous works [d]. Then didst thou preserve [e] two living creatures [e]; the name of
50 the one thou didst call [f] Behemoth [f] and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan. And
thou didst separate the one from the other; for the seventh part [g], where the water was gathered
51 together, was unable to hold them (both). And thou didst give Behemoth one of the parts which
52 had been dried up on the third day to dwell in, (that namely) where are a thousand hills: but unto
Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely the moist: and thou hast reserved them to be
devoured by whom thou wilt and when.
53 But upon the sixth day thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle,
54 beasts, and creeping things; and over these Adam, whom thou didst ordain lord over all the works
that [h] thou didst create before him [h]: of him we are all sprung, whom thou hast chosen (to be)
(thy) people.
55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that for our sakes thou hast
56 created [i] this world [i]. But as for the other nations, which are descended from Adam, thou hast said
that they are nothing, and that they are like unto spittle; and thou hast likened the abundance of
57 them to a drop on a bucket. And now, O Lord, behold these nations which are reputed as nothing
58 [j] lord it over us [j] and [k] crush [k] us. But we, thy people whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy
59 only-begotten, [l] thy beloved [most dear] [l], are given up into their hands. If the world has indeed
been created for our sakes [m] why do we not enter into possession of our world [m]? How long shall
this endure?

(*cf. Ethiop.* Ar.[1]): 𝔏 Arm. > [b–b] 𝔏 investigabiles [c–c] 𝔏 futuro plasmato [d] 𝔏 + quod ei iubebatur: *but all other VSS.* > [e–e] *reading* duo animalia (= 𝔖, &c.): *Lat. MSS.* duo animas (S A C M) [f–f] *reading* Behemoth (so 𝔖 *Ethiop.*): Enoch (S A) [g] 𝔖 + the moist [h–h] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 fecisti [i–i] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 primogenitum saeculum [j–j] *reading* dominantur nostri (S dominari: A quaerunt dominari) [k–k] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 devorant [l–l] 𝔏 aemulatorem carissimum (? *a double rendering of* τον αγαπητον σου): *see further EA*, p. 96 [m–m] *reading* quare non haereditatem possidemus nostrum saeculum

---

46. . . . **do service unto man.** The apocalyptic writer here especially emphasizes the thought that the stars are man's servants, because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods.

49. **two living creatures,** i.e. the two primaeval monsters, Behemoth and Leviathan. For the myth see *EA*, pp. 90–92, and cf. 1 En. lxix. 7 f., and notes.

51. **where are a thousand hills.** The haggadic interpretation of Ps. l. 10 made *Behemoth* (there rendered 'cattle' in *PBV*) identical with the primaeval monster of our text—*Behemoth* being pictured as lying 'upon a thousand hills' and feeding upon them.

52. **to be devoured by whom thou wilt and when.** By whom they are to be devoured is only vaguely indicated in our text. In the parallel passage in 2 Bar. xxix. 4 it is explicitly stated that the monsters will provide food for all who survive into the Messianic time (the Messianic banquet). This is, doubtless, the original form of the haggada, which has been purposely modified here by S because the Messianic hope was to him no longer clear.

55. **for our sakes thou hast created this world.** For the doctrine that the world was created for the sake of Israel cf. vii. 11, Ass. Mos. i. 12, 2 Bar. xv. 7, xxi. 24, xiv. 18 (and notes); and see further *EA*, p. 94.

56. **the other nations . . . are nothing.** Cf. Isa. xl. 17.

like unto spittle. Cf. Isa. xl. 15 (LXX), ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται. The Hebrew text has דק, 'small dust', which LXX misread רק, *sputum*. Apparently the Greek translator here made a similar mistake (perhaps under the influence of the LXX). The Syriac has 'thou hast likened' here for 'they are like'.

58. **thy first-born, thy only-begotten.** The only direct parallel where the epithet 'only-begotten' is applied to Israel appears to be Ps. Sol. xviii. 4 (cf. xiii. 8); but, as Volkmar points out, the application of μονογενής to God's Son in Christian writings (cf. John i. 18; Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Trypho.* c, cv) confirms the inference that Jewish exegesis had already deduced this epithet as applicable to the people of Israel. See further *EA*, p. 96. For the general idea of *vv.* 57–58, cf. 2 Bar. v. 1, 4 Ezra iv. 23.

III. The Debate renewed: the Corruption of the Present World makes the Path to the Future World of Felicity narrow and difficult (vii. 1–25) (S).

(*a*) vv. 1–16.

S **7** 1 And when I had finished speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel who had been
2 sent unto me [n] on the former nights [n]. And he said unto me: Up, *Ezra*, and hear the words that
3 I have come to speak unto thee. And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said unto me: There
4 is a sea lying in a wide expanse so that it is [o] broad' [o] and vast; but the entrance thereto [p] lies [p]
5 in a narrow space so as to be like a river. He, then, that really desireth to go upon the sea to
behold it or to [q] navigate it [q], if he pass not through the narrow part, how shall he be able to come into
6 the broad? Again, [r] another (illustration) [r]. (There is a builded city which lies on level ground,
7 and it is full of all good things; but its entrance is narrow and lies [s] on a steep [s], having fire on the
8 right hand and deep water on the left; and there is one only path lying between them both, that
is between the fire and the water, (and so small) is this path, that it can contain only one man's
9 footstep at once. If, now, this city be given to a man for an inheritance, unless the heir pass
10 through the danger set before him, how shall he receive his inheritance? And I said: It is so, lord!
11 Then said he unto me: Even so, also, is Israel's portion; for it was for their sakes I made the
world; but when Adam transgressed my statutes, [t] then that which had been made was judged [t],
12 and then [u] the ways [u] of this world became narrow and sorrowful and painful [v][*few and evil*],[v]

[n–u] 𝔏 primis noctibus = 𝔖: Ethiop. before on the night that was past: Ar.[1] > [o–o] *reading* latum *for* altum
[p–p] so 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) 𝔏 erit . . . positus (= εσται [for εστι] . . . κειμενη) [q–q] 𝔏 dominari eius = 𝔖: (*Ethiop.* to attain it): *prob., as Gunkel suggests, the original Hebr.* לרדת = to go down on, *i.e.* to navigate, *was misread* לִרְדֹּת
[r–r] 𝔏 aliud (*cf. Hebr. phrase* דָּבָר אַחֵר) [s–s] 𝔏 in praecipiti: 𝔖 in the height [t–t] 𝔏 iudicatum est quod factum est [u–u] *so Ethiop.* (*also in v.* 13) = αι οδοι: 𝔏 introitus (*so* 𝔖) = αι εισοδοι [v–v] *prob. a gloss* (*see EA*, p. 102)

---

vii. 1–25. The archangel Uriel now intervenes for the third time, and in this and the following sections of the third vision, which belong to S, sets forth the definitive solution of the problem, the answer to which had only been given in a partial and incomplete form in the earlier part of the Apocalypse (cf. iv. 1–21, iv. 26 f., v. 31 f.).

Uriel begins by comparing the present world to the narrow entrance which leads to a wide and open sea. Only through the narrow is it possible to come into the broad. Or, again, to a narrow and dangerous road, flanked by fire on one side and deep water on the other, which is the only means of entrance to a splendid city 'full of good things' and set in a spacious plain.

The present world is the narrow and difficult way along which the righteous must pass in order to gain the spacious freedom of the future world of happiness (cf. *v.* 14). The present world was originally created for Israel, but through Adam's transgression has become the vale of misery and suffering for the righteous which they now endure. It will be seen that the following results are implicit in this answer: (1) Israel has no part or lot in the present world; its inheritance of light and felicity will only be attained after the thornful path of the present world has been traversed; (2) the heathen enjoy and possess the present fleeting and corruptible world (so far as they actually do so) in accordance with God's will; they at the same time are being used by God as instruments for the discipline of the chosen people (cf. v. 30); this will continue till the present world comes to its predestined end, and meanwhile Israel has necessarily to endure the present evil with its consequences of mortality and death; (3) the future world is for Israel alone. The promises made to God's people can only be fulfilled by the extinction of the present evil, i.e. by the destruction of the present world. When this has been accomplished the future world will *ipso facto* have come into view.

In *v.* 17 f. a new question is propounded by the apocalyptist. Are 'these things' (i.e. the felicity of the future world) destined for Israel as such, or only for the righteous members of the nation? Salathiel's question can only refer to Israel. And since, even in the case of Israel, the *cor malignum* militated against any personal claim to justifying righteousness, the answer to the question should be that Israel, the people which owes its choice by God purely to an act of divine grace, and not to any merit of its own, is destined to participate in the future blessings. This, in fact, seems to be the significance of the answer given in *v.* 19 f. Here the angel, it would appear, replies to Salathiel's question only indirectly. He ignores the distinction between righteous and transgressors within Israel—all Israel, judged by the strict requirements of the divine Law, are transgressors—and proceeds to emphasize the heinous sin of the heathen world in openly despising and scorning the divine Law (*v.* 20 f.). Israel, however imperfect in obedience and performance, had at least recognized the obligation of accepting the divine Law, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Divine giver of the Law; it had not been guilty of open blasphemy.

There is a well-defined break at *v.* 16, where the author, having demonstrated the reality and significance of the future world, turns to consider the theme: Who will be found worthy of inheriting it? To mark this division the section is divided into (*a*) *vv.* 1–16 and (*b*) *vv.* 17–25.

5. **to navigate it**, lit. 'to go down upon it' (see crit. note); for the phrase cf. Ps. cvii. 23.

7. **having fire**, &c. The simile of the city with one entrance occurs in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Simil. ix. 12. 5; cf. also, for the figure of the difficult way, Matt. vii. 13, 14.

10. **Even so . . . is Israel's portion.** It is clear from this verse that Israel's portion is identified with the future world.

11. **then that which had been made was judged.** The thought of the apocalyptist is that the world, after Adam's sin, was no longer the good world as it had been originally created by the hand of God.

12. **the ways** (so also *v.* 13). So the Ethiop. (rightly). The Latin and Syriac have 'entrances'; but this confuses the representation. It is not so much the entrances of this world that are narrow and difficult, as this world itself considered as the way that has to be traversed in order to enter the next world.

13 and full of perils coupled with great toils. But the ways [w] of the future world [w] are broad and safe,
14 and yield the fruit of immortality. If, then, the living shall not have surely entered into these
15 narrow and vain things, they will not be able to receive what has been reserved for them. But now
Why disquietest thou thyself that thou art corruptible?
Why art thou moved because thou art mortal?
16 Why hast thou not considered what is to come, rather than what is now present?

(*b*) vv. 17–25.

17 Then answered I and said: O Lord my Lord, lo, thou hast ordained in thy Law that the righteous
18 shall inherit these things, but that the ungodly shall perish. The righteous, therefore, can endure the narrow things because they hope for the wide; 'those, however, who have done wickedly endure
19 the narrow things, but yet [x] shall not see [x] the wide. And he said unto me:
[y] Thou art not [y] a judge above God
Nor wise above the Most High.
20 Yea, rather, [z] let the many that now are perish [z] than that the law of God which is set before them
21 be despised! For God did surely command them that came (into the world), when they came, what
22 they should do to live, and what they should observe to avoid punishment. Nevertheless they were disobedient, and spake against him;
They devised for themselves vain thoughts,
they proposed to themselves [a] wicked treacheries [a];
23 They even affirmed the Most High exists not,
and [b] ignored [b] his ways!
24 His law they did despise,
and his covenants they denied;
In his statutes they have put no faith,
[c] and have set at naught his commandments [c]:
25 Therefore, *O Ezra*,
For the empty, empty things,
And for the full, full things!

[w–w] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop.*): L maioris saeculi [x–x] *reading* non videbunt (M) = S *Ethiop.*: non viderunt (S A C) [y–y] *reading* non es (C*) = *Oriental VSS.*: non est (A C** M) [z–z] *reading* pereant . . . neglegatur (*so* S C): S shall perish [a–a] L circumventiones delictorum [b–b] L non cognoverunt [c–c] *so Ar.*[1]: S have set at naught his works = *Ethiop.*: L et opera eius non perfecerunt

---

15. **that thou art corruptible? . . . because thou art mortal?** The seer is bidden not to brood over death and mortality, because, though inevitable, they but mark a necessary stage in the transition to something higher and better. For different views regarding the connexion between death and sin see 2 Bar. xxiii. 4, notes.

16. **what is to come, rather than what is now present.** With these words, as Gunkel points out, the author passes from the consideration of the present age and its difficulties to a new problem. It has been made clear that a new age is destined to come, when a great transformation will be effected. Then present sorrow will be turned to joy, all riddles be solved, all sin wiped out. But the question arises: Who shall be found worthy to participate in the new age? With the discussion of this question, and the problems that arise in connexion with it, the book is now mainly concerned.

17. **in thy law.** Cf. Deut. viii. 1.

20. **Yea, rather, let the many that now are perish,** &c. The angelic reply seems to contemplate, in its reference to sinners, the heathen world, or world outside the chosen people, exclusively (see introduction to the section above). The idea that the Tôrah was not originally designed to be the exclusive possession of Israel, but was offered by God to the Gentiles and deliberately refused by them, is insisted upon in Rabbinic literature (cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 131 f., and see *EA*, p. 105 f.).

23. **They even affirmed the Most High exists not.** Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 59; Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 2.

24. **His law they did despise . . . set at naught his commandments.** The heathen in these verses are charged with open and deliberate defiance of the divine requirements. This is expressed in unbelief and contempt of fundamental moral laws, which are openly spurned. It is a favourite theme in Rabbinical literature that Israel's election was primarily due to faith in God and God's Law; while the heathen spurned the Tôrah as unfit. (Cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 59 f.)

25. **For the empty, empty things,** &c. Those who are destitute of the elements of goodness shall lack the good things of eternity, &c.; cf. Matt. xiii. 12.

IV. The Temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the World. (vii. 26–44) (R) (E).

(*a*) vii. 26–30. *The sudden revelation of the Messiah: his 400 years' reign and death: the End of the Age* (R).

R 26 For behold the days come, and it shall be when the signs which I have foretold unto thee shall come to pass,
[[d] Then shall the city that now is invisible appear [d], and the land [e] which is now concealed [e] be seen;]
27, 28 And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For [f] my Son the Messiah [f] shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and [g] shall rejoice [g] the
29 survivors [h] four hundred years [h]. And it shall be, after these years, that [i] my Son [i] the Messiah
30 shall die, and all [j] in whom there is human breath [j]. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.

(*b*) vii. 31–44. *The General Resurrection and Final Judgement; the Day of Judgement described* (R).

31 And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and [k] that which is corruptible [k] shall perish.

[d-d] *so Arm.*: Ar.[1] and the city which was not shall appear: *Ethiop.* (*misplacing negative*) and the city which now appears shall be hidden: 𝔏 (*misreading* η νυν μη φαινομενη πολις *as* η νυμφη φαινομενη πολις) et apparebit sponsa [et] apparens (*so* C M; S apparescens) civitas = 𝔖 [e-e] 𝔏 quae nunc subducitur [f-f] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1]: *Ethiop.* my Messiah: *Ar.*[2] the Messiah; *Arm.* the Messiah of God; 𝔏 filius meus Iesus [g-g] *reading* iocundabit (S) = *Oriental VSS.*; iocundabuntur (A C M N) [h-h] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]; 𝔖 thirty; *Ar.*[2] one thousand; *Ethiop. Arm.* > [i-i] *so* 𝔏 𝔖; *Ethiop.* my servant [j-j] *reading* qui spiramentum habent hominis (S homines) [k-k] 𝔏 corruptum (*sc.* saeculum) [l-l] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 *and other VSS.* > [m-m] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 >

---

vii. 26–44. The eschatological description which was broken off at vi. 28 is here resumed. The present section, however, seems to be partly the work of R, who has utilized older material. For a full discussion of the reasons for this view reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 108–112. The section falls into two subdivisions, (*a*) vii. 26–30 and (*b*) vii. 31–44.

(*a*) vii. 26–30. This subsection, as we have seen, may be assigned to R, who, however, depends upon an independent Rabbinical tradition, which he here summarizes. But in *v.* 26 *b* R has introduced a feature which is here incongruous—the appearance of the 'heavenly' Jerusalem and Paradise. These belong to the future age; whereas the temporary Messianic kingdom belongs to the present age and terminates with it. A similar confusion—probably also due to an interpolation by R—occurs in ch. xiii, where *v.* 36 does not harmonize with the context. The confusion might easily arise at a time when the earthly Jerusalem lay in ruins and when it would be natural to seek consolation in directing the thoughts to the more glorious city in heaven. The purification of the 'earthly' city would be the natural preparation for a 'temporary' Messianic age; but as the city had been destroyed this had been made impossible. Hence the necessity of introducing the heavenly Jerusalem—for a Messianic age without Jerusalem as a centre would have been inconceivable. In face of conflicting views as to whether Jerusalem was to be restored or no, R takes a mediating view. The End is not yet—a temporary Messianic age is to dawn; but the earthly city is not to be restored; instead, the heavenly city is to appear. Primaeval chaos and the End will only follow after this interlude.

The redactor has thus woven together two sets of mutually irreconcilable ideas. This is equally true of his representation of the Messiah himself. The Messiah is to be 'revealed'—suddenly, as it seems—'together with those who are with him'. As the latter must be the immortal companions 'who have never tasted death' it is clear that a heavenly pre-existence for the Messiah himself is implied, as in fact appears in other passages (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiv. 9; 2 Bar. xxx, &c.). At the close of his reign, therefore, the Messiah ought to return in glory to heaven, as he is made to do in 2 Bar. xxx. But according to R he and his immortal companions share the common fate with the righteous, and die with all men! See further *EA*, pp. 112–13.

26. **the city that now is invisible**, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem (for text see crit. note).
the land which is now concealed, i.e. the heavenly Paradise. For the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52.

28. **those who are with him**, i.e. the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 28 note.
the survivors. Only the surviving righteous share in the joys of the Messianic reign; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 50.
four hundred years. The versions are not consistent as to this number (see crit. note). In Rabbinic tradition various numbers were deduced for the length of the temporary Messianic kingdom (see the passages cited in *EA*, p. 115 f.); the number 400 is associated in one passage with R. Dosa, but elsewhere with the name of R. Eliezer b. Hyrqanos. The number was deduced by combining Gen. xv. 13 and Ps. xc. 15. It should be noted that the conception of a temporary Messianic kingdom which belongs to the present age, and terminates with it, is also met with in 2 Baruch (cf. xl. 3); cf. also Rev. xx. 3. It is a compromise between the older prophetic view which looked for a final consummation of felicity on the present earth, and the later transcendental view which transferred it to a future age, after the destruction of the present order.

30. **Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days.** *Urzeit* = *Endzeit* (Gunkel).

(*b*) vii. 31–44. Here again R is summarizing different traditions. These are not always easy to reconcile; thus, e.g., it is difficult to harmonize the 'week' of years (seven years) in *v.* 43 with the seven 'days' of primaeval silence mentioned in *v.* 30. An important point to note is that the judgement, which is final and universal, and which, therefore, is preceded by a 'general' resurrection, is depicted as forensic in character. This is implied by the

32 And
the earth shall restore those that sleep in her,
and the dust those that are at rest therein,
[and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them].
33 And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement:
[l](and then cometh the End)[l]
and compassion shall pass away,
[m](and pity be far off,)[m]
and longsuffering [n]withdrawn[u];
34 But [o]judgement[o] alone shall remain,
truth shall stand,
and faithfulness triumph.
35 And [p]recompense[p] shall follow,
and the reward be made manifest;
[q]Deeds of righteousness[q] shall awake,
and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep.
36 And then shall [r]the pit of torment[r] appear,
[s]and over against it the place of refreshment[s];
The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest,
and over against it the Paradise of delight.
37 And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised [from the dead]:
Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised.
38 [t]Look, now, before [you][t]:
here delight and refreshment,
there fire and torments!
Thus [u]shall he speak[u] unto them in the Day of Judgement,
39 [v]For thus shall the Day of Judgement be[v]:
[w][A day] whereon is neither sun[w], nor moon, nor stars;
40 neither clouds, [x]nor thunder, nor lightning[x];
neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor [y]cloud-rack[y];
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;

[n–n] 𝔏 congregabitur [o–o] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.*: 𝔖 my judgement [p–p] 𝔏 opus (= 𝔖; cf. *Ethiop.*) = Heb. פְּעֻלָּה [q–q] 𝔏 iustitiae [r–r] *reading* lacus tormenti = 𝔖 (*emended*) *Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar.*) [s–s] *reading* et contra illum erit locus requietionis (*for* requisitionis) = 𝔖 *Ar.* [t–t] = βλεπετε ουν κατεναντιον (*so Oriental VSS.* + you): 𝔏 videte contra et in contra (*dittography*) [u–u] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 shalt thou speak [v–v] *reading* dies enim iudicii talis qui [neque solem habet]; cf. 𝔖 (for that day of Judgement is thus; *cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 haec talis quae (this is such a day as) [w–w] *cf.* 𝔖 there is no sun in it: 𝔏 quae neque solem habet (? *pointing to a text* η ουκ ηλιος εσται εν αυτη = אשר לא יהיה שמש בו) [x–x] *so* 𝔏 (*cf. Ar.*[2]): *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. invert the order* [y–y] 𝔏 aerem = αηρ = זק

---

representation in *v.* 33, according to which the Most High is revealed 'upon (i.e. seated upon) the throne of judgement'; cf. Dan. vii. 9, 1 En. xc. 20, xxv. 3; and in the similitudes (of the Elect One), 1 En. xlv. 3, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxix. 27. In all these passages the Divine Judge is spoken of as seated on the judgement throne (*sedes iudicii*, 4 Ezra vii. 33), i.e. to judge in a forensic sense. When, on the other hand, the Heavenly One is said to 'arise from his royal throne' (*Ass. Mos.* x. 3), this is the formula for the execution of retributive judgement (cf. Volz, p. 261). According to *T. B. Pesaḥ.* 54 *a* and *Ned.* 39 *b*, this throne was one of the seven things created before the world.

Both in this section and the preceding, clauses which R seems to have derived directly from S have been enclosed in square brackets. The long fragment which is missing from most of the Latin codices, and which was recovered by Bensly, begins after *v.* 35; it finds its place between *vv.* 35 and 36 of the ordinary Vulgate text. These additional verses are numbered consecutively in the following translation (as in R.V.), and form *vv.* 36–105. The remaining verses (Vulg. 36–70) now appear as 106–140.

31. **that which is corruptible,** i.e. the present corruptible and mortal world; with the appearance of the new order this vanishes. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 26.

32. **the earth shall restore . . . and the chambers the souls,** &c., i.e. the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the chambers their souls. At the resurrection the soul would return to and revive the body. This is the orthodox Rabbinic doctrine. See further *EA*, p. 119 f.

33. (**and then cometh the End**). See crit. note. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

compassion . . . (pity) . . . longsuffering, viz. of the Divine Judge (Ethiop. renders 'his compassion', &c.). The final judgement is pictured as conducted in accordance with the strict requirements of perfect equity and justice.

35. **Deeds of righteousness.** In Rabbinic language this term would denote definite acts of charity such as those enumerated in Matt. xxv. 35–46 (cf. James ii. 14 f.), and more particularly almsgiving. Such acts, and the performance of religious duties generally, constituted 'the treasure of good works laid up with the Most High' (cf. vii. 77).

36. **the pit of torment.** Cf. Rev. ix. 2.

37. **the nations . . . raised [from the dead].** Cf. Matt. xxv. 31 f. For the idea cf. *EA*, p. 124.

R 41 [z] neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold [z];
neither hail, nor rain, nor dew;
42 neither noon, nor night, nor [a] dawn [a];
neither shining, nor brightness, nor light,
save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see
43, 44 what has been determined (for them). And its duration shall be as it were a week of years. Such is my Judgement and [b] its prescribed order [b]: to thee only have I showed these things.

V. The Debate continued (from vii. 25): Israel's Election and the Problem of Righteousness.

(vii. 45–ix. 22.)

(1) vii. 45–74. The Fewness of the Saved justified: this followed by a Lament over Man's Evil Case (S).

(*a*) vii. 45–61. *The fewness of the saved.*

S 45 And I answered and said: O Lord, I said even then and say now: Blessed are [c] they who come (into the world) [c] and keep [d] thy commandments [d].

[z–z] *so substantially* 𝔖; 𝔏 neque aestatem neque verem neque aestum neque hiemem neque gelum neque frigus [a–a] 𝔏 ante lucem (? *for an original* antelucium: *so Bensly*) [b–b] 𝔏 constitutio eius (= ? η συνταξις αυτου = חקתו): 𝔖 its law [c–c] *cf.* 𝔖 (all they who come): 𝔏 qui praesentes [d–d] 𝔏 quae a te constituta sunt (? τα σου διατε-

41. **neither summer . . . cold.** The order adopted in the text is substantially that of 𝔖; the first line contains the names of three seasons, the second those of three temperatures. The verse is an expansion of Gen. viii. 22 *b c*. For the equivalents (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) of the terms used cf. *EA*, p. 126.

42. **whereby all shall be destined to see,** &c. The meaning is that the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will serve to reveal what is prepared for the judgement. For the representation cf. Is. lx. 19 f., Rev. xxi. 23. Gunkel remarks that the verses breathe the spirit of the mystic before which all that hides the vision of God disappears.

43. **a week of years.** Cf. the seven days of silence in *v.* 30; but here each day = one year. For a week (or weeks) of years cf. Dan. ix. 24 f. (the seventy weeks = seventy weeks of years).

vii. 45–ix. 22. The rest of this long vision, which, with the exception of one section (viii. 63–ix. 12), belongs to S, is mainly occupied with the problem which has already been touched upon in vii. 17 f.: if, as the Law itself proclaims, piety—that is, the pious fulfilment of the duties and obligations entailed by the observance of the Law—is the necessary condition for enjoying the future blessedness, what of the godless who do not fulfil these conditions? The heathen, it is true, have not fulfilled the obligations of the divine Law, but who has? Who among mortals has not transgressed the divine precepts (vii. 46 f., cf. viii. 35)? This feeling of human unworthiness, which leads the apocalyptist sometimes almost to doubt whether any can be saved at all, and, in the conviction of his own personal unworthiness, to identify himself with the transgressors, and even to give noble expression to pity for the fate of the multitudes of mankind who are doomed to final perdition, is only set at rest with the assurance that a real difference exists between Israel and the heathen world. The election of the chosen people is not for nothing. They at least are the guardians of the divine Law, and as a whole strive to observe it, whereas the other nations of the world have deliberately rejected and spurned it (cf. vii. 72 and vii. 23 f.). The sin that dooms is rejection of the Law—salvation consists in accepting it. Judged by this standard Israel, on the one side, is accepted, and the heathen world, on the other, is condemned. Individual doubts as to personal unworthiness are resolved by a feeling for the solidarity of the nation. From this point of view the merits of the righteous in Israel may be pleaded on behalf of those members of the chosen race who have not kept the Law and are sinners (cf. the prayer in viii. 26 f., but note the answer, viii. 37–40). The whole of this part of the book forms a vivid and profoundly moving picture of the doubts and questions that must have agitated the minds of many pious Jews at the end of the first century. These doubts are calmed, perhaps, but hardly removed by the solution. The only consolation the apocalyptist receives is to be bidden to avert his gaze from the awful results of human frailty and sin, and contemplate rather the joys reserved for the righteous. The world to come is reserved for few. The whole section may be subdivided as follows:—

(1) vii. 45–74. *The fewness of the saved justified: this followed by a lament over man's evil case* (S).
(2) vii. 75–101. *The state of the soul after death and before the judgement* (S).
(3) vii. 102–115. *No intercession on the day of judgement* (S).
(4) vii. 116–131. *What avails the promise to man who is born to sin? Yet, though tragic, the sinner's doom is deserved* (S).
(5) vii. 132–viii. 62. *Doubts as to how the perdition of so many can be justified from the point of view of God's character and attributes: the divine reply* (S).
(6) viii. 63–ix. 12. *The signs of the End reviewed and applied to the author's own times* (R).
(7) ix. 13–22. *The divine reply concluded: final justification of the fewness of the saved* (S).

(1) vii. 45–74. The apocalyptist resumes the debate which was broken off at vii. 25. He had raised the question (vii. 17 f.) regarding the justice of the punishment meted out to the ungodly. To this subject he now returns. The righteous indeed are to be blessed, but what is to be said of those who have transgressed the divine covenant? The doom of disobedience lies not upon a few only, but upon well nigh all who have been created! True, the angel replies: the just are comparatively few, and for them the future felicity is reserved. But this is only in accordance with the

46 But concerning those for whom my prayer (was offered): who is there of those who have come (into the world) that has not sinned? Or who of the earth-born is there that has not transgressed
47 [e]thy covenant[e]? And now I see that the coming Age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto
48 many. For the evil heart has grown up in us
which has estranged us [f]from God[f],
and brought us into destruction;
And [ff]has made known to us[ff] the ways of death,
and showed us the paths of perdition,
and removed us far from life;
and that not a few only, but well nigh all that have been created!
49 And he answered me and said:
Hear me,[g] and I will instruct thee,
and a second time will admonish thee:
o, 51 For this cause the Most High has made not one Age but two. And whereas thou hast said that the righteous are not many but few, [h]while the ungodly abound[h]—[i]hear (the answer) to this[i]:
52 Suppose thou have choice stones, in number exceeding few; [j]wilt thou set (place) with them lead and clay[j]?
53 And I said: Lord, how should it be possible?
54 And he said unto me: Not only so, but
Ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
[k]Speak to her[k], and she shall declare it unto thee.
5, 56 Say to her: Thou bringest forth gold and silver and brass—and also iron and lead and clay: but silver is more abundant than gold, and brass than silver, and iron than brass, lead than iron, and
57 clay than lead. Do thou, then, consider which things are precious and to be desired: that which is abundant or that which is rare?
58 And I said: O Lord my Lord, that which is plentiful is of less worth, but that which is more rare is precious.
59 And he answered me and said: [l]Weigh within thyself[l] what thou hast thought! For he that has [m]what is rare[m] rejoices beyond him that has what is plentiful.
60 [n]So also shall be my promised judgement;[n] I will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inasmuch as they it is [o]that make my glory prevail now already[o] and through them my name is now already named (with praise).
61 And I will not grieve over the multitude of them that perish: for they it is who now
are made like vapour,

ταγμενα) [e–e] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]: 𝔖 commandment; *Ethiop.* statute (? *different readings in Greek*, διαθηκην, διαταγην) [f–f] 𝔏 ab his (*sc* commandments) = 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: *perhaps, as Violet suggests, in original Hebrew* "מן־האלה (*i.e.* מן־האלהים) *was misunderstood* [ff–ff] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 > [g] 𝔖 + Ezra [h–h] *so* 𝔏 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*): 𝔖 > [i–i] 𝔏 audi ad haec = 𝔖 [j–j] *so* Ar.[1] (cf. 𝔖): 𝔏 si habueris paucos valde, ad numerum compones eos tibi . . . plumbum autem et fictile habundat (*prob.* plumbum et fictile *have fallen out in dotted space*: *then the last clause will be a gloss*: *see further EA*, p. 123) [k–k] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*: 𝔏 adulare ei [l–l] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 *corrupt* [m–m] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[2]): 𝔏 quod difficile est [n–n] *so substantially Oriental VSS.*; 𝔏 sic et a me repromissa creatura (*confusion of* κρισις *with* κτισις) [o–o] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[2]): 𝔏 qui gloriam meam nunc dominationem (*l.* dominatiorem) fecerunt

---

rule that the most precious things are the rarest. Therefore the few that are to be saved, inasmuch as they have made the divine glory to prevail, shall be a cause for rejoicing, and the multitude of the lost is not a subject for grief (*vv.* 45–61). If so, the apocalyptist replies, man's lot is indeed a terrible one: it had been better for him to have been like the beasts that perish. 'For it is far better with them than with us; they look not for judgement, neither do they know of torments or of salvation promised to them after death.' We perish conscious of the doom awaiting us! The angel answers: Man brings the doom upon himself—he has deliberately transgressed the divine commandments; and, moreover, the Most High has been very longsuffering (*vv.* 62–74).

The section falls into two subdivisions, (*a*) vii. 45–61 and (*b*) vii. 62–74.

52. **Suppose thou have choice stones . . . wilt thou set (place) with them lead and clay.** 'The comparison implies that the number of the elect (to borrow the epithet used in the Latin) cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements' (Bensly).

54. **Not only so, but.** The connexion is: one does not add inferior things to precious, in order to increase the number of the latter. There is a real distinction, which one recognizes between them. But further, the earth also teaches the same lesson tha what is rare is precious. It would appear, as Gunkel remarks, that the author, from the emphasis he lays on the statement that what is rare is precious, is conscious that there is something novel in the idea to his readers.

55. **Say to her.** For the representation (asking the earth) cf. viii. 2, Job xvi. 18, &c.

56. **but silver . . . lead.** This, according to Ewald, is to be regarded as the answer of the earth.

61. **are made like vapour.** For the figure cf. Ps. cxliv. 4, James iv. 14; also 2 Bar. lxxxii. 3 f.

S [p] counted as smoke,
are comparable unto the flame [p]:
They are fired, burn hotly, are extinguished!

(*b*) vii. 62–74: *The apocalyptist's lament over man's evil case.*

62 And I answered and said: O thou Earth, what hast thou brought forth, if the mind is sprung
63 from the dust as every other created thing! It had been better if the dust itself had even been unborn, that the mind might not have come into being from it.
64 But, as it is, the mind grows with us, and on this account we are tormented, because we perish and know it.
65 Let the human race [q] lament [q],
but the beasts of the field be glad!
Let all the earth-born [q] mourn [q],
but let the cattle and flocks rejoice!
66 For it is far better with them than with us; for they have no judgement to look for, neither do they know of any torture or of any salvation promised to them after death.
67 For what doth it profit us that [r] we shall be preserved alive [r], but yet suffer great torment?
68 For all the earth-born
[s] are defiled with iniquities [s],
full of sins,
laden with offences.
69 And if after death we were not to come into judgement, it might, perchance, [t] have been [t] far better for us!
70 And he answered me and said: When the Most High made the world, and Adam, and all that came [u] of him [u], he first prepared the Judgement, and the things that pertain unto the Judgement.
71 But, now, from thine own words understand: for thou hast said that the mind grows with us.
72 For this reason, therefore, shall the sojourners in the earth suffer torture, because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity, and receiving precepts they yet kept them not, and having obtained the Law [v] they set at naught [v] that which they received.
73 What, then, will they have to say in the Judgement, or how shall they answer in the last times?
74 For how long a time hath the Most High been longsuffering with the inhabitants of the world—not for their sakes, indeed, but for the sake of the times which he has ordained!

[p–p] *so* S: L et flammae ac fumo adaequati sunt (= *Ethiop.*) [q–q] (q–q) *so* S (*using two different verbs*): L lugeat . . . lugeant [r–r] L salvati salvabimur: S = viventes vivimus (= *Hebr.* חיה נחיה: *see EA*, p. 138) [s–s] *so* S: L commixti sunt iniquitatibus (= συμπεφυρμενοι εισιν ανομιαις) [t–t] *so Oriental VSS.* (= fuisset): L venisset [u–u] *so Oriental VSS. and CMV* (= ex eo): A cum eo [v–v] *so* S: L fraudaverunt (A) fraudati sunt

---

are comparable unto the flame. The flame which, as it were, consumes itself, is here a figure, apparently for evanescence.

62. **if the mind is sprung from the dust.** This materialistic view, though evidently familiar to S, is not shared by him; it is contrary to his theology, according to which the soul (with the mind) is the higher immortal element which enters into the body (regarded as the lower element) at birth.

64. **we perish and know it.** The possession of mind and reasoning powers only intensifies human sufferings at the last, because they must be endured with full knowledge and consciousness of their terrible nature; inevitable and unceasing.

65. **the cattle and flocks.** As Gunkel remarks, the statement expressed in this verse is, from the point of view of the ancients, startling and revolutionary. It represents a phase of doubt which threatened to subvert the whole outlook of the ancient world, which regarded man as lord of creation, and as raised to a pinnacle of superiority over all below him. Cf. Gen. i, Ps. viii.

70. **he first prepared the Judgement,** &c. It is a fundamental dogma of S that the whole course of the world's history has been predestinated by God: the End, which includes the Day of Judgement, comes when the predetermined number of the elect shall have been fulfilled (cf. iv. 35 f.). Paradise and Gehenna, the places essentially associated with the Judgement, were among the seven things created before the world, according to Rabbinic theology (cf. *T. B. Pesaḥ.* 54 *a*, &c.); cf. also viii. 52, and *Pirqe Aboth* iii. 16 (ed. Taylor).

72. **because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity.** Cf. 2 Bar. xv. 5, 6, and xix. 3, xlviii. 40; cf. also *Ep. Barn.* v. 4: 'A man shall utterly perish, who, having the knowledge of the way of righteousness, forceth himself into the way of darkness.' For the idea that the Gentiles had been offered and had rejected the Law, cf. Weber, pp. 57 ff.

73. **What, then, will they have to say,** &c. The representation is forensic. The questions addressed by God to those who appear at the bar of judgement at the last great assize are referred to in several passages both in apocalyptic and Rabbinical literature (cf. *T. B. Yoma* 35 *b*; and see further Volz, p. 246 f., *EA*, p. 140).

(2) vii. 75–101. THE STATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH AND BEFORE THE JUDGEMENT (S).

75 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, [w] O Lord [w], show this also to thy servant: whether after death, even now when every one of us must give back his soul, we shall be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew the creation, or shall we suffer torture [x] forthwith [x]?

76 And he answered me, and said: I will show this also unto thee; but do not thou mingle thyself with them that have scorned, nor number thyself with those that suffer torment.

77 For thou hast a treasure of works laid up with the Most High, but it shall not be showed thee until the last times.

78 And concerning death the teaching is: When [y] the decisive decree [y] has gone forth from the Most High that the man should die,

as [z] the soul [z] from the body departs

[a] that it may return [a] to him who gave it,

79 to adore the glory of the Most High, first of all: if it be one of those that have scorned

(C M V): *l.* ? frustraverunt [w–w] *so* 𝔏, &c.: 𝔖 O Lord my Lord [x–x] 𝔏 amodo = απ' αρτι [y–y] 𝔏 terminus sententiae (= חק המשפט) [z–z] 𝔏 inspiratione [a–a] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 ut dimittatur (*cf.* 𝔖)

(2) vii. 75–101. The following section describes the state of the soul immediately after death. It is introduced between parts of the Apocalypse which have for their theme different aspects of the last Judgement. It is, therefore, in the nature of a digression: but the subject is one that logically arises from previous allusions, and comes in at this point quite naturally.

In answer to the apocalyptist's inquiry he is told that the spirit, after leaving the body, first of all adores the glory of the Most High and then enters into a state of misery or bliss, corresponding to its ultimate destiny, according as it belongs to the ungodly or righteous. The spirits of the wicked are destined to a wandering existence in torment, in seven degrees: (*a*) They shall be consumed with remorse; (*b*) they will recognize that the past is irrevocable; (*c*) they shall see the reward laid up for the righteous; (*d*) they shall catch a glimpse of the torment reserved for them after the last Judgement; (*e*) 'they shall see the dwelling-places of the others guarded by angels with great quietness'; (*f*) they shall see the torment henceforth reserved for them; (*g*) in the light of the vision of God they shall be consumed with agonizing remorse, confusion, and shame (vii. 78-87).

On the other hand, the spirits of the righteous 'shall be filled with joy (*a*) because they have striven to overcome the *cogitamentum malum*; (*b*) because they see the perplexity and punishment of the ungodly; (*c*) because they see the divine witness to their righteousness; (*d*) because they understand the rest and quiet of their intermediate state, and the glory that awaits them in the final Judgement; (*e*) because they realize the painful corruption from which they have been delivered, and cherish the hope of immortality; (*f*) because of the incorruptible radiance and glory that await them; (*g*) "because they shall rejoice with confidence, and be bold without confusion, and shall be glad without fear, for they hasten to behold the face of him whom in their lifetime they served, and from whom they shall receive their reward in glory"' (vii. 88–98).[1]

These descriptions, which are psychological in character, apparently portray the emotional experiences of the soul, through which it passes during the entire period of the intermediate state. In its subtle delineation of the soul-life the whole section is remarkable, and by the elevation and refinement of its conceptions affords a striking contrast to similar descriptions in other parts of the apocalyptic literature (e.g. 1 En. xxii). No such detailed description of the state of the soul occurs in the Baruch-Apocalypse.

At the end of the section (vii. 100–101) one other detail is added. The souls shall be free for seven days immediately after death that they may realize the things which have been described, after which they enter into their habitations. Apparently this only applies to the souls of the righteous, as it is explicitly stated in *v.* 80 that the souls of the wicked do not enter into habitations at all, but wander to and fro in torment. How the souls pass from the states here described to the final Judgement is not told. In 2 Bar. xxx this is accomplished by means of the resurrection, which is there described in detail. See further Volz, p. 135 f.; Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 294 f.

75. **thou shalt renew the creation.** For the expression cf. καινὴ κτίσις (= בריה חדשה), Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. vi. 17, and for the idea of the renovation of the world, Matt. xix. 28, 'in the regeneration' (ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ); 2 Pet. ii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The same phrase occurs in 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, 'when the Mighty One shall renew his creation' (cf. xliv. 12, lvii. 2). The incorruptible world which is to succeed the present order at the final Judgement is meant. Cf. v. 45.

77. **a treasure of works.** The idea of works being stored up in treasuries (in heaven) occurs also in 2 Bar. xiv. 12. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 33 (contrast viii. 36). But much greater stress is laid on good works in 2 Baruch than in 4 Ezra. According to the latter very few indeed have, by their strict performance of the requirements of the Law, been able to claim any such accumulation of merit. It is faith in the Law (i.e. open acknowledgement of its divine character and obligation) which will save most of those who are destined to be saved: cf. ix. 7, 'every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his faith'), xiii. 23 and vi. 5 ('treasuries of faith'). The most esteemed way in which such treasure in heaven could be gathered, according to the accepted Jewish standard of ethics, was by the practice of benevolence (Hebr. *gĕmîluth ḥăsadîm*), especially by almsgiving (cf. in the N.T. Matt. vi. 20, Luke xii. 33, 1 Tim. vi. 17 f., and illustrate from *Pe'a* i. 1, where it is said that *gĕmîlûth ḥăsādîm*, the promotion of peace between man and man, and the study of the Law, are 'the things whose fruits are enjoyed in this life, while their capital remains [invested] for the life to come').

it shall not be showed thee until the last times. The treasuries would not be opened till the last Judgement. Cf. 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

78. **that it may return to him who gave it.** Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.

to adore the glory of the Most High, &c. This sentence, as Gunkel points out, is epexegetical to the previous line ('that it may return to him who gave it'). The citation from Eccles. xii. 7 is understood by the author in the

[1] The above excellent summary is derived from Maldwyn Hughes's *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Lit.*, p. 305 f.

S and have not kept [b] the ways [b] of the Most High,
[c] that have despised his law,[c]
and that hate those who fear God—

80 Such souls shall not enter into habitations, but shall wander about henceforth in torture, ever grieving and sad, in seven ways.

81, 82 The first way (is) that [d] they have scorned [d] the Law of the Most High; the second way, that they
83 are now unable [e] to make a good repentance for life [e]; the third way (is): they shall see the
84 reward laid up for those who have believed [f] the covenants of the Most High [f]; the fourth way,
85 that they shall regard the torture laid up for themselves in the last days [g]; the fifth way, that they
86 shall see how the habitations [h] of the other souls [h] are guarded by angels in profound quietness; the
87 sixth way, that they shall see [i] how from now henceforth they must pass over into torture [i]. The seventh way, which exceeds all the aforesaid ways, (is):

that they shall pine away for shame,
and be consumed [j] with confusion [j],
and withered [k] with fear [k],
in that they see the glory of the Most High, before whom they have sinned in life, and before whom they are destined to be judged in the last times.

88 Of those, however, who have kept the ways of the Most High this is [l] the order [l], when they shall be separated from this vessel of mortality.

89 [m] What time they dwelt therein [m] they painfully served the Most High, and were in jeopardy every hour, that they might observe the Law of the lawgiver perfectly.

90, 91 Wherefore the matter as it relates to them is as follows: First of all they shall see with great joy
92 the glory of him who receives them; and they shall rest [n] in seven orders [n]. The first order (is): that they have striven much and painfully to overcome [o] the innate evil thought [o], that it might not
93 lead them astray [p] from life [p] unto death. The second order (is): that they see [q] the round [q] in
94 which the souls of the ungodly wander, and [r] the punishment that awaits them [r]. The third order (is): they see the witness which their Fashioner attests concerning them, that while they were alive
95 [s] they faithfully observed the Law which was given to them [s]. The fourth order (is): they understand the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness

[b–b] *so* S *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: L viam [c–c] *so* L *Ethiop.*: S > [d–d] *so* L (= ηθετησαν): S they have resisted (= ηπειθησαν): *see EA*, p. 145 [e–e] L reversionem bonam facere ut vivant: S = επιστρεφειν και αγαθοποιειν (*Bensly adopts*) [f–f] so L (*Ethiop. Ar.*): S > [g] *here* S *adds a verse which is not original*: *see EA*, p. 146 [h–h] *so* S Ar.[1] (*cf. Ethiop.*): L aliorum [i–i] *reading* quam amodo pertransient in cruciamentum (*see EA*, p. 146) [j–j] *so* S *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: L in honoribus (= εν τιμιαις [*for* ατιμιαις]: *read* εν ατιμια) [k–k] so S *Ethiop.*: L in timoribus [l–l] L ordo (= η ταξις): S way [m–m] *so* S: L in eo tempore commoratae [n–n] L per septem ordines: L *here and in following verses uses* ordo *consistently*; *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: *but* S *Ar.*[2] *Arm. use* way (= οδος) *throughout* [o–o] L cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum [p–p] so L S *Ar.*[1]; *but Ethiop.* in their present life [q–q] L complicationem (= συμπλοκην: *Hebr.* הצבירה; *see EA*, p. 149) [r–r] *reading* quae eis (*for* in eis) manet punitio [s–s] L servaverunt quae per fidem

---

sense that the soul of man after death appears before God for a certain limited time only, and for a certain purpose. This follows from his belief as to the intermediate state.

80. **Such souls.** For *inspirationes* = here disembodied souls, cf. *v.* 78 above (*recedente inspiratione*). נשמה is used of the disembodied soul in Rabbinic Hebrew: cf. e.g. *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *b* נִשְׁמוֹתָן שֶׁל צַדִּיקִים, 'the souls of the righteous' (in reference to the souls being deposited beneath the throne of glory). For the theological controversies regarding *inspiratio* in this connexion cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 64.

but shall wander about henceforth in torture. In *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *b* the souls of the wicked are said to be given no place of rest until the Judgement, while the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place (מנוח) soon after death.

in seven ways, i.e. seven modes or kinds (= Hebr. *derek*). The arrangement of the sufferings and joys in seven kinds would appear somewhat artificial to us. According to Gunkel, it is derived from the old Babylonian tradition (which passed over to Judaism) of the existence of seven heavens and seven hells (this tradition appears in late Jewish literature; cf. Eisenmenger, ii, p. 328, for a description of the seven היכלות of Hell). Our passage may be a refinement of this idea. See further *EA*, p. 145.

81. **The first way,** i.e. the first kind (of torture); a Hebraism (*derek*, 'way' = kind, manner): this meaning, rare in Biblical Hebrew, is common in *PBH*.

88. **from this vessel of mortality,** lit. 'from this corruptible vessel'; Lat. *a vaso corruptibili*. The Greek equivalent for 'corruptible vessel' would be τὸ φθαρτὸν σκεῦος = Hebr. (?) כְּלִי בְלָיוֹן. Cf. τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο, 'this corruptible' (that which is liable to corruption), 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice in our passage the implied view of the body as the prison-house of the soul. [On the form *vaso* cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 66 f.]

91. **in seven orders,** i.e. orders or dispositions of mind (or emotion)—here of joys; for text see crit. note. A good Hebrew equivalent for τάξις would be מַעֲרָכָה or תכונה, which is used (in late Hebrew) in the same way of a disposition of the mind.

92. **The first order.** Gunkel correctly interprets this as = 'the first joy'.

93. **the round** (or circuit). The word might well be used of wild erratic motion (of the ungodly souls).

96 guarded by angels, and the glory which awaits them [t] at their latter end [t]. The fifth order (is): they rejoice that they have now escaped what is corruptible, and that they shall inherit that which is to come; and moreover that they see the straitness and [u] painfulness [u] [v] from which [v] they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are destined [w] to receive with enjoyment and im-
97 mortality [w]. The sixth order: [x] that [x] it is shown unto them how their face is destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made like the light of the stars, [y] henceforth [y] incorruptible.
98 The seventh order, which exceeds all the aforesaid, (is): that

They shall rejoice with boldness,
be confident without confusion,
be glad [z] without fear [z],

for they are hastening to behold the face of him whom in life they served, and from whom they are destined to receive their reward in glory.

99 This is the order of the souls of the righteous as from now henceforward [a] is announced [a], ([b] and) the aforesaid ways of torture (are) those which they suffer henceforth who [b] [c] would not give heed [c].

100 And I answered and said: Shall time, therefore, be given unto the souls, after they are separated from the bodies, that they may see what thou hast described to me?

101 And he said to me: Seven days they have freedom, that during these seven days they may see [d] the things aforesaid [d], afterwards they shall be gathered together in their habitations.

(3) vii. 102–115. No Intercession on the Day of Judgement (S).

102 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, show me, thy servant, this also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to

data est lex (per fidem *may have been intended to qualify* observed *in original*) [t–t] 𝔏 in novissimis eorum [u–u] *reading* labore plenum (MSS. plenum *only*); cf. 𝔖 (the much toil) *Ethiop.* [v–v] *reading* a quo (M) = 𝔖: quoniam (A C V) [w–w] 𝔏 recipere fruniscentes et immortales [x–x] *so Ethiop.* (= οτι): 𝔏 quando (= οτε); *so* 𝔖 [y–y] *reading* amodo (*for* quomodo); *cf.* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* [z–z] *reading* non reverentes (*for* revertentes): *Oriental VSS. either omit or obscure the clause* [a–a] *reading* adnuntiatur (*for* annuntientur) [b–b] *reading* (et) praedictae viae (sunt) cruciatus quas (*so* A) patiuntur amodo qui (*the bracketed words being supplied*) [c–c] 𝔏 neglexerint [d–d] 𝔏 qui praedicti sunt sermones

96. **escaped what is corruptible.** Gunkel points out that the implied idea is that what is mortal and corruptible is an alien element in man's essential being.

97. **their face . . . as the sun . . . like the light of the stars.** The language is based on Dan. xii. 3, and is similarly applied to the righteous (in an eschatological connexion) in Matt. xiii. 43; cf. also 2 Bar. li. 3 (of the transformation of the righteous at the resurrection), li. 10; cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7 ('resplendent as lights of fire' = 'shine as the stars' [Charles]), li. 5, civ. 2 ('soon ye shall shine as the stars of heaven'); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 125. In 1 Cor. xv. 41 the spiritual body of the resurrection is compared to the stars ('one star differeth from another star in glory'); the righteous in the resurrection are compared with the angels in Matt. xxii. 30; cf. 1 En. li. 4 ('they shall become angels in heaven'), civ. 6, and 2 Bar. li. 10 (cited above). Gunkel points out that in the earlier circle of religious ideas from which the higher religion received the first impulse towards the development of the doctrine of the resurrection stars and angels are equivalent conceptions. In this earlier religion the stars were regarded as gods. 'To be made like the stars,' therefore, survived as a figure for immortality in the phraseology of spiritual religion.

98. **with boldness.** Cf. Wisd. v. 1, and see Volz, p. 264.

to behold the face, &c. Cf. Matt. v. 8.

100. **the souls.** Here and in the following verse the souls of the righteous only are, apparently, meant. These souls enter into the chambers reserved for them; the souls of the wicked do not (cf. *v.* 80).

101. **Seven days . . . freedom.** According to the dictum of R. Hisda, cited in *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *a*, the soul of a man mourns for him the first seven days after death. It is also said in the same context (152 *b*) that the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place soon. The origin of the idea of seven days' freedom being given to the soul immediately after death is obscure. It probably depends upon some primitive tradition. See further *EA*, p. 153.

habitations, i. e. in the intermediate state.

(3) vii. 102–115. The previous section (vii. 75–101) opened with the question whether after death the soul was permitted to rest until the Judgement, or whether it entered immediately into torment. The seer was evidently thinking of the souls of the unrighteous, with whom he identified himself. The question was answered in the negative—no peace is allowed for the souls of the lost. Still full of pity for the awful fate that awaits lost souls, Ezra-Salathiel asks whether there is any possibility of escape for the wicked in the Day of Judgement. Will intercession by the righteous for the ungodly be permitted? Again the answer is, No. Father will not be permitted to intercede for son, or son for father, or brother for brother, or friend for friend. This will be just as impossible as for one to take the place of another in illness, or in sleeping or eating: 'every one' in that day 'must bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness'.

The seer again pleads the many examples of intercession that are recorded in the Scriptures (Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, &c.), and is told that while the present (temporary) order endures such intercession is possible. But the Day of Judgement means the closing of all accounts. 'So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor overwhelm him who is victorious.'

The view, met with in Rabbinical literature, that the merits of sons will avail to save the fathers in the Day of Judgement (cf. e. g. *Eccles. rabb.* on Qoh. iv. 1) is thus implicitly condemned: indeed, the whole doctrine of imputed righteousness seems to be emphatically repudiated.

The apocalyptic writer thus here reaches the height of a pure and strenuous individualism. National limitations,

S 103 intreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kins-
104 folk for their nearest, friends for their dearest. And he answered me and said: Since thou hast found favour in my sight, I will show this also unto thee. The Day of Judgement is [dd] decisive [dd], and displays unto all the seal of truth. Even as now a father may not send a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest, that in his stead [e] he may be ill [e], or sleep, or eat, or be
105 healed; so shall [f] none then [f] pray for another [g] on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on
106 another [g]; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. And I answered and said: How is it that we now find that first Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, and
107 Moses for our fathers who sinned in the wilderness; and Joshua after him for Israel in the days [h] of
108 Achar [h]; and Samuel [i] in the days of Saul [i], and David [j] for the plague [j], and Solomon [k] for those
109 that (should worship) in the sanctuary [k]; and Elijah for those who received the rain, and for the
110 dead, that he might live; and Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib, and (others) many
111 for many? If, therefore, now when corruption is grown up, and unrighteousness increased, the righteous have prayed for the ungodly, why shall it not be so then also?

112 And he answered me and said: The present age [l] is not the End [l]; [m] the glory of God abides not
113 therein continuously [m]: therefore have the strong prayed for the weak. But the Day of Judgement shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein

114 corruption is passed away,
[n] weakness [n] is abolished,
infidelity is cut off;
while righteousness is grown,
and faithfulness is sprung up.

115 So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor [o] overwhelm [o] him who is victorious.

[dd–dd] *so* S (= ? συντομος): *Ethiop.* suddenly (= ? συντομως): L audax (= ? ευτολμος *a corruption of* συντομος) [e–e] *so* S *Ethiop. Arm.* (= ινα νοση): L intellegat (= ινα νοη) [f–f] *so* S (*cf. Ar.*[1]) = ουδε τοτε: L nunquam (= ουδεποτε) [g–g] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop.*): L > [h–h] *so* L (M N A) = S: Achaz (S) [i–i] *so* S *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: L (S A C M) > [j–j] L pro confractione [k–k] L pro eis qui in sanctificationem (= υπερ των εν τω ιερω): S *Ethiop.* for the sanctuary (= υπερ του ιερου) [l–l] *so* L (non est finis): *cf. Ethiop.*; S has an end [m–m] *so* S *Ethiop.*: L gloria in eo (*supply* non) frequens manet (= ? η ασελγεια: *cf.* S) [n–n] *so Ethiop.* (= η ασθενεια): L intemperantia [o–o] L demergere (= καταποντιζειν) [p–p] L coercere (= κατεχειν): S instructed (= κατη-

---

distinctions between race and race, are left behind: the individual soul comes to view, and the personal responsibility of each individual soul is asserted with the utmost emphasis. Between God and the departing soul no mediatorial or mitigating agency is allowed to stand. Here we may detect the influence of Alexandrine theology which tended to lay all stress upon the present life as determining the eternal fate of every man (cf. Bousset, *RJ*[2], p. 337 f.).

It is apparently against some such conceptions as have been described above that our passage is directed. It definitely excludes the entire cycle of such ideas. Probably at the time when our Apocalypse was written these ideas had assumed an exaggerated form in certain circles. It is curious to note that this passage of 4 Ezra gave offence to Christian theologians. Its citation as scriptural proof against the efficacy of intercessions for the dead evoked a severe reproof from Jerome (*Tu . . . proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdrae a te et similibus tuis legitur; ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi:* [*contra Vigilant.* c. vii]). This objection doubtless accounts for the disappearance of the section from the Latin Cod. S, and nearly all later copies—the lacuna only being made good by the discovery of the missing Fragment by Bensly.

[See, on the section, Volz, pp. 92, 136; Köberle, p. 662 f.; Bousset, p. 339 f.; and cf. *EA*, pp. 153–6.]

104. **the seal of truth**, i.e. the seal of the Judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel). The representation is again forensic; the sealing of the document recording the sentence being the final act of the Judge.

105. **neither shall one lay a burden**, &c. The whole passage is a development of Ezek. xviii. 20.

106. **first.** Of the following series.

Abraham. The reference is to Gen. xviii. 23.

Moses . . . in the wilderness. See Exod. xxxii. 11.

107. **Achar.** See Joshua vii.

108. **in the days of Saul.** See 1 Sam. vii. 9, 12, 23.

for the plague. The reference is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.

for those that (should worship) in the sanctuary. See 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.

109. **Elijah . . . the rain.** See 1 Kings xviii. 42.

for the dead . . . live. See 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.

110. **Hezekiah . . . Sennacherib.** See 2 Kings xix. 15 f.

112. **the glory of God abides not therein continuously.** For the various causes (idolatry, blasphemy, pride) which cause the removal of the Shekinah (= the divine presence and glory) from the earth, according to Rabbinic theology, see Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 223 *et al.* Here the idea is that the divine glory cannot permanently remain with what is essentially transitory.

(4) vii. 116–131. What avails the Promise to Man who is born to sin? Yet, though Tragic, the Sinner's Doom is deserved (S).

116 And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; better had it been that the earth had
not produced Adam, or else, having once produced him, (for thee) [p] to have restrained [p] him from
117 sinning. For how does it profit us all that in the present we must live in grief and after death look
118 for punishment? O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, [q] the
119 fall was not thine alone, but ours also [q] who are thy descendants! For how does it profit us that
120 the eternal age is promised to us, whereas we have done the works that bring death? And that
there is foretold to us [r] an imperishable hope [r], whereas we so miserably are brought to futility?
122 And that there are reserved habitations of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly? And
that the glory of the Most High is to defend them who have led a pure life, whereas we have walked
123 in ways most wicked? And that Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and
124 healing, shall be made manifest, but we cannot enter it because we have passed our lives [s] in unseemly
125 manners [s]? And that the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars,
126 whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness? For, while we lived and committed iniquity we
considered not what we were destined to suffer after death!

127 And he answered me and said: This is [t] the condition [t] of the contest which (every) man who is
128 born upon earth must wage; that, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he be
129 victorious, he shall receive what I have said. For this is the way of which Moses, while he was
130 alive, spoke unto the people, saying: Choose thee life, that thou mayst live! Nevertheless they
131 believed not him, nor the prophets after him, no nor yet me who have spoken unto them. [u] Therefore [u]
shall there not be such grief at their perdition, as there shall be joy over the salvation of those who
have believed.

(5) Doubts as to how the Perdition of so many can be justified from the Point of View of God's Character and Attributes: The Divine Reply (S).

(vii. 132—viii. 62.)

(*a*) vii. 132—viii. 3. *Will God—so merciful and compassionate—suffer so many to perish?* (S.)

132 And I answered and said: I know, Lord, that the Most High is now called compassionate in that

---

χειν) (= *Ethiop.*) [q–q] *reading* non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum (*cf.* S) [r–r] L perennis spes [s–s] *cf. Ethiop.*: L ingratis locis (*confusing* τροποις *and* τοποις): *so* S [t–t] L cogitamentum = *o* διαλογισμος = חק (law, condition) [u–u] *so* S: L quoniam

(4) vii. 116–131. It thus having been demonstrated that no possibility of escape from eternal punishment exists for the doomed race of sinners, the seer now bursts forth into a passionate lamentation over the fate of the mass of humanity. It would have been better if Adam had not been created with freedom of will to sin, than that his descendants should be born only to be doomed. To promise them happiness and immortality on conditions which they must almost inevitably fail to keep is but to mock their misery. To this the archangel can only reply that such are the conditions of the fight; there will be more joy in heaven over those who attain salvation than sorrow over the many who perish.

116. **that the earth had not produced.** Cf. iii. 5.

or else . . . to have restrained him from sinning. Cf., for the thought, vii. 63.

118. **the fall was not thine alone, but ours also.** Adam is here charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race; cf. vii. 20f., iv. 30–31, and contrast 2 Bar. liv. 19.

122. **is to defend.** For the idea of the divine glory (= the Shekinah) being a protection to the righteous, cf. the Rabbinic phrase 'to take refuge under the wings of the Shekinah' (*T. B. Shabb.* 31 *a*, &c., of one acknowledging God). Moses when dead lay in its pinions (*Sifre*, 355).

123. **Paradise**, i.e. the heavenly Paradise.

wherein (i.e. in which fruit) **is delight and healing.** For the representation cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12 (Rev. xxii. 2).

125. **of such as have practised abstinence.** The ascetic note here is discernible. For ascetic tendencies in Rabbinic theology cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 277–8.

shall shine above the stars. Cf. Dan. xii. 3 and Matt. xii. 43.

whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness. The conception at the background of the clause is that of sinners being banished to night and darkness (cf. the phrase in the Gospels, 'to be cast forth into the outer darkness,' Matt. viii. 12, &c.). The conception of hell as a place of fire is a distinct and more developed one.

129. **Choose thee life, that thou mayst live.** Cf. Deut. xxx. 19. Such words are interpreted in later Judaism in a deeper sense: 'life' = eternal life, the blessed life in heaven. In the original context 'life' = natural life (regarded as the highest of boons). Cf. Gunkel, *ad loc.*

(5) vii. 132–viii. 62. The seer's doubts still remain. In a fine passage he acknowledges (and implicitly appeals to) the divine mercy and compassion, which are displayed in manifold ways in the present order. This suggests a question which is not directly expressed: Is it possible to reconcile the final perdition of so many with the divine mercy? In reply he is told that the present world is for the many, the future world for the few (vii. 132–viii. 3). Again he asks: Is it possible that God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite care and skill, can have been created only to perish? With this question the seer gives up the problem of the race, and turns to his own people (viii. 4–19). For

S 133 he compassionates those who have not yet come into the world; and gracious, in that he is gracious
134 towards those [v] who return to his law [v]: and longsuffering, because he shows longsuffering to sinners
135, 136 [w] as his creatures [w]; and [x] bountiful [x], since he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact; and of
great mercy, because he multiplies mercies so greatly to those who are in existence, and who have
137 passed away, and who are to come:—for if he did not multiply [y] mercy [y] the world with its
138 inhabitants could not attain unto life—[z] and good (?), for if in his goodness he were not gracious [z], so
that evil-doers might be eased of their iniquities, the ten thousandth part of mankind could not attain
139 unto life; and [a] forgiving, for if he did not pardon [a] those that were created by his word, and blot
140 out the multitude [b] of their iniquities [b], there would, perchance, be very few left of an innumerable
multitude.

8 1 And he answered me and said: This age the Most High has made for many, but the age to come
2 for few. I will tell thee, now, a similitude, *Ezra*: as, when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto
thee that it produces much more mould from which earthen vessels are made, but little dust from
3 which gold comes; so also is [c] the course [c] of the present age. Many have been created, but few
shall be saved!

[v–v] *so* S *Ethiop.* L [illis] qui faciunt conversionem in lege eius
[w–w] L quasi suis operibus
[x–x] *reading* munificus: S (*cf. Ethiop.*) giver
[y–y] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop.*) L >
[z–z] *reading* et donator
quoniam si non donaverit (*see EA*, p. 167 f.)
[a–a] L et iudex (quoniam) si non ignoverit: *Simonsen reads*: and the righteous judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon (*see EA*, p. 169)
[b–b] L contemptionum = των αθετηματων: S of their sins (= των αδικηματων)
[c–c] L actus (= πραξις:

---

them and for himself he utters a beautiful prayer, appealing to God to have compassion on those who are destitute of good works (viii. 20–36). The angel briefly replies (viii. 37–40), and proceeds to compare man on the earth to seed. As the husbandman sows much seed, but only part comes up, so out of the multitude of created men only a part shall be saved. The seer answers that much seed perishes for lack or because of excess of rain, and once again appeals to the divine compassion (viii. 41–45). The divine reply that follows (viii. 46–62) constitutes a general answer to what precedes. The seer is told that his love falls far below God's for God's creature; his (the seer's) humility is, however, commended, and he is assured of felicity with the righteous. He is bidden to ask no more questions regarding the fate of the lost, who have brought their doom upon themselves.

(*a*) vii. 132–viii. 3. The seer, in his fine appeal to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness, obviously has in mind the passage of Scripture which has become classical in this connexion, Exod. xxxiv. 6–7 ('Jahveh . . . a God compassionate and gracious, longsuffering and of great mercy and faithfulness; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). This had already become a stereotyped formula of address to or description of God when the later books of the O. T. were written, and many reminiscences of the language used occur (cf. e. g. Neh. ix. 17, Joel ii. 13, Jonah iv. 2, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, &c.; also Sirach ii. 11 and Wisd. xv. 1). The passage is doubtless based upon, or interweaves, a Midrash on Exod. xxxiv. 6–7, as Prof. Simonsen holds; see further *EA*, pp. 164–165.

132. **those who have not yet come into the world.** God, in spite of His foreknowledge which enables Him to foresee man's future sins before he is born, is yet tender and compassionate towards him, treating him as righteous and free from sin until he actually commits sin; cf. *Midr. rabb.* to Gen. xxi. 17, where God says 'I judge man' (as to whether he is righteous or wicked) 'according to his time' (i.e. as he is at the time, without taking into account his future sins). In the passage Ishmael (not yet having sinned) is counted as pious.

133. **who return to his law.** God compassionates man both before he sins (*v.* 132), and also after he has sinned and made his repentance.

135. **he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact.** Cf. the following (from *Seder Eliahu*, p. 135): 'God bestows gifts on those who know him and on those who know him not and do not deserve his gifts.' Simonsen understands the clause to mean: God is ready to forgive guilt rather than exact punishment.

137. **could not attain unto life**, i.e. the future (eternal) 'life'. This agrees with the doctrine of the school of Shammai, according to which the truly pious passed at once, after death, to bliss; the very wicked went at once to Gehenna; while the intermediate class (which comprised the vast majority) were only consigned to Gehenna for a time, God's goodness and kindness being shown in allowing their release therefrom, so that they ultimately passed to eternal life (so Simonsen).

138. **and good (?), for if in his goodness**, &c. On the textual phenomena of this verse cf. *EA*, p. 167.

139. **forgiving.** The Lat. has *iudex*, judge; so the other versions. This has usually been supposed to be based on an erroneous reading in the original Hebrew text (שופט for שומט). For a brilliant alternative solution (by Simonsen) see crit. note.

140. **very few.** Simonsen's suggestion is to read the text of *vv.* 139-140: 'and the righteous Judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon,' &c. (Heb. וישפט בצדקה אשר לא ישא פנים וגו). This affords a fine paraphrase of Exod. xxxiv. 7 ('forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). God's attributes of mercy are pleaded all through the passage, and the conclusion reached is that if God did not possess these attributes nearly all created would be involved in perdition. This accords with one of the traditional interpretations of the words which follow the second clause of Exod. xxxiv. 7 cited above, viz. ונקה לא ינקה; i.e. (according to the interpretation referred to) 'He will not utterly extinguish'.

The seer thus, as Moses himself (Num. xiv. 17–18), pleads the revelation of God's attributes made in Exod. xxxiv. 6–7 in mitigation of the severity of the divine judgement. He does so, however, in a paraphrastic form which suggests a midrashic influence.

viii. 3. **Many . . . created . . . few . . . saved.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 14. The illustration in *vv.* 1–3 is parallel both in thought and expression with vii. 49-61.

(*b*) viii. 4–19. *Can God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite skill and labour, perish finally?* (S.)

4 And I answered and said:
[d] O my soul, drink thy fill of understanding [d],
And, [e] O heart [e], [f] feed on wisdom [f]!
5 [g] Involuntarily thou camest (into the world),
and when thou willest not departest [g]:
6 for [h] permission [h] has been given to thee only to live a brief time. [i] O Lord above us [i], if thou wouldst but suffer thy servant to pray before thee; and wouldst give unto us the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding, whence fruit may come, whereby every corruptible one may
7 be able to live, who bears [j] the form of man [j]! For one art thou [k] and we are all one fashioning,
8 the work of thine hands [k], as thou hast said. [l] And when [l] thou quickenest [m] the body which thou fashionest in the womb [m], and endowest it with members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water, and nine months does that which thou hast fashioned (i. e. the womb) bear thy creature [n] which thou
9 hast created within it [n]. But [o] that which keeps and that which is kept [o] are both kept [p] by thy
10 keeping [p]. And when the womb gives up again [q] what has been created in it [q], thou hast commanded that out of the members themselves, [r] that is out of the breasts [r], milk, the fruit of the breasts, should
11 be provided, that what has been fashioned may be nourished for a time.
12 And afterwards thou sustainest it in thy mercy
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
Thou disciplinest it through thy law,
and reprovest it in thy wisdom.
13 Thou wilt kill it—as (it is) thy creature,
and quicken it—as (it is) thy work!
14 If, then, [s] with a light word [s] thou shalt destroy him who with such infinite labour has been
15 fashioned by thy command, '[t] to what purpose was he made [t]? But now I will say: Concerning man in general, [u] thou knowest best [u], but concerning

Heb. דרך) [d–d] *so* S = absorbe anima mea sensum: *Lat. MSS.* absolve [e–e] *cf.* S my heart: *Ethiop.* = το ους (? *for* τον νουν): L > [f–f] L devoret quod sapit (Greek ? καταφαγε το φρονουν) [g–g] *so* S: L (*misreading* ακουσα *as* ακουσαι) convenisti enim obaudire et profecta es nolens [h–h] L spatium (= ? συγχωρησις (*cf.* S power) [i–i] L O Domine super nos (*so v.* 45): S O Lord my Lord (*so v.* 45) [j–j] *so* S: L locum hominis (*confusing* τοπον *and* τυπον) [k–k] *so* S: L et una plasmatio nos sumus manuum tuarum [l–l] L et quoniam (= και οτι: *for* οτε) [m–m] L nunc in matrice plasmatum corpus (= *prob.* הבשׂר שׁאתה יוצר בבטן—*the two middle words being misread* שׁעתה יצור) [n–n] *so* S: L quae in eo creata est [o–o] *reading* ipsum [quod servat et] quod servatur (C) = S *A C* > *words in brackets* [p–p] *reading* servatione tua = S *Ethiop.* [q–q] *reading* quae in ea creata fuerint [r–r] L [membris] hoc est mamillis: S > [*clause may be a gloss*] [s–s] L facili ordine (= κουφη ταξει: *Heb.* ? בדבר קל [Gunkel]): S suddenly and quickly [t–t] L et ut quid (= ινα τι και: *Heb.* ולמה): *so Oriental VSS.* [u–u] L tu magis scis (= συ μαλλον οιδας)

(*b*) viii. 4–19.

4. **O my soul . . . feed on wisdom.** The sentiment expressed in this verse serves to reveal the seer's despair of being able to solve the problem by intellectual means. As the discussion proceeds it seems to become ever more unfathomable.

5. **Involuntarily thou camest . . . departest.** Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 14 f.; also xiv. 11.
only to live a brief time. Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 12.

6. **the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding.** S renders: 'the seed and culture of a new heart.' Possibly 'seed of a new heart' is right. In this case the seer asks for that 'transformation by the renewing of the mind' (τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός), of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. xii. 2; cf. Eph. iv. 23), and which amounts to ἀναγεννήσις. The *cor malignum* is to be replaced by a *cor novum*, and the *granum seminis mali* (iv. 30) by the *semen cordis novi*. The epithet 'new' is only found in the Syr.
whereby . . . may . . . live, who bears the form of man. The meaning of the whole verse is well paraphrased by Volkmar: 'O that thou wouldst grant unto thy human children not merely physical life, but also the seed of spiritual life and understanding to be cultivated (by them), so that thereby they might attain true life!'

7. **as thou hast said.** Isa. xlv. 11, lx. 21; cf. lxv. 14 f. The combination of the assertion of God's uniqueness and unity (*solus enim es*) and of His Fatherhood as the one Creator of all is notable; cf. vi. 1–6.

8. **thy creature is preserved in fire and water.** There is here a clear allusion to the Oriental doctrine that man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements ('the things that have intermingled with thy growth', iv. 10, cf. note there). Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51, where the human body is spoken of as compounded from earth, water, air, and fire: for Rabbinic views on the same subject cf. Weber, p. 210 f.
and nine months . . . bear thy creature which thou hast created within it, i. e. within the womb.

13. **Thou wilt kill it . . . quicken it . . . thy work.** Volkmar paraphrases: 'Thou wilt indeed bring man to death, as he is a creature of thine: but thou wilt—such is my hope—summon him also to renewed life, because thou hast once given him (physical) life.' Cf. for a somewhat similar sentiment 1 Sam. ii. 6 ('J. kills and makes alive: he brings down to Sheol and brings up'). The reference will then be to the future life: 'quicken' may, however, mean only 'to preserve alive' (God kills, or allows 'His creature' to live, as He will, viz. in this life). Cf. also 2 Kings v. 7; Deut. xxxii. 39.

14. **him who with such infinite labour has been fashioned.** Cf. Ps. cxxxix. 14 f.

S 16 Thy people, on whose account I grieve,
and thine inheritance for which I mourn,
And Israel for whom I am sad,
and Jacob's seed for whom I am dismayed—
17 [v] Therefore I would fain pray before thee for myself and for them! For I see [w] the falls [w] of us
18 that dwell in the land, [x] and now also [x] have heard [y] the decree of judgement [y] that is to come!
19 Therefore hear my voice,
and [z] consider my words [z],
and let me speak before thee!

(*c*) viii. (19 *b*) 20–40. *The seer's prayer for compassion on his people, and the divine reply* (S).

(i.)

The Prayer.

19 [a] [*The beginning* [b] *of the words of the Prayer* [b] *of Ezra before he was taken up. And he said:*] [a]

20 O Lord [c] that dwellest eternally [c],
[d] whose are the highest heavens [d],
whose chambers are in the air,
21 Whose throne is beyond imagination,
whose glory inconceivable;

[v] S for behold [w–w] L lapsos (= lapsus: ? *τα πτωματα*) [x–x] *so* S: L sed [y–y] *so* S: L celeritatem iudicii (= *αποτομιαν κρισεως*: *Heb.* גזר דין: *cf.* partem iudicii, v. 34) [z–z] L intellege sermonum meorum (*Greek construction*): S accept the words of my prayer [a–a] *This superscription is no part of the original text of the book; but it must have come into the text very early, as it is attested by* S *and Ethiop. Its presence shows clearly that the passage was early singled out for separate use for liturgical or devotional purposes* [b–b] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop.*): L (*b*) verbi orationis (*a*) verborum [c–c] *so* S: L qui inhabitas (*b* habitas) saeculum [d–d] *so* L (*b*) cuius altissimi celi (= caeli) sunt: *cf.* S whose heights (= heavens) are exalted: L (*a*) cuius oculi elati

16. **thine inheritance.** Cf. *v.* 45; Ps. xxviii. 9.
Jacob's seed. Cf. iii. 19.

(*c*) viii. (19 *b*) 20–40. The beautiful prayer which follows (viii. 20–36) opens with an invocation to God as the eternal, exalted, and omnipotent One, who is appealed to as the Creator to listen to the petition of one who is His creature (*vv.* 20–25); a prayer that God will have compassion on His people and regard those who have been loyal to His Law rather than its transgressors follows (*vv.* 26–30); finally an appeal is made to the fact that God has in the past been so longsuffering towards the sinners of His people (here the intermingling of appeal and confession is noticeable, *vv.* 31–36). Here as elsewhere in the Apocalypse the seer identifies himself with the sinners (cf. *v.* 32). The first part of the divine reply that follows (*vv.* 37–40), while apparently favourable to the seer's petition, really ignores or even negatives it. God will indeed, says the angel, have regard rather to the righteous than to the sinners. He will rejoice over the salvation of the former rather than grieve over, or even think of, the destruction of the latter! The issue is not squarely faced. For a similar indirect reply to the same issue expressed in another form cf. vii. 17 f.; cf. also vii. 64 compared with vii. 71 f.

The apocalyptic writer is still baffled by the problem of the lost. He is still struggling to arrive at a satisfactory solution from the point of view of the Law. One motive of the prayer seems to be to suggest the possibility that the merits of the righteous might avail for the salvation of sinners in Israel—the sinners intended being, it would seem, those mainly who repudiate the divine Law with a high hand and live as the very heathen (cf. *vv.* 27–30). But the divine reply makes it clear that no such hope can be entertained. Thus the problem of the lost, even when restricted to Israel, remains unsolved. The beauty of the prayer itself has led to its being excerpted and used for liturgical and devotional purposes. As a consequence the Latin manuscript authorities for this particular passage are more numerous than for the text of the rest of the book. It occurs in a separate form in a number of MSS. of the Latin Bible, and also in MSS. of the Mozarabic Liturgy, some of which are earlier than Codices A and S (cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 34). The title often prefixed to the passage is *Confessio Esdrae*.

Another curious and important fact to notice is that the Latin authorities yield two distinct recensions of the text: i. e. two distinct and more or less independent Latin translations of the Greek text of the passage appear to have been made at different times: but, strangely enough, neither recension seems to be represented in a pure form in any extant MS. The two recensions have been reconstructed (with the aid of fresh manuscript evidence) by Violet; and these are referred to below as text *a* (= the normal text of the liturgical MSS. and of S A C) and text *b* (= the divergent text especially represented in M). Both recensions attest good Greek readings, and it is impossible to say which is the older. See further the detailed discussion in *BJ* ('The Two Texts of the Confessio Esdrae'), pp. lxxx-lxxxvi; also Violet, Introduction, § 13 (pp. xxvi-xxix). There is a prayer in 2 Baruch which similarly has a separate title ('Prayer of Baruch'), ch. xlviii. The prayer in *Constit. Apost.* viii. 7 should also be compared.

20. **whose are the highest heavens.** For the general thought cf. Ps. ciii. 11; Deut. x. 14.

whose chambers are in the air. The figure is derived from an older conception according to which the world was thought of as a house consisting of two stories, in the upper of which God had His dwelling, while the lower formed the world as we see it (Gunkel). Here, however, transcendental ideas are dominant. Perhaps the heavenly Paradise was in the writer's mind.

21. **throne is beyond imagination.** The mystery of God's throne is the theme of Ezek. i ('the chariot').

whose glory inconceivable. God's glory would suggest to the Jewish mind the ineffable light of the divine presence which pervades heaven; cf. Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

[e] before whom (heaven's) hosts stand trembling [e],
[f] and at thy word change to wind and fire [f];
22 whose word is sure,
and behest constant,
23 whose commandment is strong
and enactment terrible;
whose look drieth up the depths,
whose indignation melteth the mountains;
whose faithfulness [g] standeth eternal [g]—
24 Hear [h] the voice [h] of thy servant,
give ear to [i] thy creature's petition [i],
and attend to my words!
25 For so long as I live must I speak,
and while I possess understanding, answer—
26 O look not on the sins of thy people,
but on them that have served thee in truth;
27 Regard not the deeds of the godless,
but (rather) them that have kept thy covenants in tortures;
28 [j] Think not [j] upon those that have walked in devious ways before thee,
but remember them that have willingly recognized thy fear;
29 Will not to destroy those that have lived like cattle,
but regard them that have gloriously taught thy Law;
30 Be not wroth with those that are deemed worse than the beasts,
but love them that have always put their trust in thy glory—

[e-e] 𝔏 (*a*) cui adstat exercitus angelorum cum tremore: (*b*) cui adsunt (*v. l.* assistunt) milicie (militiae) cum pavore [f-f] 𝔏 (*b*) et dicto tuo in ventum et ignem convertuntur (= 𝔖; *cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 (*a*) quorum servatio in vento et igni convertitur [g-g] *so Ar.*[2] (*rightly*): 𝔏 testificatur = 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): *The Greek translator wrongly rendered the Heb.* עמדת לעד (*which* = standeth for ever) *as* standeth as a witness (*misreading* לעד *as* לְעֵד): *apparently the mistake was corrected in the Codex used by Ar.*[2] [h-h] *so* 𝔏 (*b*) = 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 (*a*) *and Ar*[2] prayer [i-i] *so* 𝔏 (*a*): 𝔏 (*b*) deprecationi meae tui plasmati = *other VSS.* [j-j] 𝔏 neque cogites (= μηδε λογιζου): *so* 𝔖: *Ethiop.* be not angry (= μη οργιζου): *so* Ar.[1]

and at thy word change to wind and fire. The meaning is that the angelic watchers serve before God by changing at His word into wind and fire. Cf. for the representation Ps. ciii. (Heb. civ.) 4 in the LXX, which renders: 'who makes his angels winds (πνεύματα) and his ministers a flaming fire'. The Heb. text of the passage can be rendered in this way, though it is not usually so rendered (cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses*[2], p. 262 f.); our passage, therefore, is an interesting addition to the ancient authorities (LXX, Targ. substantially) for so understanding it. The reference here to angelic agency must not, however, be unduly pressed. One of the most remarkable features of 4 Ezra (and especially of S) is its practical ignoring of angelic and demonic agencies. Our present passage is in a poetical context and implies little more than that behind physical phenomena there is to be seen the activity of agents in the service of God. Of the crude popular angelology, with its distinct orders and personal names, there is here no trace.

22. **constant.** Lat. text *a*, *perseverantia*; text *b*, *permanens* = (?) διαμένον. The Heb. equivalent would be יָצִיב: cf. Ps. cxix. (LXX, cxviii.) 89, where *permanet* (Vulg.) = διαμένει (LXX) = Heb. נִצָּב and the subject is God's 'word' ('thy word is fixed in heaven'). There seems to be a clear allusion here to one of the oldest prayers in the synagogue liturgy, the benediction which follows the *Shĕma* and is known as *gĕ'ulla* (Redemption). This piece begins with the two words used in our passage, viz. 'sure (or 'true') and constant' (Heb. אמת ויציב), and is so referred to in the oldest Rabbinical sources (cf. e.g. Mishna, *Tamîd* v. 1); and the subject of the opening part of the benediction is God's word: 'True and constant, established and enduring . . . is this thy word (i.e. the preceding *Shĕma*) unto us for ever,' &c. (cf. Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (Heb.-English), p. 42 f.).

23. **whose look drieth up . . . eternal.** The whole of this clause appears in the *Const. Apost.* viii. 7 οὗ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἄβυσσον καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The seer here appeals to the wonders of creation (according to an older tradition) as attesting God's power. Cf. in Deutero-Isaiah a similar passage (l. 2) introduced with a similar motive and reference ('Behold with my rebuke I parch the sea'); cf. also li. 10 and the introductions to the sections in the present writer's *Isaiah*.

melteth the mountains. An eschatological feature derived from the representation of the destruction of the world by fire; cf. Mic. i. 4; Sir. xvi. 18 f.

27. **them that have kept thy covenants in tortures.** Such witnesses for the faith as the famous seven Maccabean martyrs are probably referred to.

28. **thy fear,** i.e. the fear of Thee. 'The fear of Jahveh' is a well-known term for religion, or the Law as revered (cf. Ps. xix. 10).

29. **those that have lived like cattle.** Probably Jews who live like heathen are in the author's mind. See *EA*, p. 181.

that have gloriously taught thy Law, i.e. the orthodox scribes. For the expression cf. Dan. xii. 3, Matt. v. 14–15.

30. **those that are deemed worse than the beasts,** i.e. live worse than the heathen (a class of Jews even worse than those described in the previous verse). Is there an allusion here to Jewish informers who betray their own countrymen to heathen officials?

S 31 For we and our fathers [k]have passed our lives in ways that bring death[k]: but thou, because of
32 us sinners, art called compassionate. For if thou hast a desire to compassionate us who have no
33 works of righteousness, then shalt thou be called 'the gracious One'. For the righteous, who have many works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive their reward—

34 But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?
Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?

35 For in truth
There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,
and [l]among those that exist[l] who has not sinned.

36 For in this, O Lord, shall thy righteousness and goodness be declared, if thou wilt compassionate them that have no wealth of good works.

(ii.)

The Divine Reply.

37 Then he answered me and said: Some things thou hast spoken aright, and according to thy
38 words so shall it come to pass. For indeed I will not concern myself about the creation of those
39 who have sinned, or their death, judgement, or perdition; but I will rejoice (rather)[m] over the creation
40 of the righteous, (over) their pilgrimage also and their salvation and their recompense[m]. [n]As thou hast spoken[n], then, so shall it be!

(*d*) viii. 41–45. *Mankind is like the seed sown by the husbandman* (S).

[*The speaker here is still the angel.*]

41 For just as the husbandman sows much seed [o]upon the ground[o] and plants a multitude of plants, and yet not all which were sown shall be saved in due season, nor shall all that were planted take
42 root; so also they that are sown in the world shall not all be saved. And I answered and said: If
43 I have found favour before thee, let me speak[p]. [q r]The husbandman's seed, if it come not up—because it has not received thy rain in due season[r]—or if it be ruined by too much rain, [s]perishes;
44 but the son of man[s] who has been fashioned with thine own hands, [t]and is made like thine own image[t], for whose sake thou hast fashioned all things—[u]hast thou likened him to the seed of the husbandman[u]?

45 [v]Nay, Lord God![v] but
spare thy people,
compassionate thine inheritance,
for thou compassionatest thine own creation!

[k–k] *reading* (𝔏 *text a*) mortalibus moribus egimus (𝔏 (*b*) corruptum locum egimus = φθαρτον τοπον [*for* τροπον] διηχθημεν): *see further EA*, p. 182 [l–l] 𝔏 (*a*) de confitentibus (*read* confientibus = συνεστηκοτων): *see further EA*, p. 184) [m–m] 𝔏 super iustorum figmentum peregrinationis quoque et salvationis et mercedis receptionis (*for explanation of wrong construction see EA*, p. 185) [n–n] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 *and other VSS.* as I have said [o–o] *so* 𝔏 = *Ar.*; 𝔖 *Ethiop.* > [p] 𝔖 + before thee (*cf. Ethiop.*) [q] 𝔏 *pr.* quoniam (= οτι *introducing direct speech, and therefore not to be translated*: *R.V. wrongly* forasmuch) [r–r] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 will then the husbandman's seed, if it does not receive thy rain in its season, live? [s–s] *reading* (*with Gunkel*) sic patitur; et filius homo (𝔏 *corrupt*: M sic pat et filius: *S A C* hic pater et filius: *see further EA*, p. 187) [t–t] 𝔏 et tuae imagini [nominatus quoniam] similatus est: *the bracketed words are to be omitted with* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): *see further EA*, p. 187 [u–u] *to be taken as a question: so Oriental VSS.* [v–v] *reading* non Domine super nos

33. **shall . . . receive their reward.** Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 12.

34. **that thou canst be so bitter towards it.** The whole verse recalls the bitter parody in Job vii. 17 f.; cf. Ps. viii. 4.

37. **according to thy words . . . shall it come to pass.** The angel refers to the form the seer's petition had taken: that God would regard not the sinners but the righteous. This part of the petition shall be granted, but in a totally different sense from that intended in the prayer. God will ignore the destruction of the godless, and think only of the achievements of the righteous! For a similar turning of expressions in the dialogue cf. vii. 64, 71 f.

39. **over the creation . . . recompense.** The three words, 'pilgrimage', 'salvation', 'recompense', form contrasted expressions to 'death', 'judgement', and 'perdition' in the previous verse: so 'pilgrimage' (= ἀποδημία) must mean departure from this life to a better, a return home to God; cf. 2 Cor. v. 6 f. for the idea. 'Salvation' here may mean the state of safety, security, and peace of the righteous dead in the intermediate state.

(*d*) viii. 41–45.

44. **hast thou likened him . . . husbandman?** To be taken as a question (against R.V.); so the Oriental Versions rightly. The seer warmly protests against the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels. For the image cf. also 4 Ezra iv. 28 f.

45. **for thou compassionatest thine own creation**, i.e. for (in doing so) thou compassionatest (or wilt compassionate); the creature appeals to the Creator. Note the passionate, almost despairing note of entreaty. The seer is all but overwhelmed with anguish in the face of the problem that confronts him.

(*e*) viii. 46–62. *The final divine reply: The seer is assured that his lot is with the blessed, and is bidden to contemplate their felicity, and not to think of the fate of sinners* (S).

46 And he answered me and said:
Things present (match) them of the present,
Things future them of the future!
47 For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I!
Thou, however, hast many times [w] ranged thyself with [w] the ungodly. [x] This must not be! [x]
48, 49 But even on this account thou shalt be honourable before the Most High; because thou hast humbled thyself, as it becomes thee, [y] and hast not assigned thyself a place [y] among the righteous;
50 and so thou shalt receive the greater glory. [z] For [z] with many afflictions shall they be afflicted that
51 inhabit the world in the last times, because they have walked in great pride. But do thou (rather) [a] think of thine own case [a], and of them who are like thyself search out the glory.
52 For for you
is opened Paradise,
planted the Tree of life;
the future Age prepared,
plenteousness made ready;

[w–w] 𝔏 te et ipsum proximasti [iniustis] [x–x] *so* 𝔖 (= μη ουτως): 𝔏 numquam (= μηποτε) [y–y] 𝔏 et non iudicasti te [z–z] *so* 𝔖 (= οτι): 𝔏 propter quod (= διοτι) [a–a] 𝔏 pro te intellege

---

(*e*) viii. 46–62. In the reply that follows the angel lightly brushes aside the seer's objection to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the field, by reminding him that the simile suits the present corruptible order; with the future it will be different. Moreover, God's love of His creatures far exceeds that of any other being. A remarkable passage follows in which the seer's self-identification with sinners is partly rebuked and partly commended. He is told not to range himself with the ungodly, but his humility in doing so is commended. Many shall be brought to ruin in the last times by the sin of pride. But let the seer contemplate the glory that awaits him with other righteous—the delights of Paradise, and the abolition of evil, death, and corruption. Let no more questions be asked as to the lost, who have deserved their fate, because they have defied the Most High, and scorned the benefits prepared for them. The conclusion of this section, which follows in ix. 13–22, sets forth the almost total corruption of the world as due to man's sin. Only a remnant of the sinful mass has been rescued with difficulty and by the grace of God.

Here we have the apologia of orthodox Judaism as S conceived it. It is the best answer that can be furnished, from the orthodox standpoint, to meet the objections and difficulties that have been raised; and with it the seer has, perforce to be content. But, at the best, his doubts and perplexities can only have been stilled, they cannot have been really satisfied, by such a reply.

46. **Things present . . . future.** Gunkel renders crisply: 'Heute den heutigen, einst den Einstigen!' For the form of the sentence cf. vii. 25 (*vacua vacuis et plena plenis*). Hilg. renders: τὰ παρόντα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς μέλλουσι; i.e. present things are like present people, &c. The angel brushes aside the seer's objection (raised in *v.* 44) to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields, by reminding him that both the comparison and the thing compared belonged to the present order; the future (and all that belongs to it) has standards of its own. Here, again, the dualism of present and future is marked. Cf. vii. 16.

47. **to love my creation.** Cf. v. 33, note.

50. **in the last times.** It should be remembered, however, that the conceptions of S and E regarding 'the last times' are very different. While S thinks of this period as an evil time, when a generation lives that is distinguished by overweening arrogance and pride, and upon which judgement will descend suddenly, according to E the last period is to be a time of felicity for a righteous generation (cf. vi. 26–28), while according to R the final period is the (temporary) Messianic one of 400 years (vii. 28–29).

because they have walked in great pride. The emphasis laid by the author on the virtue of humility and the sin of pride is remarkable. The latter was a conspicuous and besetting fault of a section of the Pharisaic party in the first half of the first century (cf. Mark xii. 38 f., Matt. xxiii. 5 f.; cf. also for a more general reference Luke xiv. 7–11); and the present passage seems to be directed by the author against some of his contemporaries (end of first century A.D.).

51. **of them who are like thyself,** i.e. those whose destiny is like thine own—the righteous dead who in the intermediate state enjoy righteousness and peace, and who are to enjoy even greater glory after the Judgement. Here Salathiel is the subject. Contrast xiv. 9, where Ezra is the subject.

52. **for you is opened Paradise.** In *vv.* 52–54 the 'glory' spoken of in *v.* 51 is unfolded in a series of explicit references detailing the happy accompaniments of the future life of the righteous in heaven. In accordance with a mode of representation common in apocalyptic literature these various sources of happiness and delight are declared to be already in existence, prepared beforehand and held in reserve for the future delectation of the righteous. The contemplation of these future joys is regarded as a source of perennial consolation to the faithful in their trials and tribulations on earth: cf. in the N.T. such passages as 1 Pet. i. 4 ('an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you,' &c.); Heb. xi. 16, &c. See further Volz, p. 124 f.

By 'Paradise' here is meant the heavenly Paradise, which was shut up on account of Adam's sin, and which will be opened after the last Judgement to receive the righteous and elect. See, further, the additional note in *EA*, p. 195.

planted the Tree of life. The idealized 'Tree of Life' is one of the striking features of the heavenly Paradise on which the apocalyptists love to dwell. Cf. vii. 123; Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2; 1 En. xxiv f.

S a City builded,
a Rest appointed;
[b] Good works established [b],
[c] wisdom preconstituted [c];
53 The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
[d] Hades fled away [d];
[e] Corruption forgotten [e],
sorrows passed away;
54 and in the end [f] the treasures of immortality [f] are made manifest.
55, 56 Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish; for having received liberty
they despised the Most High;
scorned his Law,
and [g] forsook [g] his ways:
57, 58 Moreover [h] his saints [h] they have trodden under foot; and have said in their heart that there
59 is no God—yea, though knowing full well that they must die. [i] Therefore as [i] the things aforesaid
[j] abide for you [j], so thirst and anguish [k] await them [k]. For the Most High willed not that men
60 should come to destruction; but they—his creatures—have themselves defiled the Name of him
that made them, and have proved themselves ungrateful to him who prepared [l] life for them [l].
61, 62 Therefore my judgement is now nigh at hand; and this I have not made known unto all men,
but only unto thee and to a few like thee.

(6) The Signs of the End reviewed and applied to the Author's own Times (R) (E).

(viii. 63–ix. 12.)

R 63 Then I answered and said: Behold, O Lord, thou hast already shown me a great number of the signs which thou art about to do in the last times, but at what time thou hast not shown me.

[b–b] perfecta est bonitas [c–c] 𝔏 ante perfecta sapientia [d–d] 𝔏 infernum fugit [e–e] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 et corruptio in oblivionem, *which joined with the previous clause* infernum fugit *has led to the rendering* 'hell and corruption are fled into forgetfulness' (*R. V.*) [f–f] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 thesaurus immortalitatis [g–g] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.* (= κατελιπον): 𝔖 they made to cease (= κατελυον) [h–h] *so* 𝔖 (= τους οσιους αυτου): 𝔏 iustos eius (= τους δικαιους αυτου): *so Ethiop.* [i–i] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 sicut enim [j–j] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 vos suscipient [k–k] 𝔏 quae parata sunt *which prob. disguises a verb* (= ? μελλει Heb. עתיד)

---

a City builded, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem which will more than compensate for the loss of the earthly city. Apparently S did not contemplate a restoration or rebuilding of the earthly Jerusalem. See further, *EA*, p. 198 f.

a Rest appointed. The 'rest of God' is the final sabbath-rest (σαββατισμός, Heb. iv. 9) which awaits the people of God.

Good works established (founded). Cf. Eph. ii. 10.

wisdom preconstituted. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

53. **The (evil) root is sealed up from you.** Cf. iii. 22.

Death is hidden. For the abolition of death cf. Isa. xxv. 8; 2 En. lxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 14.

Hades fled away. Cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 3; notice the personification of Hades, as in Rev. vi. 8. For the juxtaposition of Death and Hades cf. Isa. xxviii. 15; Rev. i. 18, xx. 12, 14.

54. **and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest.** The sequence of thought in *vv.* 53–54 is noticeable; first the sources of sin are abolished, then its consequences (death, Hades, corruption, sorrows), and lastly the positive boons of the future life are revealed (the treasures of immortality).

59. **thirst and anguish.** For the representation cf. Luke xvi. 24.

62. **to a few like thee,** i.e. prophets (apocalyptists) like Salathiel or Ezra.

(6) viii. 63–ix. 12. At this point the divine reply in the dialogue (of S) is interrupted by a section which has obvious affinities with the eschatological sections describing the signs of the approaching End, derived from the older source E (iv. 56–v. 13*a*, vi. 11–28). It has been inserted in its present position by R, who, as in vii. 26–44, has embodied other material summarized partly from S. The composite character of the section as thus described will appear from an examination of its contents.

The seer begins by asking to be informed something as to the time of the End. He is told in reply to note carefully that when a certain number of the predicted signs are past, that is the very time when the Most High will visit the world (ix. 2). A short enumeration of the Messianic 'woes' follows—describing a time of physical, social, and political convulsions (ix. 3). This is particularly interesting here as it seems clear that R intends this description to apply to the times in which he himself is living (ix. 4–6). All who are able to escape by works or by faith shall see God's salvation (i.e. the Messianic Age that precedes the End of the world) within the borders of the Holy Land, which has been sanctified from the beginning (ix. 7, 8). The verses that follow (ix. 9–12) recall the tone of S, and have probably been derived in some way from that source by R. They describe the punishment and pains of those who have defied the Law and been unbelieving. Their punishment comes immediately after death, in accordance

1 And he answered me and said: Measure (the matter) carefully in thy mind, and when thou seest
2 that [m] a certain part [m] of the predicted signs are past, then shalt thou understand that it is the very
3 time when the Most High is about to visit the world which he has made. When in the world there
shall appear
[n] quakings of places [n],
tumult of peoples,
[o] schemings of nations [o],
[p] confusion of leaders [p],
disquietude of princes,
4 then shalt thou understand that it is of these things the Most High has spoken since the days that
5 were aforetime from the beginning. For just as [q] with respect to all that has happened in the world [q]
6 [r] the beginning is obscure (?), but the end (issue) manifest [r], so also are the times of the Most High:
the beginnings [s] are [visible] [s] [t] in portents and secret signs [t], and the end [u] in effects and marvels [u].
7 And every one that shall (then) be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his
8 faith [v] by which he has believed [v], [w] such shall survive [w] from the perils aforesaid, and shall see my
9 salvation in my land, and within my borders which I have sanctified for myself eternally. Then
shall they be amazed that now have abused my ways; they shall abide in the torments which they
10 have spurned and despised. For [x] all who [x] failed to recognize me in their lifetime, [y] although
11 I dealt bountifully with them [y]; and all who have defied my Law, while they yet had liberty, and,
12 while place of repentance was still open to them, gave no heed but scorned (it); these must be
brought to know after death by torment.

[1–1] 𝔏 eis nunc vitam [m–m] *reading* pars quaedam (*so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.*) [n–n] 𝔏 motio locorum (= κινησις τοπων) [o–o] 𝔏 gentium cogitationes (? *read* coagitationes) [p–p] 𝔏 ducum inconstantia (= ηγεμονων ακαταστασια) [q–q] 𝔏 omne quod factum est in saeculo (*casus pendens*) [r–r] 𝔏 *corrupt*: 𝔖 the beginning is known and the end manifest: *perhaps Greek had* εν αφανει . . . εν εμφανει: *see further EA*, p. 202 [s–s] 𝔏 manifesta: *so* 𝔖 [t–t] 𝔏 in prodigiis et virtutibus = εν τερασι και δυναμεσι (δυναμις = תעלומה *Job xi.* 6 LXX: *see further EA*, p. 203) [u–u] *so Ethiop.*: 𝔏 in actu et in signis (*reading* σημασιοις *for* θαυμασιοις) [v–v] *reading* in qua credidit [w–w] *reading* is relinquetur [x–x] 𝔏 quotquot (= οσοι) [y–y] *so* 𝔖: 𝔏 beneficia consecuti

---

with the theology of S, whereas the older view is that punishment only comes completely after the resurrection; while it is partly effected by the destruction of the ungodly in the wars and tumults which precede the Messianic Age, and which the righteous survive.

The inconsistency of the section, as a whole, with S can easily be shown (see *EA*, p. 200). The whole section is a compilation from the hand of R, who has drawn partly upon E (ix. 3, 7, 8), and partly upon S (ix. 9, 12). It thus exhibits phenomena essentially the same as vii. 26–44.

63. **at what time.** Contrast Acts i. 7.

ix. 3. **tumult of peoples.** Cf. Isa. xvii. 13.

4. **then shalt thou understand . . . these things . . . from the beginning.** The author is conscious that the tradition he is citing is extremely old. The antiquity of one element in the eschatological tradition will, perhaps, account for its association with such names as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah—the heroic figures of the primaeval age. See *RWS* (ed. 2), p. 36.

5–6. **For just as . . . marvels.** For text see crit. notes. The point of the saying seems to be that the portents of the last times can be detected and read beforehand by the initiated, though their true significance is missed by the world at large; just as the real significance of the obscure beginnings of things that develop into great events or issues in human life and history generally is only grasped at first by the discerning.

6. **in effects and marvels.** Gunkel renders *v.* 6: 'so also are the times of the Most High: their beginning is in word (i.e. the prophetic word revealed to the apocalyptists referred to in *v.* 4) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels' (*αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐν φωναῖς καὶ ἐν σημείοις, καὶ ἡ συντέλεια ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει*). He compares Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 12, where it is remarked that it is God's property to announce beforehand what is to occur, and then to bring it to pass. For the text adopted by Gunkel cf. *EA*, p. 203.

7. **on account of his works or his faith,** &c. R here combines the statements of S regarding faith and works. Cf. vi. 5, vii. 77.

8. **my salvation,** i.e. the Messianic salvation.

which I have sanctified for myself eternally. The Holy Land as sacrosanct—chosen by God—will be the scene of the Messianic salvation. Cf. xii. 13, 34, xiii. 48, 49; 2 Bar. xxix. 2, xl. 2. The idea of the specially privileged and sacrosanct character of the Holy Land lived on in various forms, even after the destruction of Jerusalem. Cf. Volz, p. 308 f., and see Charles's note on 2 Bar. xxix. 2.

12. **while place of repentance was still open to them.** For the phrase 'place of repentance' cf. Wisd. vii. 10, 20; Heb. xii. 17.

after death by torment. Verses 9–12 represent the point of view of S, and refer to the state of the wicked immediately after death; this representation is essentially inconsistent with the previous verses, which refer to Messianic blessedness.

(7) The Divine Reply concluded: Final Justification of the Fewness of the Saved (S).

(ix. 13–22.)

S 13 So, then, be thou no longer curious as to how the ungodly shall be punished, but inquire (rather) how the righteous [z] shall be saved [z]—they to whom the world (belongs) and for whose sakes, also, the
14, 15 world has come into existence [a]. And I answered and said: I have already said, and say now, and
16 shall say (it) again: There are more who perish than shall be saved, even as the flood is greater than a drop!

17 And he answered me and said:
As is the ground, so the sowings;
as are the flowers, so are the colours;
As is [b] the workman [b], so is the work;
as is the husbandman, so is the threshing-floor—

18 [c] For there was (a time) in the eternal ages when I prepared for those who now exist—before they had come into being—a world wherein they might dwell [c]; and then none gainsaid me—for none
19 existed. But now they that have been created in this world—(a world) made ready with both an unfailing table and an enexplorable pasture—have become corrupt in their manners.

20 Then I considered my world, and lo! it was destroyed;
and my earth, and lo! [d] it was in peril [d]—
on account of [e] the tumults [e] [f] of those who are (living) in it [f].

21 And I saw, and spared (some) [g] with very great difficulty [g], and saved me a grape out of a cluster,
22 and a plant [h] out of a great forest [h]. Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected!

[z–z] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* live (*as often elsewhere*) [a] 𝔏 + et quando: *but other VSS.* > [b–b] 𝔏 opera (= εργασια: *Heb.* פועל: *the latter* = workman *or* work) [c–c] *so* 𝔖; *cf. Ethiop.*: 𝔏 quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent [d–d] 𝔏 erat periculi [e–e] *reading* coagitationes (*for* cogitationes); *cf.* 𝔖 [f–f] *cf. Ethiop.*: 𝔏 quae in eo advenerunt [g–g] 𝔏 vix valde (= πανυ μογις) [h–h] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar.*[1]) = αφ υλης πολλης: 𝔏 de tribu multa (φυλης *for* αφυλης)

---

(7) ix. 13–22. The first verse of this section forms the immediate continuation of viii. 62. The seer had been assured that the Judgement was near at hand, and had been revealed only to him and a few like him. Now he is once again told not to concern himself with the fate of the ungodly, but to fix his attention, rather, on the salvation which the righteous attain (cf. viii. 55). This declaration is not, as Volkmar and, later, Gunkel have supposed, the enunciation of a new subject for discussion in the visions that follow, but merely a recapitulation of what has already been discussed in the former part of the present vision. The seer's reply is also a repetition of former complaints about the large number of those who perish (ix. 15–16). The final form of the divine reply follows (*vv.* 17–22). The evil of the present world is due to man's sin. There was a time—before the generation of men had been created—when none defied the Most High; but now those who have been placed in the world, which has been provided and furnished for their needs, have degenerated and become corrupt. In order that the purpose of Creation shall not be entirely frustrated a few have been spared—'a grape out of a cluster, a plant out of a great forest': 'Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected.'

It should be noted that the preservation of a small remnant from the corrupt mass is due entirely to special efforts on God's part. In other words, it must be attributed entirely to the divine grace.

13. **be thou no longer curious . . . the righteous shall be saved.** Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 48.

15. **more who perish than shall be saved.** Cf. vii. 47.

16. **as the flood is greater than a drop.** Cf. iv. 48–50.

17. **as are the flowers, so are the colours.** Brilliant colouring betokens a beautiful flower.

18. **For there was (a time) in the eternal ages . . . they might dwell.** So 𝔖 (cf. crit. note). The Latin (apparently misreading the Greek, see *EA*, p. 207) renders: *quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent* = 'For there was a time in the world, even then when I was preparing for them that now live, before the world was made for them to dwell in; [and then,' &c.]; R.V. The Latin misses and obscures the point. To say that there was a time in the history of the world—which had been created for man's sake—when sin and rebellion did not exist, viz. before man had appeared on the scene, adds point to the divine indictment of the human race that follows: but to say (as the Latin text says) that before the world was made man did not exist, and therefore could not sin, is banal. The Ethiop. agrees essentially with the Syr. (cf. Violet); but the original Greek text appears to have been in some disorder in the MSS. used by the Latin and Ethiop.

19. **(a world) made ready with both an unfailing table and an unexplorable pasture.** The reference is to Paradise and its marvellous fruits ('an unfailing table') which its trees bear without cessation. The banquet which the righteous are to enjoy in the future world is often referred to (sometimes also in Messianic passages): cf. Rev. ii. 7 ('hidden manna') and see Bousset, *RJ*[2], p. 327: the Greek of the phrase 'an unexplorable (= mysterious) pasture' = (εἰς) νομὸν ἀνεξίχνευτον (Volk.). The Versions read νόμον, 'law', for νομόν, 'pasture' (or ? νομήν): hence 'unsearchable law' (R.V.).

VI. ix. 23–25. Conclusion of the Vision (S).

23 But if [i] thou wilt separate thyself [i] yet seven more days—thou shalt not, however, fast in them,
24 but shalt go into a field of flowers, where no house has been built, and eat only [j] of the fruit of the
25 field [j]; and thou shalt taste no flesh and drink no wine, but (eat) only the fruit—and pray unto the Most High continually, then I will come and talk with thee.

THE FOURTH VISION.

(ix. 26–x. 59.)

I. ix. 26–28. Introduction (S).

26 So I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called [k] Ardat [k], and there I sat among
27 the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field; [l] and the eating thereof satisfied me [l]. And it

[i–i] *so* S: L [si] intermittas [j–j] *so Ethiop.* L de floribus campi [k–k] *so* L (S**); = Ar.[2] (?); *v. l.* Adar, Ardad, Ardas, Ardaf: S *Ethiop.* Arpad (*cf.* 2 *Kings xviii.* 34); *Ar.*[1] Araab *or* Araat; *Arm.* Ardab [l–l] L et facta est esca earum mihi in saturitatem

---

ix. 23–25. This short section forms the conclusion of the long third vision and the transition to the fourth. The seer is bidden to wait another seven days, when a further revelation shall be vouchsafed to him. He is, however, expressly told not to fast—as he had done in preparation for former visions—but to go into a field of flowers, and eat only flowers (?) or herbs of the field; he is, moreover, to abstain from tasting flesh and wine, and is bidden to pray continually. The field is to be destitute of any building. As the following vision makes clear, this locality is to be the scene of a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The direction as to eating only of the produce of the field is remarkable. What is its significance? It is clearly not to be regarded as on a par with the strict fast, from which it is expressly distinguished. Moreover, in the introduction to the third vision (vi. 35) the seer says that he fasted seven days in order to complete the three weeks of fasting that had been commanded him (i.e. a week of fasting before each of the first three visions). Thus this form of preparation had reached its climax at the beginning of the third vision, and it is curious to note that no further direct mention of fasting is met with in the remaining chapters of the book (x–xiv), though contexts occur in which such might have been expected (cf. xi. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1).[1]

Is, then, the direction as to eating herbs or flowers here to be regarded as a substitute for fasting proper—as a form of half-fasting? This is possible, as abstinence from flesh and wine is decidedly in the direction of a mild asceticism. But it may be argued that more probably what is intended is rather in the nature of an antithesis to strict fasting. It should be remembered that the destruction of the Holy City—and, above all, of the Temple—in A. D. 70 gave rise to a widespread ascetic movement among the Jewish people who survived, especially in Palestine. Many gave expression to their grief in severe and regular forms of fasting. It is this situation which is contemplated here. The seer is about to receive a vision in which grief at the desolation—bitter as it is—of the earthly Sion is to be transcended by a vision of the heavenly City. He is bidden, therefore, not to fast, but, in solitude, and far from human habitation and proximity, to prepare himself by partaking of the simplest food of nature, and by prayer, for the coming revelation. The food most appropriate in the circumstances would be that of the primaeval age and the age of man's innocence. See further *EA*, p. 209 f.

24. **thou shalt taste no flesh . . . no wine, but (eat) only the fruit,** i. e. eat only what grows in the field. So Daniel and his companions ate only vegetable food, and drank water rather than suffer defilement; cf. 2 Macc. v. 27.

ix. 26–x. 59. The Fourth Vision. The following vision seems to have been preserved largely without interpolation, and as it was composed by the author of S, the pen of the Redactor (R) only coming into evidence in one or two places and in the transitional verses at the end (x. 58–59). The composition is even and flowing, and moves in an easy logical sequence. The seer proceeds, as he has been commanded, to a field which bears the mysterious name of 'Ardat', and there lives on herbs for seven days (ix. 26–28). Then he addresses God, giving utterance to the thoughts that have arisen within him. Israel had been entrusted with the divine Law—it had been sown in their hearts—but they had failed to keep it. The vessel that received it was doomed to perish because of sin, while the Law remained 'in its honour', imperishable (ix. 29–37). This speech is interrupted by a vision of a woman in distress, who is mourning the death of an only son—a son who, born after thirty years of sterility, had died on the very morning of his wedding. The seer, therefore, by way of consolation, admonishes her that her loss is small compared with the disasters that have befallen the chosen people as a whole, and more especially the crowning disaster of the destruction of Sion (ix. 38–x. 24). Then suddenly the scene changes: the woman vanishes, and in her place appears a great and splendid city—the heavenly Sion (x. 25–28). The section closes with an account of the intervention of the angel (Uriel) and the explanation of the vision given by him to the seer (x. 29–57, followed by the conclusion x. 58–59).

The whole section thus falls into the following divisions:—

i. *Introduction* (ix. 26–28);
ii. *The abiding glory of the Law and Israel: a contrast* (ix. 29–37);
iii. *The vision of the Disconsolate Woman* (ix. 38–x. 24).

With this vision, which transports him into the heavenly world, the Apocalypse of Salathiel doubtless ended. The visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources. Some fragments of the work of S are embedded in these later visions (xii. 40–48 and xiv. 28–35); these will be discussed later in connexion with their present contexts.

ix. 26–28. The mysterious locality which is described as 'the field which is called Ardat', whither the seer went, in accordance with the divine command, and meditated for seven days, living on 'the herbs of the field,' has been the subject of much debate. The view that the name means 'the wilderness of Judah' (Lücke) or (as *Arbah* = ערבה,

---

[1] This fact affords a strong confirmation of the correctness of the critical analysis which separates these chapters from the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

S 28 came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart was again troubled as before. Then [m] I opened my mouth [m], and began to address the Most High.

II. ix. 29–37. The Abiding Glory of the Law, and Israel: a Contrast (S).

29 And I said: [n] O Lord [n], thou didst verily reveal thyself unto our fathers [o] in the wilderness [p] when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they walked through the untrodden and unfruitful wilder-
30 ness; and thou didst say:

O Israel, hear thou me;
O seed of Jacob, attend unto my words!

31 For, behold, I sow my Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever.

32 But our fathers, who received the Law, observed it not, and the statutes they did not keep, and yet
33 the fruit of the Law did not perish, nor could it—because it was thine; but they who received it
34 perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them. [q] Now, it is a general rule [q] that, when the ground has received seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel food or drink, [r] and when it happens that what is sown [r], or [s] what is launched [s], or the things that have been taken in come to
35 an end,—these come to an end, while the receptacles remain: but with us it has not been so.
36 We who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken
37 it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory.

[m–m] *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 apertum est os meum: *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[2] [n–n] *so* 𝔏: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* O Lord my Lord (= Δεσποτα κυριε) [o] 𝔏 + in nobis (*prob. a gloss*): *other VSS.* > [p] 𝔖 + of Sinai [q–q] = 𝔖 and this is the rule (*Heb.* וזה הכלל): 𝔏 et ecce consuetudo [r–r] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 > [s–s] 𝔏 quod missum est [t–t] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] *Arm.* 𝔏 et respexi oculis meis [u–u] *reading* adii-

'desert') is a symbolical name for the Holy Land generally, which might have been represented at the end of the first century A.D. as a veritable wilderness to the Jews (Volkmar), may be at once dismissed. More plausible is the suggestion put forward by Mr. Rendel Harris (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch* [Cambridge, 1889], pp. 35–39) that the locality intended is the neighbourhood of Abraham's oak, near Hebron. This would be a highly suitable place for a divine revelation; and, moreover, Hebron is mentioned in 2 Baruch as one of the seats of prophetic inspiration (xlvii. 1). Prof. Harris concludes that the scene of the fifth vision in 4 Ezra (ch. xi) is Hebron, and that this is identical with the scene of the fourth vision, i. e. 'the field of Ardat'. But in this view no account has been taken of the different sources which appear in these chapters; the connexion of the scene of the two visions is a purely artificial one, and is due to the compiler. Nor is it at all certain that the 'oak' mentioned in 4 Ezra xiv. 1 as the place where Ezra received the revelation is 'Abraham's oak', as Prof. Harris supposes. It may have been some well-known tree in Jerusalem (see notes *ad loc.*).

Thus the attempt to locate 'the field of Ardat' at Hebron cannot be regarded as successful. Whatever may be the true explanation of the name 'Ardat', it seems clear that its significance must be mainly of a symbolical character. The repeated statement that the mysterious place was one 'where no house has been built' (ix. 24, x. 51) not only excludes the actual site of the ruined earthly Jerusalem, but also points to a place which was still untouched by human hand, and so fit to be the spot where the heavenly city could (temporarily) rest. Presumably the reader was expected to think of this locality as in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, where Salathiel is represented as residing at the beginning of the Apocalypse (4 Ezra iii. 1).

One slight indication (cf. x. 58) suggests that the time when this revelation took place was during the day, and not by night, as is the case with the dream-visions. See further *EA*, p. 212 f.

ix. 29–37. After seven days' meditation in 'Ardat' the seer gives characteristic expression once again to the thoughts which have agitated his heart. This takes the form of a soliloquy on the relation of Israel to the Law. At the Exodus from Egypt—when Israel became a nation—God had sown the Law in the heart of His people, with the promise: 'It shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever' (ix. 31). But the fathers observed it not; yet 'the fruit of the Law did not perish'—it could not—because it was essentially divine. But 'they who received it perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them'. The law that obtains in the natural world is that the receptacles remain after that which they have received has passed away—for instance, the ground remains after the seed that has been sown in it has sprung up and been gathered, the sea remains after the ship that has been launched in it has come to an end, and so on. But with Israel it is different. For 'we who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory'.

The application of the moral remains. The divine element is eternal—the corruptible vessel that receives it perishes. Even so the eternal reality which was partially and imperfectly expressed by the earthly Jerusalem remains; but the vessel that mediated it has perished. The earthly vessel (i. e. the earthly Jerusalem) has been destroyed—it has perished: how foolish and perverse to look for its revival! Hope should rather be fixed on the eternal City which exists—and has always existed—in the incorruptible world, and which is to be enjoyed by those who pass into the blessed immortal life of the age that is to come. The confirmation of the truth of these hopes—and the answer to any lingering doubts that may remain—is the burden of the vision that follows (ix. 38 f.).

29. **thoudidst verily reveal thyself.** The reference is to such passages as Ex. xix. 9, xxiv. 10, &c.

when they went forth out of Egypt. Cf. Judges xi. 16.

31. **For, behold, I sow my Law in you . . . in it for ever.** This is the author's paraphrase of the O.T. description of the relation set up between God and Israel by Israel's acceptance of the Law, and entry into the covenant-relation with God. He reads into the naïve O. T. promises of temporal reward his own transcendental views, and understands the glory promised to Israel to mean the unfading glory of the eternal and incorruptible heavenly world. For a similar heightening of O. T: language cf. vii. 123, where Deut. xxx. 19 is cited ('Choose thee life', &c., i. e. eternal life).

37. **the Law, however,** &c. The Law does not perish because it comes from heaven: it is spiritual (πνευματικός,

III. ix. 38–x. 24. The Vision of the Disconsolate Woman (S).

38 And when I spake thus in my heart [t] I lifted up my eyes [t], and saw a woman upon the right; and
lo! she was mourning and weeping with a loud voice, and was much grieved in mind, and her clothes
39 were rent and there were ashes upon her head. Then I dismissed my thoughts in which I had been
40 preoccupied, and turned to her and said: Wherefore weepest thou? And why art thou grieved in
41 thy mind? And she said unto me: Suffer me, my lord, to indulge my sorrow and [u] continue my
grief [u], for I am embittered in soul and deeply afflicted.
42 And I said unto her: What has befallen thee? tell me.
43 She said unto me: I, thy servant, was barren, and bore no child, though I had a husband thirty
44 years. Both hourly and daily during these thirty years I besought the Most High night and day.
45 And it came to pass after thirty years
God heard thy handmaid
and looked upon my affliction;
He considered my distress,
and gave me a son.
And I rejoiced in him greatly, I and my husband and [v] all my fellow townsfolk [v], and we gave great
4 47 glory unto [w] the Mighty One [w]. And I reared him with great travail. So when he was grown up,
I came to take [x] him [x] a wife, and made [y] a feast day [y].
1 1 And it came to pass when my son entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down and died.
2 Then [z] I removed the lights [z], and all my fellow townsfolk rose up to comfort me; but I remained
3 quiet [a] until the night of the next day [a]. [b] And it came to pass when they were all quiet (and
desisted) from consoling, as I remained quiet [b], I rose up by night, and fled, and came to this field,
4 as thou seest. And I purpose [c] never again [c] to return to the city, but here to stay and neither eat
5 nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast till I die. Then I left the thoughts in which I was
6 still occupied, and answered her in anger, and said: O thou above all other women most foolish!
7 Seest thou not our mourning, and what has befallen us? How Sion, the mother of us all, is in great
8 grief and deep affliction? [d] It is right now to mourn [d], seeing that we all mourn, and to grieve, seeing
9 that we are all grief-stricken; thou, however, art grief-stricken for one son [e]. But ask the earth, and

ciam dolere [v–v] *so* 𝔖 (*lit.* all the sons of my town) *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 omnes cives mei [w–w] 𝔏 Fortem (= τον ισχυρον = האל in LXX) [x–x] *reading* ei [y–y] 𝔏 diem epuli: 𝔖 + and great rejoicing [z–z] *cf.* 𝔖 (*1st pers. sing.*): 𝔏 evertimus omnes lumina (everti = ? καθειλον = *Heb.* הסיר) [a–a] *so Ethiop.* 𝔏 usque in alium diem usque in noctem [b–b] 𝔏 et factum est cum omnes quievissent ut me consolarentur ut quiescerem (*original Heb. text perhaps was*: ויהי בהיותם מחרישים כלם מְנַחֵם לפי שאני מחרישׁ: *see EA*, p. 221) [c–c] *so* 𝔖 (= μηκετι); *cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 iam non (= ? μη αρτι) [d–d] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] = 𝔏 (*Violet*): lugere validissimum est nunc (*BJ* lugete validissime [*end of v.* 7]. Et nunc) [e] 𝔖 + but we the whole world for our mother

---

Rom. vii. 14): cf. also 2 Cor. iii. 7 f. [With *vv.* 36, 37 cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 19: 'And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.']

ix. 38–x. 24. We now reach the final sections of the Salathiel-Apocalypse. It is altogether fitting that the close of the (Salathiel) book should contain a revelation of the realities of the future world where, according to the theology of S, the felicity and blessedness of the righteous can alone be consummated; and it accords with what would be expected that this revelation should be concerned with that part of the heavenly realities (viz. the heavenly City) whose earthly counterpart (viz. Jerusalem), in its humiliation and ruin, had formed the starting-point of the debates of the Apocalypse (cf. iii. 27). It has already been declared (cf. viii. 52) that the heavenly Sion is one of the things which belong to the eternal order, and which should be made freely available for the enjoyment of the righteous after the final Judgement. It is this heavenly reality which is now manifested to the seer. An examination of this section and the following makes it clear that the disconsolate woman who appears to the seer, mourning the death of her only son, must be the heavenly Sion: she cannot be identified with the earthly Jerusalem, as Kabisch justly points out, without making the story meaningless. See further *EA*, p. 216 f.

38. **ashes upon her head.** A sign of grief and humiliation. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. lxi. 3.

45. **we gave great glory.** To 'give God the glory' (cf. Luke xvii. 18) for boons bestowed was an all-important religious duty. The fact that this duty was religiously performed seems to be emphasized here in order to exclude the possibility of a suggestion that the calamity which followed was a judgement of God (so Gunkel).

47. **a feast day.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 2; Luke xiv. 16.

x. 1. **and died.** With the death of the bridegroom here cp. the story in Tobit (esp. ch. viii). Kabisch thinks this points to a knowledge of the Book of Tobit by S; but this does not necessarily follow.

2. **I removed the lights.** For the wedding lights cf. Matt. xxv. 7. Note the violent contrast between the brilliant illumination of the wedding-feast and the sudden darkness following on the death of the bridegroom.

to comfort me. To condole with mourners as well as to assist in the burial of the dead is a part of the practice of benevolence.

I remained quiet. A mother's grief would normally show itself in loud lamentation; but here she remains dumb.

7. **Sion, the mother of us all.** Cf. Gal. iv. 26 (but there of the heavenly Jerusalem).

8. **It is right now to mourn,** &c. The point of the passage is that the nation is now plunged into calamities, and therefore all may now properly mourn.

S she shall tell thee, that it is she who ought to mourn [f] the fall of so many [f] that have sprung into
10 being upon her. [g] Yea, from the beginning all who have been born, and others who are to come—
11 lo! they go [g] almost all into perdition, and the multitude of them comes to destruction. Who, then, should mourn the more? Ought not she that has lost so great a multitude? or thou who grievest
12 but for one? But if thou sayest to me: My lamentation is not like the earth's, for I have lost the fruit of my womb
which I bare with pains
and brought forth with sorrows—
13 [h] but as regards the earth, (it is) according to the course of nature [h]; the multitude present in it is
14 gone as it came: then I say to thee: Just as thou hast borne (offspring) with sorrow, even so also the earth has borne (given) her fruit, namely man, from the beginning unto him that made her.
15 Now, therefore, keep thy sorrow within,
and bear gallantly the misfortunes that have befallen thee.
16 For if thou wilt acknowledge God's decree to be just, thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time,
17, 18 and shalt be praised among women. Therefore go into the city to thy husband. And she said unto
19 me: [i] I will not do so [i]: I will not enter the city, but here will I die. So I proceeded to speak further
20 unto her, and said: [j] No, woman! no, woman! [j] do not do so;
but [k] suffer thyself to be prevailed upon by reason of Sion's misfortunes [k],
be consoled by reason of Jerusalem's sorrow.
21 For thou seest how
our sanctuary is laid waste,
[l] our altar [l] thrown down;
our Temple destroyed,
our harp laid low;
22 our song is silenced,
our rejoicing ceased;
the light of our lamp is extinguished,
the ark of our covenant spoiled;
our holy things are defiled,
the name that is called upon us [m] is profaned [m];

[f–f] *reading* tantorum casum (*MSS.* > casum): *so Ethiop. Ar.*[1] [g–g] 𝔏 (*Violet*) et ex ipso initio omnes nati et alii venientes, ecce, *&c.*; *cf.* 𝔖 [h–h] 𝔏 terra autem secundum viam terrae [i–i] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 non faciam [j–j] *so* 𝔖: *other VSS.* > [k–k] *so* 𝔖 *Arm.*: 𝔏 consenti persuaderi quid enim casus Sion [l–l] 𝔖 > [m–m] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): 𝔏 paene profanatum est

14. **even so also the earth.** The idea is peculiar and the parallel intended not quite clear. Man is earth's highest production; but this her choicest fruit is produced only to be gathered in by the Creator (i. e. ? by the death of man); and the constant loss of her best, in this way, involves the earth in ceaseless anguish. Such seems to be the general meaning intended.

16. **thou wilt acknowledge . . . to be just.** Cf. Ps. of Sol. viii. 7, 27, 31; ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35. To acknowledge the justice of God's decree is equivalent to pious submission to His will.

thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time, i. e. either the dead son shall be restored to life, or another son shall be given to her in his stead, and so she shall win honour among women. It is possible that, as Gunkel suggests, the sequel of the original story set forth the restoration of the dead son to life; but it is significant that the writer here says nothing of this. He stops short at relating the son's death.

21. **our Temple,** i. e. the Temple-building proper, exclusive of the outer court.

our harp laid low: 'harp' here probably symbolizes the service of praise which has ceased in the ruined sanctuary.

22. **our rejoicing ceased.** Cf. Isa. xxiv. 8, 9.

the light of our lamp . . . extinguished. The extinction of the continual lamp marked the cessation of the functions of the Temple-services and sacrifices; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 36–59.

the ark of our covenant spoiled. This detail, of course, fits the position of the historical Salathiel (in the Exile), and can only be referred in strictness to the first Temple. The ark of the Covenant disappeared at the destruction of Solomon's Temple, and nothing took its place in the later Temples. Two divergent traditions are met with as to its fate; according to the one (which our text follows) the ark was carried off with the other holy vessels into Babylonia (cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10); according to the other, the ark was concealed within the Temple; cf. 2 Macc. ii. 5-8 and 2 Bar. vi. What is the significance of the mention of the spoiling of the ark in our passage? Perhaps the writer intended to suggest that it was vain to look for the restoration of the ark and other holy things in the Messianic Age in the last times. In other words, there would be no Messianic Age, and no restoration of the Temple on earth. The other form of the legend which makes the ark to be concealed within the Temple precincts seems to be governed by the idea that it would be brought to light again in the Messianic Age. It is significant that these two contradictory ideas are represented in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch respectively.

our holy things are defiled, i. e. the holy vessels which fell into the hands of the heathen. The writer, though the reference is directly to the first Temple, is thinking of the similar events connected with the destruction in A. D. 70 (e. g. the great candelabrum fell into the hands of Titus).

the name that is called upon us, i. e. the sacred name that has been bestowed upon us by God, the name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.

our nobles are dishonoured,
our priests burnt,
our Levites gone into captivity;
our virgins are defiled,
our wives ravished;
[n] our righteous are seized,
· [our saints scattered,]
our children are cast out [n],
our youths are enslaved,
our heroes made powerless:
23 and, what is more than all—
Sion's seal [o] is now sealed up dishonoured [o],
and given up into the hands of them that hate us.
24 Do thou, then, shake off thy great grief,
abandon thy much sorrow,
That the Mighty One may again forgive thee,
and the Most High give thee rest,
a respite from thy troubles!

IV. x. 25–28. Sion's Glory: the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (S).

25 And it came to pass, while I was talking to her, lo!
her countenance on a sudden shone exceedingly,
and [p] her aspect became brilliant as lightning [p],
so that I was too much afraid [q] (to approach her, and my heart was terrified exceedingly) [q]: and
26 while I was debating what this might mean, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the
27 earth shook at the noise. And when I looked, lo! the woman was no longer visible to me, [r] but there was a City builded [r], and a place showed itself of large foundations. Then I was afraid, and
28 cried with a loud voice, and said: Where is Uriel, the angel who came unto me at the first? For he it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment;
and so [s] my prayer [s] is made futile,
and my request disappointed!

V. x. 29–57. Interpretation of the Vision (S).

29 And while I was speaking thus, lo! the angel came to me, who had come to me at the first; and

[n–n] *All VSS. give only two clauses here, except Ar.*[2] *which has three; clauses* 1 *and* 3 *are attested by* 𝔏 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔖 (*in an emended form*) *supports clause* 2 *and omits clause* 3; *see for details EA*, p. 228 f. [o–o] 𝔏 resignata est de gloria sua nunc [p–p] 𝔏 species coruscus fiebat vultus eius [q–q] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔏 ad eam [r–r] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 sed civitas aedificabatur [s–s] 𝔏 finis meus = 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] (*cf. R.V.* mine end): *prob., as Violet suggests, there was a corruption in the Hebr. text here,* תפלתי *being misread* תִּכְלֶתִי

our priests burnt. An allusion to the destruction of the Temple by fire. Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 5. 1) specially mentions two priests of eminence, who threw themselves into the fire 'and were burnt together with the holy house'.

23. **Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured**, lit. 'is sealed up away from its honour', i.e. is robbed of its honour. The 'seal of Sion' is doubtless a symbolical representation of Sion's independence. A more specific allusion to the issue of a national coinage may be intended; see *EA*, p. 229. In *vv.* 22–23 the utter ruin of Israel is set forth in detail.

24. **may again forgive thee.** The death of the son manifested God's wrath; therefore divine forgiveness was necessary.

x. 25–28.

25. **her aspect became brilliant as lightning.** This recalls the representation of the heavenly bride (= the heavenly Jerusalem) of Rev. xxi. 9; cf. Rev. xii. 1.

27. **of large foundations.** Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

28. **my prayer is made futile**, &c. The seer hastily concludes that the revelation regarding Israel's future glory—how it was to be attained (cf. ix. 29–37)—which he had been expecting and for which he was longing so ardently, has been denied him, because the vision he has seen has simply left him in a state of bewilderment and terror, while in fact it is but the prelude to a revelation all the more complete. This, as Gunkel remarks, is a fine touch.

The state of terror into which the seer falls at the marvellous transfiguration of the woman is a feature derived, doubtless, from the actual experience of such ecstatics; cf. similar features in Hermas.

x. 29–57. The interpretation of the vision by the angel follows. The seer is told that the transfigured woman is Sion. Which Sion? the heavenly or the earthly? The most natural interpretation is that the heavenly Sion is represented by the woman. In this case her son must stand for the earthly Jerusalem, and the son's death for the downfall and ruin of the earthly city. It is difficult on any other interpretation to understand the significance of the son in the allegorical interpretation. If the woman stands for the earthly Sion, whom does her son represent? According to Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vi, p. 219 n.), the Messiah! But how can the Messiah have been pictured as being born when the Temple was founded by Solomon, and dying when the Temple was destroyed? The true explanation seems to be

S 30 when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead, [t] my understanding being confused [t], he grasped
my right hand and strengthened me, and set me on my feet, and said to me:
31 What aileth thee?
Why art thou so disquieted?
Wherefore is thy understanding confused,
and the thoughts of thy heart?
32 And I said: Because thou hast forsaken me! Yet I did as thou commandedst, and went into the
field, and lo! I have seen—[u] and yet see [u]—that which I am unable to express.
33, 34 And he said unto me: Stand up like a man, and I will advise thee. Then said I: Speak on, my
lord; only forsake me not, lest I die to no purpose.
35 For I have seen what I did not know [v] and heard [v] what I do not understand.
36 Or is my mind deceived,
and my soul in a dream?
37 Now, therefore, I beseech thee to show thy servant concerning this perplexity!
38 And he answered me, and said:
Hear me, and I will teach thee,
and tell thee concerning the things thou art afraid of;
for the Most High hath revealed many secrets unto thee.
39 For he hath seen [w] thy righteous conduct [w],
how thou hast sorrowed continually for thy people,
and mourned greatly on account of Sion—
40, 41 [x] The matter, therefore, is as follows.[x] The woman who appeared to thee a little while ago, whom
42 [y] thou sawest [y] mourning and begannest to comfort: whereas now thou seest no likeness of a woman
43 any more, but [z] a builded City [z] hath appeared unto thee: and whereas she told thee of the misfortune
44 of her son—this is the interpretation: This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion, whom thou now
45 beholdest as a builded City; And whereas she said unto thee that she was barren thirty years: the
reason is that there were [a] three thousand years [a] in the world before any offering was offered [b] in (it)

[t–t] 𝔏 et intellectus meus alienatus erat (=? και ο νους μου ηλλοτριωθη) [u–u] 𝔏 et video; *so* 𝔖: *but Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.* > [v–v] *reading* audivi (C M) = *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: 𝔖 I hear = audio (S A) [w–w] 𝔏 rectam viam tuam: 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) = την ευθυτητα σου [x–x] *so* 𝔖 (= ουτος ουν εστιν ο λογος: זה הדבר): *cf. Ethiop. Arm.*: 𝔏 hic ergo intellectus visionis [y–y] 𝔖 > [z–z] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 civitas aedificari (*R.V.* a city in building) [a–a] *so all the Versions except the Arm.* (*which has* many years) *and* 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) anni . . . tres [b–b] *reading* in eo (*for* in

---

that the mother represents the heavenly, and the son the earthly Sion. For a full discussion of alternative views see *EA*, p. 233 f.

The original meaning of the vision has been obscured by two slight alterations in the text from the pen of R; in *v.* 45, 'in it' (= ἐν αὐτῷ, i.e. in the world) has been changed to 'in her' (= ἐν αὐτῇ, i.e. in Sion), thus producing the meaning that for 3,000 years no oblation was offered in Sion, i.e. the earthly Sion; and in *v.* 46 'David' has been altered into 'Solomon'. In this way R secures the interpretation that the woman = the earthly Sion; the son = the Temple (the son's birth = the founding of the Temple by Solomon), &c.; while the transfiguration of the woman is a prophecy of the future glory of the earthly Sion. But this destroys the original significance of the vision, and cannot be harmonized with the theology of S. See further *EA*, *loc. cit.*

29–30. **and when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead.** For the representation cf. Dan. viii. 17, 18; x. 9, 10, 15; Rev. i. 17, &c.

and set me on my feet. Cf. v. 15; vi. 13, 17.

32. **and yet see.** The vision of the City is still before the seer's eyes.

that which I am unable to express. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4 (also of an ecstatic experience).

33. **Stand up like a man.** Cf. v. 15; vi. 13, 17.

45. **three thousand years.** For text see crit. note. Gunkel adopts the Latin 'three years', and (with Wellhausen) explains thus: the three years = the three years that elapsed after Solomon became king and before he began to build the Temple (cf. 1 Kings vi. 1 with vi. 38); and these three years mystically = three millennial years, i.e. 3,000 years. But according to *v.* 45 in the Latin the three years = thirty years, i.e. thirty generations (?); thus it would have a mystical meaning (3,000), a literal (three), and again a literal (= thirty generations) meaning, all in juxtaposition. It is better to adopt the reading of the Versions (3,000), and to regard this as an actual reckoning (see next verse).

before any offering was offered in it (i.e. in the world). The Lat. has *quando non erat in ea adhuc oblatio oblata* = 'when as yet there was no offering offered in her' (i.e. in Sion; so all the other Versions). By the slight emendation suggested by Kabisch (viz. to read *in eo* [ἐν αὐτῷ] for *in ea*) the difficulty of the text-reading can be removed. *In her* can only mean in the *civitas aedificata*, which for 3,000 years was without a son, i.e. the heavenly Sion; but the statement that no offering was as yet offered in the heavenly Sion is meaningless. The unfruitfulness of the heavenly Sion consisted rather in the fact that for 3,000 years there was on the earth—in this aeon—no corresponding reality, no *aedificata civitas* where the cultus of the sacrificial worship was established. (So Kabisch.)

It is true altars had been erected and sacrifices offered before the time of David (e.g. by Abraham, Gen. xxii. 9, and others); but no 'regular system of sacrifice' had been established in one spot which was sufficient to make this the earthly dwelling-place of Jahveh. At any rate such seems to have been the view of S, who in his survey of the

46 (*i.e.* in the world) [b]. And it came to pass after [c] three thousand years that [c] [d] (David) [d] built the City,
47 and offered offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son. And whereas she told thee that she
48 reared him with travail: [e] that was the (divine) dwelling in Jerusalem [e]. And whereas she said unto thee: 'My son entering into his marriage-chamber died,' [f] and that misfortune befell her [f]—this was
49 the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass. And lo! thou hast seen [g] the (heavenly) pattern of her [g], how she mourned her son, and thou didst begin to comfort her for what had befallen [h].

50 Now, the Most High seeing
that thou art grieved [i] deeply [i]
and art distressed whole-heartedly on account of her;
hath showed thee the brilliance of her glory,
and [j] her majestic beauty [j].

52 Therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house has been builded; for I knew that the
53 Most High was about to reveal all these things unto thee. [k] [Therefore I bade thee come into the
54 field where no foundation of any building is, for in the place where the City of the Most High was about to be revealed no building-work of man could endure [k].]

55 Therefore be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be terrified; but go in and see the brightness [l] and [l] vastness of the building, as far as it is possible for thee with the sight of thine eyes to see!

ea) [c–c] *see note* a *above* [d–d] *all the VSS. read* Solomon; *see exegetical note* [e–e] 𝔏 haec erat habitatio Hierusalem [f–f] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[1]: *Ethiop. has direct speech* (this grief befell me): 𝔖 > [g–g] 𝔏 similitudinem eius [h] 𝔏 + haec erant tibi aperienda = Ar.[2]: *other VSS.* > (*doubtless a gloss*) [i–i] 𝔏 ex animo [j–j] 𝔏 pulchritudinem decoris eius (Hebr. ? תפארת הדרה) [k–k] *vv.* 51–52 *and* 53–54 *are doublets*: *perhaps* 53-4 *are more original* [l–l] *so all VSS. except* 𝔏 *which has* vel

---

world's history in ch. iii ignores all previous sacrifices and offerings till he reaches the name of David. The earthly Jerusalem became the holy city—the *civitas Dei*—when David offered sacrifices in it. Cf. iii. 24.

46. **after three thousand years.** According to the LXX at least 4,227 years elapsed from the Creation to the founding of the Temple; thus S here follows the Hebrew text against the LXX. The period between the Creation of the world and the foundation of the Temple is estimated by Gutschmidt to be 3,043 years. Allowing 430 years for the oppression which ended in the Exodus (cf. Exod. xii. 40), and deducting from this the first three years of Solomon's reign and the forty years of David's, we reach 3,000 as the sum of the years from Creation to the beginning of David's reign, which may be the point of time fixed on by the apocalyptic writer as that of the founding of the earthly Sion, though, as a matter of fact, it was seven years later. This presupposes the emendation of 'Solomon' in the next clause to 'David' (see following note).

[It is true that in vii. 28 the reckoning 400 for the years of the oppression, in accordance with Gen. xv. 13, is implied; but that passage belongs to a different source.]

David built the City. All the Versions read 'Solomon'; but this is inconsistent with iii. 24 ('David; and thou commandedst him to build the City (which is called) after thy name, and to offer thee oblations therein of thine own'). There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the emendation adopted above (proposed by Kabisch) is right. If the reading of the Versions is retained 'City' must be understood to mean 'Temple'; so Ar. and Arm. add 'Temple' here ('the City and the Temple'). Volkmar is obliged to explain that in the apocalyptic writer's thought Temple and City are identical, so that he can speak indifferently now of one, now of the other, and similarly interchange David and Solomon. From the language of S, however, it seems clear that it was the inauguration of the regular 'offering of oblations' to God in the earthly Sion that constituted it as the *civitas Dei*. The altar erected to the Lord (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 f.; 1 Chron. xxi. 28, xxii. 1) by David marked the turning-point; this was the most sacred spot in the Holy City—the Temple, erected later, being regarded merely as the shelter or covering which contained it. To the apocalyptic writer (S) David was the founder and builder of Jerusalem, regarded as the one holy city of God (cf. iii. 24).

a son, i. e. the earthly Jerusalem (the heavenly Jerusalem being the mother). The representation of Jerusalem as a son, and not as a daughter, is certainly peculiar. It is probably due to the fact that the writer is adapting a popular tale to the purposes of his allegory; see further *EA*, p. 239.

47. **reared him with travail.** The difficulty referred to ('with travail') lay in the fact that during the existence of the first Temple the sins of the people (especially lapses into idolatrous worship) constantly threatened to interrupt the continuance of the divine dwelling (see next note) in the Holy City.

that was the divine dwelling in Jerusalem. The (divine) dwelling = the 'Shekinah' or visible manifestation of the divine presence in Jerusalem. It was the presence of the Shekinah in Jerusalem and the Temple, which sanctified the Holy City. According to one current view the visible Shekinah was one of the five things lacking in the second Temple (cf. Targ. to Hag. i. 8 and parallels in Talmud)—its throne being between the cherubim on the ark, which was absent after the destruction of the First Temple. But so long as a Temple existed in Jerusalem, and the sacrificial cultus was maintained, these, in a sense, were pledges and symbols of the divine presence. With these all visible tokens of the divine presence disappeared (in A. D. 70).

48. **the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass.** The death of the son, according to this verse = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem, which confirms the interpretation that the son = the earthly Jerusalem.

49. **the (heavenly) pattern** (or 'model') **of her.** The 'heavenly pattern' or model of the earthly city is the heavenly Sion. The conception is similar to that which is met with in the Ep. to the Hebrews (xi. 10, 16 ['The City which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God'], xii. 22, xiii. 14), according to which the heavenly Sion is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly City, 'the eternal reality of which the literal City is but a shadow.' For the idea of the heavenly counterpart or model cf. Heb. viii. 5; Exod. xxv. 9 and 40. The vision of the heavenly reality is the culminating point in the disclosures made to the seer.

how she mourned her son, i. e. how she (the heavenly City) mourned her son (the ruined earthly Jerusalem).

55. **as far as it is possible for thee . . . to see.** The permission given to the seer implies that he saw and heard

S 56 Then shalt thou hear as much as the hearing of thine ears can hear.
57 For thou art blessed above many,
and art named before the Most High as but few!
(*The true sequel should be* xii. 39 *b*, xiii. 57–58, *and* xii. 40–48 (xiv. 29–35); *see introductions to the two latter sections. The sequence is shown by the following verses:*)
[(xii. 39 *b*) And he departed from me. (xiii. 57) And I went forth and walked in the field greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season; (xiii. 58) and because he governs the times, and the things which come to pass in due time. (xii. 40 f.) And it came to pass when all the people heard, &c.]

VI. x. 58–59. Redactional Transition to the Fifth Vision (R).

R 58, 59 But [m] on the night of to-morrow [m] thou shalt remain here; so will the Most High reveal to thee
59 [n] in dream-visions [n] what the Most High will do unto the dwellers upon earth in the last days.

THE FIFTH (EAGLE) VISION.

(x. 60–xii. 35) (A).

I. The Vision.

(x. 60–xii. 3*a*) (A) (R).

A 60 So I slept that night and the following as he had commanded me.

[m–m] nocte . . . quae in crastinum futura est [n–n] 𝔏 eas visiones somniorum (= ταυτα τα οραματα των εννυπνιων: ? ταυτα *a corruption of* κατα: *so Volk.*)

(see next verse) much more than is told in the vision. As Gunkel remarks, this statement (obviously natural and unforced) makes it clear that the vision is the record of an actual experience. In the end what the seer saw and heard was so overpowering and marvellous that his powers of describing it all failed. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4. With *vv.* 55–56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Isa. lxiv. 9. It should be noted that the City is conceived as still standing before the seer's eyes.

58–59. The seer is bidden to remain where he is (i. e. in the field of Ardat) for another two nights, in order that he may receive in dream-visions a revelation of what shall happen to the dwellers upon earth in the last days. It is obvious that these verses, which form the transition to the visions that follow, are the work of R. The situation presupposed is hardly a possible one for S. The seer had been bidden to resort to Ardat—the field untouched by any work of human hand—in order to receive a vision of the heavenly City. This has been accomplished, and to represent him as still remaining there in order to receive further revelations in dream-visions is in the nature of an anti-climax. Moreover the burden of the dream-visions, the revelation of what is to happen in the last days, has already formed the subject of long debates in the former visions of S. The dream-visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources; and the transitional verses have been inserted by R in order to fit in and link together these other elements with the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

58. **on the night of to-morrow**, i. e. the night that follows to-morrow. Thus the words would be spoken during the day. The vision in the field of Ardat, accordingly, was not a night- but a day-vision.

The chapters that follow are drawn from three main independent sources, viz.:
A (= Adlergesicht), the Eagle-Vision, ch. xi–xii;
M (= Menschensohn), the Son of Man Vision, ch. xiii;
E^2 = the Ezra-legend, ch. xiv.

x. 60–xii. 35. The Eagle-Vision. The famous Eagle-Vision—the last, apparently, of a series of dream-visions—follows. The seer in his dream sees an eagle, furnished with twelve wings and three heads, ascending out of the sea. It stretched its wings over all the earth, and all the winds of heaven blew upon it. From its wings eight other smaller wings developed; the three heads, of which the middle one was larger than the others, remained at rest. The Eagle flew with its wings, and reigned with undisputed sway over the whole earth. It stood up upon its claws, and told its wings that they should not all waken together, but each should sleep in its place, and awaken and keep watch in its own proper time; the heads were to be kept to the End. The voice announcing this proceeded not from the Eagle's head, but from the midst of his body. Presently a wing arose on the right side, reigned over the earth, and disappeared. The second arose and reigned a long time—a voice announced that none after it should reign even half as long—and this also disappeared. So it happened to the third and following wings. The seer now saw that the little wings were set up, on the right side, in order to rule; and of these some held it, but disappeared at once, while others rose up, but did not exercise rule. After this it was seen that the twelve wings had disappeared, and also two of the little wings—nothing remained in the Eagle's body but the three heads at rest and six little wings. Two of these latter were seen to detach themselves, and remained under the head at the right-hand side, while four remained in their place. These thought to set themselves up and reign. One did so and forthwith disappeared; and the second vanished even more quickly than the first. Two were now left in their original place, and while these were thinking to reign the middle head awoke and, uniting with itself the other two heads, devoured them. This head exercised rule over the earth with much oppression; but it, too, suddenly disappeared even as the wings. The two remaining heads reigned over the earth; but that on the right side devoured the one on the left. At this point the seer hears a voice telling him to look carefully and note what he should see. He saw a roaring lion come out from the wood,

1 And it came to pass the second night that I saw a dream: and lo! there came up from the sea
2 an eagle which had twelve (?) feathered wings, and three heads. And I beheld, and lo! he spread
his wings [o] over [o] the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him, and [p] (the clouds) were
3 gathered together (unto him) [p]. And I beheld, (and lo!) out of his wings there grew [q] anti-wings [q];
4 and they became wings petty and small. But his heads were at rest; the middle head was greater
5 than the other heads, yet it rested with them. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle flew with his wings

[o-o] *so Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: 𝔏 in = 𝔖 *Ethiop.* [p-p] *so Oriental VSS.* (*except Arm.*) 𝔏 colligebantur (> nubes ad eum)
[q-q] 𝔏 contrariae pennae (= ? αντιπτερυγια): *other VSS.* = πτερυγια

---

which, with a man's voice, upbraided the Eagle for his tyranny and cruel oppression, and announces his coming destruction:

'Therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle,
and thy horrible wings,
and thy little wings most evil,
thy harm-dealing heads,
thy hurtful talons,
and all thy worthless body!
And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her' (xi. 45–6).

While the Lion spoke, the last head disappeared; the two little wings which had detached themselves and gone over to it rose up to reign, but their reign was short and full of uproar. Then they, too, vanished, the whole body of the Eagle was consumed in flames, and the earth was greatly terrified.

On awaking from his dream-vision the seer, much perturbed by what he has seen, prays that the interpretation of it may be granted him. He is told that the Eagle is the fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel. The twelve wings represent twelve kings who shall reign in it one after the other. The second reign shall be longer than any of the other twelve. The voice proceeding from the midst of the body signifies that in the middle period (xii. 18, 'in the midst of the time of that kingdom,' according to the true text) great commotions shall arise, and it shall stand in peril of falling; but it shall recover, and regain its stability. The interpretation of the eight under (little) wings is: there shall arise in this kingdom eight kings 'whose times shall be transient and years swift'; two of these shall perish when the middle time of the kingdom approaches; four are to be kept for the time 'when its time for dissolution shall approach'; but two are to be reserved for the End. The interpretation of the three heads is: in the last days of the kingdom the Most High will raise up three kings who shall renew many things in the kingdom, and shall rule over the earth with much oppression above all that were before them. They are called the heads of the Eagle, because they shall bring its wickedness to a head and consummate its end. The disappearance of the largest (i. e. the middle) head signifies that the first of these three kings shall die upon his bed, but yet with torment. The other two are destined for the sword—one is to fall by the sword of the other, and the latter shall perish himself by the sword in the last days. The two wings that passed over to the right-hand head are reserved for the End. They shall reign for a brief time after the disappearance of the last head; but their reign shall be full of trouble and uproar. The Lion is the Messiah whom the Most High has reserved for the End.

Such is the vision and its interpretation as they lie before us in our present text. At first sight all seems clear; but a closer examination of the details reveals, as will appear, many grave difficulties. For a discussion of these see the introduction to the interpretation of the vision (xii. 3 *b*–39) below.

The vision must thus be regarded as an independent writing. It apparently belongs to a series of dream-visions, of which it forms the last, and which already existed in written form in a book when our vision was excerpted by R (cf. xii. 37). As in similar cases elsewhere R has inserted harmonistic additions designed to bring the matter into accord with other elements in our Apocalypse. Such are clearly xii. 9 and 34. But further, there seems to have been a revision of a more far-reaching character, as will appear when the details of the interpretation come to be examined.

The whole vision is clearly much influenced by, if it is not actually based upon, Dan. vii. The identification of the Eagle with the fourth kingdom of Dan. vii is an interesting case of the reinterpretation of prophecy.

With the Eagle-Vision should be compared the fountain and forest vision of 2 Baruch (xxxvi–xl), which remarkably enough is a dream-vision of the fall of the Roman power. As in our vision, this is effected by the Messiah; the last leader of the hostile host is taken captive to Mount Sion, where the Messiah, after upbraiding him with his wickedness, destroys him.

For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. 244–9. The vision in its original form appears to have been composed some time in the reign of Vespasian (A. D. 69–79) or possibly later (A. D. 96–97).

xi. 1. **I saw a dream.** Cf. Dan. vii. 1. A dream-vision (not merely a dream) is meant.

from the sea. Cf. Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1. In the latter passage, as here, the monster that ascends out of the sea = the Roman Empire. The latter, for the Orientals, came up, as a matter of historical fact, from the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean), and it is this fact that is doubtless present in the apocalyptist's thought here. [It is clear that the (perhaps contemporary) apocalyptic writers of Rev. xiii and our chapter both identified the fourth beast of Dan. vii with Rome: cf. esp. 4 Ezra xii. 10 f.]

an eagle. The eagle of the following vision undoubtedly represents the Roman Empire. The symbolism was particularly appropriate to Rome, whose military emblem was the eagle.

three heads, i. e. according to the probable original meaning of the vision the three Flavian Emperors (Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian). Cf. the four wings and four heads of the leopard in Dan. vii. 6.

2. **all the winds of heaven blew on him.** Cf. xiii. 2, and Dan. vii. 2.

3. **out of his wings there grew anti-wings.** As πτέρυξ = βασιλεύς, so ἀντιπτερύγιον would = ἀντιβασιλεύς (so Volk.). Usurpers or military commanders who might prove to be dangerous rivals to the Emperors are apparently meant.

A 6 to reign over the earth and over them that dwell therein. And I beheld how all things under
heaven were subject unto him, and no one spake against him—not even one of the creatures upon
7 earth. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and uttered his voice to his wings,
8, 9 saying [r], Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his place, and watch by course: but let the heads
10 be preserved for the last. And I beheld, and lo! the voice proceeded not from his heads, but from
11 the midst of his body. And I numbered his anti-wings, and lo! there were eight.
12 And I beheld, and lo! [*on the right side*] there arose one wing, and reigned over the whole earth.
13 And it came to pass that, after it had reigned, it came to its end and [s] disappeared [s], so that the place
14 of it was not visible. Then arose the second and reigned, and this bare rule for a long time. And
it came to pass that, after it had reigned, it also came to its end, so that it disappeared even as the
15, 16 first. And lo! a voice sounded which said to it: Hear, thou that hast borne rule over the earth so
17 long a time: [t] this I proclaim [t] unto thee before thou shalt disappear—After thee shall none bear
18 rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it! Then the third lifted itself up and held
19 the rule even as the former, and it also disappeared. And so it fell to all the wings [[u] in turn [u]] to
20 rule and then disappear. And I beheld, and lo! in process of time [v] the little wings [v] also were set up
[[w] *upon the right side* [w]] that they also might hold the rule; and some of them bare rule but
21, 22 disappeared suddenly: and some of them were set up but did not hold the rule. After this I beheld,
23 and lo! the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings; and nothing was left in the eagle's body
24 save only the three heads that were at rest, and six little wings. And I beheld, and lo! from the
six little wings two detached themselves, and remained under the head that was upon the right side:
25 but four remained in their place. And I beheld, and lo! these under-wings thought to set themselves
26 up and to hold the rule. And I beheld, and lo! one was set up, but immediately disappeared;
27, 28 a second also, and this disappeared more quickly than the first. And I beheld, and lo! the two
29 that remained thought also in themselves to reign; and [x] while they were thinking thus [x], lo! [y] one

[r] 𝔖 (*against all the other VSS.*) + Go, rule over the whole earth: but remain quiet now (*? an explan. gloss*)
[s-s] 𝔏 non apparuit [t-t] *reading* hoc (*v. l.* haec) adnuntio [u-u] 𝔏 singulatim [v-v] *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 sequentes
pennae [w-w] *so* 𝔏 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*: *but Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] > [x-x] 𝔏 in eo cum cogitarent (= εν τω λογιζεσθαι αυτα)
[y-y] 𝔏 unum de quiescentium capitum (*imitating Greek construction*)

---

8. **Watch not all at once: . . . watch by course.** Each wing (or pair of wings) is to be awake and watch (i.e. reign) for a certain season, its allotted time (*per tempus* = κατὰ καιρόν) and in succession; all are not to be awake at once.

12. [**on the right side**]. This certainly looks like an addition. If it were an original feature in the vision there would be a corresponding mention of the wings 'on the left side', and we should expect some comment upon the symbolical significance of right and left in the interpretation. But nothing of the kind occurs there. Consequently we are justified in regarding the words here as an interpolation: if by R, or some other reviser, then it would seem he is dividing the wings into two sets, right and left, and this might imply that previously they had been reckoned by pairs. But the words may be a gloss.

one wing. Lat. *una penna* = ἓν πτερόν: if pairs of wings were in the original writer's thought here we should expect 'the first wing' (Hebr.? האחת מן־הכנפים). Possibly something like this originally stood here, and has been modified by R; in this case 'the first of the wings' would have meant the first pair of wings.

17. **shall none bear rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it.** The reference is clearly to the long reign of Augustus (over fifty years).

19. **it fell to all the wings.** The expression 'all the wings' is noticeable; it refers, apparently, to all the twelve wings: therefore what follows in *v.* 20 must refer to the other set of 'little' wings.

20. **the little wings.** The verse describes the general character and fate of the eight little wings. Some such introductory statement is required before *v.* 22, where it is said that the twelve great wings and two of the little wings had disappeared (so Drummond, *JM*, p. 102 f.).

[**upon the right side**]. If the wings referred to were the twelve greater wings this clause could have no meaning; the left side would be required by the context (and so Hilg. renders here ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς: but against all the textual evidence, though five MSS. of the Ethiopic have 'on the left side'). In reference to the little wings it may be meant to suggest their elevation to actual power. The clause may possibly be an incorrect gloss.

22. **the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings,** i.e. (according to the original significance of the vision) the six Julian Emperors came to an end, and, about the end of the reign of the last emperor, Nero, 'two little wings' rose and disappeared: perhaps the fate of the conspirators Vindex (March, A. D. 68) and Nymphidius (a few months later) is referred to. Both were active in the last months of Nero's reign.

24. **under the head that was upon the right side.** This, according to the original meaning of the vision, must mean Domitian. Who the two 'little wings' represent in this case it is difficult to say—two Roman governors or generals probably who were expected to claim the imperial throne. Gunkel suggests Mucianus, proconsul of Syria, and Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt (A. D. 69). But these leaders attached themselves to the cause of Vespasian (the middle head); it does not appear that either played any prominent part in the reign of Domitian ('the head on the right side'). Gfrörer suggests Agrippa II and Berenice, who went over to the Romans and were in favour with the Flavian family.

27. **a second . . . disappeared more quickly than the first.** Perhaps Galba's colleague (for a short time) is meant, viz. Piso. But more probably Galba and Otho are intended.

28. **the two that remained.** Perhaps Civilis (died June, 69) and Vitellius (died December, 69).

of the heads that were at rest [y]—it, namely, that was in the midst—awoke; for this one was greater
31 than the two [other] heads. And I beheld how it allied with itself the two other heads; and lo!
the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two under-wings that thought
32 to have reigned. This head [z] bare rule over the whole earth [z], and exercised lordship over the
dwellers therein with much oppression; [and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than
33 all the wings that had been.] And after this I beheld, and lo! the middle head [a] suddenly [a]
34 disappeared, [b] even as the wings [b]. But there remained the two heads which also reigned over the
35 earth, and over the inhabitants therein. And I beheld, and lo! the head upon the right side
36 devoured that which was upon the left. Then I heard a voice, which said unto me: Look before
37 thee, and consider what thou seest. And I beheld, and lo! as it were a lion, roused out of the
wood, roaring; and I heard how he uttered a man's voice against the eagle; and he spake, saying:
39 Hear, [c] thou Eagle [c]—I will talk with thee; the Most High saith to thee: Art thou not it that
remainest of the four beasts which I made to reign in my world, that the end of [d] my times [d] might
40 come through them? [e] Thou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome [e] all the beasts that
are past;

[f] Thou hast wielded power over the world [f] with great terror,
and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression;
[g] Thou hast dwelt [g] so long in the civilized world with fraud,
41 and hast judged the earth, (but) not with faithfulness:
42 For thou hast afflicted the meek,
and oppressed the peaceable;
Thou hast hated [h] the upright [h],
and loved liars;
Thou hast destroyed [i] the strongholds [i] [j] of the fruitful [j],
and laid low the walls of such as did thee no harm—
43 And so thine insolence hath ascended to the Most High,
and thy pride to the Mighty One.
44 Then the Most High regarded his times—
And lo! they were ended;
And his ages—
(and) they were fulfilled.
45 Therefore [k] shalt thou disappear [k], O thou Eagle,
and thy horrible wings,
and thy little wings most evil,
[l] thy harm-dealing heads [l],
[m] thy hurtful talons [m],
and all thy worthless body!

[z–z] *reading* percontenuit omnem terram [a–a] *so* 𝔏 𝔖: *other VSS.* > [b–b] 𝔏 et hoc sicut alae (= και τουτο καθως αι πτερυγες) [c–c] *so* 𝔖: *but other VSS.* (*including* 𝔏) > [d–d] *so* 𝔏: *other VSS.* of the (Ar.[2] all) times [e–e] *reading* et quartus veniens devicisti: *cf.* 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: *Ethiop. Lat. MSS. have 3rd person* [f–f] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*) [g–g] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Ar.*[2] *Arm.*): 𝔏 inhabitabant *to be emended to* inhabitabas (*Violet*) [h–h] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1]: *Ar.*[2] the pious): 𝔏 verum dicentes (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*) [i–i] *so Oriental VSS.* (= τα οχυρωματα): 𝔏 habitationes (? *dependent upon variant Hebr. readings*: מעוזי *and* מעוני) [j–j] 𝔏 qui fructificabant: 𝔖 of the prosperous (= των ευθηνουντων: ευθηνουσα = פּוֹרִיָה Ps. cxxviii. [cxxvii] 3) [k–k] 𝔏 non apparens non appareas (= αφανισθεις αφανισθησῃ) [l–l] et capita tua maligna [m–m] 𝔏 ungues tui pessimi

32. **[and it wielded . . . that had been]**. This clause is somewhat tautologous after the two preceding, and is probably an addition of R, who identified the middle head with Trajan. The statement, as applied to Trajan, would have special point in view of his conquests and vast additions to the Roman empire. Volkmar supposes that in the first clause *omnem terram* ('over the whole earth') should be rendered 'over all the land', i. e. the land of Palestine, and that *orbem terrarum* in the last clause stands in contrast with this.

35. **the head upon the right side devoured that which was upon the left.** In the original form of the vision this doubtless referred to Domitian (the right head) and Titus (the left head), whose death was at the time supposed to have been brought about by Domitian. But R probably identified the right head with Hadrian, who recalled and executed Lusius Quietus (the left head). See introduction to the next chapter.

39. **the four beasts.** Cf. Dan. vii. 3. The eagle is here identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii, as in the interpretation below (xii. 11).

44. **And his ages—(and) they were fulfilled.** The meaning is: the predetermined time is fulfilled. The conviction was common to all the apocalyptists that they were standing at the end of the age. It should be remembered, however, that in the eschatology of A the end of the present age coincides with the downfall of Rome; the future age is the Rule of God that is to succeed the heathen empire on the present earth.

45. **thy hurtful talons.** It should be noted that this detail receives no explanation in the interpretation that follows in chap. xii. Probably the Roman armies are meant.

A 46 And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, [n]shall be refreshed again[n], and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her.

12 1, 2 And it came to pass, while the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I beheld, and lo! the head 3 that remained disappeared. And the two wings, which went over unto it, set themselves up to reign; and their rule was short and full of uproar. And I beheld, and lo! these also disappeared, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was terrified greatly.

II. xii. 3*b*–39. The Interpretation of the Vision (A) (R).

A (R) 4 Then I awoke [o]by reason of great perplexity of mind[o] and from great fear, and said unto my spirit: Lo! this hast thou brought unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High.

[n–n] 𝔏 refrigeret et revertetur (*Hebr.* תשוב תנפש) [o–o] *reading* a multo (*for* tumultu) excessu mentis

46. **and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her,** i.e. after the world-empire has been destroyed the Rule (or Sovereignty) of God follows. 'Judgement' here cannot have the same sense as in S, where it means the judgement of the last day: it here = the Hebr. *mishpaṭ* and means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is condemned and destroyed.

xii. 3*b*–39. The Interpretation of the Vision. It has already been pointed out that a close examination of the details of the vision and its interpretation reveals many grave difficulties, and it has been suggested that these are probably due to later revision and readjustment. No solution known to the present writer has so far been proposed that entirely meets these difficulties. A most illuminating review and critical discussion of the more important of the suggestions and hypotheses that have been made is given in Dr. Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 99–114. For a full discussion of later views reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 262 ff.

A New Solution.

Is it possible to frame a hypothesis which will meet the objections that have been adduced and satisfy the *data* of the text? The following seems to the present writer to be a possible solution. It may be taken for granted that whatever revision or readjustment has taken place in the text of the chapters must have been the work either of the editor who compiled our book, or of some redaction previous to his use of the special source. As there is no trace of specifically Christian influence in the text of the vision the possibility of later redaction is ruled out. It becomes important, therefore, to fix approximately the date of the editor (R), and to determine the meaning of the vision for him. Kabisch fixes the date of R at about A.D. 120, and this—or possibly even a later year—may be accepted as correct. It may be assumed that in the original form of the vision the three heads represent the three Flavian Emperors; the twelve wings represent the six Julian Emperors from Caesar to Nero, reckoning the wings by pairs. The present writer suggests that the reckoning by pairs in the original vision was intended only to apply to the twelve wings, and had a symbolical significance. The pairs served to emphasize the greater dignity and power of the real Emperors as contrasted with the ephemeral rulers symbolized by the little wings. In order to exaggerate the contrast the latter were intended to be reckoned singly. The eight little wings represent, in the original form of the vision, Vindex (March, 68), Nymphidius (a few months later)—these disappeared about the same time as the last of the twelve wings (end of Nero's reign), as represented in our text (xi. 22). The middle four represent Galba, Otho, Civilis (died June, 69), and Vitellius (died Dec., 69).

The two little wings that were to survive the last head probably signify Roman governors or generals who were expected to claim the imperial throne at the last, or possibly the two last members of the Herodian family, Agrippa II and Berenice. In its original form, then, the vision may date from the closing years of Domitian's reign (*circa* A.D. 95).[1] But if the editor did not incorporate it into his book—our Ezra-Apocalypse—till A.D. 120 or later (some time certainly in the reign of Hadrian), what, it may well be asked, was the significance he himself attached to the vision? He can no longer have identified the three heads with the Flavian Emperors, seeing that the reigns of these had already long ended and the predicted deliverance had not yet come.

It seems to the present writer that the requirements of the situation will be met by the hypothesis that R identified the three heads with Trajan, Hadrian, and Lusius Quietus. The last mentioned was a favourite of Trajan, of princely birth, who was generally expected to succeed to the Empire. His memory is deeply impressed upon the Jews owing to the stern part he took in suppressing Jewish rebellions first in Mesopotamia, and later in Palestine (A.D. 116–117). In the Rabbinical sources he is sometimes spoken of as if he were actual emperor. As a matter of fact he was recalled by Hadrian, soon after the latter's accession to the throne, and executed.

Having identified the three heads in this way, the editor reinterpreted the twelve wings to be the 'twelve Caesars'—a numeration which is found in Suetonius—i.e. the six Julian Emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and the three Flavian Emperors. In accordance with this view the present text of the vision has been redacted. Thus in xi. 12 the words 'on the right side', if not a gloss, are probably due to R, so also in xi. 19 'in turn' (*singulatim*). In xi. 20 the words 'on the right side' (they are omitted in the Arabic Version) may be a gloss; and in xi. 32 the clause 'and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than all the wings that had been' would apply with special force to Trajan, whose conquests were remarkable, though the possibility of their application to Vespasian is not excluded. They may be due to later revision.

In the interpretation of the vision in ch. xii the marks of revision are naturally more in evidence. Thus *v.* 14 ('In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other') we have the later interpretation clearly expressed. Coming to the

[1] Or possibly in some part of Vespasian's reign.

5 Lo! I am yet weary in my soul,
and very weak in my spirit,
nor is there (left) the least strength in me on account of the great fear wherewith I have been
6 affrighted this night. Therefore will I now beseech the Most High, that he will strengthen me unto
7 the end. And I said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, if I am justified with
8 thee above many, if my supplication in truth be come up before thy countenance—Strengthen me,
and show me, thy servant, the interpretation and [p] distinct explanation [p] of this fearful vision, that
9 thou mayst *completely* comfort my soul! [*For thou hast judged me worthy to show me* [q] *the end of the times and the last of the periods* [q].]

11 And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. The eagle
which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy
13 brother Daniel; [but it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted
it]. Behold, the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth, and it shall be [r] more
15 terrible [r] than all the kingdoms that were before it. [*In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other*;]
16 And the second that shall reign, he shall bear rule a longer time [s] than (any of) [*the twelve*] [s]. This is the
17 interpretation of the twelve wings which thou didst see. And whereas [t] thou didst hear [t] a voice which
18 spake, going out not from his heads, but from the midst of his body, [u] this is the interpretation [u]. [v] In
the midst [v] of the time of that kingdom there shall arise no small contentions, and it shall stand in peril
19 of falling; nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again [w] to rule [w]. And whereas thou
20 didst see eight under-wings grow up with his wings, this is the interpretation: In it there shall arise eight
21 kings, whose times shall be transient and years swift: and two of them shall perish when the middle
time (of the kingdom) approaches; and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution

[p–p] 𝔏 distinctionem (= *την σαφηνειαν*) [q–q] 𝔏 temporum finem et temporum novissima: *other VSS.* = *των χρονων το τελος και των καιρων τα εσχατα* [r–r] *reading* timoratior [s–s] 𝔏 prae xii (prae = *υπερ*) [t–t] *so* 𝔏 *Arm.*: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] thou didst see [u–u] 𝔏 haec est interpretatio: *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] = *ουτος εστιν ο λογος* (*Hebr.* זה הדבר) [v–v] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*) *and* Arm. (= *μεταξυ*): 𝔏 post (= *μετα*: *a mistake*) [w–w] *so Ethiop.* (*cf. Ar.*[1]) *Arm.*: 𝔏 in suum initium (*misunderstanding* *εις αρχην αυτης*)

---

heads we read: 'And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—[one of them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also shall fall by the sword in the last days'].

This description would suit admirably the circumstances of Trajan's end. He died in Cilicia in the year 117, upon his bed, it is true, but mortified by his half-successes and by the unrest in the East. It need hardly be added that 'the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him' suits the identification of right and left heads with Hadrian and Lusius Quietus admirably. Further, if, as is suggested in the note on xii. 21, the four wings (or anti-wings) that are kept for the time when the dissolution of the Empire approaches can be identified with the four senators who were executed by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, we have a further confirmation of the correctness of the hypothesis of reinterpretation already set forth.

7. **if I am justified with thee above many.** Cf. vi. 32, vii. 26, ix. 49, x. 39, xviii. 14.

8. **completely.** This implies that the seer had already been partially consoled (by the vision of the heavenly Sion)—a mark of R's hand.

9. **the end of the times**, &c. The whole verse reveals the hand of R. The Eagle Vision is not concerned with, and is not a revelation of, the 'last things'—these are treated in the preceding work of S and E—A is concerned only with the downfall of the Roman Empire. The reference here, therefore, to the end of the world is out of place, and is due to R (so Kabisch).

11. **is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel.** Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is a particularly clear and interesting case of the way in which apocalyptic prediction was reinterpreted and reapplied. It is interesting to note that in the Talmud (*T. B. Abôdā Zārā* 1 *b*), Dan. vii. 23 (i.e. the fourth kingdom) is interpreted of Rome.

14. **In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other.** This sentence is evidently the work of R, who understood the twelve kings to be the 'twelve Caesars'. It cannot be explained as an interpretation of the original form of the vision, as it is impossible to enumerate twelve rulers, beginning with Julius Caesar and excluding the three heads (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), who ruled consecutively. R may have altered a number merely, or may have recast the entire sentence.

15. **than (any of) [the twelve].** The number 'twelve' here reflects *ex hypothesi* the later interpretation.

18. **In the midst of the time of that kingdom.** The time referred to is the period of anarchy that ensued at the close of Nero's reign, and was put an end to by Vespasian (A.D. 68–70).

21. **and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution shall approach.** Apparently four usurpers or possible candidates for the imperial dignity are meant, who are to rise and fall as the time for the dissolution of the Empire approaches, i.e. presumably in the reign of one of the three heads (probably either Trajan or Hadrian). Now it is worth noting that at the beginning of his reign Hadrian found it necessary to put to death four 'consular senators, his personal enemies, and men who had been judged worthy of empire' (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i, ch. iii). If the rise and fall of these four anti-wings is to be placed in the reign of Hadrian, unless the revision of the interpretation be credited to R at this point, it must already have reached an advanced stage before he incorporated A into our present book. In the original vision these four anti-wings apparently represent Galba, Otho, Civilis, and Vitellius (cf. xi. 27). In the reinterpretation Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are included in the twelve large wings (Civilis could be omitted as unimportant), thus involving the reinterpretation of the four anti-wings.

A(R) 22 shall approach: but two shall be kept for the end. And whereas thou didst see three heads resting,
23 this is the interpretation: In the last days thereof the Most High will raise up [x] three kings [x]; and
[y] they shall renew [y] many things therein, and shall exercise lordship over the earth and over the
24 dwellers therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them. Therefore are they
25 called the heads of the eagle: for these are they that shall bring to a head his wickedness, [z] and
26 consummate his last end [z]. And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—*one of*
27 *them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour*
28 *them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also*
29 *shall fall by the sword in the last days.* And whereas thou didst see two under-wings [a] passing over
30 to the head [a] that is upon the right side; this is the interpretation: These are they whom the Most
High hath kept for his (i.e. the eagle's) end; and their rule shall be short and full of uproar, as thou
31 hast seen. And as for the lion whom thou didst see roused from the wood and roaring, and speaking
32 to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness and all his deeds, as thou hast heard: This
is the Messiah *whom the Most High hath kept unto the end* ⟨[b] *of the days*, who shall spring from the
seed of David, and shall come and speak [b]⟩ unto them;
he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
[c] rebuke them [c] for their unrighteousness,
[d] reproach them to their faces with their treacheries [d].
33 For at the first he shall set them alive for judgement; and when he hath rebuked them [e] he shall
34 destroy them [e]. [*But my people who survive he shall deliver with mercy, even those who have been*
saved throughout my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the End come, even the Day of
35 *Judgement, of which I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.*] This is the dream that thou
36 didst see, and this is its interpretation. Thou alone hast been found worthy to learn [f] this mystery [f]
37 of the Most High—Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and put them in

[x-x] = τρεις βασιλεις: *so all the VSS. except* 𝔏, *which has* tria regna (= τρεις βασιλειας) [y-y] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.*: 𝔏 renovabit [z-z] 𝔏 et qui perficient novissima eius [a-a] *so* 𝔖: (= μεταβαντα εις την κεφαλην): 𝔏 traicientes super caput [b-b] *so* 𝔖 (*and the other Oriental VSS. substantially*): 𝔏 > [c-c] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔏 > [d-d] 𝔏 et infulciet coram ipsis spretiones eorum (= ? και επιπληξει ενωπιον αυτων τα καταφρονηματα αυτων): 𝔖 set in order (= ? επιταξει) before them, &c.: *Ethiop.* heap up (= ? επιπλησει) before them, &c. [e-e] *reading* corrumpet eos: *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Arm.* (*inferior reading* corripiet eos = *A.V.* correct them) [f-f] 𝔏 secretum hoc

two shall be kept for the end, i.e. till after the disappearance of the third head; cf. xi. 24.

23. **in the last days thereof**, i.e. of the kingdom.

they shall renew many things therein. The statement would apply equally well to the new period inaugurated by Vespasian or Trajan; in both cases the new régime consolidated and strengthened the Empire generally.

with much oppression. This would apply with special point to Trajan and Lusius Quietus, who suppressed with great severity the Jewish rebellions of A. D. 116 and later; and also to Hadrian later.

26. **shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain.** This description would certainly better suit the circumstances of Trajan's end than Vespasian's (see introduction to this section).

28. **the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him**, i.e. the sword of Hadrian shall devour Lusius Quietus; the latter was deposed and executed by Hadrian. On the other hand, the terms do not suit the case of Domitian and Titus.

32. **This is the Messiah.** Cf. Rev. v. 5, where 'the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah' is identified with the 'Root of David' and = the Messiah.

whom the Most High hath kept unto the end ⟨of the days⟩, i.e. the Messiah is already pre-existent in heaven. This representation suits the idea of the heavenly Messiah, but is inconsistent with the next clause, which applies to the earthly Messiah: probably the clause is due to R, and is a harmonizing interpolation.

reproach them, &c. Cf. xiii. 37.

33. **For at the first**, &c. One of the principal tasks of the Messiah is to overthrow hostile wicked powers. Here it is the power of Rome that is first rebuked and then destroyed; cf. xiii. 37 f.; 2 Bar. xl. 1 f.

34. [**But my people who survive**, &c.] This whole verse is an insertion of R, according with his view that before the End of the world a temporary Messianic kingdom was to be set up (cf. vii. 25 f. and notes). In its present context the verse is out of harmony with the representation. The End of the age in ch. xii = the end of the heathen domination of the world, and is followed by the rule of the righteous embodied in Israel.

[**even those who have been saved throughout my borders**], i.e. those who shall have survived the Messianic woes in Palestine; but the writer of the Eagle Vision contemplated a world-wide deliverance in which all earth's inhabitants should participate, after the overthrow of the Roman Empire; cf. xi. 46. The clause is meaningless in its present connexion (cf. xii. 48).

[**he shall make them joyful**]. Cf. vii. 28.

37. **Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book.** The secret revelation is to be written down in a book and preserved in a secret place for the future till the time for publishing it arrives. This representation is common in apocalyptic literature. It partly serves to reflect the originally esoteric character of the teaching which was treasured in apocalyptic circles—'apocrypha' in its original connotation (ἀπόκρυφος) = 'esoteric', 'secret', and carried with it no disparaging meaning—and partly serves to explain why, when the books were made known, their existence for so long a time previously had been unsuspected. Cf. Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4 (cp. xii. 9); 1 En. lxxxii. 1, civ. 11–13; *Ass. Mos.* i. 16, x. 11, xi. 1; cf. also 4 Ezra xiv. 26, 47.

38 a secret place; and thou shalt teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest are
39 able to comprehend and keep these mysteries. [*But do thou remain here yet seven days more, that there may be shown unto thee whatsoever it may please the Most High to show thee.*]

III. xii. 39*b*–48. Conclusion of the Vision (S).

39 And he departed from me.
40 And it came to pass when all the people heard that the seven days were past and I not returned to the city, they assembled themselves together, [g]all[g] from the least unto the greatest; and they came unto me and said:
41 How have we sinned against thee,
or how have we dealt iniquitously with thee
that thou hast forsaken us and sittest in this place?
42 For of all the prophets thou [h]alone[h] art left to us,
as a cluster out of the vintage,
as a lamp in a dark place,
[i]as a haven of safety for a ship in a storm[i].
44 Are not the evils that have befallen us sufficient [j](that thou shouldst forsake us also)[j]? If thou shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us if we also had been consumed in the burning of
45 Sion! For we are not better than they who died there. And [k]they wept[k] with a loud voice.
46 And I answered them and said:
Take courage, O Israel;
be not sorrowful, O House of Jacob!
47 For you are remembered before the Most High,
the Mighty One hath not forgotten you [l]for ever[l].
48 But as for me, I have not forsaken you, neither will I depart from you; but I have come to this place
to pray for the desolation of Sion
and to supplicate mercy for [m]our[m] sanctuary's humiliation.

[*Originally it is probable that* xiv. 29–35 *immediately followed* xii. 48 (*see introductory section to* xiv. 27–36).]

IV. xii. 49–51. Redactional Transition to the Sixth Vision (R).

50 And now go every one of you to his own house, and after these days I will come unto you. So
51 the people went into the city as I had told them. But I sat in the field seven days, as he had commanded me: and I did eat only [n]of the flowers of the field[n]; my food was of the herbs in those days.

g–g *so* 𝔏 (omnis): 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.* all the people h–h *so Ethiop. Arm.*: 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) > i–i 𝔖 *Ar.*[1] which = καθως λιμην σωτηριας νηι εν χειμωνι (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔖 as a haven of life to a ship that is set in the tempest: 𝔏 sicut portus navis (*v. l.* navi) salvatae a tempestate j–j *cf.* 𝔖 (*Ar.*[2]): 𝔏 Ethiop. Ar.[1] Arm. > k–k *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop. Ar.*[2] *Arm.*: *but* 𝔖 Ar.[1] I wept l–l *so* 𝔖 (= εις αιωνα): 𝔏 in contentione (= εις αγωνα) m–m *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔏 vestrae n–n *so* 𝔏 𝔖: *Ethiop.* of the fruit of the field

---

[*vv.* 36–38 clearly form the conclusion of the original vision.]

xii. 39*b*–48. The section that now forms the conclusion of the fifth vision is plainly a fragment of S, and has been transposed to its present position by R. It forms the true conclusion to the former vision, that of the heavenly Sion. For a discussion of the reasons for this analysis reference must be made to *EA*, p. 276 f. The passage is parallel to v. 14–16, which is also a misplaced fragment of S.

39. **And he departed from me.** 'He', sc. the angel Uriel: the verse forms the immediate continuation of x. 57.

40. **the seven days**, i. e. the seven days mentioned in ix. 23 f.

42. **a cluster out of the vintage.** For the figure cf. ix. 21, Isa. x. 6.
a lamp in a dark place. Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19.

45. **they wept.** For the representation cf. 2 Bar. xxxii. 8.

xii. 49–51. The verses that follow are clearly the work of R. The latter has introduced another seven days' stay in the field of Ardat as a preparation for the vision that follows (ch. xiii), which, however, is a dream-vision. We have already seen that the seven days' preparation in Ardat was for the final and crowning vision of the heavenly Sion, which concluded the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S). It cannot, therefore, have been repeated. In *v.* 49 (see note below) the expression 'after these days' must be due to R.

49. **after these days**, viz. those mentioned in xii. 39: but R has forgotten that this command to the seer had not been communicated to the people; to the latter 'these days' would be unintelligible.

THE SIXTH VISION.

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA.)

(xiii. 1–58) (M) (R).

1. xiii. 1–13 *a*. THE VISION (M).

M **13** 1, 2 And it came to pass after seven days that I dreamed a dream by night: °⟨and I beheld,⟩° and lo!
3 there arose ᵖa violent windᵖ from the sea, and stirred all its waves. And I beheld, and lo! ᵠ⟨the wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas as it were the form of a man. And I beheld, and lo!⟩ᵠ this Man ʳflewʳ with the clouds of heaven. And wherever he turned his countenance to
4 look everything seen by him trembled; and whithersoever the voice went out of his mouth, all ˢthat
5 heard his voiceˢ ᵗmelted awayᵗ, as the wax melts when it feels the fire. And after this I beheld, and lo! there was gathered together from the four winds of heaven an innumerable multitude of men

°-° *so* 𝔏 (*cf. Arm.*): *but* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ *Ar.*² > ᵖ-ᵖ *so* 𝔖 (= μεγας ανεμος) *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ *Arm.*: 𝔏 a wind
ᵠ-ᵠ *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*¹ *Ar.*² *Arm.*): 𝔏 > (*by homoioteleuton*) ʳ-ʳ *reading* convolabat (*for* convalescebat): *so Oriental VSS.* ˢ-ˢ *reading* qui audiebant vocis (*MSS.* voces, vocem) eius = οι ηκουσαν της φωνης αυτου
ᵗ-ᵗ *so* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*¹ *Arm.*) = ετακησαν: 𝔏 ardescebant = εκαησαν

xiii. 1–58. THE SIXTH [SON OF MAN] VISION. A fresh dream-vision reveals a storm-tossed sea, a violent wind having arisen. The wind brings up from the midst of the sea the figure of a Man, who flies with the clouds of heaven. Everything trembles at his look; whoever hears his voice is consumed with fire. From the four quarters of the world a multitude of men presently gather to wage war against him. He carves out—whence, it is not stated—an immense rock, which he mounts and from which he annihilates the hostile host with a stream of fire and tempest which proceeds out of his mouth. His weapons, it is to be noticed, are not sword and spear, but fire and storm. When the hostile multitude has been consumed the Man descends from the mountain, and summons to his side a peaceable host, all who—whether from friendliness or fear—had not attacked him.

The seer, awaking from his dream, prays that the vision may be interpreted to him. The interpretation follows. The Man from the Sea is the Messiah; his enemies are the nations of the world; the graven rock, whose origin was so mysterious, is the heavenly Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven. The annihilation of the hostile powers is effected by the fire of the Law. Then the Messiah gathers the ten tribes out of alien lands, and with the joint aid of these and of the others who are already in Palestine, he establishes a kingdom of peace and glory.

A careful examination of the vision proper and the interpretation that follows it reveals certain incongruities between what is explained and the explanation. This is a common phenomenon in apocalyptic, and shows that the apocalyptic writers were handling traditional material which was already extremely old when they wrote. Thus the first point to be noted is that when the vision first assumed a written form (i.e. probably some considerable time before the redactor (R) compiled our present book) the real significance of many features in the original vision was already lost, and was obscured by a more or less artificially adjusted interpretation. In other words religious thought and outlook had long outgrown those of the fixed tradition. It had become necessary to reinterpret the latter to suit later conditions.

For a full discussion of 'the original significance' of the vision reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 282–4. Here it can only be noted that the term 'the Man' (or 'one like unto a son of Man' in Dan. vii) apparently denoted, in the earlier stages of the tradition, an angelic being who was invested with attributes, proper only to Jahveh Himself, and ultimately developed into the heavenly Messiah. In the earliest stage of all this 'Man' was the Cosmic Man—the 'Urmensch'—who, endowed with supernatural gifts, fights and overcomes the monster of chaos (see further, Volz, pp. 214 f., 216 f.).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION. As has already been pointed out, the written source used by R included not only the Vision proper (*vv.* 1–13 *a*), but also its interpretation (*vv.* 25–53). Here the details of the Vision have been forced to adjust themselves to a later eschatological scheme. The Man from the Sea = the pre-existent Messiah, who shall deliver creation (*vv.* 25–26); he will first of all destroy with wind, fire, and storm the hostile powers that assemble against him (*vv.* 27–28 and 33–35 [*vv.* 29–32 may be an interpolation by R]), after rebuking them for their offences (*vv.* 37–38); the fire with which he destroys them is the fire of the Law (*v.* 38). The assembly of the hostile nations and their destruction thus described correspond to the 'wars of Gog and Magog', which is a regular feature in the eschatological scheme. After the destruction of his enemies the Messiah gathers his subjects—the peaceable multitude of *v.* 12. These, it is significant to notice, are identified (*v.* 40 f.) with the Ten Tribes (=Israel's exiles), who now are led back and, together with the two tribes already in Palestine (*v.* 48), enjoy the Messianic kingdom of peace. Nothing is said in the interpretation of the vision of any heathen nations being included in the peaceable multitude, though such were certainly included in the representation of the vision itself (*v.* 12). Possibly, however, proselytes were intended to be included.

A number of considerations, which cannot be discussed here, show that the vision and its interpretation (i.e. M) form an independent source; and the historical situation presupposed clearly points to a date anterior to A.D. 70 (see further *EA*, p. 285 f.).

THE REDACTION OF M. The redactional readjustments made by R are mainly by way of supplement from the other sources of the book. The most considerable of his additions is in the section xiii. 13 *b*–24 (see introduction to this); his hand is also apparent in xiii. 26 *b*, xiii. 29–32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48 (see notes on these passages). The vision and its interpretation fall naturally into the following divisions: i. *The Vision* (xiii. 1–13 *a*); ii. *The Apocalyptist's reflections on the Vision* (xiii. 13 *b*–24); iii. *The interpretation of the Vision* (xiii. 25–53 *a*).

2. **from the sea.** Cf. xi. 1.

4. **as the wax melts when it feels the fire.** A standing figure in the O. T., especially in theophanic descriptions; cf. Ps. xcvii. 5, Micah i. 4; also Judith xvi. 15, 1 En. 1, 6, &c.

6 to make war against the Man that came up out of the sea. And I beheld, and lo! he cut out for
7 himself a great mountain and flew up upon it. . But I sought to see the region or place from whence the
8 mountain had been cut out; and I could not. And after this I beheld, and lo! all who were gathered
together against him to wage war with him were seized with great fear; yet they dared to fight.
9 And lo! when he saw the assault of the multitude as they came he neither lifted his hand, nor held
10 spear nor any warlike weapon; but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it were [u]a fiery
stream[u], and out of his lips [v]a flaming breath[v], and out of his tongue he shot forth [w]a storm of
11 sparks[w]. And these were all mingled together—the fiery stream, the flaming breath, and [x]the
. . . storm[x], and fell upon [y]the assault of the multitude[y] [z]which[z] was prepared to fight, and burned
them all up, so that suddenly nothing more was to be seen of the innumerable multitude save only
12 dust of ashes and smell of smoke. When I saw this I was amazed. Afterwards I beheld the same
Man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.
13 Then drew nigh unto him the faces of many men, [a]some of whom were glad, some sorrowful[a]; while
some were in bonds, some brought others who should be offered.

II. xiii. 13*b*–24. The Apocalyptist's Reflections on the Vision (mainly R).

Then through great fear I awoke. And I supplicated the Most High and said:
14 Thou from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders, and hast counted me worthy to
16 receive my prayer: oh show me now moreover the interpretation of this dream! For as I conceive
in my mind, woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that
18 do not survive! For they that do not survive must be sorrowful, knowing as they do what things are
19 reserved in the last days, but not attaining unto them. But woe unto them also that survive, for
20 this reason—they must see great perils, and many distresses, even as these dreams do show. Yet
[b]it is better[b] to come into [c]these things[c] incurring peril, than to pass away as a cloud out of the
21 world and not to see what shall happen in the last time. And he answered me, and said: The
interpretation of the Vision I will tell thee, and I will also explain unto thee the things of which

[u-u] 𝔏 fluctum (*v. l.* flatum) ignis [v-v] 𝔏 spiritum flammae [w-w] *reading* scintillas tempestatis [x-x] 𝔏 multitudo tempestatis (*we should expect* scintillae tempestatis *to be repeated*) [y-y] *reading* multitudinis impetum [z-z] 𝔏 quod (*sc.* multitudo = πληθος—*retaining the Greek gender*) [a-a] 𝔏 quorundam gaudentium quorundam tristantium = ων μεν ηδομενων, ων δε λυπουμενων [b-b] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): 𝔏 facilius (? *read* felicius: *so Hilg.*) [c-c] *reading* haec = 𝔖 *Ethiop.*

---

6. **he cut out for himself a great mountain.** Cf. Dan. ii. 45 ('the stone cut out without hands').

10. **a storm of sparks.** The whole representation is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27, 1 En. lxii. 2. It is a striking feature that the Messiah, without the aid of weapons or allies, destroys the opposed nations by supernatural means. See further Volz, p. 224 f.

11. **the . . . storm.** The description is a threefold delineation of the fiery stormy emission from the Messiah's mouth—fire like a stream, flame like wind, a sea of sparks like a snowstorm, all forming a mingled mass (Volkmar).

12. **and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.** The Messiah first destroys his enemies and then gathers his subjects, as in Ps. of Sol. xvii (cf. especially verses 27, 28); cf. Isa. xi. 12.

13. **the faces of many men.** The faces betray the moods (joy, sorrow, &c.) described in the following clause.

some . . . glad, some sorrowful. Jews and heathen, pious and godless, are meant (Gunkel).

some were in bonds, i.e. Jews in captivity.

some brought others who should be offered, i.e. the heathen bring in Jews as an oblation to the Messiah; cf. Isa. lxvi. 20 (Ps. Sol. xvii. 34).

xiii. 13*b*–24. As would be expected, R has not allowed the old source (M) from which he excerpted this vision to remain without revision and interpolation. In the section that follows (*vv.* 13*b*–24) his hand is much in evidence; practically the whole of it is his work. Thus *vv.* 16–20, beginning, 'Woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that do not survive!' is plainly out of place in the midst of a prayer for enlightenment as to the meaning of the vision. Such language is the work of one who knows that the vision describes the advent of the Messiah, though this has yet to be explained in the interpretation (*vv.* 25–52). R, in fact, has borrowed the language and ideas of this passage from the interpretation that follows, which begins with *v.* 25, as the form of that verse clearly indicates. The whole passage exhibits essentially similar features to those of viii. 63–ix. 12. It is a compilation made by R. Its reflective tone also accords with this view of its general character.

Possibly some of the language of the earlier source lies behind *vv.* 13*b*–14, but if so it has apparently been revised by R. See further *EA*, p. 290.

13. **And I supplicated the Most High.** The prayer is addressed directly to God. [What here followed originally has, it seems, been worked over by R.]

14. **from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders.** Cf. viii. 63. R here alludes to the disclosures which have been made in the former Visions.

hast counted me worthy to receive my prayer. Cf. ix. 24, 25.

18. **what things are reserved in the last days.** 'The last days' here = the temporary Messianic kingdom that precedes the End. This view harmonizes with the eschatology of E and R. Cf. vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12.

19. **even as these dreams do show.** By 'these dreams' R here means the whole series of preceding visions.

R 22 thou hast spoken. Whereas thou hast spoken of those who survive [d]⟨and of those who do not
23 survive⟩[d]—this is the interpretation: He that shall bring the peril in that time [e]will himself keep[e]
them that fall into the peril, even such as have works and faith toward [f]⟨the Most High and⟩[f] the
24 Mighty One. Know, therefore, that those who survive (to that time) are more blessed than those
that have died.

III. xiii. 25–52, 53*a*. The Interpretation of the Vision (M) (R).

M 25 These are the interpretations of the vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from
26 the heart of the Sea: this is he whom the Most High is keeping [g]many ages[g] [(*and*) [h]*through whom*
27 *he will deliver his creation*[h],] and the same shall order the survivors. And whereas thou didst see
28 that out of his mouth there came wind, and fire, and storm; and whereas he held neither spear, nor
any warlike weapon, but destroyed the assault of that multitude which had come [i]to fight against
R 29 him[i]—this is the interpretation: [*Behold, the days come when the Most High is about to deliver them*
30, 31 *that are upon earth. And there shall come astonishment of mind upon the dwellers on earth: and*
they shall plan to war one against another, [j]*city against city*[j]*, place against place, people against*
32 *people, and kingdom against kingdom. And it shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the*
signs shall happen which I showed thee before, then shall my Son be revealed whom thou didst see as
M 33 *a Man ascending.*] It shall be, when all the nations hear his voice, every man shall leave his own
34 land and the warfare which they have one against another; and an innumerable multitude shall be
35 gathered together, as thou didst see, desiring to come and to fight against him. But he shall stand
R 36 upon the summit of Mount Sion. [*And Sion shall come and shall be made manifest to all men,*
M 37 *prepared and builded, even as thou didst see the mountain cut out without hands.*] But he, my Son,
shall reprove the nations that are come for their ungodliness—which things (i.e., the rebukes) are
38 like unto a storm—; and shall reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts and with the
tortures with which they are destined to be tortured—which are compared unto a flame—; and then
39 shall he destroy them without labour [k]by the Law[k] which is compared unto fire. And whereas
thou didst see [l]that he summoned and gathered to himself[l] another multitude which was peaceable—

[d–d] *so* S *Ar.*[1] (*cf. Ethiop.*): L > [e–e] *reading* ipse custodibit [f–f] *so* S (*cf. Ethiop. Ar.*[1]): L >
[g–g] L multis temporibus (= πολλοις χρονοις) [h–h] L qui per semetipsum (*a misunderstanding of* אשר־בו = ος δι αυτου): *the correct translation is given by Ar.*[1] (*cf.* S *Ethiop. Arm.*) [i–i] L ad (*so S, &c.*) expugnare eum (= προς το εκπολεμειν αυτον) [j–j] L civitatis (*a false nom.* = civitas) civitatem [k–k] *so* S: L et legem [l–l] *so* S (*cf. Ar.*[1]): L eum colli-

23. **even such as have works and faith.** A reminiscence of the theology of S; so in a similar composite passage, ix. 7 (cf. viii. 33 S).

xiii. 25–52, 53*a*.

26. **many ages.** The pre-existent heavenly Messiah (= 'the Son of Man' of 1 En. xxxvii–lxx) is meant. His being hidden with God is referred to in *v.* 52 below. This heavenly pre-existence must be carefully distinguished from the earthly pre-existence which is attributed in various forms to the earthly Messiah in Rabbinic literature.

[through whom he will deliver his creation]. This clause does not accord with the rest of the interpretation; it has probably been interpolated by R from the former vision (A); cf. xi. 46. So, again, *v.* 29 in this chapter (the deliverance of creation).

and the same shall order the survivors. This is probably due to R (cf. *v.* 48).

29–32. **[Behold, the days come,** &c.] These verses appear to be an interpolation by R intended to explain how the nations had previously been engaged in internecine strife. The contents are in the style of E; cf. iv. 52–v. 12. The verses really interrupt the sequence of the interpretation, which is restored by their elimination.

29. **[Behold, the days come].** Cf. v. 1, vi. 18.

31. **[people against people, and kingdom against kingdom].** Cf. Isa. xix. 2, Matt. xxiv. 7.

34. **[and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together].** An important point in the eschatological drama is assigned to the final conflict of the assembled heathen nations against the people of God (the 'wars of Gog and Magog'). The annihilation of these hosts forms an indispensable preliminary to the inauguration of the Messianic era. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii–xxxix; Joel iii (Hebr. iv) 12; Zech. xiv. 2; Isa. xxv. 2; and see further *EA*, p. 294 f.

35. **But he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Sion.** The identification of the mysterious mountain (which the Man cut out for himself and upon which he flew) with Mount Sion is implied. This is natural from a later point of view; cf. Ps. ii. 6. For the original significance of this feature cf. *EA*, p. 295.

36. **[And Sion shall come,** &c.] Another interpolation by R. Here Sion = the heavenly City which descends from heaven at the end of the Messianic age (cf. vii. 26). Cf. also Rev. xxi. 2, 9 f.

[without hands]. Cf. Dan. ii. 34, 35.

37. **shall reprove the nations.** Cf. xii. 32.

shall reproach them, &c. Cf. xii. 32.

38. **shall he destroy them.** Apparently the hostile multitude here destroyed includes *all* the heathen nations, as 'the peaceable' multitude which is preserved is identified with the Ten Tribes. Contrast the original vision (*v.* 13*a*), which contemplates the submission of some of the heathen to the triumphant Messiah (so 2 Bar. lxxii. 2, 3; Ps. of Sol. xvii. 32). For the older view see Ps. lxxii. 11; Isa. lxvi; Zech. xiv; Dan. vii. 14. Possibly in our passage, however, proselytes are intended to be included in the 'peaceable' multitude. For the conflict of opinion on the ultimate fate of the heathen see Volz, p. 322–325; *RWS*[2], ch. xi. 2*b*.

40 These are [m]the ten tribes[m] which were led away captive out of their own land in the days [n]of
Josiah[n] the king, [o]which (tribes)[o] Salmanassar the king of the Assyrians led away captive; he
41 carried them across the River, and (thus) they were transported into another land. [p]But they took
this counsel among themselves[p], that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth
42 into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their
43 statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they entered by the narrow passages
44 of the river Euphrates. For the Most High then wrought [q]wonders[q] for them, and stayed the
45 springs of the River until they were passed over. And through that country there was a great way
46 to go, (a journey) of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth. There they have dwelt
47 until the last times; and now, when they are about to come again, the Most High will again stay
the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over. Therefore thou didst see a multitude
48 gathered together in peace. [*But the survivors of thy people, even those who are found within my holy*
49 *border*, [r](*shall be saved*)[r].] It shall be, therefore, when he shall destroy the multitude of the nations
50 that are gathered together, he shall defend the people that remain. And then shall he show them
51 [s]very many wonders[s]. And I said: O Lord my Lord, show me this: wherefore I have seen the
52 Man coming up from the heart of the sea. And he said unto me: Just as one can neither seek out
nor know what is in the deep of the sea, even so can no one upon earth see my Son [*or those that*
53 *are with him*]. but in the time [t]of his day[t]. Such is the interpretation of the dream which thou
hast seen.

IV. xiii. 53*b*–58. Epilogue and Transition to the Seventh Vision (partly E^2, partly S R).

53*b* . . . Therefore [u]has this been revealed to thee[u], and to thee alone,
54 because thou hast forsaken [v]the things of thyself[v],
and hast applied thy diligence unto mine
and searched out my Law;

---

gentem ad se [m–m] *so* 𝔏: 𝔖 the nine and a half tribes = *Ethiop.* (*some MSS.*: *but others* nine) *Ar.*[1] *Arm.*: *Ar.*[2] the remnant of the nine tribes [n–n] 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) Josiae; *so* 𝔖 *Ar.*[2]: 𝔏 (M) Oseae [o–o] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: 𝔏 quem (*due to misunderstanding the reference of* אשר) [p–p] 𝔏 ipsi autem sibi dederunt consilium hoc [q–q] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 signa [r–r] *so* 𝔖: *other VSS.* (*including* 𝔏) > [s–s] 𝔏 multa plurima portenta (= ? נפלאות רבות גדולות): 𝔖 many wonders (*Violet regards* multa *in* 𝔏 *as an uncorrected mistake for* plurima) [t–t] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental VSS.*): 𝔏 diei *only* [u–u] 𝔏 inluminatus es haec = εφωτισθης ταυτα [v–v] 𝔏 tua = τα σα

---

40. **the ten tribes.** This is a purely ideal designation of the Northern Kingdom here. For the legends concerning the Ten Tribes cf. *EA*, p. 300 f.; and for the explanation of the variant 'nine and a half' cf. *EA*, p. 296.

in the days of Josiah the King. This is the true reading of 𝔏 and the other versions. An historical error is involved, Hosea being the name of the king in whose reign the Captivity took place (cf. 2 Kings xvii). The error may be due to the original writer (cf. Dan. i. 1, 2 Bar. i. 1), or to textual corruption in the original Hebrew.

the River, i. e. the Euphrates.

41. **where the human race had never dwelt.** As Gunkel remarks, the fact that the Ten Tribes were not known to exist in any definite land made it necessary to suppose that they had removed to a locality not otherwise accessible, and out of contact with the rest of the world.

44. **and stayed the springs of the River until they were passed over.** Cf. Josh. iii. 15 f. This will explain why it is that the country in which the Ten Tribes are supposed to be dwelling is inaccessible (Gunkel).

45. **Arzareth**, i. e. as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (*Journal of Philology*, iii [1871], p. 114) correctly pointed out, the *'ereṣ 'achereth* (='another land') of Deut. xxix. 25–28 (Hebr. 24–27). The words of this passage are applied to the Ten Tribes in the Mishnah (*Sanh.* x. 3). See further *EA*, p. 298.

48. [**But the survivors . . . who are found within my holy border**, &c.] This verse must be an interpolation of R; it represents the point of view of E (cf. vi. 25), which R is fond of insisting upon (cf. vii. 28). The logical connexion is much improved by its omission. For the idea that Palestine is, in a special sense, the land of salvation (cf. ix. 8), and that to dwell there is in itself a source of protection and happiness, cf. 2 Bar. xl. 2 (also xxxix. 2) and notes there. See also Volz, p. 308.

49. **defend the people that remain**, i. e. those, presumably, who do not come under the destructive fire that proceeds out of the Messiah's mouth, viz. Israel, which includes the people in Palestine and the Ten Tribes. The latter may be intended to embrace the Dispersion generally, together with proselytes.

51. **show me this.** The meaning of the coming up of the Man from the Sea was already obscure to the apocalyptist. The explanation that follows is clearly an artificial one, the product of later reflection.

52. [**or those that are with him**]. There is no hint in the vision itself, or elsewhere in the interpretation, that the Messiah is accompanied by other beings; probably the words are an insertion by R (cf. vii. 28—also R). The Messiah's immortal companions may be meant (cf. vi. 26), or, possibly, angels.

xiii. 53*b*–58. The verses that follow form, in their present position, a short epilogue to the sixth, and a transition to the seventh vision. Probably *vv.* 53*b*–55 (which are vigorous and distinctive both in thought and diction) were derived by R from E^2, while *vv.* 57–58 are a misplaced fragment of S, which should follow x. 57. See *EA*, p. 301 f. In order to adjust these verses to their present context R has added the redactional link 'and there I sat three days'. This finds its explanation in the opening words of the next vision.

E² 55 Thy life thou hast ordered unto wisdom
and hast called understanding thy mother.
56 Therefore have I showed thee this ; for there is a reward (laid up) with the Most High. And it shall be after three more days I will speak other things unto thee, and will declare to thee things difficult and marvellous.

REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION

[*vv.* 57–58 (S) misplaced : proper position after x. 57].

S(R) 57 [ᵛᵛ Then I went forth and walked in the field ᵛᵛ, greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on
58 account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season ; and because he governs the times and the things which come to pass in due season.] *And there I abode three days.*

THE SEVENTH VISION.

(THE EZRA-LEGEND.)

(Chap. xiv) (E²) (S) (R).

I. xiv. 1–17. EZRA'S COMMISSION (E²) (R).

E² **14** 1, 2 And it came to pass ʷ after the third day ʷ, while I sat under the oak, lo ! there came a voice out

ᵛᵛ-ᵛᵛ *so* S *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm. Ar.*²): L et profectus sum et transii in campum ʷ-ʷ *so Ar.*² *Arm.* (*cf.* S after this): L tertio die

---

55. **hast called understanding thy mother.** Cf. Prov. vii. 4.

57. **Then I went forth and walked in the field,** i. e. the field of Ardat, the scene of the Vision of the heavenly City. The proper position of this and the following verse is, therefore, after x. 57. In its original context the clause means that the seer avails himself of the permission given him in x. 55 to go in and look more carefully at the wonders of the heavenly City, still conceived as being visible to his eyes in the field. So he passes from the spot, where he has received the revelation, further into the field to gaze upon the City.

xiv. THE SEVENTH VISION. The so-called 'Seventh Vision' begins with a narrative description of Ezra sitting 'under the oak', and 'on the third day' (i. e. at the end of the three-day period prescribed in xiii. 56) hearing a voice from a bush (as to Moses), which commanded him to recall carefully the things (of Scripture and tradition) that he had learnt, because his departure from the world is at hand—he is assured that he is to be translated to the heavenly regions to be with the Messiah and his companions. The age is hastening to its close. Of the twelve periods which the world had to run nine and a half have elapsed already, and only two and a half remain. Therefore the prophet is bidden to prepare to take his departure. On his asking who is to take his place after he himself has gone, and praying that he may be inspired, while he remains on earth, to write down again all the Scriptures that have been burnt, he is told to withdraw from the people forty days: during this interval, with the aid of five specially equipped scribes, he is to write down all that he has seen and heard. Part of the writings is to be published openly; part to be kept secret. The seer, after delivering a farewell address to the people (*vv.* 27–36), does as he is commanded. A cup is given him 'which was full as it were with water. but the colour of it was like fire', after drinking which he is specially inspired and strengthened to remember all the sacred writings. For forty days he dictates to the five scribes, with the result that in all ninety-four books are written down, twenty-four of which (= the Old Testament Books) are to be published, while seventy are to be treasured in secret among the wise of the people. In the Oriental Versions a short postscript gives the year, according to the Era of Creation, when these events took place, and ends with the announcement of Ezra's assumption.

For a full discussion of the significance of the Ezra-legend for the interpretation of the book reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 304 ff. It should be noted that the legend represents Ezra as the restorer not only of the lost canonical but also of the dispersed apocalyptic books.

This amounts to a claim that the apocalyptic tradition occupies an essential place in genuine Judaism. It claims for itself the great names of Moses and Ezra, 'the second Moses.' When the date of the formation of our book is taken into consideration (? A. D. 120 or somewhat later) it seems impossible to dissociate its appearance with the controversies regarding the Canon. The motive of R in compiling his Apocalypse and associating with it the name of Ezra seems to have been a desire to reassert the claim of apocalyptic tradition to secure (or maintain) for itself an officially recognized place within Judaism as part of the oral tradition.

While there was, at this time, a party among the Rabbis more or less favourable to apocalyptic, a larger number took up a hostile attitude. Our book seems to be due to an attempt to win over opponents by publishing one of the secret books (or a collection of selections from them) associated with the great name of Ezra, in which the cruder elements of apocalyptic are refined away.

A number of considerations go to show that E² is an independent source. For a full discussion of these reference must be made to *EA*, p. 306 f. The fitting in of ch. xiv to its present context by R was not accomplished without some adjustment and adaptation. This can be seen clearly in *vv.* 8*b*, 17*b*, 28, and *v.* 37 ('into the field'): in *vv.* 29–35 we have, apparently, a misplaced section of S ; while *vv.* 49–50 are obviously the work of R. The chapter falls naturally into the following divisions: (i) *vv.* 1–17 ; (ii) *vv.* 18–26 ; (iii) *vv.* 27–36 ; (iv) *vv.* 37–48 ; (v) *vv.* 49–50.

xiv. 1–17.

1. **under the oak.** Evidently some well-known oak is meant which had been fixed upon by tradition as a place where revelations were given. Such an oak is mentioned in several passages in 2 Baruch (vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, cf. lv. 1), and is there located in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Doubtless the same oak (in or near Jerusalem) is meant here ; it cannot be identical with 'Abraham's oak' at Hebron.

2. **there came a voice out of a bush.** Cf. Exod. iii. 8.

of a bush over against me; and it said, Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Here am I, Lord. And I rose
3 upon my feet. Then said he unto me: I did manifestly reveal myself [x] in the bush [x], and talked with
4 Moses when my people were in bondage in Egypt: and I sent him, [y] and led [y] my people out of
Egypt, and brought them to Mount Sinai; and I held him by me for many days.

5 I told him many wondrous things,
showed him the secrets of the times,
[z] declared to him [z] the end of the seasons:
Then I commanded him saying:
, 7 These words shalt thou publish openly, but these keep secret. And now I do say to thee:
8 The signs which I have shewed [a] thee [a],
The dreams which thou hast seen,
and the interpretations which thou hast heard—
9 lay them up in thy heart! For thou shalt be taken up from (among) men, and henceforth thou shalt
remain with my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.
10 For the world has lost its youth,
The times begin to wax old.
11 For the world-age is divided into [b] twelve [b] parts; [c] nine (parts) of it are passed already [c], and the
12 half of the tenth part; and there remain of it two (parts), besides [d] the half [d] of the tenth part.
13 Now, therefore, set in order thy house,
and reprove thy people;
Comfort the lowly among them,
[e] and instruct those that are wise [e].
Now do thou renounce the life that is corruptible,
14 let go from thee [f] the cares of mortality [f];
cast from thee the burdens of man,
put off now the weak nature;
lay aside thy burdensome cares,
and hasten to remove from these times!
16 For still worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen [g] shall yet take place [g]. For the
weaker the world grows through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon the dwellers on earth.
17 Truth shall withdraw further off,
and falsehood be nigh at hand:
for already the Eagle is hastening to come whom thou sawest in vision.

[x-x] 𝔏 super rubum (= επι της βατου): *Ar.*[2] in Mount Sinai (*confusion of* סנה [*Aram.* סניא] bush *and* סיני) [y-y] *reading* eduxi (S A): *the v. l.* eduxit *is supported by* 𝔖 Ar.[1] Ar.[2] [z-z] *so* 𝔖 (*cf. other Oriental VSS.*): 𝔏 > [a-a] *so* 𝔖 *Ethiop. Ar.*[1]: *but* 𝔏 (*best MSS.*) > [b-b] *so* 𝔏 *Ar.*[2]: *Ethiop.* ten [*vv.* 11–12 *are not attested in* 𝔖 *and Arm.*] [c-c] *reading* et transierunt eius ix iam (*MSS. of* 𝔏 *have* x [decem] = *Ar.*[2]) [d-d] *reading* dimidium [e-e] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [f-f] 𝔏 mortales cogitationes (= τους θανασιμους λογισμους) [g-g] *reading* iterum . . . facientur (*MSS.* facient)

4. **I held him by me,** i.e. 'I held' Moses (viz. on Mount Sinai); cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28.

5. **the secrets of the times . . . the end of the seasons,** i.e. the secret tradition regarding the crises of the world's history (measured by certain periods of time) which was associated with the name of Moses: a specimen of this exists in the *Assumption of Moses*; see i. 16 f., x. 12, xi. 1. There are traces of a larger apocryphal literature which circulated under the name of Moses, but which is no longer extant.

6. **These words . . . publish openly, but these keep secret.** Cf. the narrative in Deut. v. What was published openly by Moses was the Torah; what was kept secret was, according to our author, the apocalyptic tradition. So Gunkel. The terms of *v.* 5 certainly suggest an apocalyptic rather than an oral legal tradition, such as the oral Law which was treasured in Rabbinic circles, and which was largely traced back (in theory, at any rate) to Moses.

8. **The dreams . . . interpretations . . . heard.** These lines have probably been added by R to connect what follows with the contents of the previous visions.

9. **with my Son, and with such as are like thee.** The Messiah is here conceived as pre-existing in heaven, and (as in the Parables of 1 Enoch) as surrounded by a community of elect ones (cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7). So, too, in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 En. lxx. 1 f.), just as Ezra is here. See further *EA*, p. 309.

until the times be ended. The heavenly Messiah does not appear till the End; cf. 1 En. xlv. 3 f.

10. **the world has lost its youth, the times begin to wax old.** Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; see the idea worked out in 4 Ezra v. 50–55.

12. **the half.** For *vv.* 11–12 the Ethiop. has: 'For the world is divided into ten parts and is come to the tenth; and there remains the half of the tenth' (cf. the half-week in Dan. ix. 27 = the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of tribulation). So in *Sibyll. Oracles*, iv. 47 f., and in the apocalypse of ten weeks, 1 En. xciii (xci). The twelve-period division appears in 2 Bar. liii f. In our passage it is probable that the time-definition is intended to apply to the historical Ezra. See further *EA*, p. 310.

13. **thy house,** i.e. the house of Israel.

14. **cast from thee the burdens of man.** Cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.

17. **for already the Eagle,** &c. This is obviously a redactional link to bring in ch. xi.

II. xiv. 18–26. Ezra's Prayer for Inspiration to restore the Scriptures (E²).

E² 18, 19 And I answered and said: [h] Let me speak [h] before thee, O Lord! Lo, I will depart, as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who (now) exist: but they that shall be born later, who shall admonish them?

20 For the world lies in darkness,
and the dwellers therein are without light.

21 For thy Law is burnt; and so no man knows the things which have been done by thee, or the
22 works that shall be done. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me the Holy Spirit, that I may write all that has happened in the world since the beginning, even the things which were written in thy Law, in order that men may be able to find [i] the path [i], and that they who would live at the last, may live.

23 And he answered me and said: Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee
24 for forty days. But do thou prepare for thyself many [j] writing-tablets [j]; and take with thee Saraia, Dabria, Selemia, [k] Elkanah [k], and Osiel, these five, because they are equipped for writings wiftly;
25 and (then) come hither, and I will light the lamp of understanding in thy heart, which shall not be
26 extinguished until what thou art about to write shall be completed. And when thou shalt have finished, some things thou shalt publish, and some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise. To-morrow, at this hour, thou shalt begin to write.

III. xiv. 27–36. Ezra's Last Words (E²) (S) (R).

E² 27 Then I went forth as he commanded me, and assembled all the people and said:

R 28 [*Hear, O Israel, these words!*]

S 29 [Our fathers were at the beginning strangers in Egypt, and they were delivered from thence.
30 And (then) they received the Law of life, which they kept not, [l] even as [l] you also after them have
31 transgressed (it). Then was a land given you for an inheritance [m] in the land of Sion [m], but ye and

[h–h] *reading* loquar (*Lat. MSS. mostly* >) = *Oriental VSS.* [i–i] *so* 𝔏 𝔖: *Ethiop.* + of life [j j] 𝔏 buxos (= πυξια: *Hebr.* לוחות) [k–k] *so* 𝔖 *and Arm.* (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔏 Ethanus [l–l] 𝔏 quem (*so* 𝔖): *prob. an original Hebr.* כאשר *was misread* אשר (*so Violet*) [m–m] *so* 𝔏 𝔖 (*cf. Ethiop.*): *Ar.*¹ >: *Ar.*² on Mount

---

xiv. 18–26.

20. **the dwellers therein are without light**, i.e. without the light of God's Law. For the idea of the Law = light of divine revelation cf. Ps. xix, especially *v.* 8 *b*. Often, in apocalyptic, light and darkness correspond to piety and godlessness.

21. **thy Law is burnt.** The reference here is primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar when, with other things, the Law is presumed to have been burnt.

the things which have been done by thee, i.e. the narrative of the sacred (historical) books of the Old Testament.

the works that shall be done, i.e. according to Gunkel, the eschatological passages of the Old Testament. The Old Testament thus consists primarily of sacred history and eschatology.

22. **Law.** 'Law' here, apparently, has the wide sense of Scriptures of the Old Testament generally; cf. John x. 24, xv. 25; 1 Cor. xiv. 21.

that they who would live at the last, may live. Cf. 2 Bar. xli. 1 and notes, and lxxvi. 5.

23. **for forty days.** As at the first giving of the Law (to Moses) and its writing down; cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. The precedent is followed in the case of the second Moses here.

24. **these five.** In Ezra and his five companions there may be a covert allusion to Johanan b. Zakkai—the re-founder of Judaism in A.D. 66–70—and his five famous disciples, Eliezer b. Hyrqanos, Joshua b. Ḥananya, Jose the Priest, Simeon b. Nathanael, and Eleazar b Araq. (so Rosenthal).

26. **some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise.** Just as Moses, according to Rabbinic tradition, had delivered the substance of the oral law to the teachers and wise of his people to be handed down to future ages.

xiv. 27–36. The section that follows is apparently of composite origin. In *v.* 23 God had said to Ezra: 'Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.' Instead of simply carrying out this command Ezra, according to the present form of the section, assembles the people and delivers an address in which he reminds them that their fathers, though they were delivered from Egypt and received the Law of life, were unfaithful to their trust, and had not kept the behest of the Most High. In this unfaithfulness the assembled people had themselves shared. Therefore their land had been taken from them. If they will rule their understanding and instruct their hearts they shall be preserved alive, and after death obtain mercy. For after death there is the judgement, when the names of the righteous shall be made manifest, and the works of the ungodly declared. Ezra concludes by requesting that no one shall seek after him for forty days.

It seems probable that the passage as a whole formed no original part of E², and has been compiled by R, who has detached the original conclusion of S, and placed it here (it forms the true sequel to xii. 48). See further *EA*, p. 315. In its original form E² here simply had, it is probable, *vv.* 27 and 36.

28. **[Hear, O Israel, these words!]** This clause may have been added by R.

30. **the Law of life**, i.e. the Law which, if it was observed, would confer life and immortality—a characteristic thought of S.

your fathers have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which [n] the Most High [n] com-
32 manded you. [o] And [o] forasmuch as he is a righteous judge he took from you in due time that which
33 he had bestowed. And now ye are here [[p] *and your brethren are . . .*[p]].
34 If ye, then, will rule over your own understanding
and will discipline your heart,
Ye shall be preserved alive
and after death obtain mercy.
35 For after death shall the Judgement come,
[when we shall once more live again:]
And then shall the names of the righteous be made manifest,
and the works of the godless declared.]
36 Let no man, then, come unto me now, nor seek me for forty days.

IV. xiv. 37–48. The Restoration of the Holy Scriptures (E^2).

37 So I took the five men as he had commanded me, and we went forth [*into the field*] and remained there.
38 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! a voice called me, saying:
Ezra, open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!
39 Then I opened my mouth, and lo! there was reached unto me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.
40 And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk
My heart poured forth understanding,
wisdom grew in my breast,
and my spirit retained its memory:
41 and my mouth opened, and was no more shut.
42 And the Most High gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote what was dictated [q] in order [q], [r] in characters which they knew not [r].
43 [s] And so they sat [s] forty days:
They wrote in the day-time
and at night did eat bread;

Sinai [n–n] *so* 𝔏 *Arm.* (*cf. Ethiop.*): 𝔖 Moses the servant of the Lord: *Ar.*[1] > [o–o] *so Oriental VSS.*: 𝔏 > [p–p] 𝔏 et fratres vestri introrsus vestrum sunt (*cf.* Ar.[1]): 𝔖 and your brethren are further inland than you in another land (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*): Ar.[2] your brethren are in the furthest East [q–q] 𝔏 ex successione (= καθεξης; *cf. Luke* i. 3) [r–r] *reading* [ex successione] notis (*MSS.* noctis) quae non sciebant (*so* 𝔖: *cf. Ethiop.*) (*corrupt text is* [quae dicebantur] excessiones noctis: the wonderful visions of the night that were told *A.V.*) [s–s] *so* 𝔏 *Ethiop.*: *but* 𝔖 (*cf. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*) I sat

33. **ye are here**, i.e. in Babylon (if the passage belongs to S). In its present context 'here' ought to mean in Jerusalem.

[**and your brethren are . . . .**] The text is very uncertain (see crit. notes). If 'your brethren' = the Ten Tribes the verse is clearly a harmonistic addition based on xiii. 41.

34. **Ye shall be preserved alive**, i.e. spiritually alive.

35. [**when we shall once more live again**]. This clause seems certainly to refer to the bodily resurrection (preceding the last Judgement). But such a reference would not harmonize with the theology of S. Kabisch thinks the clause may have been originally a marginal gloss, which was added by a pious reader who believed in a general resurrection, and which afterwards got into the text.

37. [**into the field**]. This is probably due to R, who identified the spot to which Ezra and his five companions retired with the field of Ardat. Some other expression may have stood in the text originally.

39. **was full as it were with water . . . fire.** The cup is the cup of inspiration full of the holy spirit, which, clear as water, is like fire. Ezra after drinking it is inspired. The representation that is given in our passage of the inspired state is very interesting. It may be compared with Philo's conception which was influenced by the Platonic idea of the ecstatic or God-intoxicated seer. For an extended reference to this cf. Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, §§ 51–52.

The representation of the cup here as being the medium by which the prophet receives inspiration is peculiar. It certainly suggests Essene affinities; the idea of divine power being sacramentally mediated was familiar to the members of this sect. See further *EA*, p. 318 f.

40. **and my spirit retained its memory.** The effect of ecstasy was often such that the subject of it lost consciousness and memory. In Ezra's case, however, the natural faculties are immensely strengthened and intensified. This is inspiration, so our passage seems to imply, in its highest form. The apocalyptic writer here is obviously well acquainted with the experiences and phenomena of the ecstatic state.

42. **in characters which they knew not**, i.e. in a new Hebrew script, the square or 'Assyrian' character used in our printed Hebrew Bibles. Ezra was traditionally regarded as the inventor of this form of Hebrew writing; cf. Jerome in his Preface to the Books of Kings (the so-called *prologus galeatus*): *certum est Esdram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolymam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias litteras repperisse quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Ebraeorum characteres fuerint.*

E² but as for me, I spake in the day,
and at night was not silent.
44, 45 So in forty days were written [t] ninety-four books [t]. And it came to pass when the forty days were
fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me saying: [u] The twenty-four books [u] that thou hast
46 written publish, that the worthy and unworthy may read (therein): but the seventy last thou shalt
keep, to deliver them to the wise among thy people.
47 For in them is the spring of understanding,
the fountain of wisdom,
and the stream of knowledge.
R 48 [v] And I did so [v], [w] *in the seventh year, of the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation*
and three months and twelve days [w].

V. xiv. 49–50. Conclusion of the Book (R).

49 *And then was Ezra caught away, and taken up* [x] *into the place of such as were like him,* [x] *after*
50 *having written all these things. And* [y] *he is called the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for*
ever and ever [y].

[t–t] *so* S *Ethiop. Ar.*[1] *Arm.*: *the number given in the Lat. MSS. varies between* 904, 970, *and* 974. [u–u] *so* S (Ar.[1]): L priora (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*)—*omitting the number* [v–v] *here the Latin text breaks off* [w–w] *so* S (= 5,042 years) *see exeget. notes* [x–x] *so* S *Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): Ar.[1] to the land of the living of such as were like him [y–y] *so* S

---

43. **but as for me**, &c. Cf. 2 En. xxiii. 3 f.

45. **The twenty-four books.** The twenty-four books are, of course, the books of the O.T., which were read openly in the synagogue, and were open for all to read. The number 24 is the ordinary reckoning of the O. T. books (5+8+11). In the Talmud and Midrash the O.T. is regularly termed 'the twenty-four holy Scriptures'. Another reckoning was 22 (cf. Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 8) in accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (so also Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome). This total seems to have been obtained by combining Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

46. **the seventy last**, i.e. the apocalypses which were secret books.

47. **the spring of understanding.** The high estimation in which the apocalyptic literature was held within certain circles in Judaism comes here to clear expression.

48. **And I did so.** Here the Latin text breaks off. The last verses of the Apocalypse are preserved in the Oriental Versions. They were eliminated from the Latin text when the additional chapters that conclude the book in its Latin form (15 and 16) were appended by a Christian editor.

in the seventh year, &c. So Syr. = 5,042 years after the creation of the world (Ethiop. and Arm., 5,504; Ar.[1], 5,025). The Versions also vary as to the month: Syr., 3 months 12 days; Ethiop., 3 months 22 days; so Ar.[1]; Arm., 2 months. Kabisch has shown that it is impossible to bring this date into chronological relation with any known system of reckoning the years of Creation. The verse is probably the work of R, and may possibly refer, as Kabisch suggests, to the time at which R himself wrote. But the minute specification of 3 months 12 (or 22) days is strange. Gunkel remarks that it recalls the $3\frac{1}{2}$ months of the Book of Revelation.

xiv. 49–50. Conclusion of the Book. These verses, which are in the third person, are obviously the work of R.

49. **such as were like him**, i.e. the Messiah and his immortal companions; cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.

50. **the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High.** This is otherwise the title of Enoch; cf. 1 En. xii. 3 f., xv. 1; also (?) of the archangel Vretil, 2 En. xxii. 11.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Psalms of Solomon are a collection of eighteen Psalms which were written, according to the theory (see below) now generally accepted, in the middle of the first century B. C.

These Psalms passed with many other Jewish writings into Christian use, being classed sometimes with the 'apocrypha', sometimes with the 'antilegomena';[1] but their influence on Christian literature was neither very extensive nor intense, and they had passed out of sight and almost out of memory when at the beginning of the seventeenth century they again received attention. The *editio princeps* was published in 1626 by John Louis de la Cerda. This edition was based, as subsequent investigation and discovery have proved,[2] on a faulty copy of one (H) of the eight now known Greek MSS. which contain, together with other canonical and apocryphal books, the Psalms of Solomon. Before proceeding to the question of the origin and character of these Psalms it will be convenient to consider the material available for determining the text.

It may be regarded as practically certain (see below, § 4) that the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew: but this Hebrew original has perished and no testimony to it even survives. Till recently only Greek MSS. were known: now a Syriac text of the Psalms is known: but the Syriac is not the Semitic original itself, nor a direct version of the original: it is a translation from the Greek. The hypothetical Hebrew original will be denominated 𝔄, the Greek text 𝔊, and the Syriac 𝔖.

§ 2. The Greek (𝔊) MSS.

The determination of the relation of the existing Greek MSS. to one another is due to Oscar von Gebhardt,[3] on whose discussion the following account is based. All editions previous to von Gebhardt's rest on inadequate textual material.

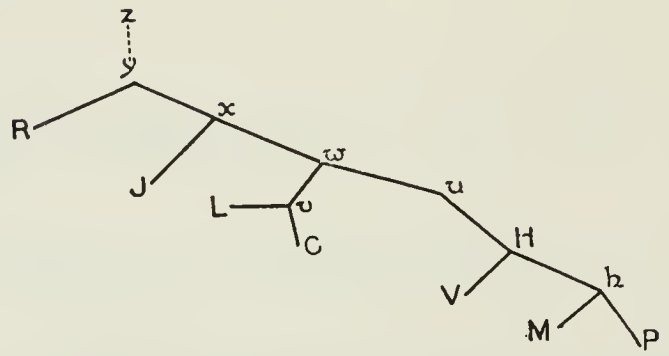
The following is a list of the MSS. of 𝔊, with the symbols by which they are cited, the century in which they were written, and brief description:

Symbol.	*Century.*	*Description.*
C	12–13	Codex Casanatensis 1908 (Rome). Ps. i. 1–ii. 26 and xvi. 8 to the end of the Psalter is missing or illegible.
H (= K, Ryle and James)	10–11	Codex Havniensis 6: purchased at Venice in 1699, but since 1732 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.
J	14	Codex Iberiticus: in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos.
L	12	A Codex of the Laura Monastery on Mount Athos.
M	12–13	Codex Mosquensis 147: in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow: formerly in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, whence it was removed to Moscow in 1653.
P	15 (dated 1419)	Codex Parisinus Gr. 2991 A: in the National Library, Paris.
R	11–12	Codex (Romanus) Vaticanus Gr. 336: in the Vatican Library at Rome.
V	11	Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 11: now in the Royal Imperial Library in Vienna.

The authority cited by Ryle and James (Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, Cambridge, 1891) as A is the faulty seventeenth-century copy of H, which was used for the *editio princeps*.

[1] Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 282; O. von Gebhardt (as cited below), pp. 14 ff.
[2] Von Gebhardt, pp. 1 ff.
[3] O. von Gebhardt, Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος: *die Psalmen Salomo's zum ersten Male mit Benutzung der Athoshandschriften u. des Codex Casanatensis herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1895.

The genealogy of these MSS., as established by von Gebhardt's investigations, is as follows:



where the small letters represent lost MSS. and capitals the existing MSS.: in particular *z* is the archetype of the Greek MSS., *y* is an (uncial) MS. from which R and *x* an (uncial) MS. were copied. MS. *w* was also probably uncial; *v* and *u*, on the other hand, probably minuscule. As between R and *x* (i. e. practically J L C H in agreement) von Gebhardt finds it difficult to determine which is the better MS. The variations between them amount to over 200 (von Gebhardt, p. 71), though by no means all of these affect the sense even of the Greek, and still less that of the Hebrew text lying behind the Greek. For some of the more important of these variations see ii 6, 24.

§ 3. The Syriac (𝔖): a Version from the Greek.

The Syriac Version is incompletely preserved: the MS., which also contained the really distinct work known as the Odes of Solomon, first published by Rendel Harris[1] in 1909, is defective at the close; xvii. 38 *b* to the end of xviii (the last Psalm) is missing. A small fragment of another MS. (containing xvi. 6–13) was subsequently discovered by Dr. Barnes in the Cambridge University MS. Add. 2012 (see Harris, p. 16), and Dr. Burkitt has still more recently drawn attention to yet another MS[2] Harris (pp. 38 ff.) has argued (1) that the Syriac is a version of the *Greek*, not of the Semitic original of the Psalms: (2) that the place of the Greek text lying behind 𝔖 is with R J L, perhaps being intermediate between J and L: (3) that in some passages 𝔖 implies a reading of 𝔊 preferable to that of all existing MSS. of 𝔊 (e. g. in ii. 41 *ὑπὸ τῶν* 𝔖, *ἐνώπιον* 𝔊).[3] From these conclusions the present writer sees no sufficient reasons for dissenting: there are, here and there, renderings of 𝔖 which might well rest on a Hebrew original rather than on 𝔊, or which are not entirely explained by the text of any of the existing MSS. of 𝔊; but these renderings could scarcely establish a Hebrew original, and certainly should not outweigh the substantial evidence that 𝔖 is a version of 𝔊. For this evidence see Harris, pp. 38 ff.: he rightly declines to allow this evidence to be outweighed by the curious paronomasia in xi. 6 f., where ܐܬܝ might more readily have been suggested by an original Hebrew than by the *ἀνέτειλεν* of 𝔊. So again we might more readily explain ܒܡܫܟܢܬܗ of ii. 1 as a rendering of בְּנָאוֹת (cp. Ps. ix. 23 (x. 2)) than of *ἐν τῷ ὑπερηφανεύεσθαι* (= בְּנְאוֹת), for 𝔖 commonly has ܒ where 𝔊 has *ἐν* with the infin. (see e. g. i. 1, 3, v. 3, vi. 2, ix. 1, xvi. 1, 3); yet see v. 7, xv. 1. For another example of passages which might in themselves be well explained as resting on 𝔐 rather than 𝔊, see xvii. 21. Apart from the general agreement of 𝔖 with 𝔊, even where there is ground for suspecting that the latter rests on corruption in the transmission of 𝔊, or is the result of original faulty translation from 𝔐, there is evidence which may be illustrated by two or three examples: (1) in v. 16 ܠܐ must be due to a confusion of *οὐ* and *οὖ*; (2) in ii. 24 (vi. 7) *ἐδεήθην τοῦ προσώπου κου*, a euphemistic rendering of ואחל פני יי (cp. 2 Kings xiii. 4), is literally rendered from the Greek ܚܠܝ ܦܢܝ ܝܗܘܗ; ct. 2 Kings xiii. 4, where 𝔐 is, indeed, paraphrased, but differently, ܒܥܐ . . ܦܢܝ ܝܗܘܗ; (3) in xiii. 3 the ambiguous clause *ἐν ταῖς μύλαις* is rendered by 𝔖, not as the context requires *with molar teeth* (= במתלעות), but *with millstones* (which in 𝔐 would have been entirely dissimilar—ברחים). See further notes on passages where 𝔖 agrees with 𝔊 though 𝔊 appears to have misunderstood 𝔐; e. g. ii. 12; iii. 2, 4; viii. 3 ('*us*'), 12, 17 (xvii. 14).

[1] *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon published from the Syriac Version*, by J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, 1909; ed. 2, 1911.

[2] This MS., now in the British Museum (B. M. Add. 14538), was described in Wright's Catalogue, pp. 1003–1008, and assigned by him to the tenth century A. D. For a description of that part of the MS. which contains the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, and for a collation of the variants as compared with Harris's MS., see Dr. Burkitt's note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1912, pp. 372–378.

[3] See also ii. 20, where all MSS. of 𝔊 read *κώτέσπασε(ν)*, but 𝔖 = *κατεσπάσθη*; xvi. 9 *ἐν τόπῳ* (so all MSS. but J), a scribal emendation of *εν τωπω* (so J), which is itself a corruption of *ἐνώπιον* (so 𝔖).

§ 4. The Original Language of the Psalms: Hebrew (ℌ).

The Hebrew the basis of the following translation.

That the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew is now generally admitted: this conclusion was indeed disputed by Hilgenfeld (*Messias Iudaeorum*, Prolegg. xvi, xvii), but his arguments are criticized by Wellhausen (*Die Pharisäer u. die Sadducäer* (1874) and Ryle and James (p. lxxxiv. f.).

Briefly stated, the argument that the Greek is not the original work, but a translation from an original, and now lost, Hebrew text, is this: Not only (1) does the Greek throughout show many features in common with Greek versions of existing Hebrew originals, but (2) it contains a certain number of strange expressions which are more or less obviously due to blunders in translating from Hebrew. As to (1), which might, if necessary, be largely, though not easily altogether, explained as not due to translation, but as a Hellenistic style specially influenced by the LXX, it must suffice to refer to the illustrations collected by Ryle and James (pp. lxxx ff.) of peculiar uses of the infin. and the aorist, of prepositions, of the negative *οὐ . . . πᾶς* = לא . . . כל, of nouns anarthrous because equivalent to Hebrew nouns in the *status constructus*, of substantives in the genitive used in lieu of adjectives, and many other phenomena. For illustrations of (2) reference may be made to the notes below on ii. 12, 13, 19, 29, iii. 2, 4, v. 15, vii. 4, viii. 3, ix. 5, xv. 8, xvii. 14, 36.

A third line of argument might be urged: in not a few places the Hebrew rhythm can be still heard through the Greek version; as for example the so-called *ḳinah* rhythm (3 : 2) in Ps. viii.

But if the conclusion is right that behind the Greek lies a Hebrew original, the task of translation and interpretation must be constantly governed by it. Passages which might only be translated in one way, and so translated might receive *some* explanation, if the Greek were original, must often be translated otherwise, if the Hebrew, lying behind the Greek, would admit, or demands, an alternative translation that can receive a more satisfactory explanation. And in every case in which the Greek can only be explained in a strained and artificial manner, it is important to bear in mind the probability that the meaning of the Hebrew may have been different and simpler, even though the exact form and meaning of the Hebrew can no longer be discerned. In the notes that accompany the following translation it has been impossible to draw attention to all such alternatives; and in particular the tenses of the verbs have been represented by an equivalent in English which seemed most likely to express the force of the term in the original Hebrew, but only comparatively seldom have alternative possibilities been suggested. For a future tense the reader can always, if the context seems to him to render it more suitable, substitute a present and often a past.

§ 5. Date, Character, and Origin of the Psalms.

The earliest direct testimony to the Psalms of Solomon is in the catalogue at the beginning of the Codex Alexandrinus (A: fifth century A. D.). Here it stands after the final summary of the books of the Old and New Testaments.

Other references to the Psalms by name are later: the Pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* (? sixth century A. D.) (§ 74) places *ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ Σολομῶντος* among the antilegomena after Maccabees (four books) and Ptolemaica, and before Susanna; Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (A. D. 806-814), places them between Eccles. and Esther. In the text attached to the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius Sinaita (*c.* 640–700) *Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος* are classed among twenty-five apocryphal books between the Assumption of Moses and the Apocalypse of Elijah.

The provision of the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea (*c.* 360 A. D.), *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, may be directed against church use of the Psalms of Solomon; but neither this reference nor a similar one in Ambrose, *Praef. in Lib. Psalmorum*, is free from ambiguity. So also the references in the *Pistis Sophia* (*c.* 250 A. D.) and Lactantius (fourth century A.D.) to the *Odes* of Solomon have a bearing on the date and history of the *Psalms* of Solomon only in so far as it can be shown that these two entirely distinct works were accustomed at an early date to be united as they are in the newly-recovered Syriac MS. On this see Harris, pp. 9 ff.

These references are of more importance as casting light on the circulation and position of the Psalms in the early Church than for closely determining the date at which the Psalms were written. For this we must turn to the internal evidence.

No argument can be based on language of the lost original, for though the Hebrew text can be to a large extent recovered, it cannot be so re-established in its minutiae as to admit of a linguistic argument of any weight.

It is different with the language of the Greek version, and attempts have been made to determine the date of that version, and consequently a *terminus ad quem* for the original work, by

means of the style and affinities of the Greek in which it is written. From the Greek style and the relation of Pss. of Sol. xi to the Greek of Baruch iv. 36–v. 9 Ryle and James (pp. lxxii ff.) have argued that the Psalms of Solomon had been turned into Greek before A.D. 70. In so far as this argument turns on the assumption that Baruch iv. 36–v. 9 was originally written in Greek and is not a translation from the Hebrew, it may require reconsideration: for, to mention but a single point, in Baruch v. 6 *αἰρομένους . . ὡς θρόνον* seems to be due to a thoughtless disregard of a well-known use of the Hebrew particle כ[1] (*BDB.* 458 *a*): the sense requires *borne as on a throne*; this the Hebrew כנסא would admit, but the Greek yields only the unsuitable meaning *borne as a throne*. However, the affinities of the Greek have convinced Viteau (pp. 140 ff.) who rejects, as well as Ryle and James who accept, the dependence of Baruch iv. 36–v. 9 on Pss. of Sol. xi, that the translation was made prior to A.D. 70.

But the main argument for the date of the Psalms must be based on the subject-matter of these. Now the state of society reflected in these Psalms and the ideas that dominate them are entirely compatible with all that is known of the middle of the first century B.C., while the definite historical allusions, if these are rightly explained of Pompey's actions in Palestine and his death in Egypt (48 B.C.), show that it is the middle of the first century B.C., and not any other period at which the state of society and the ruling ideas may have been similar, that is the actual age in which the Psalms of Solomon were written.

Not all the Psalms taken separately, it is true, point with equal clearness to the circumstances under, or the age in, which they arose: but there is a general similarity of tone and character about them which, failing direct evidence to the contrary, justifies the generally accepted theory that they are the work, if not of a single hand, yet of a single generation.

These Psalms are the work of a writer or writers who, in common with the authors of many of the canonical Psalms, held firmly by the belief in the relative righteousness of Israel as compared with the nations of the world; alien nations are as such 'sinners' (i. 1, ii. 1 f., 24 ff.)

Yet actually Israel is not righteous as it should be, and as it had thought itself (e.g. i. 2 f.). On the other hand, there is within Israel a class, a dominating class so influential and powerful as to give in some measure its character to the entire people (cp. e.g. i. 4, xvii. 22), of 'sinners'. Thus throughout the Psalms Israel appears divided into sections or parties; the one section, or party, consists of the righteous,[2] or pious,[3] or those that fear the Lord,[4] or the poor,[5] or the guileless;[6] the other section consists of the unrighteous,[7] or sinners,[8] or transgressors,[9] or profane,[10] or, as they are termed in the fourth Psalm, the men-pleasers (*ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι*).

In this division of the people into two different parties, regarded as morally or religiously opposed, and even in the use of the terms employed to describe them, the Psalms of Solomon do not differ essentially from a large group of the canonical Psalms. As in those so in these, the writers naturally identify themselves with the section of the righteous or the pious. The more closely we can determine the actual character of the two parties thus described, the more closely shall we be able to determine the nature of the circles from which the Psalms sprang and the conditions under which they were written. In attempting to gather from the Psalms this closer determination of the characteristics of each party it must of course be remembered, and allowed for, that we are dealing with a strongly partisan work. Neither the righteousness of the righteous, nor the sinfulness of the sinful, must be accepted too literally.

The 'sinners' had recently passed through a period of prosperity, and they had acquired wealth; but to ease and prosperity had succeeded the distress of war, which, of course, affected the whole nation, 'sinners' and 'righteous' alike (i), though in some ways more particularly the 'sinners'; it was members of that party, if not exclusively yet predominantly, who were led away captive by the invaders (ii. 3–15, ix. 3 ff., viii. 24).

Prosperity had produced in the 'sinners' insolence and self-reliance (i) and disregard of God (iv. 14, 24). They are charged, in particular, (1) with gross sensual sins (ii. 13–15, iv. 4 ff., viii. 9 ff., 24), (2) with profanation of the sanctuary, or the sacred objects (i. 8, ii. 3 *a*, viii. 12, 26), and of the sacrificial

[1] Cf. Judges xx. 39, where כמלחמה, 'as in the war', is rendered in the LXX *καθὼς ὁ πόλεμος*. See also my note at end of § 6 in Introd. to 1 Baruch, vol. i.—Gen. Editor.

[2] *δίκαιοι*, i.e. צדיקים; see ii. 38, iii. 3–8, 14, iv. 9, x. 3, xiii. 5–8, xiv. 6, xv. 8, xvi. 15.

[3] *ὅσιοι*, i.e. חסידים; see iii. 10, iv. 1, 7, 9, viii. 28, 40, ix. 6, x. 7, xii. 5, 8, xiii. 9, 11, xiv. 2, 7, xv. 9, xvii. 18.

[4] (*οἱ*) *φοβούμενοι* (*τὸν*) *κύριον*, i.e. יְרֵאֵי יי; see ii. 37, iii. 16, iv. 26 (ct. *τ'*. 24), v. 21, xii. 4, xiii. 11, xv. 15.

[5] *πτωχοί* (עניים?); see v. 2, 13 (also *πένης*), x. 7, xv. 2, xviii. 3.

[6] *ἄκακος*; see iv. 25, xii. 4.

[7] *ἄδικοι*, i.e. רשעים; see xii. 6, xv. 6.

[8] *ἁμαρτωλός*, i.e. חטאים; see ii. 38 f., iii. 11, 13, iv. 9, 27, xii. 8, xv. 9–14, xvii. 6, and elsewhere (cp. xiii).

[9] *παράνομοι*, i.e. פשעים (?); see iv. 21, xii. 1, 4, xiv. 6.

[10] *βέβηλος*, i.e. חנף; see iv. 1.

offerings (ii. 3 *b*, viii. 12 ff.). More than once they are said to have exceeded the nations in transgression (i. 8, ii. 11, viii. 14). Yet they are, or at least attempt to be, outwardly extremely respectable (iv. 2, 11, 25); they are hypocrites—ὑποκρινόμενοι (iv. 22), οἱ ἐν ὑποκρίσει ζῶντες (iv. 7). As a class they are, especially as contrasted with the righteous poor, wealthy (cf. xii. 4, xv. 7); as a set-off against this they will, in the judgement of their opponents, have no portion in the life of blessedness to come: all that awaits them after death is destruction in Sheol (xiv. 4 ff., xv. 11–14). The charges of profanation of the sacred offerings seem to imply that the wicked, or the nucleus of the party, were intimately connected with the Temple-service: another charge, viz. that they had set up a non-Davidic monarchy (xvii. 7, 8), points to their being the adherents of the later Hasmonaeans who from Aristobulus I (104 B. C.) and onwards claimed the title of king till the time (63 B. C.) when Pompey deposed Aristobulus II, and, while leaving Hyrcanus high-priest, deprived him of the title of king.

Over against this wealthy governmental party of 'sinners' stand the 'righteous', who are also called ὅσιοι, a term which doubtless here, as in the LXX version of the canonical Psalms, represents the Hebrew *ḥasîdîm*, *godly* or *pious*. In x. 7 *the poor* stands in parallelism, and probably in synonymous parallelism, with *the pious*: and there are other indications, besides the further occurrence of the term 'poor', that the party of the righteous consisted largely of persons of restricted means (cp. xv. 1, xvi. 12 ff.). The 'righteous', moreover, were political quietists (xii. 6), accepting the present distress as a discipline from God, which it was their duty to endure patiently (xiv. 1, xvi. 11), and assured that such patience would find its reward, if not in this age or life, yet in the life to come (xiii. 9–11, xiv. 3, xv. 15, xvi. 1–3). They waited for the fulfilment of the promises (xii. 7), especially for the coming of the promised Messianic king (xvii. 23 ff., xviii. 6 ff.), who would fulfil the prophetic ideal of rule based, not on material resources, but on the power of God (xvii. 37).

Conspicuous elements in the righteousness of the righteous were abstention (xvi. 7 f.) from the sexual sins which so offended them in their opponents, and scrupulous anxiety about sins done in ignorance (xiii. 4 ff.): their righteousness was pre-eminently 'a righteousness according to the Law' (xiv. 2). Here, again, we are face to face with a circle not remote, in character at least, and probably not very remote in time, from circles whence some of the canonical Psalms proceeded (e. g. xix, cxix).

Thus apart from xvii. 7, 8, which if it is to be interpreted strictly must point to a date after 104 B. C., none of the passages so far cited are decisive as between the two periods *c.* 165 and *c.* 63 B. C., which have chiefly been claimed as the period of origin of these Psalms. More decisive, in the opinion of the majority of recent scholars, are the allusions to external events. These Psalms bring before us not only Jewish society divided into two parties, but also a foreign conqueror. The references to this conqueror are, again, in part general and applicable to almost any foreign foe: for example, we may compare ii. 25–28 with what is said in Isa. x. 5–15, and even the striking use of the term 'dragon' in ii. 29 has its parallel in the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar to a δράκων=תנין in Jer. li. (xxviii.) 34. But others are more specific; this conqueror comes from the West, for thence he carries his captives (xvii. 14): though at first welcomed by (a party of) the nation, who left the way open for him to approach Jerusalem (viii. 18 f.), he later found resistance and was compelled to use battering-rams to destroy the fortifications of Zion (ii. 1 f.); having captured Zion he defiled the altar by letting his soldiers contemptuously trample it (ii. 2, cp, vii. 2): ultimately he is slain dishonourably in Egypt and his body lay exposed for lack of burial (ii. 30 f.). Now all these somewhat particular characteristics of the conqueror agree pretty closely with what is known of Pompey, and in their entirety they do not agree with any other known historical character: as a Roman, Pompey came from the West, and thither he carried back captive Aristobulus and his children; at first he was not merely not resisted by the princes Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, but on his way from Damascus southwards ambassadors met him bearing a rich present, and the fortresses on the way to Jerusalem were delivered up to Pompey; later, however, the party of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in Zion, and then Pompey brought up battering-rams and therewith demolished the walls that protected the Temple area; it is true the profanation of the altar to which allusion is made in ii. 2 is not *directly* mentioned in the accounts of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, while his intrusion into the Holy of Holies is not alluded to in the Psalms; yet the alternative identification with Antiochus Epiphanes is in this respect not preferable, for the 'abomination of desolation' is just as little covered by the terms used in these Psalms. Finally, like the conqueror in the Psalms, Pompey is slain in Egypt, and his body, after being exposed on the beach, was hastily burned on an improvised pyre.[1]

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these similarities between the conqueror of the Psalms and Pompey can only be due to the fact that the conqueror in the Psalms and Pompey are one and

[1] For references to the sources for these or other details see notes on the passages cited above and others (ii. 1, 2, 30, 31, viii. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, xvii. 6, 14[1].

the same person. Frankenberg, who has most elaborately in recent times argued for identification with Antiochus Epiphanes, is compelled, not very satisfactorily, to treat the description of the death of the conqueror in ii. 30 ff., not as reference to fact, but as *unrealized prophecy*.[1] So also, on his interpretation, xvii. 7–10 is prophetic not historic, and 'the man alien to our race' (*ἄνθρωπος ἀλλότριος γένους ἡμῶν*) is not Pompey, nor even Antiochus, but the Messiah!

If we are right in identifying the person slain in ii. 30 f. with Pompey, that Psalm in particular was written after, and probably soon after, 48 B.C., the date of Pompey's death. None of the other Psalms refer to Pompey's death, and the majority of them may well be somewhat earlier than the second, and have been written soon after Pompey's invasion of Palestine (63 B.C.). Wellhausen suggested that iv might refer to, and also have been written in, the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–78), but this is uncertain. On the other hand, Ryle and James argue with some probability that Psalms iv and xii, in which the 'sinners' are denounced but not yet punished, and the intervention of the Gentiles was apparently as yet unforeseen, may be the earliest of the collection. These may have been written before Pompey's invasion.

If, now, the date of these Psalms is correctly determined, we need not hesitate to see in the 'righteous' of the Psalms the Pharisees, and in the 'sinners' the Sadducees (cf. iv. 2 ff.); and in the Psalms themselves the work of one or more of the Pharisees. It is the Pharisaic piety that breathes through the Psalms; it is their opposition to the worldly, non-Davidic monarchy, and to the illegitimate high-priesthood, of the ruling Hasmonaean king, Aristobulus, that finds expression here; the Messianic hope (esp. xvii. 23 ff.), the firm belief in a future life which characterizes them later (N.T., Jos.), and renders them naturally political quietists and indifferent to political schemes, are already conspicuous here. And, again, the later attitude of the Pharisees in the matter of free-will as described by Josephus (*B. I.* ii. 8. 14)—these ascribe all to fate and to God, and yet allow that to act as is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men: although fate does co-operate in every action—is almost exactly paralleled by two passages in these Psalms, v. 4, ix. 6.

A considerable literature has grown up around the Psalms: an account of what had appeared down to 1891 is given by Ryle and James, and the more recent, as well as the earlier literature, will be found in the extensive bibliography in J. Viteau, *Les Psaumes de Salomon* (Paris, 1911), pp. 240–251. The most important works are: for the Greek text, von Gebhardt's edition (cited above, p. 658); for the Syriac versions, Harris's edition, cited above (p. 659), in the second edition (pp. ix–xii) of which a full bibliography of discussions of the Syriac are given; for interpretation and the consideration of the original Hebrew, Wellhausen (cited above, p. 659), and Ryle and James (cited above, p. 658). See also Viteau, *op. cit.*; Kittel, in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen zum A. T.* ii. 127–48 (a German translation arranged in distichs and strophes, with brief introduction and notes); R. H. Charles in *E. Bi.* i. 241–245.

[1] Note also Cheyne's rejection of the identification of Pompey with the dragon of ii (*Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1910, p. 207 f.).

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

I.

1 1 I cried unto the Lord when I was in distress [ ],
Unto God when sinners assailed.
2 Suddenly the alarm of war was heard before me;
(I said), He will hearken to me, for I **am** full of righteousness.
3 I thought in my heart that I was full of righteousness,
Because I was well off and had become rich in children.
4 Their wealth spread to the whole earth,
And their glory unto the end of the earth.
5 They were exalted unto the stars;
They said they would never fall.
6 But they became insolent in their prosperity,
And . . .
7 Their sins were in secret,
And even I had no knowledge (of them).
8 Their transgressions (went) beyond those of the heathen before them;
They utterly polluted the holy things of the Lord.

II. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning Jerusalem.*

2 1 When the sinner waxed proud, with a battering-ram he cast down fortified walls,
And Thou didst not restrain (him).
2 Alien nations ascended Thine altar,
They trampled (it) proudly with their sandals;
3 Because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the holy things of the Lord,
Had profaned with iniquities the offerings of God.

I. 1. **when I was in distress.** So perhaps 𝔓 (cf. e.g. Ps. lxvi. 14). 𝔊 adds *εἰς τέλος*, which may be (1) a mistranslated and misplaced title = 'To the chief musician' (cf. Ps. liv (lv)); the rhythm of 𝔓 (3 : 3) would have been complete without anything corresponding to this clause; or (2) an intensification: 'When I was in sore distress'; cf. 2 Chron. xii. 12, xxxi. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 16. 𝔖 'at my end'.

2. **the alarm.** 𝔖 'the voice'.

(I said). Not expressed in the MSS. of 𝔊, nor in 𝔖, but possibly lost in the course of the transmission of 𝔊.

full of righteousness. Cf. Isa. i. 21. 'Am full'; 𝔊 'was full'.

4. The fame of the wealth and glory of the Jews, the children (*v.* 3) of Zion, passed from mouth to mouth till it filled the whole world. For *διεδόθη* (cf. 2 Macc. iv. 39), the reading of R J L 𝔖, H has, erroneously, *διέλθοι*, 'may their wealth go forth'. The exact force of 𝔓 cannot be inferred.

5. **they would . . . fall.** *πέσωσιν* (R H), *πέσωσι* (J), *πέσωσι μέν* (L). Perhaps, originally, *πέσωμεν*, 'we shall never fall'. Cp. Ps. xxx. 7 (6).

6. **And . . .** 𝔊 *οὐκ ἤνεγκαν*, 'they brought not'. Fabricius suggested that 'sacrifices' was to be understood as the object of the verb: very improbable. Ryle and James, relying on Jer. xx. 9, Job. xxxi. 23, Jer. ii. 13, x. 10, Joel ii. 11, suggest that the meaning may be that they did not keep their ambition under control. 𝔖 ܠܐ ܝܕܥ may point to an original Greek reading *καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκαν*, 'and they are without knowledge' (cp. Isa. i. 2). Von Gebhardt suggests that *ἤνεγκαν* arose from misreading as לא הביאו an original ולא הבינו, 'and they were without understanding'.

8. **the holy things.** 𝔊 may also, and 𝔖 can only, mean 'the sanctuary', i. e. the Temple.

II. 1. Addressed to God. The 3rd pers. sing. in this verse and below may refer in particular to Pompey, or, being used collectively, to the Roman army (cp. *v.* 2).

When the sinner waxed proud (בְּגֵאוּת) **. . . he cast down**, or, 'proudly (בְּגֵאוּת) the sinner . . . cast down.' Cp. Ps. x. 2.

a battering-ram. Pompey brought up battering-rams from Tyre and therewith broke down the fortified wall that enclosed the Temple. See Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2; *B. I.* i. 7. 3.

2. The writer singles out for mention not Pompey's personal intrusion into the Holy of Holies (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4, *B. I.* i. 7. 6), but the irreverent treatment of the altar in front of the Temple by the Roman soldiers. To this Josephus does not specifically refer; though cp., 'Many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with their swords in their hands . . . went on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense' (*B. I.* i. 7. 5).

with their sandals. They not only trampled the altar, but that even without removing their sandals (cp. Exod. iii. 5).

3. **the holy things.** See i. 8 n.

4 Therefore He said: Cast them far from Me;

. . . . . .

5 It was set at naught before God,
It was utterly dishonoured;
6 The sons and the daughters were in grievous captivity,
Sealed (?) (was) their neck, branded (?) (was it) among the nations.

7 According to their sins hath He done unto them,
For He hath left them in the hands of them that prevailed.
8 He hath turned away His face from pitying them,
Young and old and their children together;
9 For they had done evil one and all, in not hearkening.
10 (9) And the heavens were angry,
And the earth abhorred them;
11 For no man upon it had done what they did,
12 (10) And the earth **recognized** all Thy righteous judgements, O God.
13 (11) They set the sons of Jerusalem to be mocked at in return for (the) harlots in her;
Every wayfarer entered in in the full light of day.
14 (12) They made mock with their transgressions, as they themselves were wont to do;
In the full light of day they revealed their iniquities.
(13) And the daughters of Jerusalem were defiled in accordance with Thy judgement,
15 Because they had defiled themselves with unnatural intercourse.
(14) I am pained in my bowels and my inward parts for these things.

4. **Cast them**, viz. the offerings (and holy things) of *v.* 3. This is clearly the meaning of the unambiguous neuter pronoun in 𝔊, but in 𝔄 the pronoun may have been masculine, and therefore ambiguous; in that case the real antecedent of the pronoun may have been 'the sons of Jerusalem'.

4, 5. The sense of the original in *vv.* 4 *b*, 5 *a*, cannot be determined; it may have differed considerably from that of the MSS. of 𝔊 and 𝔖, or of the conjectural emendations of 𝔊. Following the MSS. of 𝔊, and the punctuation found in them, we may render 4 *b*:—

His (i. e. God's) glorious beauty prospered them not.

Of this 𝔖 is perhaps merely a loose rendering:—

And He did not establish with them His glorious beauty.

Hilgenfeld conjectured *εὐδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς* for *εὐόδωκεν* (R J L: *εὐώδωκεν* H) *αὐτοῖς*; and this is adopted by von Gebhardt, who also adopts *αὐτῆς* (M) for *αὐτοῦ* (R J L H 𝔖). Then 4 *b*, 5 may be rendered:—

I have no pleasure in them (cp. Jer. xiv. 12).
Her (Jerusalem's, cp. *vv.* 20, 22, 23) glorious beauty was set at naught before God.

The conjecture gives a rather more attractive phraseology than the text of 𝔊, but *v.* 4 *b* would in that case have balanced *v.* 4 *a* very badly in the original Hebrew; and the position of *τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτ.* more naturally corresponds to that of the obj. of the verb in 4 *b* than to that of the subj. of the verb in *v.* 5.

5. **utterly**. Cp. i. 1 n.

6. **The sons and the daughters** of Jerusalem (cp. v. 3). So J L H; but R 'sons and daughters', 𝔖 'her sons and her daughters'.

6 *b*. The line in some way, doubtless, expressed the ignominy of the captive (*v.* 6 *a*) Jews; but the meaning of 𝔊 (of which 𝔖 'and on their neck is set the sealed yoke of the peoples', is probably a free rendering), and still more that of 𝔄, is far from clear. Most probably the allusion is to the branding of slaves with the tokens of their masters. It is true that the branding of the *neck* in particular is not elsewhere mentioned, but 'many slave collars have been found in Roman cities, inscribed with the master's name and some such addition as *Tene me, quia fugio*' (Ryle and James). Kit. thinks the allusion may be to the custom of sealing or stamping the collar or clothing of a slave (Talmud Babli *Shabb.* 28 *a*). For more or less different explanations see Viteau's n. *ad loc.*, and Büchler in *JQR*, xv (1903), pp. 115 ff.

Sealed. Gk. 'with (in) a seal'. This can scarcely mean '(surrounded) with a fetter' (Wellh.).

branded. Gk. 'with a slave-brand' (cp. Hesychius, *s. v. ἐπίσημον*). But another meaning is possible, viz. 'in the sight of' (Kit. ? = נכח לגוים). But *ἐν ἐπισήμῳ* scarcely means 'in a public place' (cp. xvii. 32), viz. Rome.

7 *a*. Ct. Ps. cii. 10.—7 *b*. Ct. Ps. xxxvii. 33.

12. **recognized**. 𝔊 𝔖 'will recognize' (וְתֵדַע for וַתֵּדַע). Cp. viii. 8.

13. Difficult and uncertain, but cp. viii. 9–14.

They, viz. the heathen; so R J L 𝔖. 'He' (viz. God) H.

in return for (the) harlots in her. *πορνῶν ἐν αὐτῇ* should correspond to זנות בה(ה), or זנותיה. In either case 𝔄 probably intended 'in return for her whoredoms' (Ezek. xxiii. 14, 18) (abstract זְנוּתֶיהָ, זְנוּת rather than זֹנוֹתֶיהָ, 'her harlots').

13 *a*, 14 *a*. 'According as the Jews were wont to do, even so, by way of retribution, the Gentiles exposed to the world the iniquities of the Jews.' This may correctly interpret the passage, but the punctuation of the MSS. of 𝔊 and parallelism favour the above division into lines rather than taking 'as they themselves were wont to do' with what follows.

14 *b*. **In the full light of day**, lit. 'before the sun'. Cp. 2 Sam. xii. 11 f.

15. **with unnatural intercourse**, lit. 'with confusion of mingling' (*ἐν φυρμῷ ἀναμίξεως*). The reference is probably to incest (viii. 10) and other foul unions.

(15) (And yet) I will justify Thee, O God, in uprightness of heart,
For in Thy judgements is Thy righteousness (displayed), O God.
(16) For Thou hast rendered to the sinners according to their deeds,
Yea according to their sins, which were very wicked.
(17) Thou hast uncovered their sins, that Thy judgement might be manifest;
19 Thou hast wiped out their memorial from the earth.
(18) God is a righteous judge,
And He is no respecter of persons.

(19) For the nations reproached Jerusalem, trampling it down;
Her beauty was dragged down from the throne of glory.
(20) She girded on sackcloth instead of comely raiment,
A rope (was) about her head instead of a crown.
(21) She put off the glorious diadem which God had set upon her,
23 In dishonour was her beauty cast upon the ground.

(22) And I saw and entreated the Lord and said,
Long enough, O Lord, has Thine hand been heavy on Israel, in bringing the nations upon (them).
(23) For they have made sport unsparingly in wrath and fierce anger;
26 And they will make an utter end, unless Thou, O Lord, rebuke them in Thy wrath.
24) For they have done it not in zeal, but in lust of soul,
28 Pouring out their wrath upon us with a view to rapine.
25) Delay not, O God, to recompense them on (their) heads,
To turn the pride of the dragon into dishonour.

26) And I had not long to wait before God showed me the insolent one
Slain on the mountains of Egypt,

16. **I**: emphatic.

19. **is no respecter of.** 𝔊 'will be no respecter of', treating the Hebr. impf. as fut. instead of frequentative. For the phrase see e. g. Deut. x. 17.

20 *a b*. These lines are incorrectly given in the order *b a* in the *ed. princeps* and subsequent editions, including that of Ryle and James.

For. The *γάρ*, perhaps, as often in parts of the O. T. (e. g. Isaiah), had nothing corresponding to it in 𝔐.

was dragged down. MSS. of 𝔊 'he dragged down'; but 𝔖 has a passive verb and, so far, supports as the true Greek reading von Gebhardt's conjecture, *κατεσπάσθη* for *κατέσπασεν* (R), *κατέσπασε* (J L H).

24. **entreated.** 𝔊 𝔖 'entreated the face of', which is probably the same half-euphemistic, half-literal rendering of 𝔐 ('made sweet, or pleasant, the face of') that occurs in 2 Kings xiii. 4, Jer. xxvi. 19; cf. Exod. xxxii. 11 (*ἐδεήθη ἔναντι*).

Long enough . . . has Thine hand been. 𝔊 lit. 'makes sufficient that Thy hand should be': but the idiom in 𝔐 was probably the same as in Deut. i. 6, ii. 3.

O Lord. J. om.

Israel. So R (*ἰῆλ*) 𝔖: other MSS. of 𝔊 'Jerusalem'.

in bringing the nations upon (them), or, as in Ecclus. iii. 28 (cp. x. 13, xxv. 13 f.), *ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ* (H erroneously *ἀπαγωγῇ*) may = בְּמַכַּת, 'with smiting of the nations', i.e. God has smitten Israel by means of the nations; cp. Isa. x. 5, 20, 24.

25. **they.** The nations.

fierce anger: *θυμῷ μετὰ μηνίσεως.*

26. **And they**, i. e. the nations, **will make an utter end** of Israel. So probably 𝔐 (יְכַלּוּ); 𝔊 'And they', i.e. Israel, 'will be made an utter end of' (*συντελεσθήσονται* = יִכָּלוּ).

27. **they.** The nations.

not in zeal to fulfil God's punitive purposes concerning Israel; cp. Isa. x. 7.

28. **with a view to rapine.** Against Pompey personally this particular charge would be unfair; when he entered he refrained from plundering the Temple (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4); but against the nations, i. e. the Romans, it might well lie (see Ryle and James *ad loc.*).

29. **To turn.** 𝔖 'To cast down', 𝔊 'To say'. The *τοῦ εἰπεῖν* of 𝔊 is unintelligible and probably due to a translator's misunderstanding; probably למר, meant to be read לָמֵר (= לְהָמִיר) and construed as in Hos. iv. 7, was mistakenly read לֵמֹר = לאמר (Wellh.); for another suggestion, see Ryle and James. If ܠܡܥܒܪ is the original text of 𝔖 and not a subsequent correction of a literal rendering (ܠܡܥܒܕ) of *τοῦ εἰπεῖν*, 𝔖 cannot be explained either by 𝔊 or by such emendations as *ἰδεῖν* (Fabricius), or *εἴκειν* or *τρέπειν* (Hilgenfeld); but Viteau proposes *ῥίπτειν*.

the dragon. Seems clearly to be 'the insolent one slain on the mountains of Egypt' (*v.* 30), i. e. Pompey; cp. the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar with a dragon in Jer. li. 34, yet see above (p. 630, n. 2).

30. **I had not long to wait before.** Lit. 'I delayed not until God': 𝔖 'the Lord'.

the insolent one. 𝔊 'his insolence' (*τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ* = גאונו or גאותו, which was perhaps a corruption in 𝔐 of an original reading הגאה).

on the mountains of Egypt. According to Dio Cassius xlii. 3–5 Pompey was slain *πρὸς τῷ Κασσίῳ ὄρει*; Mons Cassius was near Pelusium. Possibly 𝔐 had יארי (not הרי), 'beside the streams of Egypt' (Ryle and James).

Esteemed of less account than the least, on land and sea;
31 (27) His body (, too,) borne hither and thither on the billows with much insolence,
With none to bury (him), because He had rejected him with dishonour.

(28) He reflected not that he was man,
32 And reflected not on the latter end;
33 (29) He said: I will be lord of land and sea;
And he recognized not that it is God who is great,
Mighty in His great strength.
34 (30) He is king over the heavens,
And judgeth kings and kingdoms.
35 (31) (It is He) who setteth me up in glory,
And bringeth down the proud to eternal destruction in dishonour,
Because they knew Him not.

36 (32) And now behold, ye princes of the earth, the judgement of the Lord,
For a great king and righteous (is He), judging (all) that is under heaven.
37 (33) Bless God, ye that fear the Lord with wisdom,
For the mercy of the Lord will be upon them that fear Him, **in the** Judgement;
38 (34) So that He will distinguish between the righteous and the sinner,
(And) recompense the sinners for ever according to their deeds;
39 (35) And have mercy on the righteous, (delivering him) from the affliction of the sinner,
And recompensing the sinner for what he hath done to the righteous.
40 (36) For the Lord is good to them that call upon Him in patience,
Doing according to His mercy to His pious ones,
Establishing (them) at all times before Him in strength.

41 (37) Blessed be the Lord for ever before His servants.

III. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning the righteous.*

3 1 Why sleepest thou, O my soul,
And blessest not the Lord?
2 Sing a new song,
Unto God who is worthy to be praised.

Esteemed of less account than the least. Held in less account than a person of the least position: so clearly 𝔖; on 𝔊 *ὑπὲρ ἐλαχίστου* (or conjecturally *ἐλάχιστον*), see Ryle and James.

31. **borne hither and thither,** *διαφερόμενον*. So R J L (𝔖); H 'destroyed' (*διεφθαρμένον*). The correct text of R J L (𝔖) is further from the literal truth of Pompey's end, as described by Plutarch (see Ryle and James), than the reading of H.

31 *b*. After lying for some time decapitated and unburied on the shore, Pompey's body was burnt on a pile of spars gathered from the beach (Plutarch).

33. **it is God who is great.** God, not Pompey, is 'Magnus'. 𝔖 'the Lord is God'.

34. **heavens.** 𝔖+'and over the earth'.
kings and kingdoms. 𝔖 'kingdoms and princes'.

35. **bringeth down.** Unless 𝔊 *κοιμίζων* translated מוריד (the verb which would have been the simplest antithesis to *v.* 35 *a*; cp. 1 Sam. ii. 6–8), the sense is: God causes the proud to lie down and sleep the sleep eternal (Ps. lxxvi. 6 (5); Job xiv. 12) of dishonour and destruction.
destruction. 𝔙 perhaps (cp. Ezek. xxviii. 7 f.) had שַׁחַת, in which case the rendering should be 'the pit'.

37. **in the Judgement.** On the day of judgement and discrimination those that fear God will, unlike the wicked (Ps. i. 5), stand through the mercy of God. Such was probably the meaning of 𝔙, and perhaps of 𝔖 (ܒܕܝܢܐ here as in Ps. i. 5, Pesch.). 𝔊 'with judgement' (בְּמִשְׁפָּט for בַּמִּשְׁפָּט): the mercy of God will be shown by introducing a principle of judgement or discrimination between the righteous and the unrighteous.

40. **to His pious ones.** So R J L C 𝔖 *τοῖς ὁσίοις*; H 'to them that are His' (*τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ*).

41. **before.** 𝔖 'by'.

III. *vv.* 1–2, Exordium; 3–10, the character and conduct of the righteous; 11–15, the conduct and fate of the sinner; 16, the contrasted fate of the righteous—resurrection and life eternal.

1. **O my soul.** So 𝔖; 𝔊 om. 'my'.

2. 𝔊 𝔖 probably fail to preserve the exact form and sense of 𝔙. Note in 2 *a* that *ψάλατε*, 'sing', is not the normal rendering of the verb שׁיר, stands abnormally after its object and is *plural* (ct. sing. in *v.* 1, 2 *c*); in 2 *c*, 'be wakeful against his awaking', a safer rendering of 𝔊 than 'keep watch at his watch', is not very obviously in place between 2 *b* and 2 *d*. Ryle and James, assuming a confusion between the Hebrew roots רוע and עור, render 2 *c* 'shout unto Him with a joyful noise'. Another possibility, suggested by the General Editor, may be considered: *γρηγορεῖν* in the LXX = עמד; so here *γρηγόρησον ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν* (cp. xvi. 4) *αὐτοῦ* may represent a clause used by the translator as containing עמד and a derivative from the same root; but עמד might easily arise (through the familiar confusion of

Sing and †be wakeful against His awaking†,
For good is a psalm (sung) to God from a glad heart.

3 The righteous remember the Lord at all times,
With thanksgiving and declaration of the righteousness of the Lord's judgements.
4 The righteous despiseth not **the chastening of** the Lord;
His will is always before the Lord.
5 The righteous stumble**th** and hold**eth** the Lord righteous:
He fall**eth** and looketh out for what God will do to him;
6 He seeketh out whence his deliverance will come.
(6) The steadfastness of the righteous is from God their deliverer;
There lodgeth not in the house of the righteous sin upon sin.
(7) The righteous continually searcheth his house,
To remove utterly (all) iniquity (done) by him in error.
(8) He make**th** atonement for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and afflicting his soul,
10 And the Lord counteth guiltless every pious man and his house.

(9) The sinner stumble**th** and curseth his life,
The day when he was begotten, and his mother's travail.
(10) He add**eth** sins to sins, while he liveth (?);
13 He fall**eth**—verily grievous is his fall—and rise**th** no more.
(11) The destruction of the sinner is for ever,
14 And he shall not be remembered, when the righteous **is visited**.
15 This is the portion of sinners for ever.

16 But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal,
And their life (shall be) in the light of the Lord, and shall come to an end no more.

IV. *A Conversation of Solomon with the Men-pleasers.*

1 Wherefore sittest thou, O profane (man), in the council of the pious,
Seeing that thy heart is far removed from the Lord,

מ and ב) from עבד; the original text of 𝔐 may, therefore, have meant 'and perform His service'. Perchance 'good' in *v.* 2 *d* was accidentally repeated in 𝔐 from the end of the line, and 2 *d* originally ran, 'For a psalm (is due) to God from a glad heart.'

a new song. So J H 𝔖; R L C (erroneously) 'song and praise'.

a glad heart. So, rather than 'a pious heart', should *ἀγαθῆς* (R J 𝔖) *καρδίας* be rendered; 𝔐 לב טוב means the glad or merry heart; see e.g. Isa. lxv. 14, Judges xvi. 25, Ruth iii. 7, Eccles. ix. 7; and cp. 'Is any merry? Let him sing psalms', James v. 13. The less well-supported reading, 'the whole heart' (L C H), is not to be preferred.

3. **remember.** So, and probably rightly, 𝔊 𝔖; 𝔐 (יזכרו) might also mean 'make mention of'.

3 *b*. Cp. iv. 9. 𝔊 is difficult; but the translation above may represent, at least approximately, the meaning of 𝔐. By means of bold conjecture Ryle and James obtain better parallelism:

The righteous ever make mention of the Lord with praise,
And justify the judgements of the Lord ⟨with thanksgiving⟩.

4. **the chastening of.** So (מוסר) probably 𝔐; 𝔊 𝔖 (= מְיַסֵּר) 'being chastened by'.

His will. Apparently the meaning is: the righteous places his will at the service of God.

5. **the Lord . . . God.** 𝔖 transposes. The first three verbs in the verse are aorists in 𝔊.

7. **steadfastness.** Lit. 'truth'.

lodgeth. 𝔐 doubtless ילין: the house of the righteous is not a khan open to all passing sins; on the contrary (*v.* 8), sins, that in spite of all his care, and unknown to him, have gained entrance, are discovered by means of constant and diligent search and turned out.

8. **The righteous . . . searcheth his house.** 𝔖 'He (i.e. God) searcheth the house of the righteous'.

8–9. **iniquity (done) by him in error. He maketh atonement.** Less probably 'Iniquity. With his trespass-offering he maketh atonement' (Ryle and James).

9. MSS. read *ταπεινώσει ψυχήν*, which von Gebhardt emends into *ταπ. ψυχῆς*.

10. **pious.** 𝔐 doubtless חסיד.

11. **begotten**, or 'born'. 'Stumbleth'; 𝔊 aor.

12. **sins to sins.** So Isa. xxx. 1 (𝔊); in 𝔐 perhaps 'sin to sin', as in *v.* 7 (cp. Isa. xxx. 1, 𝔐). In other respects *v.* 12 was perhaps a more exact antithesis to *v.* 7: 'while he liveth' (*τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ*) is doubtful.

12–13. **addeth . . . falleth.** 𝔊 aor., but 'riseth' in 𝔊 is fut. In 𝔐 probably all were imperfects.

13. **verily.** 𝔊 'for'; 𝔖 'and because'.

14. 𝔐 probably as above; 𝔊 'And He' (i.e. God) 'will not remember (him', viz. the sinner), 'when He visits the righteous', with His favour.

IV. TITLE. **Conversation**, R J L C; 'psalm', H.

1. **O profane (man).** Here and throughout the Psalm the sing. may refer collectively to the party opposed to

Provoking with transgressions the God of Israel?
2 Extravagant in speech, extravagant in outward seeming beyond all (men),
Is he that is severe of speech in condemning sinners in judgement.
3 And his hand is first upon him as (though he acted) in zeal,
And (yet) he is himself guilty in respect of manifold sins and of wantonness.
4 His eyes are upon every woman without distinction;
His tongue lieth when he maketh contract with an oath.
5 By night and in secret he sinneth as though unseen,
With his eyes he talketh to every woman of evil compacts.
6 He is swift to enter every house with cheerfulness as though guileless.

7 (6) Let God remove those that live in hypocrisy in the company of the pious,
(Even) the life of such an one with corruption of his flesh and penury.
8 (7) Let God reveal the deeds of the men-pleasers,
The deeds of such an one with laughter and derision;
9 (8) **That** the pious may count righteous the judgement of their God,
When sinners are removed from before the righteous,
10 (Even the) man-pleaser who uttereth law guilefully.
11 (9) And their eyes (are fixed) upon any man's house that is (still) secure,
That they may, like (the) Serpent, destroy the wisdom of . . . with words of transgressors.
12 (10) His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.
13 He **never ceaseth from** scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans,
(11) Yea, he lay**eth** waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.
14 He deceive**th** with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth, or judgeth.
15 (12) **He fills one (house)** with lawlessness,
And (then) his eyes (are fixed) upon the next house,

the psalmist, or to the leader of that party; adopting the latter view some have identified the profane man with Alexander Jannaeus (Wellh.), others with Aristobulus (Ryle and James).

the council of the pious. So J 𝔖; 'the pious council' R L C; 'in council' H. The fuller and correcter phrase need not necessarily refer to the Sanhedrin; *συνέδριον* may also stand for סוד; cp. e.g. Jer. xv. 17. 'Pious' = חסידים; cp. iii. 10.

1 *b*. Cp. Isa. xxix. 13 (also Matt. xv. 8) 'seeing that'; 𝔊 'and'.

2 *b*. Cp. 'the Sadducees . . . savage in judging (offenders) beyond all the Jews', Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1.

3. **upon him.** In carrying out the sentence on the condemned sinner; cp. Deut. xiii. 10.

wantonness. Cp. Matt. xxiii. 25 (R. V. 'excess').

4. **without distinction.** 𝔖 'immodestly'.

5. **of evil compacts.** Or, perhaps (𝔐), 'of assignations for evil'.

7. **the life of such an one.** Lit. 'his life'; 𝔊 is difficult in this verse and scarcely represents 𝔐 exactly; 𝔖 'God shall remove those who judge with respect of persons; but He lives with the upright in the corruption of his body and in the poverty (read ܡܣܒܢܘܬܐ for ܡܒܣܢܘܬܐ) of his life'.

8. **The deeds of such an one.** Lit. 'his deeds'; cp. *v.* 7, also the sing. in *v.* 3 *a* (him) after the plur. 'sinners' in *v.* 2.

8 *b*. May mean either that God will deride the wicked (cp. Ps. ii. 4), or expose them to the derision of men (cp. Ps. xliv. (xliii) 14).

10. **uttereth.** 𝔐, perhaps, עבר 'transgresseth' (von Gebh.).

11. The meaning seems to be: if any house still survives secure against their licentious conduct, their set purpose is, like the Serpent (Gen. iii), to gain their way by working on the wife with seductive speech. But the text is uncertain. Wellh. differently: their eyes are directed to the house of a man (= Alexander Jannaeus) who understands how to pervert the wisdom of God (reading *ἀγγέλων* = אלהים for *ἀλλήλων*).

the wisdom of . . . The genitive in 𝔊 is 'one another', but this yields no sense. For *ἀλλήλων* Ryle and James conjecture *λαλῶν*, 'to pervert wisdom, speaking with words,' &c.; the sing. part. in *v.* 11 *b* then resumes the plur. ('their') of *v.* 11 *a*; cp. *vv.* 7, 8. Von Gebhardt conjectures *λαῶν* = עמים, a corruption in 𝔐 for תמים, 'the wisdom of the flawless'. For other suggestions see preceding note and Ryle and James.

13. **He never ceaseth from.** So probably 𝔐; 𝔊 has 'He ceased not, till he prevailed (in)'.

13 *b*–14. The aorists of 𝔊 are rendered by English present tenses.

14. Possibly once followed by *v.* 12, to which it would form a parallel. Verse 15 (if correctly interpreted) would follow *v.* 13 better than *v.* 14. Rearranged the passage would read thus:—

14 He deceiveth with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth or judgeth;
12 His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.
13 He never ceaseth from scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans,
Yea, he layeth waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.
15 He is sated with lawlessness therewith:
And (then) his eyes are directed to the next house.

15 f. Obscure; but the general idea probably is that he has no sooner ruined one house than he turns his attention to the next, seducing its inmates to become the victims of his insatiable lust.

15 *a*. 𝔊 'he is filled with (*ἐν*) lawlessness in this' (*ἐν ταύτῃ*).

To destroy it with words that give wing to (desire).
13) (Yet) with all these his soul, like Sheol, is not sated.

16 Let his portion, O Lord, be dishonoured before thee;
Let him go forth groaning, and come home cursed.
15) Let his life be (spent) in anguish, and penury, and want, O Lord;
Let his sleep be (beset) with pains and his awaking with perplexities.
16) Let sleep be withdrawn from his eyelids at night;
Let him fail dishonourably in every work of his hands.
17) Let him come home empty-handed to his house,
And his house be void of everything wherewith he could sate his appetite.
18) (Let) his old age (be spent) in childless loneliness until his removal (by death).

19) Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be rent by wild beasts,
And (let) the bones of the lawless (lie) dishonoured in the sight of the sun.
20) Let ravens peck out the eyes of the hypocrites.
23 For they have laid waste many houses of men, in dishonour,
And scattered (them) in (their) lust;
21) And they have not remembered God,
Nor feared God in all these things;
25 But they have provoked God's anger and vexed Him.
22) May He remove them from off the earth,
Because with deceit they beguiled the souls of the flawless.

23) Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their flawlessness;
27 The Lord shall deliver them from guileful men and sinners,
And deliver us from every stumbling-block of the lawless (men).
24) Let God destroy them that insolently work all unrighteousness,
For a great and mighty judge is the Lord our God in righteousness.

28) Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love Thee.

V. *A Psalm. Of Solomon.*

1 O Lord God, I will praise Thy name with joy,
In the midst of them that know Thy righteous judgements.
2 For Thou art good and merciful, the refuge of the poor;
3 When I cry to Thee, do not silently disregard me.
(3) For no man taketh spoil from a mighty man;
5 Who, then, can take aught of all that Thou hast made, except Thou Thyself givest?
(4) For man and his portion (lie) before Thee in the balance;
He cannot add to, so as to enlarge, what has been prescribed by Thee.

O God, 7 (5) when we are in distress we call upon Thee for help,
And Thou dost not turn back our petition, for Thou art our God.
5) Cause not Thy hand to be heavy upon us,
Lest through necessity we sin.

15 *d*. **like Sheol.** So R L J C S; H om. Cp. Prov. xxvii. 20, Isa. v. 14.
16 *b*. Cp. Deut. xxviii. 19, Ps. civ. 23, cxxi. 8.
19. **could.** G 'shall'.
20. **until his removal.** Or, perhaps, 'that (his family) may be taken away (from the earth)', i.e. let his old age be at once lonely and hopeless. S renders the entire verse by what is a free and inaccurate paraphrase of G, 'And of his children let not one draw near him.'
21. **rent.** Lit. 'be scattered'; H different?
23. **many houses of men.** So R J H S; 'houses of many men', L C. The latter rendering may more correctly represent H. Yet perhaps the original text of H ran rather as follows:

For they have laid waste houses in dishonour,
And by their lust scattered (i.e. made homeless) many men.

V. 4. Cp. Isa. xlix. 24 (G).
taketh. G 'shall take'.
5. **Who, then, can take.** G 'And who shall take'.
6. **what has been prescribed by Thee.** G τὸ κρίμα σου, where κρίμα is probably = מִשְׁפָּט, intended in the sense which it has in Gen. xlvii. 22, Prov. xxx. 8, xxxi. 15. For the thought of the verse cp. Matt. vi. 27; for the phraseology, Wisd. xi. 21.
7. **O God.** In G this goes with *v*. 6; in H it probably opened *v*. 7.
call . . . dost not turn back. In G the tenses are future.

9 (7) Even though Thou restore us not, we will not keep away;
But unto Thee will we come.
10 (8) For if I hunger, unto Thee will I cry, O God;
And *Thou* wilt give to me.

11 (9) Birds and fish dost Thou nourish,
In that Thou givest rain to the steppes that green grass may spring up,
(10) (So) to prepare fodder in the steppe for every living thing;
12 And if they hunger, unto Thee do they lift up their face.
13 (11) Kings and rulers and peoples *Thou* dost nourish, O God;
And who is the help of the poor and needy, if not Thou, O Lord?
14 (12) And Thou wilt hearken—for who is good and gentle but Thou?—
Making glad the soul of the humble by opening Thine hand in mercy.

15 (13) Man's goodness is (bestowed) grudgingly and . . .,
And if he repeat (it) without murmuring, even that is marvellous.
16 (14) But Thy gift is great in goodness and wealth,
And he whose hope is (set) on Thee **shall have no lack of** gifts.
17 (15) Upon the whole earth is Thy mercy, O Lord, in goodness.

18 (16) Happy is he whom God remembereth in (granting to him) a due sufficiency;
19 If a man abound overmuch, he sinneth.
20 (17) Sufficient are moderate means with righteousness,
And hereby the blessing of the Lord (becomes) abundance with righteousness.
21 (18) They that fear the Lord rejoice in good (gifts),
And Thy goodness is upon Israel in Thy kingdom.

Blessed is the glory of the Lord, for He is our king.

VI. *In Hope. Of Solomon.*

6 1 Happy is the man whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the Lord;
2 When he remembereth the name of the Lord, he will be saved.
3 (2) His ways are made even by the Lord,
And the works of his hands are preserved by the Lord his God.
4 (3) At what he sees in his bad dreams, his soul shall not be troubled;

9*a*. Cp. Ps. lxxx. 7. 𝔖 'And turn not Thy face from us, lest we go far from Thee'.

11. To relieve the present awkwardness, von Gebhardt conjectured ἡτοίμισας, 'thou preparest', in place of ἑτοιμάσαι (𝔊 𝔖), 'so to prepare'; perhaps rightly. 𝔐 possibly suffered some misplacement and contamination, and read originally somewhat as follows:

When Thou givest rain, the green grass springs up;
Thou preparest provender in the steppe for every beast.
Birds and fish *Thou* dost nourish,
And if they hunger, they lift up their face to Thee.

At present the fresh grass of the steppes, which is not the food of fish and birds, is brought into unnaturally close relation to them.

12. The tenses, in 𝔊 future, were doubtless in 𝔐 imperfects with frequentative force; cp. *vv.* 11 *a*, 13 *a*.

14. **Making glad the soul of the humble,** or 'make glad', &c. 𝔖 'And his soul shall be satisfied'.

15. **grudgingly.** So J (ἐν φειδοῖ; R L C ἐν φειδῷ) 𝔖; the reading of H, ἐν φίλῳ, 'on a friend', arose from this by error. A synonymous clause followed, but has been obscured by the mistranslation of 𝔊, and subsequent mutilation (?). 𝔊 reads, ungrammatically, καὶ ἡ αὔριον, which is expanded by 𝔖, and, independently, by Ryle and James, into 'to-day and to-morrow'. Possibly 𝔐 read וּבְמָחָר (whence, by confusion with מָחָר, 𝔊's αὔριον), 'and for a price' (cp. Frankenberg).

16. **is great,** &c. Lit. 'great, with (μετά) kindness, and rich'. God's gift is given with a free, ungrudging (cp. 15 *a*) kindness, and is also in itself rich and costly.

shall have no lack of gifts. So, probably, the original text of 𝔐; but, if so, יחסר was miscopied יחום (Frankenberg). 𝔊 (cp. 𝔖) may be best rendered 'will not be sparing with his gifts'. See Ryle and James.

18. **God.** 𝔖 'the Lord'.

in (granting to him) a due sufficiency. Cp. e.g. Prov. xxx. 8. 𝔖 'in poverty', perhaps a paraphrase of 𝔊, for note 'poverty' also renders τὸ μέτριον in *v.* 20.

20*b*. Not very clear. Perhaps the meaning is: the moderate means given by God is equivalent to abundance, but an abundance that does not lead to sin (*v.* 19). Ryle and James render: 'and herein is the blessing of the Lord, that (a man) be satisfied in righteousness.'

VI. 3. **made even.** Cp. Ps. v. 8; or, 'established', cp. Ps. xxxvii. 23.

3*b*. **the Lord.** 𝔖 om.

5 When he passes through rivers and the tossing of the seas, he shall not be dismayed.
(4) He ariseth from his sleep, and blesseth the name of the Lord:
7 When his heart is at peace, he singeth to the name of his God,
(5) And he entreateth the Lord for all his house.
8 And the Lord heareth the prayer of every one that feareth God,
(6) And every request of the soul that hopes for Him doth the Lord accomplish.

9 Blessed is the Lord, who showeth mercy to those who love Him in sincerity.

VII. *Of Solomon. Of turning.*

7 1 Make not Thy dwelling afar from us, O God;
Lest they assail us that hate us without cause.
2 For Thou hast rejected them, O God;
Let not their foot trample upon Thy holy inheritance.
3 Chasten us Thyself in Thy good pleasure;
But give (us) not up to the nations;
4 For, if Thou sendest **pestilence,**
Thou Thyself givest it charge concerning us;
(5) For Thou art merciful,
And wilt not be angry to the point of consuming us.

(6) While Thy name dwelleth in our midst, we shall find mercy;
6 And the nations shall not prevail against us.
(7) For Thou art our shield,
7 And when we call upon Thee, Thou hearkenest to us;
8 For Thou wilt pity the seed of Israel for ever
And Thou wilt not reject (them):
(9) But we (shall be) under Thy yoke for ever,
And (under) the rod of Thy chastening.
(10) Thou wilt establish us in the time that Thou helpest us,
Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day wherein Thou didst promise (to help them).

7. **When his heart is at peace,** lit. 'in the stability (or 'prosperity', cp. iv. 17) of his heart'. 𝔄, perhaps, בשלות לבו ; cp. בשלוי, Ps. xxx. 7 (6).
his God. 𝔖 'the Lord'.
7 *b*. This line was perhaps originally preceded by a parallel line.
he entreateth. Cp. ii. 24.
8. **God.** 𝔖 'him'.
8, 9. The lines of *v*. 8 are obvious parallels, and should not be placed in separate distichs (as by Kit.). Verse 9 is an isolated stichos, such as occurs at the end of other Psalms; see ii. 41, iv. 29, v. 22, ix. 20, x. 9, xi. 9 *c*, xvii. 51 *c*. Cp. the rather different conclusions in the canonical Psalms, xli. 13, lxxxix. 52, cxxv. 5 *c*, cxxviii. 6 *b*, and the הללויה that concludes several Psalms.

VII. Title. **Of turning.** The title may indicate that the subject of the Psalm is the restoration of the people by God to prosperity (cp. v. 9). Less probably the word expresses the turning of the people in repentance to God.
1 *a*. Cf. *v*. 6.
1 *b*. **they . . . that hate us without cause.** In view of line *a*, and *vv*. 3 *b*, 6 *b*, it is probable that foreigners are intended (cp. Lam. iii. 52). In another connexion the words might denote a Jewish party, as they perhaps do in Ps. xxxv. 19, lxix. 5.
2. **For.** The force of 𝔄 was, perhaps 'nay, but'.
Let not their foot. 𝔖 'in order that their foot might not'.
trample upon. Used of the profane intrusion of foreign soldiery in ii. 2; of the irreverent approach of Jewish worshippers in Isa. i. 12.
3, 4. The argument is: We have sinned and deserve chastisement (cp. *v*. 8 *d*); but let us be chastised directly by God, who even in wrath remembers mercy (*v*. 5, cp. ii. 24–7), not by pitiless men. Cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13–15, also 4 Esdras v. 30, Ecclus. ii. 18.
4. **pestilence.** 𝔊 𝔖 'death'; but *θάνατος* here, as in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13–15, probably rendered דבר, 'pestilence'.
6. **the nations.** So 𝔖; 𝔊 'nation'.
our shield. 𝔊 lit. 'he who holds a shield over us'; but in O.T. *ὑπερασπιστής* is generally = מגן 'shield', or מעוז 'refuge'. 𝔖 here 'our strength' (cp. Ps. xxvii. 1, Pesch.).
7. **And when we call . . . Thou hearkenest.** 𝔊 'And we shall call . . . and Thou wilt hearken'.
8 *c*, *d*. The prayer of *v*. 3 will have been granted.

VIII. *Of Solomon. Of the chief* **Musician.**

8 1 Distress and the sound of war hath my ear heard,
The sound of a trumpet announcing slaughter and calamity,
2 The sound of much people as of an exceeding high wind,
As a tempest with mighty fire sweeping through the **Negeb.**
3 And I said in my heart, Surely (?) God judge**th us** ;
4 A sound I hear (moving) towards Jerusalem, the holy city.
5 My loins were broken at what I heard, (5) my knees tottered ;
6 My heart was afraid, my bones were dismayed like flax.
7 (6) I said : They establish their ways in righteousness.

(7) I thought upon the judgements of God since the creation of heaven and earth ;
I held God righteous in His judgements which have been from of old.
8 God laid bare their sins in the full light of day ;
All the earth came to know the righteous judgements of God.
9 In secret places underground their iniquities (were committed) to provoke (Him) to anger ;
10 They wrought confusion, son with mother and father with daughter ;
11 (10) They committed adultery, every man with his neighbour's wife.
They concluded covenants with one another with an oath touching these things ;
12 (11) They plundered the sanctuary of God, as though there was no avenger.
13 (12) They trode the altar of the Lord, (coming straight) from all manner of uncleanness ;
And with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices, as (though these were) common flesh.
14 (13) They left no sin undone, wherein they surpassed not the heathen.

VIII. TITLE. **Of the chief Musician.** 𝔊 *εἰς νῖκος*, 'unto victory'; but in Theodotion's version of Ps. xii. 1, xiii. 1, *εἰς νῖκος* is the rendering of למנצח, 'Of (or to) the chief Musician.'

1 *a*. Cp. i. 2.

1 *b*. **announcing.** *ἠχούσης* = משמיע. Cp. Sir. xlv. 9.

2. **the Negeb,** i. e. the wilderness to the south of Judah. So probably 𝔐 here, as in Isa. xxi. 1 ; 𝔊 in both passages has the more general '(the) wilderness'.

3. **in my heart.** 𝔊 𝔖 'to my heart'.

Surely. 𝔊 𝔖 'where, then' (will God, &c.) ; *ποῦ* should imply in 𝔐 איפה or אנה, but neither of these words in such a context would mean 'surely'. Possibly 𝔐 was already corrupt. An assertive particle would be suitable ; but, since the dominant rhythm of the Hebrew poem seems to have been 3 : 2, *ποῦ ἄρα* should rather correspond to the corruption of some word that belonged to the first half of the verse, perchance to אוי לנו כי, 'Woe to us! for.' Cp. e. g. Jer. vi. 4.

judgeth. 𝔊 'will judge'.

us. 𝔊 𝔖 'him'. 𝔐 would have been ambiguous, permitting the different vocalizations, יִשְׁפְּטֵנִי and יִשְׁפְּטֵנוּ.

4. **hear.** 𝔊 'heard'.

(moving) towards. *εἰς* (Ἱερουσαλὴμ *πόλιν*), R L C ; *ἐν* (Ἱερουσαλὴμ *πόλιν*) H ; 𝔖 'in (Jerusalem)'.

If the text of 𝔊 in *v*. 3 f. represents the meaning of the original, the point of the verse is that the poet is convinced that God will judge the hostile people (*v*. 1 f), but is at first uncertain where : 'I said in my heart, Where then will God judge him?' (*v*. 3). He then hears the sound of judgement upon 'him', i. e. the enemy, in Jerusalem. But in this case the distress at the news described in *v*. 4 is difficult to account for, though it is natural enough, if the poet sees in the hosts (*v*. 1 f.) advancing on (*v*. 4) Jerusalem the instruments of God's judgement on 'us', i. e. Jerusalem.

a sound, or 'a voice' (and so in *v*. 1 f.).

5. **at what I heard,** lit. 'at hearing' ; but cp. Ezek. xxi. 11 (6), Isa. xxi. 3.

tottered. Isa. xxxv. 3.

6. Rhythm suggests that the simile may have stood in the first part of the verse ; perchance *ἐφοβήθη* is paraphrastic, and the verse originally ran somewhat as follows : 'My heart trembled (cp. Isa. vii. 2) like flax, my bones were dismayed' (Ps. vi. 3).

7. The psalmist's first thought that Jerusalem is righteous (cp. i. 3), which created his astonishment and distress (*vv*. 5, 6) at the approach of disaster (*v*. 1 f.), is corrected by God's laying bare the secret sins of the people (*vv*. 8 ff.). Perhaps the thought has been obscured by the loss of more than half a distich. According to the punctuation and accentuation of the MSS. of 𝔊, we should render : 'And I said to those that establish,' &c. 𝔖 as above.

8. **in the full light of day.** ii. 13 n.

10. **They wrought confusion.** Cp. ii. 15 n.

12. **the sanctuary.** i. 8 n.

as though there was no avenger. 𝔊 lit. 'there not being an inheritor delivering'. 𝔖 'as if there were none to inherit and deliver'. 𝔐 probably as above. The apparent dominance of the 3 : 2 rhythm favours Ryle and James' conjecture that 𝔐 read ואין גאל.

13. **altar.** 𝔖 'temple'.

13 *b*. Having come in contact with women at a time when they are ritually unclean, and thereby themselves contracted uncleanness, they do not wait to undergo the necessary purification, but eat the sacrificial flesh as though it were not sacred, but mere common flesh that could be eaten whether one was clean or unclean. See Lev. xii. 1–8, xv. 19–33 ; Ezek. xviii. 6 ; Lev. xv. 31 ; Deut. xii. 15.

(14) Therefore God mingled for them a spirit of wandering;
And gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine, that they might become drunken.
(15) He brought him that is from the end of the earth, that smiteth mightily;
17 He decreed (?) war against Jerusalem, and against her land.
(16) The princes of the land went to meet him with joy: they said unto him:
Blessed be thy way! Come ye, enter ye in with peace.
(17) They made the rough ways even, before his entering in;
They opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned its walls.

(18) As a father (entereth) the house of his sons, (so) he entered (Jerusalem) in peace;
He established his feet (there) in great safety.
(19) He captured her fortresses and the wall of Jerusalem;
22 For God Himself led him in safety, while they wandered.
(20) He destroyed their princes and every one wise in counsel;
He poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, like the water of uncleanness.
(21) He led away their sons and daughters, whom they had begotten in defilement.

(22) They did according to their uncleanness, even as their fathers (had done):
26 They defiled Jerusalem and the things that had been hallowed to the name of God.
23) (But) God hath shown Himself righteous in His judgements upon the nations of the earth;
28 And the pious (servants) of God are like innocent lambs in their midst.
24) Worthy to be praised is the Lord that judgeth the whole earth in His righteousness.

25) Behold, now, O God, Thou hast shown us Thy judgement in Thy righteousness;
31 Our eyes have seen Thy judgements, O God.
26) We have justified Thy name that is honoured for ever;
32 For Thou art the God of righteousness, judging Israel with chastening.

27) Turn, O God, Thy mercy upon us, and have pity upon us;
28) Gather together the dispersed of Israel, with mercy and goodness;
35 For Thy faithfulness is with us.
29) And (though) we have stiffened our neck, yet Thou art our chastener;
30) Overlook us not, O our God, lest the nations swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver.

31) But Thou art our God from the beginning,
And upon Thee is our hope (set), O Lord;

15. God, by way of punishment, deprived the people of all sense and capability. Cp. Isa. xix. 14.
16. Cp. Isa. xli. 25, xlvi. 11; Jer. vi. 23; Isa. xiv. 19.
17. **decreed.** 𝔐, perhaps, 'he prepared' (יכין); 𝔊 𝔖 = ירין. See Ryle and James.
and against. So 𝔖; 𝔊 omits 'against'.
18 ff. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 (Pompey on his way from Damascus met by ambassadors of Aristobulus, bearing a rich present). Others have compared *Ant.* xii. 5. 3 (Antiochus Epiphanes captures Jerusalem without fighting, his party within the city opening the gates to him).
18. **blessed,** lit. 'desired'; Jer. xx. 14, 𝔐 and 𝔊.
19. The rough tracks of Judah are made easy before Jewish territory is entered by the great foreigner; so, too, 'the gates to (*ἐπί*) Jerusalem', i. e. the passes, &c., commanding the approaches to the capital, rather than the city gates of Jerusalem, are flung open to give him an unimpeded approach. This may be a poetical account of the circumstances described by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3. 4: Pompey came to Coreae, which is the first place in Judaea (*ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*), on the journey from the north to Jerusalem; subsequently Aristobulus complied with Pompey's demand that the fortresses (on the way to Jerusalem) should be delivered up to him.
his entering in. So R J L 𝔖; H 'their entering in'.
21. **her,** i. e. Jerusalem's. This may have been a mere anticipative suffix in 𝔐 (cp. 𝔖), in which case substitute 'the' in English. Or the line may have suffered some corruption.
22. **while they wandered** incapable of planning or achieving anything for their safety; cp. *v.* 15. The allusion in *v.* 21 seems to be to Pompey's forcible occupation of the Temple (cp. ii. 1); the 'wandering' may include a reference to the divided counsels of the Jews. The party opposed to Aristobulus admitted Pompey to the city and the king's palace, but the party of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in the Temple, from which they had to be expelled by force (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2).
23. After the capture of the Temple Pompey executed the ringleaders (*τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου*). Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4.
23 *b*. Twelve thousand Jews fell during the assault on and capture of the city (*ib.*), many, however, not at the hands of the Romans, but of their fellow countrymen (Jos. *B. J.* i. 7. 5).
water of uncleanness. Cp. Num. xix.
24. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4. 5) alludes in particular to the sons and daughters of Aristobulus being taken captive to Rome.
30. **Behold, now.** So probably 𝔐; see 2 Sam. vii. 2, 𝔐 and 𝔊.
Our: R J L C 𝔖; H 'their'.

38 (32) And we will not depart from Thee,
For good are Thy judgements upon us.
39 (33) Ours and our children's be Thy good pleasure for ever:
O Lord our Saviour, we shall never more be moved.
40 (34) The Lord is worthy to be praised for His judgements with the mouth of His pious ones;
And blessed be Israel of the Lord for ever.

IX. *Of Solomon. For rebuke.*

9 1 When Israel was led away captive into a strange land,
When they fell away from the Lord who redeemed them,
2 They were cast away from the inheritance, which the Lord had given them.
(2) Among every nation (were) the dispersed of Israel according to the word of God,
3 That Thou mightest be justified, O God, in Thy righteousness by reason of our transgressions:
4 For Thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth.
5 (3) For from Thy knowledge none that doeth unjustly **is** hidden,
6 And the righteous deeds of Thy pious ones (are) before Thee, O Lord;
Where, then, **can** a man hide himself from Thy knowledge, O God?
7 (4) Our works are subject to our own choice and power
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
8 And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.
9 (5) He that doeth righteousness layeth up life for himself with the Lord;
And he that doeth wrongly forfeits his life to destruction;
10 For the judgements of the Lord are (given) in righteousness to (every) man and (his) house.
11 (6) Unto whom **art** Thou good, O God, except to them that call upon the Lord?
12 He cleanseth **from** sins a soul when it maketh confession, when it maketh acknowledgement;
13 For shame is upon us and upon our faces on account of all these things.
14 (7) And to whom **doth** He forgive sins, except to them that have sinned?
15 Thou blessest the righteous, and dost not reprove them for the sins that they have committed;
And Thy goodness is upon them that sin, when they repent.
16 (8) And, now, Thou art our God, and we the people whom Thou hast loved:
Behold and show pity, O God of Israel, for we are Thine;
And remove not Thy mercy from us, lest they assail us.
17 (9) For Thou didst choose the seed of Abraham before all the nations,

IX. 1. **Israel.** J 'Jerusalem'.
2. **the Lord.** S 'God'.
Among every nation. Taken by Ryle and James with 'they were cast away' in the previous line. Cp. Deut. iv. 27.
the dispersed. G 'the dispersion'; cp. viii. 34.
5. **is.** G 'shall be'. The tenses of *vv.* 4-6 must be the same. God is a just judge because He knows and takes account of all.
6. **(are) before Thee.** A synonym for 'Thou knowest'. Cp. Ps. li. 5 (3).
can. G 'shall'.
7. **subject to our own choice and power,** lit. 'in the choice and power of our soul'. Ryle and James (p. 96) discuss at length an alternative rendering and interpretation: Our deeds are by the choice (of God), and (at the same time) we have power to do rightly or wrongly; but apparently the rhythmical structure of the original would not have admitted this alternative.
8. God impartially judges the way in which men exercise their free-will (*v.* 7), and by His law of life (*v.* 9) rewards them accordingly.
10. **(every), (his).** These words are expressed in S, but not in G.
11, 12. The exact line of thought and some of the details are uncertain. God is kind only to those who call upon Him; to those who call upon Him in prayer for forgiveness He shows His kindness (cp. Ps. li. 3 f. (1 f.)) by forgiving their sins; those who here speak may rely on forgiveness, for the shame of which they speak is a form of confession (so Kit., but ?).
11. **art Thou** (G 'wilt Thou be') **good, O God.** S 'is God good' (ܛܝܒ ܐܠܗܐ). Originally, it is probable, *vv.* 10–15 were either in their entirety addressed to God, or a statement about Him. Von Gebhardt conjecturally restores the 2nd person in *vv.* 12 and 14.
12. **cleanseth.** G 'will cleanse'.
from sins. Cp. x. 1; G 'in sins'; perhaps in consequence of reading a Hebr. מ as ב (a frequent error). S 'the sins of'.
when it maketh acknowledgement. S omit; perhaps a doublet in G.
14. **doth.** G 'will'.
15. **reprove.** So S certainly, and apparently the εὐθυνεῖς of G must be interpreted similarly. See Ryle and James.
16. **they.** S 'the peoples'.

And didst set Thy name upon us, O Lord,
18 And Thou wilt not **reject** (us) for ever.
Thou madest a covenant with our fathers concerning us;
(10) And we hope in Thee, when our soul turneth (unto Thee).
The mercy of the Lord be upon the house of Israel for ever and ever.

X. *A Hymn. Of Solomon.*

1 Happy is the man whom the Lord remembereth with reproving,
And whom He restraineth from the way of evil with strokes,
That he may be cleansed from sin, that it may not be multiplied.
2 He that maketh ready his back for strokes shall be cleansed,
For the Lord is good to them that endure chastening.
3 For He make**th** straight the ways of the righteous,
And **doth** not pervert (them) by His chastening.
4 And the mercy of the Lord (is) upon them that love Him in truth,
(4) And the Lord remember**eth** His servants in mercy.
5 For the testimony (is) in the law of the eternal covenant,
The testimony of the Lord (is) on the ways of men in (His) visitation.
(5) Just and **kind** is our Lord in His judgements for ever,
And Israel shall praise the name of the Lord in gladness.
(6) And the pious shall give thanks in the assembly of the people;
And on the poor shall God have mercy in the gladness (?) of Israel;
(7) For good and merciful is God for ever,
And the assemblies of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord.
The salvation of the Lord be upon the house of Israel unto everlasting gladness!

XI. *Of Solomon. Unto expectation.*

1 Blow ye in Zion on the trumpet to summon (the) saints,
2 Cause ye to be heard in Jerusalem the voice of him that bringeth good tidings;
For God hath had pity on Israel in visiting them.
(2) Stand on the height, O Jerusalem, and behold thy children,
From the East and the West, gathered together by the Lord;

18. **Thou wilt not reject.** So, by conjecture, von Gebhardt; cp. vii. 8. Ryle and James, by conjecture, 'Thou wilt abide (among us) for ever.' 𝔊 'Thou wilt not cease'.

X. TITLE. **A Hymn** J L C H; 'In hymns' R.
1. **whom He restraineth.** So 𝔖, and so, perhaps, 𝔙, though 𝔖 may be merely a free rendering of *ἐκωλύθη*, which Fritzsche tentatively suggested was the original text of 𝔊; all codices of 𝔊 read *ἐκυκλώθη*, which Ryle and James render, on the authority of Exod. xiii. 18, Deut. xxxii. 12. 𝔊 'and he is fenced about'.
That he may be cleansed. 𝔙, perhaps, 'and whom He cleanseth'; cp. ix. 12.
3. 𝔖 'For the way of the righteous is straight, and His chastening doth not pervert it'.
maketh. 𝔊 'will make'.
doth not pervert. 𝔊 'will not pervert'.
4. **remembereth.** 𝔊 'will remember'.
5. The witness to God's mercy is to be found written in the Law, and constantly in His visitations of men in their daily lives (or, ways); such may be the meaning of the verse.
6. **kind.** 𝔊 *ὅσιος*; but this probably rendered חסיד, as in Ps. cxlv. (cxliv.) 17. 𝔖 'upright'.
our Lord. 𝔖 'our God'.
in His judgements. 𝔖 'in all His judgements'.
for ever. 𝔖 omits.
the Lord. J + 'for ever'.
7. **God.** 𝔖 'the Lord'.
the gladness (?) of Israel. A term for the Messianic age? Cp. Ryle and James. Or does 'gladness' conceal some term more parallel to 'assembly' in the previous line? and was 'the poor' originally the subject, and 'God' the object of a verb concealed by *ἐλεήσει*? Kit. renders the line, 'Because God has pity on the poor, to the joy of Israel.'
8. **The salvation of the Lord be upon**, or, rather, in view of the position of *τοῦ κυρίου*, 'Unto the Lord belongeth the salvation (to be wrought for).'

XI. For the relation of this Psalm to Baruch iv. 36–v. 9, and of both passages to Isa. xl–lxvi, see Ryle and James, pp. lxxii ff.; but also above, p. 628.
1. Based on Joel ii. 1. The exact form of 𝔙 here cannot be determined; *possibly* the last half of the line ran, 'the holy trumpet of Jubilee' (Ryle and James).
2. **Cause ye to be heard.** 𝔊 𝔖 'proclaim'.

4 (3) From the North they come in the gladness of their God,
From the isles afar off God hath gathered them.
5 (4) High mountains hath He abased into a plain for them;
6 The hills fled at their entrance.
(5) The woods gave them shelter as they passed by;
7 Every sweet-smelling tree God caused to spring up for them,
(6) That Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God.
8 (7) Put on, O Jerusalem, thy glorious garments;
Make ready thy holy robe;
For God hath spoken good concerning Israel, for ever and ever.
9 (8) Let the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem;
Let the Lord raise up Israel by His glorious name.
(9) The mercy of the Lord be upon Israel for ever and ever.

XII. *Of Solomon. Against the tongue of transgressors.*

12 1 O Lord, deliver my soul from (the) lawless and wicked man,
From the tongue that is lawless and slanderous, and speaketh lies and deceit.
2 Manifoldly twisted (?) are the words of the tongue of the wicked man,
Even as . . . a fire that burneth up . . .
3 . . . to fill houses with a lying tongue,
To cut down the trees of gladness . . .
4 To involve households in warfare by means of slanderous lips.
(4) May God remove far from the innocent the lips of transgressors by (bringing them to) want
And may the bones of slanderers be scattered (far) away from them that fear the Lord!
5 In flaming fire perish the slanderous tongue (far) away from the pious!
6 (5) May the Lord preserve the quiet soul that hateth the unrighteous;
And may the Lord establish the man that followeth peace at home.
7 (6) The salvation of the Lord be upon Israel His servant for ever;

6. **The woods.** 𝔖 'the cedar'.

XII. Title. **Against:** 𝔊 *ἐν*. Perchance we have here another case of the Gk. *ἐν* representing an original מ, misread ב; in that case the title of this psalm was doubtless taken from the opening words of the second line.

2. Text and meaning of 𝔊 are uncertain and obscure, and it is impossible to determine the original form of 𝔐.

Manifoldly twisted (?), lit. 'in manifoldness (cf. iv. 3) of turning', or 'twisting'. So R J (*ἐν ποικιλίᾳ στροφῆς*) and virtually L C (*ἐν π. τροφῆς*). H *ἐν ποιήσει διαστροφῆς* ('for the accomplishment of frowardness') is obviously a corruption of this.

Even as . . . a fire. In so far at least as the words omitted in the translation above are concerned, it is very questionable whether any of the readings or conjectures preserve or recover the sense of the original. The text of R J L C, which is substantially supported by 𝔖, reads, *ὥσπερ ἐν λαῷ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλλονὴν αὐτοῦ*. This may be literally rendered, 'Even as among a people a fire that burneth up its beauty.' H reads *ὥσπερ ἐν ἅλῳ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλάμην αὐτοῦ*, 'Even as on a threshing-floor a fire that burneth up its stubble.' See, further, von Gebhardt's discussion and suggestions, pp. 78 ff. If the 'twisting' of *v.* 2 *a* can be relied on, the point of the comparison should be that the guileful speech of the wicked is as full of twists and incalculable turns (cf. Isa. ix. 17 (18), with n. in *Int. Crit. Comm.*) as the volume of smoke with which fire ascends when it is blown about by the wind.

3. This verse also must have suffered from corruption of the Greek text or of the Hebrew text, or mistranslation, or both; but, in general, cf. iv. 11–15. The verbs in the three lines are ambiguous in 𝔊; apart from the accentuation they may be either optatives or infinitives; the position of the verb in the first line rather suggests that in 𝔐 they were infinitives. In that case the opening clause of the verse should lead up to an infinitive; in the original text these may have stood something like 'His (or, 'the transgressor's') delight is', or 'His heart is set'. 𝔊, literally rendered, is, 'His dwelling-place' or 'sojourning' (is, &c.), which yields no sense. It is a clever suggestion that *ἡ παροικία αὐτοῦ* is an unfortunate rendering, in itself perfectly possible, but in this passage impossible, of מגורו; yet it is questionable whether 'His terror (consists in filling)', &c., would be very naturally expressed in 𝔐 by מגורו. Ryle and James connect the first clause of *v.* 3 with *v.* 2, and render the last part of *v.* 2, 'Even as fire in a threshing-floor that burneth up the straw thereof, (so is) his sojourning (among men) that he may set fire to houses,' &c.; but this rests on the improbable text of H in *v.* 2, and implies an improbable rhythmical structure of 𝔐.

to fill. So 𝔊 𝔖. Hilgenfeld al., by conjecture, 'to set fire to'.

the trees of gladness. Figurative for the saints? Cf. xiv. 2. The clause omitted above is very obscure; the entire line may be literally rendered, 'to cut off the trees of gladness which setteth on fire transgressors' (R L C), or 'the trees of wicked inflammatory joy' (J H). 𝔖 renders, 'For He hath cut down the trees of His delight with the flame of the transgressor'. By conjectural emendation of 𝔊 Ryle and James obtain for the last clause (omitted in the translation above), 'with the flame of (his) wicked tongue'.

4. **households.** 𝔊 𝔖 'lawless households'; but the position of the adjective differs in different MSS., and it is probably a dittograph from the previous line. If the adjective belongs to the original text the meaning is that 'the slanderer will not scruple to set those of his own party by the ears'.

And let the sinners perish together at the presence of the Lord;
But let the Lord's pious ones inherit the promises of the Lord.

XIII. *Of Solomon. A Psalm. Comfort for the righteous.*

1 The right hand of the Lord hath covered me;
The right hand of the Lord hath spared us.
2 The arm of the Lord hath saved us from the sword that passed through,
From famine and the death of sinners.
3 Noisome beasts ran upon them:
With their teeth they tore their flesh,
And with their molars crushed their bones.
(4) But from all these things the Lord delivered us.
(5) The **righteous** was troubled on account of his errors,
Lest he should be taken away along with the sinners;
(6) For terrible is the overthrow of the sinner;
But not one of all these things touch**eth** the righteous.
(7) For not alike are the chastening of the righteous (for sins done) in ignorance,
And the overthrow of the sinners.
(8) Secretly (?) is the righteous chastened,
Lest the sinner rejoice over the righteous.
(9) For He correct**eth** the righteous as a beloved son,
And his chastisement is as that of a firstborn.
10 (10) For the Lord spareth His pious ones,
And blotteth out their errors by His chastening.
(11) For the life of the righteous shall be for ever;
10 But sinners shall be taken away into destruction,
And their memorial shall be found no more.
11 12 (12) But upon the pious is the mercy of the Lord,
And upon them that fear Him His mercy.

XIV. *A Hymn. Of Solomon.*

1 Faithful is the Lord to them that love Him in truth,
To them that endure His chastening,
(2) To them that walk in the righteousness of His commandments,
In the law which He commanded us that we might live.
(5) The pious of the Lord shall live by it for ever;
The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones.
(4) Their planting is rooted for ever;
They shall not be plucked up all the days of heaven:
(5) For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.

XIII. 1. **me.** 𝔖 'us'.
2. **us.** 𝔖 'me'.
that passed through: *sc.* the land. Cp. Ezek. xiv. 17, Lev. xxvi. 6.
the death of sinners. From premature (Ps. lv. 24 (23) or violent death, or death beyond which lies no eternal life (cf. ix), i.e. from such deaths as sinners die. Cp. 'the death of the righteous', Num. xxiii. 10. Or, possibly, 𝔊 is due to a wrong division of 𝔄, which may have run, 'from famine and pestilence (see vii. 4 n.); as for sinners, noisome beasts', &c. In that case the passage refers to the four plagues of Ezek. xiv. 21.
4. **The righteous.** A conjectural substitute, which the context demands (Wellh., von Gebh., Kit.) for 'the impious', which is the reading of all MSS. of 𝔊 and 𝔖. For a defence of the text of 𝔊 see Ryle and James.
errors. Cf. *v.* 9; iii. 8; Ps. xix. 13 (12).
5. **toucheth.** 𝔊 'shall touch'.
7. **Secretly,** or 'Sparingly'. The meaning is uncertain; see Ryle and James.
8. **correcteth.** 𝔊 'will correct'. God corrects the righteous as a father corrects his beloved and first-born son.
9. The tenses in 𝔊 are future.
11. **upon them . . . His mercy.** 𝔖 'He will cherish'.

XIV. 1 *d.* **which** J L C; 'as' H; omit R. Cp. 𝔖 'He has given us the law for our life'.
that we might live, lit. 'unto our life'.
2. **by it,** viz. the law; or, 'in Him'.
3. **all the days of heaven.** A synonym for 'for ever'. Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 30, Job xiv. 12.

4 (6) But not so are the sinners and transgressors,
Who love (the brief) day (spent) in companionship with their sin;
(7) Their delight is in fleeting corruption,
5 And they remember not God.
(8) For the ways of men are known before Him at all times,
And He knoweth the secrets of the heart before they come to pass.
6 (9) Therefore their inheritance is Sheol and darkness and destruction,
And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous obtain mercy;
7 10) But the pious of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.

XV. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. With a Song.*

15 1 When I was in distress I called upon the name of the Lord,
I hoped for the help of the God of Jacob and was saved;
2 For the hope and refuge of the poor art Thou, O God.
3 (2) For who, O God, is strong except to give thanks unto Thee in truth?
4 And wherein is a man powerful except in giving thanks to Thy name?
5 (3) A new psalm with song in gladness of heart,
The fruit of the lips with the well-tuned instrument of the tongue,
The firstfruits of the lips from a pious and righteous heart—
6 (4) He that offereth these things shall never be shaken by evil;
The flame of fire and the wrath against the unrighteous shall not touch him,
7 (5) When it goeth forth from the face of the Lord against sinners,
To destroy all the substance of sinners,
8 (6) For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved.
(7) Famine and sword and **pestilence** (shall be) far from the righteous,
9 For they shall flee away from the pious as men pursued in **war**;
(8) But they shall pursue sinners and overtake (them),
And they that do lawlessness shall not escape the judgement of God;
(9) As by enemies experienced (in war) shall they be overtaken,
10 For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead.
11 (10) And the inheritance of sinners is destruction and darkness,
And their iniquities shall pursue them unto Sheol beneath.
12 (11) Their inheritance shall not be found of their children,
13 For sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners.
(12) And sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement,
14 When God visiteth the earth with His judgement.
15 (13) But they that fear the Lord shall find mercy therein,
And shall live by the compassion of their God;
But sinners shall perish for ever.

XVI. *A Hymn. Of Solomon. For Help to the Pious.*

16 1 When my soul slumbered (being afar) from the Lord, I had all but slipped down **to the pit,**
When (I was) far from God, 2 my soul had been wellnigh poured out unto death,

4. **fleeting,** lit. 'littleness of'.

XV. TITLE. **With a Song.** Cp. *v.* 3, and see xii, title.
1 *b*. 𝔖 'And for my help I called to the God of Jacob'.
5. **A new psalm.** So J R L 𝔖; H 'a psalm and praise'. Cp. iii. 1 n.
6. **offereth,** lit. 'doeth'.
these things. Resumptive of *v.* 5.
8. **pestilence.** 𝔊 'death'; see vii. 4 note.
9 *a*. **they.** The plagues of *v.* 8 *b*; and so in *v.* 9 *b*.
as men pursued in war. Such (cp. 9 *d*) was probably the meaning of the original. The actual readings of 𝔊 are διωκόμενοι (J; -ου R L C H) ἀπὸ λιμοῦ (R J : λιμοῦ L C H); but they yield no tolerable sense. For different forms of the conjecture here adopted see Ryle and James and von Gebhardt. 𝔖, curiously, 'as death flees from life.'
9 *b*. **they,** i.e. the plagues mentioned in *v.* 8 *b*; so R 𝔖; but in J L C H 'it', anticipating the summarizing singular sense of the next line.
13. **sins.** 𝔖 'their sins'.
14. H + 'to recompense sinners unto everlasting'; cp. ii. 38.
15 *c*. H omits.

XVI. TITLE. **to the Pious.** H omit.
1–3. The text is not improbably over-full, and the punctuation is uncertain.
to the pit. The translation rests on the supposition that (1) καταφθορᾷ J C H 𝔖 was the original text of 𝔊;

(I had been) nigh unto the gates of Sheol with the sinner, 3 when my soul departed from the Lord God of Israel—
Had not the Lord helped me with His everlasting mercy.

4 He pricked me, as a horse is pricked, that I might serve Him,
My saviour and helper at all times saved me.
5 I will give thanks unto Thee, O God, for Thou hast helped me to (my) salvation;
And hast not counted me with sinners to (my) destruction.
6 Remove not Thy mercy from me, O God,
Nor Thy memorial from my heart until I die.
7 Rule me, O God, (keeping me back) from wicked sin,
And from every wicked woman that causeth the simple to stumble.
8 And let not the beauty of a lawless woman beguile me,
Nor any one that is subject to (?) unprofitable sin.

9 Establish the works of my hands before Thee,
And preserve my goings in the remembrance of Thee.
10 Protect my tongue and my lips with words of truth;
Anger and unreasoning wrath put far from me.
11 Murmuring, and impatience in affliction, remove far from me,
When, if I sin, Thou chastenest me that I may return (unto Thee).
12 But with goodwill and cheerfulness support my soul;
When Thou strengthenest my soul, what is given (to me) will be sufficient for me.
13 For if *Thou* givest not strength,
Who can endure chastisement with poverty?
14 When a man is rebuked by means of his corruption,
Thy testing (of him) is in his flesh and in the affliction of poverty.
15 If the righteous endureth in all these (trials), he shall receive mercy from the Lord.

XVII. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. With Song. Of the King.*

7 1 O Lord, Thou art our King for ever and ever,
For in Thee, O God, doth our soul glory.
2 How long are the days of man's life upon the earth?
As are his days, so is the hope (set) upon him.
3 But *we* hope in God, our deliverer;

(2) that ὕπνου is due to a misplaced gloss or a corrupt dittograph in 𝔐 (בשנת שחת for בשחת); and (3) that καταφθορᾷ, as in Ps. xlix. 9, and as more frequently διαφθορά, was a misrendering of שחת, 'pit'. The actual readings of the MSS. are 'in corruption of sleep' (J C H), (in) 'sleep of corruption' (𝔖, which perchance represents the order of the two words in the original text of 𝔊), and 'in heaviness (καταφορᾷ) of sleep' (R L).

When (I was) far, τῷ μακράν. 𝔊 lacks the ἐν and the pronoun which should normally be present, if the sense implied by the translation was intended. 𝔖 ܒ; but this is inconclusive as to the reading of 𝔊. Von Gebhardt for ὕπνου τῷ conjectures ὑπνοῦτῶ = ὑπνούντων; then render '(sunk) in the heaviness of them that sleep afar from God'.

3. **Lord God.** 𝔖 om. 'Lord'.

4. **as a horse is pricked.** Lit. 'like the goad of a horse'; ὡς κέντρον ἵππου, perhaps in 𝔐 simply כְּדָרְבָן 'as with a goad'.

that I might serve Him. 𝔊 ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν αὐτοῦ, which Ryle and James render 'that I might watch unto him'. 𝔐 perhaps לעבדו; cp. iii. 2 note.

8. **Nor any one.** 𝔊 'nor of any thing' (or 'of any one'). The translation 'subject to' presupposes a very questionable construction in 𝔊. Ryle and James conjecture πᾶν τὸ συγκείμενον for παντὸς ὑποκειμένου, and render 'Nor aught that consisteth in sinful vanity'. 𝔖 'Nor any sin that is', which seems to be a paraphrase of 𝔊.

9. **before Thee.** 𝔖 = ἐνώπιον σου, which is probably the original whence the readings ἐν τωπω σου (J) and ἐν τύπῳ σου (all other MSS. of 𝔊) arose. Renderings of conjectural emendations that have been suggested are, 'in thy fear', 'in thy word'.

14. The sense is obscure. 'A man'; 𝔊 'a soul'. 'Corruption'; cp. xiv. 4.

15. Or, 'If the righteous endureth, in the midst of these trials he shall receive,' &c.

XVII. Title. Cp. xv. 1.

1. **and ever, For in Thee . . . doth.** Or, perhaps, reading καὶ ἔτι for καὶ ἔτι ὅτι, 'And yet (cp. Ps. xlii. 6, 11) in Thee . . . shall.'

2. **How long are the days.** 𝔊 'and what is the time'.

the hope. 𝔊 'his hope'. Transitory as is man's life, so transitory is the hope which one man places in another; but (*v.* 3) the hope placed in God is eternal.

3. Mercy for Israel; judgement for the nations.

hope. So J; al. 'will hope'.

For the might of our God is for ever with mercy,
4 And the kingdom of our God is for ever over the nations in judgement.

5 (4) Thou, O Lord, didst choose David (to be) king over Israel,
And swaredst to him touching his seed that never should his kingdom fail before Thee.
6 (5) But, for our sins, sinners rose up against us;
They assailed us and thrust us out;
What Thou hadst not promised to **them**, they took away (from us) with violence.
7 They in no wise glorified Thy honourable name;
(6) They set a (worldly) monarchy in place of (that which was) their excellency;
8 They laid waste the throne of David in tumultuous arrogance.

(7) But Thou, O God, **didst** cast them down, and remove their seed from the earth,
9 In that there rose up against them a man that was alien to our race.
10 (8) According to their sins **didst** Thou recompense them, O God;
So that it befell them according to their deeds.
11 (9) God showed them no pity;
He sought out their seed and let not one of them go free.
12 (10) Faithful is the Lord in all His judgements
Which He doeth upon the earth.

13 (11) The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it,
They destroyed young and old and their children together.
14 (12) In **the heat of His anger** He sent them away even unto the west,
And (He exposed) the rulers of the land unsparingly to derision.
15 (13) Being an alien the enemy acted proudly,
And his heart was alien from our God.
16 (14) And all . . . Jerusalem,
As also the nations . . .

6. **sinners.** Jews, not foreigners (cp. *v.* 9). The Hasmonaeans are probably intended; the first pers. plur. then refers to the Pharisees, or (Ryle and James) the priests. Frankenberg explains the verse of the Babylonian assault on Jerusalem, &c., treating 'us' as equivalent to 'our fathers'.

What . . . to them. 𝔊 'to whom'. 𝔐 (להם . . . אשר) would admit of either rendering. The allusion appears to be to the assumption of the royal dignity by the non-Davidic Aristobulus I and later Hasmonaeans, and of the high-priestly dignity by these same persons, though they did not belong to the high-priestly lines.

7. **in no wise glorified.** Lit. 'they glorified not with (*ἐν*) glory'; for the construction representing probably the Hebrew infin. abs., cp. i. 8. In spite of the punctuation of the Greek MSS., 'in glory' is better taken with *v.* 7 *a* (so clearly 𝔖) than with *v.* 7 *b*.

7 *b*. They preferred to use the title, and enjoy the position, of kings, than to recognize the sovereignty of God which was the true 'excellency' of the Jews. But this meaning is by no means certain; assuming that *ἀντί* may = ב or מן, others render 'they set up a monarchy', i. e. made themselves kings, 'in their pride.'

8 *b*–12. In *vv.* 8 *b*, 10 *a*, 11 *a*, the verbs in Greek are in the future tense; they represent Hebrew imperfects referring to the past.

8. **in tumultuous arrogance.** So H and perhaps 𝔐. R J L (cp. 𝔖) 'in pride of price', which seems senseless.

8 *b*. **from the earth**, or, ארץ being ambiguous, 'from the land' (cp. *v.* 30), a specific allusion to Pompey's carrying captive to Rome Aristobulus and his children (see *v.* 14, note).

9. **a man that was alien.** Pompey.

10. **So that.** 𝔐? 'And'.

11. Obviously through dittography, there stand in J L H at the beginning of this verse, as well as at the end of *v.* 10, the words 'according to their deeds'. In 𝔖 R the words are absent from *v.* 11.

The verbs throughout the verse are in 𝔖 2nd pers. sing. imperative (or imperfect with imperative force). In H the negative in *v.* 11 *a* has been lost.

13. **The lawless one.** So R J L 𝔖; H 'the tempest'. The sing. (ct. *v.* 20) throughout *vv.* 13–16 (except in 13 *b*) is used collectively of the enemy (cp. *v.* 15) or specifically of their leader (Pompey). Whether the change to the plur. (of the enemies distributively) in *v.* 13 *b* (𝔖 and all MSS. of 𝔊) is original may be doubted.

14. **the heat of His anger.** 𝔊 'the wrath of His beauty'; 𝔖 'the beauty of His wrath'. An original אפו, or (Ryle and James) אפיו, was probably misread יפיו. The pronouns probably refer to God.

unto the west. Pompey carried Aristobulus and his children captive to Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 5, 5. 4, 6. 1; *B.I.* i. 7. 7, 8. 6).

15. **Being an alien,** *ἐν ἀλλοτριότητι* perhaps = בְּנָכְרִי, which might be an error for כנכרי 'like an alien'.

acted proudly. Cp. Ps. xxxi. 24 (23).

And his heart, or, rather, 'seeing that his heart', if, as Ryle and James suggest, *v.* 15 *b* is not a simple parallel to 15 *a*, but an explanation that proud doing was due to the excusable ignorance (in a foreigner) of the true God.

16. Very uncertain. According to the text of 𝔊 the verse continues the description of what the enemy did (*ἐποίησεν*) in Jerusalem: 'all things whatsoever he did in Jerusalem, (he did) as also the nations (do).' According to 𝔖 it rather opens the description continued in *v.* 17 of the evil conduct of the Jews: 'And every thing did Jerusalem, as also the peoples do

5) And the children of the covenant in the midst of the mingled peoples . . .
There was not among them one that wrought in the midst of Jerusalem mercy and truth.
6) They that loved the synagogues of the pious fled from them,
As sparrows **that fly** from their nest.
7) They wandered in deserts that their lives might be saved from harm,
And precious in the eyes of them that lived abroad was any that escaped alive from them.
8) Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless (men).
9) For the heavens withheld the rain from dropping upon the earth,
Springs were stopped (that sprang) perennial(ly) out of the deeps, (that ran down) from lofty mountains.
For there was none among them that wrought righteousness and justice;
10) From the chief of them **to the least (of them) all** were sinful;
22 The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful.

21) Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David,
At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant.
2) And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,
25 And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample (her) down to destruction.
3) Wisely, righteously 26 he shall thrust out sinners from (the) inheritance,
He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel.
4) With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance,
27 He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth;
5) At his rebuke nations shall flee before him,
And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of their heart.

6) And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.
7) And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst,
Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness,
30 For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God.

in their cities to their gods.' Literally rendered the text of J L H runs, 'And all things whatsoever he did in Jerusalem, as also the nations in the cities to their gods'; from this 𝔖 seems to be derived through haplography of *ἐν* (*ἐποίησεν* for *ἐποίησεν ἐν*). The alternative that 𝔖 represents the original text of 𝔊 and that J L H is due to dittography of *ἐν* might be considered, if it was not probable that the *τοῖς θεοῖς* of J L H 𝔖 was a mere substitute for the unintelligible, but probably earlier, reading of R—*τοὺς θεούς*. Similarly, 'their cities' (𝔖) is probably a mere amplification of 'the cities' (𝔊). For *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς θεούς* von Gebhardt conjectures as the original reading of 𝔊 *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦ σθένους*, understanding 'in the cities of their might' to mean in the other cities besides Jerusalem which they had conquered. But this, if it were in other respects more acceptable, would still leave *v.* 16 *b* suspiciously elliptical. This ellipsis, and the probability that the reading 'the cities' (𝔊) is prior to 'their cities' (𝔖), and *τοὺς θεούς* to *τοῖς θεοῖς*, deprives Frankenberg's argument that the allusion is not to Pompey but to Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 44 ff., 54 ff.; 2 Macc. vi. 102) of much of its plausibility. What may have been meant, or alluded to, by 𝔚 remains very uncertain.

17 *a*. **the children of the covenant**, i.e. the Jews (cp. Ezek. xxx. 5, Acts iii. 25). 'The mingled peoples,' apparently here the Gentiles; for ערב implied by *συμμίκτων* see Neh. xiii. 3, Jer. xxv. 20, l. 37, Ezek. xxx. 5. What was meant by *ἐπεκρατοῦσαν αὐτῶν* (not translated above), or the Hebrew underlying it, is uncertain; is it that the Jews 'surpassed' (מ חזקו) the heathen in wickedness (cp. i. 8), or 'attached themselves (ב החזיקו) to them'? 𝔊 would most naturally mean 'ruled them' (cp. xvi. 7), or 'gained the mastery over them'.

18. **that fly.** 𝔊 'fled'.

19. To the sympathetic eyes of the Jews of the Dispersion, who are here termed *παροικία* as temporary residents (abroad), it seemed a rare thing for one of *ḥasidim* to escape alive from the faithless and merciless Jews of Jerusalem.

21. **For.** If the conjunction is correct—we might rather expect 'therefore' (𝔖)—the argument implied rather than expressed is: The disloyal sons of the covenant by their sins brought about a drought (cp. ii. 10), and this in turn caused the pious to wander far and wide.

21 *b*. Probably enough, the exact form of the original is not preserved here.

21 *d*. **to the least of them.** So 𝔖; 𝔊 'and of the least people' (ועד misread מעם).

all were sinful. 𝔊 'in every sin' (הכל חטא (cp. Ps. xiv. 3) misread בכל חטא?).

23. **seest.** So R J L 𝔖; 'knowest', H V. Von Gebhardt conjectures 'chosest'.

25. **And that he may purge.** So 𝔖; cp. *v.* 33. 𝔊 'purge', as though addressed to God.

trample (her) down. Cp. ii. 2.

Wisely, righteously. According to the punctuation of J these words should go with *v.* 25. 𝔖 omits them.

26, 27. In 𝔊 the verbs are either certainly infinitive (*v.* 27 *b*) or ambiguous, i.e. optative or infinitive (according to the accentuation). It is possible that in 𝔚 these verses were entirely dependent on *v.* 24: 'Gird him . . . that he may thrust out . . . destroy . . . break in pieces,' &c. More probably the tenses of 𝔚 were, as in *vv.* 29 ff. (cp. 𝔊), imperfects intended in a simple indicative future sense. 𝔖 continues the subordination of the tenses into *v.* 28, though, on the other hand, 'shall flee', clearly infinitive in 𝔊, is clearly imperfect in 𝔖.

28. **whom he shall lead in.** 𝔖 'who shall make their boast of'.

30. **their.** 𝔖 om. In J L H *αὐτῶν* precedes, in R it follows *εἰσιν*.

(28) And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land,
31 And neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more.
(29) He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. *Selah.*

32 (30) And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke;
And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of (?) all the earth;
33 And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old:
34 (31) So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
35 And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her.
(32) And he (shall be) a righteous king, taught of God, over them,
36 And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst,
For all shall be holy and their king the anointed **of** the Lord.
37 (33) For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war,
Nor shall he gather confidence from (?) a multitude (?) for the day of battle.
38 (34) The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through (his) hope in God.

〈 〉 All nations (shall be) in fear before him,
39 (35) For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever.
40 He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness,
41 (36) And he himself (will be) pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people.
He will rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of his word;
42 (37) And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not **stumble**;
For God **will make** him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit,
And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness.
43 (38) And the blessing of the Lord (will be) with him: **he will be strong** and **stumble** not;
44 (39) His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him?
(40) (He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God,
45 (He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously,
And will suffer none among them to **stumble** in their pasture.
46 (41) He will lead them all aright,
And there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed.

32 *b*. **in a place to be seen of.** So Ryle and James render *ἐν ἐπισήμῳ* (cp. ii. 6 n.), seeing in the lines an allusion to the miraculously exalted and consequently conspicuous Zion of the Messianic age (Isa. ii. 2). Kit. here, as in ii. 6, takes *ἐν ἐπι.* to be a rendering of לְנֹכַח, and renders 'openly before'. In 𝔖 *v.* 32 *b* reads 'and they (i.e. the nations) shall praise (= glorify) the Lord openly in all the earth'.

34, 35 *a*. Very probably the original form of this tristich (originally a distich?) is not correctly preserved. 'His glory', i. e. the glory of the Messianic king; 'her sons', i. e. the exiled inhabitants of Jerusalem.

34. **So that nations shall come.** So R H 𝔖; J L 'Come, ye nations'; 𝔓? 'nations shall come'.
fainted. 𝔖 'been scattered from her'.

35. Perhaps 𝔓 read simply, 'And he (shall be) a righteous king taught of God', אלהים being dittographed and then read incorrectly אליהם = עליהם, 'over them.'

36. **the anointed of the Lord** (cp. xviii. 6). 𝔖𝔊 'the anointed, the Lord' (= Christ the Lord, Luke ii. 11). 𝔊 *Χριστὸς κύριος* = 𝔓 משיח יהוה (or משיח אדון), the normal rendering of which would be *Χριστὸς κυρίου*; for the X. *κύριος* of 𝔊 (𝔖) see Lam. iv. 20.

37 *c*. Obscure. 𝔖 employs the same verbal phrase here as in 37 *a*; if by accident 𝔖 so far returns to the original, it is difficult to account for the variation in 𝔊. Further, if *πολλοῖς* is the objective of the verbal phrase, we might expect it to be preceded by a preposition, and if instrumental by *ἐν*. Ryle and James conjecture *πλοίοις* for *πολλοῖς*, and render 'nor by ships shall he gather confidence', &c.

38 *a*. Doubtless this line, together perhaps with *v.* 37 *c* in an earlier uncorrupted form, contained the antithesis to *vv.* 37 *a*, *b*: Not in weapons and material resources, but in God does he put his trust. Whether the strangely expressed Greek text at all closely reproduces the original, or whether the Lord was here described as the king's King, must remain very doubtful.

38 *b*. The words *καὶ ἐλεήσει*, left untranslated above, are probably due to some corruption, whether in 𝔓 or 𝔊. 'He shall have mercy upon all the nations (that come) before him in fear' (Ryle and James) is a bad introduction to *v.* 39. *καὶ ἐλεήσει . . . ἐν φόβῳ* may represent some such phrase as 'he shall set trembling'; or *καὶ ἐλεήσει* may belong to the preceding corrupt line, and *ἐν φόβῳ* = יראו.

39. Cp. Isa. xi. 4. Note also the influence of Isa. xi. 3 f. on the following lines.

41. **He will rebuke . . . and remove.** 𝔊 'that he may', &c.

42. **stumble**, or 'totter'. Cp. e. g. Ps. ix. 3, or Ps. xxvi. (xxv.) 1. 𝔊 'be weak' (*ἀσθενήσει* = יכשל); so *vv.* 43, 45.
will make. 𝔊 'made'.

42 *b*, *c*. **by means of**, or 'in'.

43. **he will be strong.** 𝔊 *ἐν ἰσχύι*, 'in strength' (= בעז erroneously read for יעז).

46. **aright.** Lit. 'in equalness'; so R J L marg.; 'in holiness', L (text) H.

(42) This (will be) the majesty of the king of Israel **whom** God **knoweth**;
He will raise him up over the house of Israel to correct him.
(43) His words (shall be) more refined than costly gold, the choicest;
In the assemblies he will judge the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified.
49 His words (shall be) like the words of the holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples.
50 Blessed be they that shall be in those days,
In that they shall see the good fortune of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes.
51 May the Lord hasten His mercy upon Israel!
May He deliver us from the uncleanness of unholy enemies!

The Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever.

XVIII. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Again of the Anointed of the Lord.*

18 1 Lord, Thy mercy is over the works of Thy hands for ever;
Thy goodness is over Israel with a rich gift.
2 Thine eyes look upon them, **so that** none of them suffers want;
3 Thine ears listen to the hopeful prayer of the poor.
(3) Thy judgements (are executed) upon the whole earth in mercy;
4 And Thy love (is) toward the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel.
(4) Thy chastisement is upon us as (upon) a first-born, only-begotten son,
5 To turn back the obedient soul from folly (that is wrought) in ignorance.
6 (5) May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing,
Against the day of choice when He bringeth back His anointed.

7 (6) Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days,
In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord which He shall perform for the generation that is to come,
8 (7) Under the rod of chastening of the Lord's anointed in the fear of his God,
In **the spirit of wisdom** and righteousness and strength;
9 (8) That he may direct (every) man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God,
That he may establish them all before the Lord,
10 (9) A good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy. *Selah.*

---

11 (10) Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest.

47. **whom.** 𝔊 'which', wrongly referring the relative (אשר) to 'majesty' and not to 'king'.
knoweth. 𝔊 'knew'.
He will. 𝔊 'to'.
48. **costly gold, the choicest.** 𝔓 probably read 'fine gold' simply.
In the assemblies. Ἐν συναγωγαῖς, possibly an error (בְּעֵדוֹת for בְּעֵרוּת) for 'by means of the Testimony', i.e. the Law.
49. **the holy ones.** The angels; cp. Ps. lxxxix. 6, Job v. 1.
50. Cp. xviii. 6. 'The good fortune of Israel,' cp. Ps. cxxviii. 5. Instead of 'Israel' J reads 'Jerusalem'.
51. **May He deliver.** 𝔊 'He will deliver'; but in 𝔓 the tenses in the parallel lines doubtless had the same force.

XVIII. Title. **Again of.** So R J; L H read 'upon'.
2. **upon them,** i.e. 'the works of Thy hands'.
so that . . . suffers. 𝔊 'and . . . will suffer'.
suffers want, or 'is lacking'.
the hopeful prayer of the poor, or 'the prayer of the poor who hopeth (in Thee)'.
6. **the day of mercy and** (lit. 'in') **blessing** is the day when God shows mercy to and blesses Israel; it is also the day of His choosing or determining upon the appearance of the Messiah (cp. xvii. 23). The term ἄναξις here used, if we might press the force of the Greek, would imply a 'bringing again' or 'bringing up' of a pre-existing Messiah (cp. Ryle and James); yet it must remain very doubtful whether the original really expressed this idea here.
8. Loose and awkward; but apparently the meaning is the generation that is to come and will live under the discipline (cp. vii. 8) of the Messiah. We., assuming that ὑπό is a rendering of a misunderstood תחת which should have been rendered ἀντί, understands the line to mean 'Instead of the rod of chastening (there shall be) the Lord's Anointed'.
the spirit of wisdom and. 𝔊 'wisdom of spirit and of'.
11–14. A marked change of subject, and perhaps originally a distinct Psalm (Ryle and James). The abruptness of the conclusion, the incompleteness of the treatment, and the absence of any doxology suggest that the conclusion of the Psalm has been lost.

12 (It is He) who hath established in (their) courses the lights (of heaven) for determining seasons from year to year,
And they have not turned aside from the way which He appointed them.
13 (11) In the fear of God (they pursue) their path every day,
From the day God created them and for evermore.
14 (12) And they have erred not since the day He created them.
Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their path,
Unless God commanded them (so to do) by the command of His servants.

12. **for determining seasons,** &c. Lit. 'for times of hours from days to days'.
14. **by the command of His servants.** Cp. Jer. x. 12–14, Isa. xxxviii. 1–10.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is couched in the form of a discourse or treatise, taking for its subject the power of ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός, the Inspired Reason, to control the passions. It has been suggested by Freudenthal that the work may be a specimen of synagogue preaching, and Ewald appears to agree with him in this, but other commentators reply that in the Diaspora the regular synagogue practice was always to take a passage from the Bible as a text for the sermon. Now Fourth Maccabees has no text, and the rules of Jewish services are seldom departed from, so it is probable that this work was given as a lecture rather than a sermon. But the best authorities doubt whether we know enough about Judaeo-Hellenistic practice nearly two thousand years ago to justify a positive conclusion about the matter. At all events the author of this work, be it lecture or sermon, is unquestionably an orthodox Jew, and his object is to fire the hearts of his co-religionists with such an enthusiastic devotion to their faith that they will be ready to face the last extremity of suffering in its behalf. A student of Greek philosophy himself, speaking to people who were evidently familiar with its terminology, he enlists the Stoic virtues in the cause of Jewish orthodoxy. Adopting the Stoic definition of the four cardinal virtues, judgement and justice, and courage and temperance, he insists that these are best attained by men being born and brought up under the Law of Moses. He leaves on one side the discussion of the methods by which Greek philosophy proposed to attain virtue. He has naturally no inspired anticipation of the Christian doctrine of God's grace whereby sinners may be led into the way of truth ; for we shall find reason to think that he wrote before any such thing as a Christian document had even come into existence. But he not only adopts the Stoic virtues, he also takes the Stoic view of sin, that to offend in one point is to be guilty of all, when he makes his protomartyr, Eleazar, say, 'Think it not then a small sin for us to eat the unclean thing ; for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally heinous.' Yet his acceptance of the Stoic position is not indiscriminating, as, although he uses their philosophical definition of the virtues, he refrains from specifically adopting their classification of the primary passions under the four heads of delight, grief, pain, and fear. The Stoics held that the passions were not grounded in nature but were due to wrong thinking, and could and should be extirpated. The author, on the contrary, holds that the passions were implanted in man by God and are not to be extirpated but controlled. 'Reason', he says, 'is not the extirpator of the passions, but their antagonist.' And this power of Reason he illustrates, not, as his Stoic friends would have done, from Greek sources, but from the Jews' own Bible story, from the lives of Joseph and Jacob, of Moses and David. Then he passes to the subject of the terrible tyrant of Syria, Antiochus, whom some styled Epiphanes, The Brilliant, and some Epimanes, The Madman, and describes his odious oppressions: and so comes presently to the martyrs, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren, and the Mother. He relates their defiance of the tyrant and enlarges on their sufferings with an even greater wealth of dreadful detail than the writer of Second Maccabees, whether the additions are due to his own invention or are drawn from a common original, the lost work of Jason of Cyrene. He recounts insistently the martyrs' triumphant victory over their sufferings, won by the aid of their Reason, their unconquerable fidelity to the Law of Moses, and their assured hope of a blessed immortality in the company of the patriarchs. That immortality is their reward in heaven, while they enjoy on earth the honour of being held the saviours of their country, which noble title he would inscribe as their epitaph. His impassioned eulogy is intended to rouse the patriotic and religious feelings of his audience to the highest pitch and harden them to the point of following so glorious an example. If I were asked to suggest the most probable reason why this book was written I should incline to the opinion that it was in consequence of the deification of the Roman Emperors. It is true that that deification (which involved nothing particularly startling to the pagan world) was not taken very seriously by Augustus and Tiberius, and in consequence did not become a really crucial question with the Jews until the accession of Caligula, whom we might well call the Second Brilliant Madman. Mad he was and did verily take himself for a god and demand to be

worshipped as such, and then all the horrors of the persecution of Epiphanes were repeated in Egypt on the bodies of the wretched Jews, the defiling and torture of their persons, the plunder of their holy things, and the erection of statues of the deified Emperor in their desecrated Synagogues. But though this persecution did not take place till A. D. 38–39, the future instrument through which Caligula's madness was to work, namely the base passions of the dregs of the Egyptian, and especially the Alexandrian, populace, had become plainly visible long before. Every far-sighted man, such as the author of this book must have been, could not but recognize, even during the more clement days of Augustus and Tiberius, that as soon as ever Jews were required to offer public sacrifice at the imperial altars an impossible test would be imposed. Every true Jew knew that he must refuse, and it was not hard to foresee what would happen then, when once the passions of the vilest mob in the world were let loose. To meet and endure the coming persecution the sons of Israel would need all their courage, and how better could the Jewish-Hellenic philosopher steel the hearts of his brethren than by holding up to them the self-abnegating virtues of Stoicism and the sublime heroism of the Maccabean martyrs?

§ 2. Title.

The oldest form of title is simply *Μακκαβαίων δ΄*, under which it is found in three of the great uncial MSS., the Alexandrinus, the Sinaiticus, and the Venetus. But the book having been attributed to the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, it also appears among his works with a title derived from the subject-matter, *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*, On the Supremacy of Reason, and it is thus cited by Eusebius and Jerome. Another form of this title is *περὶ σώφρονος λόγου*, which appears in some editions of Josephus; and the former of the two is generally rendered in the Latin versions by *de imperatrice ratione*, or else by *de dominatu* or *de imperio rationis*. Lastly, there is a third form of title, *Ἰωσίππου εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους βιβλίον*, or *εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους λόγος*.

§§ 3–4. The MSS. and the Ancient Versions.

The book is found, as already mentioned, in three great uncials, A, ℵ, and V, but is unfortunately absent from the Codex Vaticanus. It was early translated into Syriac, and in 1895 Dr. Barnes brought out through the Cambridge Press a Syriac text prepared by the late Professor R. L. Bensly from a collation of nine MSS., of which he gives a description. The Syriac version was faithful enough to be of value for textual criticism, and Bensly found that as a rule it supports ℵ rather than A. Dr. Barnes, who edited Bensly's notes, gives a list of some two hundred passages where the readings in the Syriac and the Greek MSS. are compared. As regards other ancient versions, 'Nothing is known', says Dr. Torrey, writing in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 'of any old Latin version of Fourth Maccabees, or even of the sources used by Erasmus in making his Latin "paraphrase" which differs so widely from the Greek text.' The book is not in the Vulgate, and accordingly is absent from the Apocrypha of the Roman Bible and from our own.

§ 5. Date.

The date of the original text is uncertain, but the author could never have spoken as he does of the Temple service had he been writing after the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. Also, if the date of the book had been as late as the close of the first century A. D., its orthodox Judaism would probably have interfered with its acceptance among Christians, an acceptance which nevertheless it obtained. And if it was addressed, as it probably was, to an Alexandrian audience we must look at least thirty years further back than A. D. 70, for the author could not have spoken as he does to Alexandrian Jews after the occurrence of the Caligulan persecution, which took place in A. D. 38–39. This last date then becomes the inferior limit. Perhaps the superior limit may be taken as 63 B. C., when the High Priesthood passed from the Hasmonean House. For the author is at pains to explain that in the days of King Seleucus IV (175 B. C.) the High Priest, Onias, held that office for life, a tenure which ceased after the fall of the Hasmonean dynasty (Grimm). The date then probably falls between B.C. 63 and A.D. 38 or, roughly speaking, within two generations before or one generation after the Christian era.

§ 6. Integrity.

The book is of the nature of a sermon, whether actually delivered in a synagogue or not, and as a moral discourse it is thoroughly homogeneous. It opens with the philosophical discussion of the supremacy of Reason, and then illustrates the subject with a series of examples drawn from the constancy of the nine martyrs under their tortures. The point sought to be proved is repeated with an insistence that becomes rather tedious to modern ears, a matter in which, perhaps, we are less

tolerant than the ancients. The details, too, of the successive tortures are elaborated in a way that shocks modern taste. We must consider, however, that very few among us to-day have either seen torture inflicted with our own eyes or dreaded to feel it in our own persons. We only know of it by reading of such horrors in other parts of the globe or in the history of the past. The author of Fourth Maccabees was addressing an audience to whom the sight of tortured men was as much a matter of course as the butcher's shambles to us, and accordingly his treatment of this part of the subject is quite in keeping with his time and place. Though a Jew, and a highly orthodox Jew, he is completely master of the Greek language, which he writes with ease; his vocabulary is large, and he handles the idioms with variety and flexibility; his style is so ornate and copious that I am tempted to call it over-decorated. There is no sign of the Midrash method of treatment in his work, no reciting of scattered texts with disconnected expositions attached thereto. He keeps his main point before him, in good Greek form, illustrating it freely and well not only from the story of the martyrs but also from the heroes of old. The nearest he comes to writing in a Hebrew style is at the end, where he puts into the mouth of the Mother what may be described as a roll-call of Old Testament worthies. But as a Jew speaking to Jews nothing could be more natural or more effective than this Hebraic finale. Accordingly I see no reason why we should look in this last chapter for traces of another hand, though certain commentators have thought that the book originally ended at xviii. 2 with the words 'O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways, recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions'. It is true that this close makes a neat Euclidean Q.E.D. to the demonstration of his proposition as enunciated at the beginning, namely that the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions. But considered as a peroration, from the rhetorical point of view, it is nothing less than an absolute bathos after the striking passage just before where he gives the epitaph that he would like to write for the martyrs. The main argument for the conjectural placing of the original conclusion at this point is that the Mother's account of her early life, which occupies fourteen verses immediately after it, is of the nature of a digression. So it is, but the reason is not far to seek. The author, through the main part of the book, has dealt chiefly with men and the manly virtues, courage in particular. He gives the heroine of his story, the Mother, due praise for this virtue, but he also desires to insert in his work a fit encomium on the domestic virtues which as a Jew he considers to be most important for the women of his race. Courage he has already praised; now he lays stress on the woman's more commonplace duty of stopping at home and attending to the house, of her father first and later of her husband. Above all, she must be very careful to run no risk of contamination by any deceiver, be he man or be he devil, inside or outside the house. So he makes the Mother say with pride in this last chapter, 'I kept guard over the rib that was builded into Eve.' Like Eve she was to be a helpmeet for man, but she was not, like Eve, to dally with the false beguiling serpent. Clearly the writer was determined to get in his point about female virtue, and he does it. Of course it is a digression even here, but if we look back to where he has the Mother in the front of the scene during the previous chapters there is no place where these verses would not have been ten times more out of keeping. He had far too much literary skill to spoil his effect by putting the passage in the wrong place, and he reserved this piece about her early days till he could use it as a relief to the tension of the tortures, and so lead up to the final roll-call of the heroes. He throws a true and honourable light on the religious influence of the Jewess in her home when he depicts her as recalling to her sons' minds the words of their dead father and his manner of holding up the great men of old to their admiration. His setting of the passage in her mouth is far more effective than if the author himself called the roll in his own person. For myself I am inclined to distrust those confident critics who on the evidence of style say dogmatically 'the author wrote this, the author did not write that'. Even the great Bentley himself, a critic whose shield (were he alive) few knights of the pen would dare to touch by way of challenge, succeeded in persuading himself that Milton never closed the last book of *Paradise Lost* with such a distich as:

'They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.'

No, these lines had been corrupted by the 'editor' whom Bentley's own imagination invented to account for the faults he discovered in Milton. And this is what he offered as a substitute:

'Then, hand in hand, with social steps their way
Through Eden took with heavenly comfort cheer'd.'

Where Bentley could so stumble which of us shall stand upright? The style of Fourth Maccabees shows no more variation than naturally follows on the changes from one branch of the subject to another. All through the author writes the vigorous, free, idiomatic Greek of one to whom it was a native language, so that we might say of him, as of the Jew whom Aristotle is represented as meeting in Asia, that he was Ἑλληνικὸς οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. He likes to coin

new words of the right Greek stamp. For instance, in the first sentence of his treatise he states that the question he will discuss is whether Inspired Reason is really *αὐτοδέσποτος τῶν παθῶν*, autocratic over the passions, where the word *αὐτοδέσποτος* is apparently a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* of his own minting. Later on he uses in the same sense the much commoner word *αὐτοκράτωρ*, and we can even find his very phrase *αὐτοκράτωρ λογισμός* in Thucydides, though the historian uses it in quite another sense, to mean 'an arbitrary decision'. The author of Fourth Maccabees chooses *αὐτοδέσποτος* not in order to avoid confusion with Thucydides' phrase but to strike the key-note of originality and intensity: he would have you note from the outset that he is an undoubted autocrat of language. So Ruskin in the first sentence of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* uses the rare Miltonic 'resplendence' where another man would have chosen some more ordinary term. But Ruskin meant his work to be resplendent, and strikes the note of brilliancy at once. Not a few more of these vigorous compounds does the author coin: *ἐθνόπληθος* = 'the nation-mass', *ἑπταμήτωρ* = 'the mother of seven children', *κοσμοπληθής* = 'world-whelming', *κοσμοφορῶν* = 'world-freighted', *μαλακοψυχεῖν* = 'to be weak-spirited', *παθοκρατεῖσθαι* = 'to be mastered by the passions'. These words are neither obscure nor far-fetched; their meaning is obvious enough, but they are fresh. We have but to turn over a few pages of Carlyle's *French Revolution* at haphazard to find parallels; Danton is 'the Minister of Moloch-Justice', the while 'France is dancing its desert-waltz'; 'Louis Capet was only called Inviolable by a figure of rhetoric; but at bottom was perfectly violable, triable'; or again, when the King's sentence is being settled, constitution-monger Sieyes votes '*La mort sans phrase*, Death without phrases, and fares onward and downward. Most spectral, pandemonial'. A good word 'pandemonial' (which I have not found in Dr. Murray's dictionary) for horrors whether of the French Revolution or of torture under the Brilliant Madman. Some of the author's new coinage passed into circulation; he speaks of Eleazar's Reason as a pilot, *πηδαλιουχῶν*, 'rudder-handling' or 'rudder-ruling' the ship of godliness, where the common expression would have been *οἰακίζων*, 'steering'; and we find this new word of his, *πηδαλιουχεῖν*, used by later writers, not of handling the helm of a real ship, but in the very same metaphorical sense we have here. We may note the author's love of double-barrelled prepositional compounds, as where he speaks of parents as *ἐναποσφραγίζοντες*, stamping their seal on the child; and of prepositions used intensively in composition, as in *ἐπιρρωγολογούμενος*, another of his coinages, to express the skinflint's extra-gleaning of his grapes. Indeed his love of the ornate is such that he will invent a three-barrelled prepositional compound, if the fancy strikes him; as when, in the case of the torture of the first of the seven brethren, in order to describe the horrid ingenuity of the torturers, he says, *τὸν τροχὸν προσεπικατέτεινον*, 'they extra-overstrained against him the wheel', or as the Syriac version has it, 'they made the wheel more cruel by artifice against him.' I find no cause to suspect that this book is not the work of a single hand.

§ 7. Authorship.

The authorship of Fourth Maccabees must be considered doubtful. It was attributed to Flavius Josephus by Eusebius, the learned bishop of Caesarea, who lived more than two centuries later than Josephus, or between A.D. 270 and 340. The words of Eusebius are (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 10, see page 76 in E. Burton's Oxford Ed., 1856): *πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὅ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐνέγραψαν, τῷ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλουμένοις Μακκαβαϊκοῖς συγγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισαμένων Ἑβραίων περιέχειν.* 'The man (Josephus) has also produced another work of a lofty character on the Supremacy of Reason, to which some have given the title of Maccabean, because it includes the struggles of the Hebrews who in the books known as Maccabean strove valiantly for the sake of righteousness before God.' Jerome, writing in A.D. 492, follows Eusebius in naming Josephus as the author, and in consequence of this attribution, which was generally accepted in ancient times, we find the book frequently printed among Josephus's works. Internal evidence, however, points strongly the other way. For example, the statement made in Fourth Maccabees xvii. 24, that Antiochus publicly held up the example of the martyrs to his men to inspire them with courage, 'so that he conquered all his enemies and laid waste their cities,' is a singular one to have been made by Josephus, who himself has chronicled the notorious failure of Antiochus before Elymais and discusses the question whether that failure was not the immediate cause of his death. Again, Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4) correctly states that Antiochus Epiphanes was the brother of Seleucus IV. But in Fourth Maccabees iv. 15 the writer makes the blunder of calling him his son. Also the writer says in Fourth Maccabees xiv. 7, 'we now shudder when we hear of the sufferings of those youths,' thus presupposing that his hearers enjoy peace and safety. Such words would be hardly natural in the mouth of Josephus, who was actually present at the fall of Jerusalem and wrote the history of the fatal Jewish War. It is also worth noting that Josephus in his historical works uses the Greek equivalents of Biblical names,

whereas the author of Fourth Maccabees uses the Hebrew indeclinable forms except in the cases of Ἱεροσόλυμα and Ἐλεάζαρος. Indeed the whole form and style of Fourth Maccabees are so unlike any of Josephus's other works that, if he did write it, he must have done so when very young, and then have completely changed his style later. He would seem to have changed his views also, for the ideal purpose of Fourth Maccabees is to glorify the heroes who sacrifice everything for the sake of religion. But the personal ideals of Josephus were of a very different nature, for we learn from his own pen that his heroism took quite another shape. After fighting against Rome on behalf of his country till victory declared for Rome, he then surrendered and fought against his brethren ; he took the Roman name of Flavius in compliment to the Flavian Caesar, and married a Gentile wife, contrary to Moses' Law, to oblige Vespasian. As every single one of these acts would have been anathema to the author of Fourth Maccabees, we may fairly conclude that the writer was not Flavius Josephus. It has indeed been suggested, by Ewald among others, that the ascription may have arisen from the author's actual name having been Josephus, and that he thus became confused later on with the more famous historian, which of course is possible but does seem somewhat futile. Whatever his name was, it is more likely that he lived in Alexandria than in Palestine. The implication, noticed above, that he and his hearers are living in the enjoyment of peace and safety suits Jerusalem less well than Alexandria, at least for any period prior to the Caligulan persecution. And not only is the writer's style but his sentiment more Alexandrian than Palestinian. He shows indeed a proper orthodox horror of the Hellenizing Jason's action in setting up a gymnasium on the Holy Mount, but so far from condemning the Greek games in themselves, he does not shrink from comparing the struggle between the martyrs and the tyrant to an athletic contest. Indeed, he elaborates the likeness ; the competitors are Antiochus and the martyrs ; the spectators are the whole world ; and the prize of victory is immortality. He shows a similar tolerance towards Greek art, when he suggests that 'if it were allowable for us' the art of painting would best bring before the mind the idea of the martyrdoms. Surely some Niobe or Medea or other heroine of Greek tragedy was familiar to the sight of his hearers and of himself when he said this ; and when he added 'as might some artist' (if that be the correct reading) he was alluding to some painter whom they all knew. In cosmopolitan Alexandria such an allusion could hardly hurt his reputation for orthodoxy, but it would have been a hazardous thing to publish such a phrase in Jerusalem, where the very sight of Pilate's eagles raised a fury that was only quenched in blood. Moreover, the main object of his discourse, which is to show how Greek philosophy can help an orthodox Jew to keep the Law, is one more likely to be addressed to Jews living in the great Greek city of Alexandria than to those at the sacred centre of Judaism itself. The general conclusion is that the author was not Flavius Josephus, and that there is evidence to show that he was a Jew, living in Egypt, most probably in Alexandria, within a few years of the Christian era.

§ 8. Influence.

The direct influence of this book on Jewish literature does not seem to have been great ; there is, however, a mediaeval work, written in Biblical Hebrew, by Joseph ben Gorion, commonly known as Yosippon, which shows traces of Fourth Maccabees. Yosippon's work is a history of his people from the destruction of Babylon to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. He is sometimes called the 'Hebrew' Josephus to distinguish him from his namesake, the well-known historian of the Antiquities and the Jewish War, who wrote in Greek. Yosippon, indeed, in the text of his book now current, claims to be the great historian himself, but this is certainly false. It is now generally held that his writings have absolutely no historical value, and that, so far from being the real Flavius Josephus, he was a Jew of Southern Italy who lived as late as the ninth or tenth century. But his work became exceedingly popular among the Jews of the Middle Ages and it was translated into many languages and widely circulated. One modern authority, Trieber, would assign him a date as early as the fourth century, and thinks he had the original work of Jason of Cyrene before him, but this question is still debated. At any rate Yosippon recounts the story of the martyrdoms much as we have it in Fourth Maccabees, but with additions and variations of his own. The first martyr, Eleazar, is represented as having formerly been the guest of Ptolemy in Egypt, where he acted as one of the LXX, and as having won at Jerusalem the favour of Philippus, by which name is intended the general to whom Antiochus entrusted the business of persecuting the Jews. This Philip takes Eleazar apart and begs him to eat, before all the people, some of the meat of a Jewish sacrifice, but to do so in such a way that he may be supposed to be eating meat sacrificed to the king's image. For the rest of the story of Eleazar the author does little more than expand Maccabees. He then brings the Mother, whom he calls Hannah, with her seven sons, before Antiochus himself, 'who had not gone far from Jerusalem' ; and their several martyrdoms follow. I note a few points differing from Maccabees. While the first martyr is suffering the others quote the Song of Moses, 'The Lord will judge his people and have mercy on his servants,' &c. The fifth brother tells the king that it is vain

for him to hope to establish the worship of his own image by their torture. The Mother makes a long speech to the youngest son, who promises her that 'he will keep the Law which Moses our teacher, may he rest in peace! gave to the Holy People of Israel'. And the boy calls Antiochus an insane dotard of seventy, and tells him 'it had been better for thee never to have been born from the impure womb of the foolish mother who bore thee, thou fatuous fool that hast brought woe upon thyself'. There is no mention either of the seventh son or the Mother casting themselves into the fire; but Hannah begins her dying speech, 'My heart has rejoiced in the Lord and my horn is exalted in my God.' After the martyrdoms Antiochus goes off to Macedonia (?) and the Maccabean rising follows. As we might expect, the Stoic philosophy of Fourth Maccabees finds no place here.

Neither can I discover any trace of this Stoicism surviving in the Chanukah services which to this day commemorate the Maccabean purification. If one may imitate St. Paul's simile of the wild olive tree, Stoicism was a graft that throve but ill when set in the stem of the 'good' olive of Judaism. The Chanukah festival lasts for eight days, beginning on the famous twenty-fifth of Chisleu (December), when it was instituted by Judas Maccabaeus, his brothers, and the elders, to be celebrated annually in memory of the dedication of the restored altar on the occasion of the purification of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem. The popular name, according to Josephus (the true Josephus, not Yosippon). was φῶτα, 'Lights', because it was and is still celebrated by a grand general illumination. The eight-day continuance of it is said to come from the story that the priests found one single cruse of holy oil that had remained unpolluted all through the desecration under Antiochus, and by a miracle this was made to last for eight days until the priests could prepare new oil for the lamps of the holy candlestick.

In later times the Pharisaic party haggled over the legitimacy of the claims of the family of Mattathias to the hereditary High-priesthood which was assumed by the Maccabees in 153 B.C. Strict Jews held that the Maccabeans, though they had proved themselves national heroes, were in a sense irregular as occupants of the sacred office. As an explanation of this it is stated by Morris J. Raphall, Rabbi-preacher of the Greene Street synagogue, New York, who published in 1854 a *Post-Biblical History of the Jews*, that the Chasidim condemned Judas Maccabaeus because he allied himself with the Parthians and sent an embassy to Rome. He quotes from a Midrash Chanukah, which he describes as an ancient Codex in the City Library of Leipzig, these words as personally directed against Judas by the leader of the Chasidim: 'Cursed be the man who placeth his dependence on flesh while from the Lord his heart departeth.' But Rabbi Raphall thinks that Mattathias was probably regarded as High-Priest, or Cohen-Gadol, by his own followers, and describes him as a priest of the order of Joarib, the first of the twenty-four appointed by David by lot, and descended from the elder branch of the family of Aaron. The father of Mattathias was Johanan, and his father Asmoneus. In the service for Chanukah, in the official Jewish prayer-book, there is a special prayer set out in the morning service for the day which runs thus: 'In the days of the Hasmonean, Mattathias, son of Johanan the High-Priest, and his sons, when the iniquitous power of Greece rose up against thy people Israel, to make them forgetful of thy Law and to force them to transgress the statutes of thy will, then didst thou in thine abundant mercy rise up for them in the time of their trouble . . . and for thy people Israel thou didst work a great deliverance and redemption as at this day. And thereupon thy children came into the oracle of thy house, cleansed thy temple, purified thy Sanctuary, kindled light in thy holy courts, and appointed these eight days of Chanukah in order to give thanks and praises unto thy great name.' But I can find nothing that specially recalls Fourth Maccabees in the whole service.

If the Jews themselves have somewhat neglected the book, the Christian Fathers have not done so. The Maccabeans are lauded by the Western as well as by the Eastern Church; they are commemorated in panegyrics by St. Augustine and Leo the Great, and they find a place in the calendars of Carthage as well as in those of the Syrians and Arabians. But the Eastern Church naturally glorified them first, and I can find no better specimen of the influence of Fourth Maccabees on Christian literature than the oration of Gregory Nazianzen on the Martyrs. 'What of the Maccabeans?' he begins, 'for to-day (Aug. 1) is their anniversary; though by many they be not honoured because their ἄθλησις, their "contest", was not after Christ, yet are they worthy to be honoured by all, in that their endurance was in behalf of the Law of their fathers. And what would men who were martyred before Christ's passion have achieved if they had been persecuted after Christ and had His death on our behalf to imitate? For would not they who without His great example showed such virtue have appeared nobler still in hazarding themselves after that example? Mystical and ineffable is the saying, and one very persuasive to me and to all that love God, that none of those who were made perfect[1] before Christ reached that point outside of the Christian

[1] Compare Heb. xi. 40.

faith.' We are reminded of that noble benediction 'abi in pacem anima naturaliter Christiana'. It has been finely said that if Judaism as a religion had perished under Antiochus, the seed-bed of Christianity would have been lacking; and thus the blood of the Maccabean martyrs, who saved Judaism, ultimately became the seed of the Church. Therefore as not only Christendom but also Islam derive their monotheism from a Jewish source, it may well be that the world to-day owes the very existence of monotheism both in the East and in the West to the Maccabees.

This then is the key-note of Gregory's paean in their honour, delivered in the latter half of the fourth century, and he strikes the note again further on where he repeats that 'the Maccabeans are not to be despised because they were before the Cross, but they are to be praised and held in honour for having lived according to the Cross'. His oration is really a paraphrase of Fourth Maccabees, to which he clearly alludes in the following sentence: 'For who they were and whence, these men, and from what fount of education and training they advanced to such a pitch of virtue and glory that they are honoured by these yearly feasts and celebrations, and beyond these visible things have enshrined themselves in the hearts of all men, all this those who love labour and learning will find made clear in the book, which philosophizes about the Reason being supreme over the passions and holding the balance between two, that is to say, between virtue and vice.' A great sentence in more senses than one. Gregory, then, describes Eleazar as the first-fruits of those who suffered before Christ, as Stephen was the first-fruits of those after him. He takes not a few phrases straight from Eleazar's mouth, as where the martyr prays that he and his fellow martyrs may be accepted as a purification for the whole people; but when Gregory makes Eleazar speak of the youths as his sons, he clearly must do so in a spiritual sense, for in Fourth Maccabees it is very distinctly stated that Eleazar was not their father, and what they owed him was not their birth but their teaching; and Gregory knows his original perfectly. Gregory, however, likes playing such variations on his theme. Thus he makes the youths boldly demand the torture for themselves, their only fear being lest any should be denied the crown of martyrdom; but when he comes to describe the sufferings of the Mother, the Christian introduces a touch unknown to the Jewish writer. Like him he dwells at length on her agony over her sons' agonies, but the Christian recognizes there a true foretype of the Mother of Sorrows at the crucifixion of Christ, and he gives her the palm for courage and devotion. Like the author of Fourth Maccabees he delights in his own eloquence. If, as some think, two chapters of Second Maccabees have been expanded into the Fourth, Gregory in his turn now expands the Fourth by introducing numerous variations of his own, as where he makes the youths whet one another's spirits, *ὡς συῶν ὀδόντες ἀλλήλους θήξαντες*, 'like boar's tusks whetting each other.' He takes the Maccabean author's simile of the mother-bird fluttering round her young ones, threatened by the snake, and applying it more directly to the Mother represents her as gathering up their broken bodies and—a curious touch this—adoring their relics; *προσεκύνει τὰ λείψανα* he says; unless indeed we simply render *προσεκύνει* 'she kissed them'. He fills her mouth with phrases clearly befitting the Mother of God. 'Yet a little while,' she proclaims, 'and blessed shall I be among women.' When she has done speaking he makes her run to the pyre as to her bride-bed, *ὡς ἐπὶ νυμφῶνα τὴν πυρκαϊὰν δραμοῦσα*, not waiting for her executioners 'in order that no impure person should touch her pure and honourable body'. Gregory makes the tyrant rejoice within himself that she had not borne more sons, for then he must have come off even more defeated and worse disgraced. Antiochus plays the part of the devil in this drama, and the fate of the Hebrew race is *ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ*, on a razor's edge, and the martyrs are the conquerors. 'So,' says Gregory to his flock, 'imitate these noble sufferers and do battle bravely with our daily Antiochus,' *πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν Ἀντίοχον γενναίως ἀνδριζόμενοι*; and so dismisses them with his blessing in the name of Christ, 'to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.'

Commenting on this oration, Nicetas declares that Gregory opens by maintaining that the Maccabeans were truly pre-Christian martyrs 'because some averred that these martyrs suffered not for Christ but in defence of the Law and of abstinence from swine's flesh', and quotes other Fathers in defence of Gregory's position. Further on there is a highly exalted passage where Gregory makes the youths say to Antiochus, 'Our country is the heavenly Jerusalem which no Antiochus can besiege, and our kinship is the spirit with which we are inspired by having been born unto virtue.' Gregory's word for 'the spirit with which we are inspired' is *ἔμπνευσις*, and Nicetas finely illustrates this from the passage in Genesis where God breathes into man's nostrils the breath of life.

In a strain of equal exaltation Gregory's great contemporary, Chrysostom, the golden-mouthed, begins his panegyric on the Holy Maccabeans and their Mother. 'How bright and joyous is our city, and sunnier this day than all the year! Not that to-day the sun pours his beams more splendid than of wont upon the earth, but that the light of the holy martyrs flashes brighter than lightning over all our city.' He follows the author of Fourth Maccabees in choosing to compare the martyrs' struggle to the athletic contests of the games, and the martyr's crown to that of the victor

in the contest. He appeals to Christ in the character of one who 'produces the games', as the phrase went. *τί ποτε τοῦτο ἄρα, δέσποτα*; 'What in the world is this, Master? Bringest thou feeble age into the contests on the arena? Who ever heard of a woman being entered for a contest at such an age? None ever heard of it.' And Christ answers that it is not bodily strength on which they rely, but that He lends His strength to His athletes. Further on Chrysostom sets forth eloquently the force of maternal devotion, quite in the vein of Fourth Maccabees but with instances of his own. 'Often,' he says, 'a mother seeing her child burning with fever—*πάντα ἂν ἕλοιτο παθεῖν*—would choose to take all the pain to herself so as to transfer the fire of the distemper from the child's body to hers.' It is interesting to observe how Chrysostom can always find something new to say. Fourth Maccabees has a beautiful simile of birds defending their young. He alters it by introducing the idea of their love of offspring being turned into a snare for themselves. 'Many wild animals hard to catch are thus taken, when, disregarding their own safety in their affection for their young, they fall into the hands of the hunters.' He is very ingenious in these variations, and doubtless intended them to remind those among his hearers who, in Gregory's words, loved labour and learning, of a book so well worth knowing, and he contrives to freshen their interest by novel applications. Finally, in his stirring close he, like Gregory, lends his powerful support to the claim that these were true martyrs before Christ. 'Who is there, man or woman, old or young, who would not contend for the martyr's crown, when a woman did so—*πρὸ τῆς χάριτος ἀγωνισαμένη*—contending before the days of grace?' And, lastly, we find him using a phrase that seems to me a probable allusion to Fourth Maccabees xvii. 7, where the author suggests the art of painting as well fitted to commemorate the martyrdoms. 'You should all,' says Chrysostom to his hearers, 'engrave their contests and their struggles on your hearts as it were on a tablet,' *τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπογράψαντες*. This may primarily refer to St. Paul's 'not on tables of stone but on fleshly tables of the heart', but it also seems distinctly to point to the conjectural reading *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος* in the passage in Maccabees. In this connexion we have to consider that the early Church by no means favoured the representation of the agonies of martyrdom by the graphic arts. On the contrary, the Church then desired to see the martyrs depicted only as blessed and glorified. The physical details of their cruel sufferings were not a popular subject until the Dark Ages, and it is quite possible that Chrysostom may be deprecating here the outward representation of such sufferings when he tells his hearers to engrave them on their hearts.

There is yet another speech of his, lauding the Maccabean martyrs, in which he selects the last and youngest of the sons for his special panegyric. Here, too, he introduces quaint touches of his own, as that the tyrant was looking at the braziers, but the youth was looking at the hell into which the tyrant was going to cast himself. Also that the youth leapt into the braziers 'as they had been fountains of cool waters, reckoning them a divine font and baptism'. Then the preacher once more lauds the Mother, recounting her many sorrows, and borrowing from Fourth Maccabees the comparison of her to the Three Children in the burning fiery furnace, which he embellishes thus: 'The fuel of their furnace was naphtha and pitch, tow and brushwood; the fuel of hers was nature and birth-pangs and maternal love and the sweet voice of her children.' The words *φύσις καὶ ὠδῖνες καὶ φιλοστοργία καὶ παίδων συμφωνία* seem to flow from his mouth as fresh as if he had just prepared himself by reading over the story. He borrows direct the simile of the brave Eleazar, like a beetling sea-cliff standing fast against the tempest of the passions, and applies it to the Mother, who, like a sea-cliff taking the assaults of the waves, remains unmoved while they spend themselves in spume. And lastly, 'She saw in the flames not a form of torment but a nuptial torch, *γαμήλιον λαμπάδα*,' a fancy which he shares with Gregory.

There is yet a third discourse on the subject by Chrysostom, but space forbids me to enlarge further. The orations are all well worth looking at. They may be found in T. B. Prunaeus's *Gregory Nazianzen*, Paris, 1609, page 397, and in Fronto Ducaeus's *John Chrysostom*, Paris, 1609, pages 581 and 622 ff., as well as in later editions.

To come down to more modern times, I can find nothing so interesting as the book of Erasmus on the Maccabean martyrs. He felt a personal interest in the matter, for in the early sixteenth century which saw the beginnings of the Reformation a man who had the courage of his opinions had also a right good chance of martyrdom. It was in 1517 that Luther nailed his denunciation of Indulgences to the doors of the church at Wittenberg, and in that same year Erasmus seems to have compiled his little work for the benefit of his friend Elias Marcaeus, 'moderator of the most honourable college of the Maccabeans' at Cologne. Martyrdom was a thing of which the great leader of the humanists had a very real dread. 'We have not all strength for martyrdom, and I fear if trouble comes I shall do like Peter,' he wrote in 1521, and he had reason to quake when his works were actually submitted to the Spanish Inquisition six years later. Martyrdoms have a cruel interest for a man who dreads the torture, and it is no wonder that he made a book for his friends at Cologne

out of all that antiquity had said about their martyr-saints. The earliest edition of his work that I can hear of was printed by E. Cervicornus at Cologne, Feb. 1, 1524, fol., with the title—'Opera Iosephi interprete Ruffino presbytero. De insigni machabaeorum martyrio, castigatus ab Erasmo: nunquam ante praedictis additus,' &c., &c. The book was several times reprinted in the sixteenth century, e.g. at Basle, 1524, 1534, and 1540, and the Bodleian has a copy of another edition from the Cologne press, which is undated but was probably printed in 1534 or later, and has the title really preferred by Erasmus, 'περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, de imperatrice ratione.' In his prefatory letter Erasmus says that he has worked from a Latin text, not having a Greek MS. at hand (the Greek text appears not to have been printed till 1526); and that, conjecturing the Greek original from the Latin, he has changed some things, but not very much. He shows his literary art in the way in which he compliments both the college and the city of Cologne, alluding elegantly to the eleven thousand virgins martyred there, and so proceeds to his translation. After the translation he gives selections from antiquity, including the following from Jerome: 'The seven Maccabean brothers were born of one mother, by name Maccabea; they kept the Law of their own tradition; they did not eat the flesh of swine. For this cause they by the most cruel king Antiochus were crowned with the glory of martyrdom, in Antioch, together with their pious mother, and there they remain buried with great veneration.'

'So far St. Jerome,' says Erasmus; 'but', he continues, 'it is certain that the relics of these Maccabean brothers were by the blessed Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, brought to Byzantium, and thence by the president Eustorgius to Mediolanum (Milan), and lastly by the act of Reginold bishop of Cologne transferred from Mediolanum to Cologne in the year 1164, where now they are held in great veneration in the college of the glorious name of the Maccabeans themselves.' Their removal to Cologne in 1164 was celebrated by a special feast, 'which', observes Erasmus, 'is now marked off by our very reverend father and lord in Christ, Hermann de Hassia, archbishop of Cologne, in the year 1506, as having been transferred to the feast of St. Cuthbert, archbishop and confessor.' However, to return to his translation of Fourth Maccabees, or rather to his paraphrase, for such it is. He completely rewrites the argument about Reason and the passions, nor do I find any allusion to the Stoic classification of the passions, though he agrees with the author of Fourth Maccabees that Reason does not extirpate passion but checks it, and he quotes the cases there cited of Joseph, Moses, Jacob, and David. In David's case he has a curious variant. David would not quench his thirst with the water which ran by his tent because he had sworn not to drink till the enemy's camp was taken, thinking thus to stimulate the valour of his troops. When we come to the Hellenizing campaign of Antiochus and the tyrant's persecutions, Erasmus follows his author more closely, but I note various changes. Jason builds baths, not a gymnasium, near the temple. The women who circumcise their sons fling themselves off the rocks voluntarily, 'quippe quae vitantes longiora tormenta celerem halitum ingestae mortis optarent.' When Antiochus counsels Eleazar to eat the swine's flesh, he says, 'It is a mark of superstition and cowardice to make a law for oneself and call one's choice Reason'; and Eleazar replies, 'Our law condemns your philosophy, wherein the less a man understands the more he thinks he understands.' Erasmus was thinking of some theologians more distinguished for bigotry than learning when he wrote these words. Nor is he at any pains to keep a Jewish atmosphere: on the contrary, he puts into the mouth of Eleazar, when he is asking God to accept him as an atonement, such a characteristically Christian phrase as 'Receive me for them all, and give them all to me'.

The martyrdom of Eleazar appears to take place in Jerusalem, but the seven brethren and the Mother are brought to Antioch, 'atrociter de eorum castello Sufandro.' The Mother is called Solomona. The eldest son is Maccabeus, the others are Aber, Machir, Judas, Achas, Areth, Jacob. Erasmus describes their tortures at length, and the curious may compare his long Latin list of devilish engines with the Greek. When he comes to xii. 7 he transfers thither the speech of the Mother which the author had reserved for a later place, and in the same connexion he largely expands both the tortures and the speeches of the seventh son. Finally he describes the Mother as herself being stripped, scourged, and grievously tormented by Antiochus, until at last she is brought to the brazier, 'ac oratione protensis surrectisque manibus pro gravidis matribus fusa coelibem effudit spiritum'. There he introduces a very mediaeval touch, as also when he shows Antiochus terror-stricken at the very moment of her death by a flash of lightning. Again, later on, he makes the tyrant become so impressed by the martyrs' courage that he enlists whole legions of Hebrew soldiers in his service and wins battles with them. Yet death is not to be staved off; for he shows the king at last dying miserably of a disgusting disease, as told in the Second but not in the Fourth Book of Maccabees.

It will be seen that Erasmus gave himself a perfectly free hand. A century and a half later Combefin fell upon him with severity for it. The French scholar calls him such unkind names as

'ineptus Paraphrastes (veriusque temerator) Erasmus'. He says that Erasmus put the kingdom of heaven for *τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλα*, and eternal fire for eternal death,—'est hoc *παραχαράττειν* non *παραφράζειν*,' 'this is to adulterate a monument of antiquity. If a monk had taken such liberties with the work of Josephus and the words of the Maccabees, how the man would have laughed at him.' Then he ridicules Erasmus for giving to the martyrs names drawn either from some apocryphal writings or invented out of his own head. And again Combefin calls an expression of the Paraphrastes 'inanis mihi verborum pompa et phalerae', and casts scorn upon him for expending so many rhetorical exaggerations over the tortured Mother, to which the critic would prefer the simplicity of the Greek account. I do not know if it was *odium theologicum* or *odium scholasticum* which prompted this assault, but if Erasmus could have awaked from his long century's sleep we might have had a literary quarrel, the echoes of which would be ringing yet in our ears. The French scholar would have had a backer on this side of the Channel in Dr. Wm. Cave of Oxford, who wrote that he would like to know why Erasmus put a quantity of stuff into his work of which there is no trace in the Greek. 'Others may solve the question,' says Cave, 'Quin id pro ingenii sui pruritu fecerit Erasmus dubitari nequit.'

But if one could picture such a ghostly battle of the books as taking place, I am not sure that Erasmus might not find on his side the shade of another Oxford scholar, John Lloyd, who translated Fourth Maccabees just two years after the defeat of the Great Armada, and decidedly did not love Rome. He does indeed criticize Erasmus's work, though he avoids, intentionally it may be, the mention of his name, but he keeps the vials of his wrath for certain Roman theologians, who endeavoured to make out that Fourth Maccabees was to be received as canonical, on evidence which they claimed to be that of Josephus, and cited Gregory in support of their thesis. Whom our Lloyd laughs to scorn, winding up with 'O dignos Romana meretrice mangones!'

Tantaene animis scholasticis irae?

Lloyd's text, based on the Strassburg edition of 1526, like those of Hudson and all the other printed texts I have seen (except Swete's), has the reading *ὥσπερ ἐπί τινος πίνακος* in xvii. 7 where the MSS. give *ὥσπερ τινός* or *ὡς ἐπί τινος*, and this conjectural emendation of *πίνακος* is reproduced in the Latin of Erasmus and others. The conjecture, though unsupported, is natural enough, as the author of Fourth Maccabees undoubtedly is referring here to a picture. Erasmus, however, tacks on to it quite a new idea, and turns this suggested figure of the martyred Mother from an ideal work of art into a sort of charm or amulet: 'if a sculptor were to put this piteous figure on a tomb or set it up on a house, he would be free from every dreadful plague and would surely enjoy eternal bliss.' The idea of the picture appears to have commended itself to the printer of a later edition of the book, for the Bodleian copy has fourteen rude woodcuts of the martyrdoms where no dreadful detail is spared. In their crude horror they remind one of the grim ghastliness of the Macabre pictures, so popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whose very name shows how the word Maccabean ultimately came to indicate death in its most detested forms. And this survives to-day in the argot of Paris, where the body of a murdered victim is still mockingly termed a 'macabé'.

§ 9. Theology.

When Paul was brought before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem, in order to divide his opponents he exclaimed: 'I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.' And we read that the two parties in the Council proceeded to fall out on the instant, 'for the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both.' This account exhibits very clearly the strongly contrasted beliefs of the two great parties among the Jews, as they existed (or were believed to exist) in Palestine about the middle of the first century A. D. In Alexandria, however, there was a third form of belief, approaching that of the Pharisees indeed, but with a difference; and this third form is the standpoint of the author of Fourth Maccabees. Briefly stated it is this. At death men meet with the reward or punishment due for their deeds. The righteous are received into bliss (see x. 15; xiii. 17; xvii. 4, 18; xviii. 23). The wicked are punished with eternal torture (see ix. 8, 32; x. 11, 15; xii. 19; xiii. 15; xviii. 5, 22. Apparently there is no resurrection of the body. Also, like the Pharisees, the author believes in angels (see iv. 10, and perhaps vii. 11), and in devils (see xviii. 8). For Jewish views of immortality see Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 224, and R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew*, &c., *passim*. How the Alexandrian school came to adopt the doctrine of the immortality of the soul but not of the resurrection of the body is too large a subject to enter upon here, but it is usually attributed to their having come under the influence of the philosophy of Plato and the neo-Pythagoreans. That the author was saturated with Greek philosophy is proved by his systematic adoption of its terminology, including the fourfold classi-

fication of the cardinal virtues which the Stoics copied from Plato. In his general thesis on the Supremacy of Reason, he follows exactly the Platonic classification of *φρόνησις*, judgement or self-control, *ἀνδρεία*, courage, *δικαιοσύνη*, justice, and *σωφροσύνη*, temperance. But when he comes to tell of the martyr facing the tortures he adds something new. 'You scoff at our philosophy,' says Eleazar to the king, 'but the Law teaches us temperance, and courage, and justice,'—so far the author goes with Plato ; then comes the new word—'and *εὐσέβεια*, righteousness, so that with due reverence we worship only the God who is.' This is the key-note of his whole book. The Stoic ideal is right, and the Stoic path to it may be well enough, but the driving force is to be sought elsewhere, namely in the Law of Moses. It is the same thought that he puts into the mouth of the first to suffer of the seven Brethren. 'Through all the torments I will show you . . . that the Sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquerable,' the secret of the youth's courage being that he has been trained in the Law of Moses. Similarly Philo, who accepted the Platonic idea of the soul as a divine emanation, chose the Stoic ethics for the groundwork of his system, and made Greek philosophy 'a means of defending and justifying Jewish religious truths. These he regarded as fixed and determinate, and philosophy was merely an aid to truth and a means of arriving at it' (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. Philo). No better description could be given of the position of the author of Fourth Maccabees. But the position was one that the Pharisaic party, which was ultimately successful, could never bring themselves to accept, and the school of Philo and of our author, after exerting considerable authority for a time, died away in the end.

Of direct Christian influence on the book there is naturally no trace, but I. Abrahams, writing in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, thinks that as it stands there may possibly be some Christian interpolation in such passages as vii. 14, xiii. 17, and xvi. 25, which declare that the patriarchs are not dead, but live unto God. In the second of these, where we read, 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall receive us,' Swete's text omits the phrase *εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῶν*, which is not in the uncials and appears only in MSS. of secondary importance; these particular words may perhaps be a later insertion made by some one familiar with the New Testament who wished to allude to Luke xvi. 23, but it is difficult to see why the general statement that the Jewish patriarchs live with God should be due to a Christian hand. Christian phraseology, however, does certainly find a remarkable echo, or rather anticipation, in the prayer of Eleazar, vi. 28, 'Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.' This idea is repeated in xvii. 21, 22, where the author says that the martyrs 'became a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated'. The phrases fall with a familiar sound on our ears, but nevertheless the idea of an atonement is not more distinctively Christian than it is Jewish. The whole Jewish system of sacrifices was based on the idea of the death of an animal being substituted for that of a man as an atonement for sin. Under the ancient law the scape-goat upon whom the lot for the Lord fell, in the service for the Day of Atonement, was sacrificed, and his blood was taken within the Holy Place, while the one for Azazel was turned out in the wilderness. The substitution of the goat for the people in the greatest ceremony of the year was thoroughly typical of the sacrificial principle. In later times the idea of the propitiatory sacrifice was extended from earth to heaven. In the Testament of Levi (*circa* 107 B.C.) we have 'In [the sixth heaven] are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the righteous; offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering'. Charles's note on this (*Test. Twelve Patr. Levi*, iii. 5) gives the explanation that since the earthly altar and tabernacle of Exodus and Numbers were made after heavenly patterns the idea of a sacrificial service in heaven must long have been familiar to Jews. Michael 'the merciful and longsuffering' is one of these archangels who pray and offer sacrifice for Israel. So we see that there is nothing specifically Christian in the suggestion of the sufferings of the righteous making atonement for the people.

To go back to ancient times, the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (though not an atonement) is by no means the only instance in the history of Judaism showing that the idea that a human being might be accepted as a sacrifice was quite conceivable. Did not Moses thus offer himself (Exod. xxxii. 32) when he found the people worshipping the golden calf, and prayed to the Lord, 'Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin — ; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book'? David also, when Israel was smitten because of his having numbered the people, cried to the Lord, 'It is I that have sinned and done evil indeed ; but as for these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O Lord God, be upon me and on my father's house ; but not on thy people that they should be plagued' (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 17). Indeed the whole Jewish theory of national religion was based on redemption by substitution. The first-born son of every family was due to Yahveh and had to be redeemed, just as every first-born of any unclean animal, such as an ass, had to be

redeemed by the substitution of a calf or a lamb. The author recurs again as he approaches his peroration to this thought of the martyrs' deaths being an atonement, in xvii. 21–22, where he says, 'they having as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin (apostasy); and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated.' As for the pagan world, we find the idea everywhere: to take a single instance, I may quote the self-sacrifice of Curtius's leap into the chasm to appease the gods of Rome. In the New Testament, of course, we have numerous parallels; to take one only, we read in Hebrews ix. 28, 'So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.'

It is not only in the idea of atonement that we find thoughts familiar to Christians suggested in Fourth Maccabees. The word 'faith' also occurs, in a distinctively religious sense. For example, in xvi. 22 the Mother, after having spoken of Abraham and Isaac and Daniel and the Three Children, says to her sons, 'And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled.' Here πίστις must mean religious faith, and in the very next verse the Mother speaks of the young men as 'knowing religion'. In xv. 24 the author speaks of the Mother's own faith: 'she willingly surrendered them through faith in God'; and again in xvii. 2 he describes her as giving 'an example of the nobleness of faith'. In this religious sense πίστις belongs not to Stoic, nor even to Greek thought, but to that devotional side of the Hebrew mind which was to be more fully expressed in Christianity. Here, however, as Maldwyn Hughes says (*Ethics of Jewish Apocr. Lit.* p. 112), 'It is rather trust in an external Providence than an inner dependence arising from an inward relationship. Faith is not a renewing and life-giving power, but confidence in the providential order.'

On the ethical question the author of Fourth Maccabees relies absolutely on the Mosaic Law. The Inspired Reason, i. e. the Reason guided by the Law, is autocratic over the passions, while depending on the Law for knowledge as to what to do and what to avoid. The author does not want the passions extirpated; he upholds the Stoic virtues, though not the Stoic ἀπαθεία; but he wants the passions to be brought under rigid control, and he shows how this has been and can be done by many examples from the Old Testament, giving as instances Joseph, David, and the rest. He does accept the Stoic doctrine about sin, that all sins are alike in being breaches of the law, when he makes Eleazar say (v. 20), 'for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally heinous; for in either case equally the Law is despised.' He never doubts that the Law is supreme (v. 16): 'We, O Antiochus, having accepted the Divine Law as the Law of our country, do not believe that any stronger necessity is laid upon us than that of our obedience to the Law.' He is a Jew to the core, and his conclusion is peremptory; for him the Law is the last word.

I will close this section with another quotation from Maldwyn Hughes (*op. cit.*, p. 111): 'The great purpose of the book is to stimulate faithfulness to the Law, and to show that the Greek ideal of virtue can be realized only by Judaism. The writer's heroes are not the Maccabean patriots, to whom he makes no reference, but the martyrs of Maccabean times. His silence as to the former is a significant hint that he did not sympathize with the political ideals which expressed themselves in active resistance to the Gentile powers, but that he preferred the Quietistic method of vindicating the Law, by absolute and unswerving faithfulness to it, at whatever pain and cost. The emergence of political ideals had resulted in the secularization of Judaism.'

§ 10. Bibliography.

So far as I can learn the text of Fourth Maccabees was first printed in 1526 in the Greek Bible published at Strassburg by Vuolphius (Wolfgang) Cephalaeus, of which there is a good copy in the Bodleian Library. In this edition it appears as Ἰωσίππου εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους βιβλίον. Professor Torrey, whose bibliographical account of the book in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* is the fullest I have seen and to whom I am indebted for some of the following information, quotes Freudenthal's statement that this text was based on a very poor MS. Once it was in type, however, it found general acceptance and was frequently reprinted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only in Greek Bibles but also in various editions of Josephus; of the latter we may name the Basle text of 1544, and that of John Lloyd (Luidus), Oxford, 1590. Lloyd says that he collated the Strassburg text with an ancient MS. at New College. This text was also used for the Greek Bible printed at Frankfort in 1597, with the same title of the Book of Josippus on the Maccabees, and it was likewise used by Hudson, Oxford, 1720, and by others who followed him, e.g. Dindorf, 1845–7, and Bekker, 1856, the latter work being a decided advance on its precursors. In 1709, however, a different text, based on the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum and edited by J. E. Grabe, was printed at Oxford, and after his death it was printed there again in 1719. It was also used by Apel, *Apocr. V. T.*, 1837. Still later another text, based on Codex A, was edited by F. Field, Oxford, 1859, in beautiful type. Dr. Field, who was of Trinity College, Cambridge, a Tyrrhitt's Hebrew scholar, and one of the O.T. Revisers, pillories the anonymous editor of a certain text which appeared at Oxford in 1817. The culprit had thought to get a neat transcript of the original MS. by rejecting every small-type reading in Grabe and putting back the marginal one. Whereby he not only restored many obvious errors in the Codex, but also repeated, in his ignorance, whatever misprints occurred in Grabe's text; these numbered six in the first chapter alone, 'cetera per totum libellum innumera!" says Dr. Field with crushing severity. Since then the book has appeared in Bagster's *Apocrypha, Greek and English*, 1882, and in

Fritzsche's *Libri Apocr. V. T.*, in which the commentary is excellent but the text differs considerably from that in Swete's *LXX*, Cambridge, 1894-9, which gives Codex A with variants of ℵ and V. The present translation is made from Swete's text, the cases where different readings are used being noted at the foot of the page. There is a florid paraphrase in English by that prolific seventeenth-century writer Sir Roger L'Estrange, and there are modern English translations in Cotton, *Five Books of the Maccabees*, 1832, in Bagster's *Apocrypha* already mentioned, and in Churton's *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, 1884. The ancient Syriac version of which I have spoken was published in 1895 by the Cambridge Press from the text of R. L. Bensly; and there is a modern Hebrew translation in Fraenkel, *Kethubim acharonim, sive Hagiographa posteriora*, Leipzig, 1830. Of Latin translations there are several. Erasmus made a very free paraphrase, as already described in § 8, in the early sixteenth century, which was reprinted by Peter de la Rouiére at Geneva in 1611 with the Greek text. The Bodleian Library has two copies of this edition. in one of which there is a marginal collation of the New College MS. of Fourth Maccabees. This copy is catalogued *C. 9. 5. Art.*, and has opposite the title a marginal note written ''Ιωσήπου περὶ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ. MS. in Collegio Novo', while the printed title has 'a Des. Erasmo Rot. in sermonem Latinum παραφραστικῶς translatus'. Lloyd in 1590 brought out at Oxford an edition of the Greek text (in wretched print alas!) collated with the New College MS. and accompanied by a Latin version that seems to be well done; this last may be said also of the Latin version by Fr. Combefin, Paris, 1672, whose work is praised by W. Cave in his *Scriptores Eccl.*, Oxford, 1688–1740, where he attacks Erasmus so severely. The best German translation is that of Deissmann in Kautzsch's *Apocr. u. Pseudepigr.*, Leipzig, 1899, and there are good German commentaries by Grimm, *Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, 1857, by Freudenthal, *Die Fl. Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft*, 1869, by Fritzsche in *Libri apocr. V. T.*, 1871, and by Deissmann (in Kautzsch) as mentioned above. The two last named have been those chiefly used in preparing the present translation. Other German works that may be consulted, according to Professor Torrey, are Zöckler's *Apocryphen*, 396-402; Gfrörer, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie*, 2. 172-200 (1831); Dähne, *Die jüdisch-alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie*, 2. 190–9 (1834); Ewald, *GVI* (3), 4, 632 ff.; Grätz, *MGWJ* (1877), pp. 454 ff.; Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (3), 3. 2 (1881), pp. 275-7. Also in English translations we have Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, iii. 244 ff., and Ewald's *History of Israel*, 5. 484 ff. For the ethical and theological side of the book I know nothing so good as Maldwyn Hughes, *Ethics of Jewish Apocr. Lit.* (date not given). Last but not least I would name Edwyn Bevan's *House of Seleucus*, 1902, as giving the best account of Antiochus Epiphanes and his attempts forcibly to Hellenize the Jews, and the reader may wisely consult his *Jerusalem under the High Priests*.

Appended is a comparison of the historical statements of 2 and 4 Macc. abridged from Bensly.

2 Macc. iii. 1—vii. 41.	4 Macc. iii. 20—xvii. 1.
1. Deep peace. iii. 1.	1. Do. iii. 20.
2. Seleucus, king of Asia, acts as patron of the Temple. iii. 3.	2. Do. iii. 20.
3. Simon at variance with Onias. iii. 4.	3. Do. iv. 1.
4. Tells Apollonius of the Temple treasures. iii. 6.	4. Do. iv. 3.
5. *Heliodorus* enters the Temple. iii. 14.	5. *Apollonius*, do. iv. 8.
6. Under the new king Antiochus, Jason buys the priesthood. iv. 7.	6. Do. iv. 17.
7. Jason builds a gymnasium. iv. 12.	7. Do. iv. 20.
8. Menelaus outbids Jason. iv. 24.	8. Not mentioned.
9. On report of Antiochus's death in Egypt Jason surprises Jerusalem. v. 5.	9. On report of Antiochus's death in Egypt the Jews rejoice. iv. 22.
10. Antiochus storms Jerusalem and massacres. v. 11.	10. Antiochus returns and lays the Jews waste. iv. 23.
11. King sends an Athenian to change the Jewish customs. vi. 1.	11. King decrees death to those who follow their fathers' religion. iv. 23.
12. Philip the Phrygian persecutes in Jerusalem. v. 22.	12. Antiochus himself orders the Hebrews to be brought before him. v. 2.
13. Eleazar, a scribe of ninety, is beaten to death. vi. 23–31.	13. Eleazar, priest and lawyer, an old man, is beaten and tortured to death with hot irons after a speech addressed to *Antiochus*. v. 16–vi. 30.
14–19. The brothers are variously tortured. vii.	14–19. Do. do. (different order). viii to xiv.
20. *Antiochus* touched with compassion for Brother VII promises him riches and friendship in exchange for obedience. vii. 24.	20. Do. xii. 2–6.
21. The Mother implores Brother VII to have compassion on her pains and care as a mother and to resist. vii. 27–29.	21. The Mother advises VII in Hebrew in words *not given at once*. xii. 7.
22. The Mother died last. vii. 41.	22. The Mother, certain guards say, flung herself into the frying-pan. xvii. 1.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

1 1 Philosophical in the highest degree is the question I propose to discuss, namely whether the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions; and to the philosophy *of it* I would seriously

I. 1. **Inspired Reason.** Philosophy is the power-house of the soul. It covers the motive-power by which our higher nature rules or tries to rule our worse self. Man's first want is meat and drink, and how to supply the want his first problem. The physical side of the problem solves itself; he either finds food, or he starves. But there is also a spiritual side to the problem, and to it Philosophy contains the answer—or answers. Will a man starve rather than sin, sin by stealing food from his brother man, or even by killing and eating him? The hungry wolf solves it one way; he will verily eat his brother wolf. But man, as soon as he rises above the wolf level, and developing a conscience becomes man, finds himself faced with this most serious problem. It may seem remote to us now living in comfort and protected by the police; but it is still quite close up with every exploring expedition, polar or tropical, that takes its chances in the unknown. Will the individual man, when tempted, yield to temptation or resist it? From the time of the flint-weaponed hunters down to the present day the question has been answered—both in the way of the man with a conscience, the higher man, and the way of the man with the heart of a wolf, the lower man. But what is the power that enables the higher type to abstain not only from cannibalism but also, as life grows more complex, from all kinds of wrong? The answer to that question is duty, the one short word that has a hundred names in a hundred lands. Where a man feels the call of duty and can also trust that his fellows feel it, religion, the essence of religion at any rate, the binding of soul to soul, exists, and there in truth is the beginning of human society. Where the call of duty is not felt, life becomes inhuman; we revert to the conditions of the wolf-pack. Fourth Maccabees is the attempt of an orthodox Jew, one well skilled in Greek philosophy, to show how men may rise above the wolf-pack level and be true to their duty even under the last extremity of torture. For even though a man may recognize his duty, yet through weakness of will he may fail to respond. The driving power, that which out of weakness makes him strong to respond, is the mainspring of the higher life, and that is why philosophy, which covers all man's attempts to find and to explain the source of the driving power, may be called the power-house of the soul.

The name which the author of the book here takes to express the working action of duty in the human mind is λογισμός. In its ordinary acceptation λογισμός was the word used for common arithmetic, but here it stands for the human reason, or rather the rational will, which according to Epicurus disposes of all the greatest and most important matters of life (Diog. Laert. 10. 44), and here may be suitably expressed as the personified Reason with a capital R. It was a conveniently definite term for the author of Fourth Maccabees to adopt, seeing that λόγος both in Greek and in Jewish philosophy had been already consecrated to a different use. Λόγος was the Word. According to Lactantius (*de Vera. Sap.* c. 9) 'Zeno rerum naturae dispositorem atque artificem universitatis λόγον praedicat, quem et fatum et necessitatem rerum et deum et animum Iovis nuncupat'. So in Ps. xxxiii. 6 we have 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made'. In hundreds of passages Jew and Greek alike declare the power of the Word, the λόγος, the 'memra'. To come down from the Psalmist and Zeno to the first century A. D., in Alexandria, the probable date and place of origin of Fourth Maccabees, we find the Jewish philosopher Philo actually taking over from the Stoics the doctrine that the λόγος is the power of God or the active Divine intelligence in general. With such powerful associations clinging to λόγος it was natural for the author to choose λογισμός for Reason, and the more so that the Stoics had already used it in that sense. There is extant an interesting little dialogue of Cleanthes, given by Pearson, *Fragm. Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 306, in which the two speakers are Λογισμός and Θυμός.

Λογισμός. τί ποτ' ἐσθ' ὅτι βούλει, θυμέ; τοῦτό μοι φράσον.
Θυμός. ἔχειν, λογισμέ, πᾶν ὃ βούλομαι ποιεῖν.
Λογισμός. ναὶ βασιλικόν γε· πλὴν ὅμως εἶπον πάλιν.
Θυμός. ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶ ταῦθ' ὅπως γενήσεται.
Reason. What on earth do you want, my good animal? Tell me that.
Animal Nature. I want, O Reason, to be able to do everything I want.
Reason. A royal appetite indeed; but would you say that again.
Animal Nature. I want whatever I desire to come to pass.

The contrast between our higher and our lower self could hardly be better put.

It has happened to some young men entering the study of philosophy to feel a sudden qualm lest they were being made fools of by a set of bookworms calling themselves philosophers, weaklings constitutionally unable to enter into the feelings of a healthy natural man. Such may take comfort in the recollection that the writer of this little dialogue, Cleanthes, who after Zeno was the great prophet of the Stoics, in his unconverted days had been a pugilist, and that no man ever stood up in the ring but had a working knowledge of our animal nature and the need of keeping one's head in spite of its promptings. But though the Stoic ex-pugilist well knew the need for the λογισμός to dominate the θυμός we must remember that the λογισμός of Fourth Maccabees is not precisely the same thing as the Reason of Greek philosophy, Epicurean or Stoic. For the λογισμός of the Jewish writer is qualified by the adjective εὐσεβής, a word which in the mouth of a Hellenistic Jew signifies a strict adherence to the Law of Moses, that is to say the Law of God. εὐσεβής, in short, was the technical word used in the Diaspora to describe the Chasidim, the 'pious' or 'godly' party among the Jews, rigorous precisians whose pride it was to follow the Law in all things. With us 'orthodox' has something of the same implication, though it applies in our own days to faith rather than to works. The 'Saints' of Cromwell 'doing the work of the Lord faithfully' perhaps come nearer the idea; and indeed their inspiration was largely drawn from the Old Testament. Thus the word εὐσεβής means directly inspired by God as He

2 entreat your earnest attention. For not only is the subject generally necessary as a branch of
3 knowledge, but it includes the praise of the greatest of virtues, whereby I mean self-control. That
4 is to say, if Reason is proved to control the passions adverse to temperance, gluttony and lust, it is also clearly shown to be lord over the passions, like malevolence, opposed to justice, and over those opposed to manliness, namely rage and pain and fear.

5 But, some may ask, if the Reason is master of the passions, why does it not control forgetfulness
6 and ignorance? their object being to cast ridicule. The answer is that Reason is not master over defects inhering in the mind itself, but over the passions *or moral defects* that are adverse to justice and manliness and temperance and judgement; and its action in their case is not to extirpate the passions, but to enable us to resist them successfully.

7 I could bring before you many examples, drawn from various sources, where Reason has proved
8 itself master over the passions, but the best instance by far that I can give is the noble conduct of
9 those who died for the sake of virtue, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren and the Mother. For these all by their contempt of pains, yea, even unto death, proved that Reason rises superior to the
10 passions. I might enlarge here in praise of their virtues, they, the men with the Mother, dying on this day we celebrate for the love of moral beauty and goodness, but rather would I felicitate them
11 on the honours they have attained. For the admiration felt for their courage and endurance, not only by the world at large but by their very executioners, made them the authors of the downfall of the tyranny under which our nation lay, they defeating the tyrant by their endurance, so that
12 through them was their country purified. But I shall presently take opportunity to discuss this, after we have begun with the general theory, as I am in the habit of doing, and I will then proceed to their story, giving glory to the all-wise God.

14 Our enquiry, then, is whether the Reason is supreme master over the passions. But we must define just what the Reason is and what passion is, and how many forms of passion there are, and
15 whether the Reason is supreme over all of them. Reason I take to be the mind preferring with

is revealed to the soul of the 'righteous man' in the Book of Moses, and I therefore translate *εὐσεβὴς λογισμός* by 'The Inspired Reason', that is to say the Reason or Rational Will obeying the guidance of the Law. When so guided, the *λογισμός* becomes our higher self, and includes not only reason, but the moral sense and that noblest form of courage which consists in perfect self-sacrifice for the sake of our ideal. With regard to *εὐσεβής* I have only used 'Inspired' for it when thus connected with *λογισμός*. Elsewhere it is generally represented by 'righteous', which must be taken in the meaning it usually bears in the Old Testament of 'following the Law' in the Jewish sense. Similarly *εὐσέβεια* is either 'righteousness' or 'religion', according to the context, with the same definitely limited connotation of orthodox Judaism.

2. **the ... virtues.** The author takes his classification of the four cardinal virtues from the Stoics, who got them from Plato. The four are *φρόνησις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*, *σωφροσύνη*, and the greatest of these is *φρόνησις*, a puzzling word to render adequately. Diogenes Laertius tells us that Apollophanes held *φρόνησις* to include the whole of virtue, and Plutarch says (*Sto. Rep.* vii. 2) that Zeno defined the cardinal virtues as follows: *φρόνησις*, he held, as a general term included the other three; in things demanding endurance or vigorous action, it was courage; in things demanding fairness, it was justice; in things demanding a choice, it was temperance. It is not easy to find English words that will correspond exactly to these terms, though courage and justice may pass, and so indeed may temperance, even if the idea it brings to our minds is somewhat limited by its modern use for abstinence from alcohol. But *φρόνησις*, which can sometimes be expressed by self-control, covers more than that. It is prudence, but that hardly expresses the active side of it enough; it is wisdom, but more in its practical than in its intellectual aspect; it is glorified common sense, but that, though expressive, hardly suggests a sufficiently lofty ideal. Judgement is nearer to it, judgement in the sense in which we have it in the collect where we ask to be given 'a right judgement in all things'. But the selected word for *φρόνησις* must be varied to suit the context.

3. **the passions,** *πάθη*. The word includes the emotions and affections as well as what we call the lower self. For the Stoic philosophers' division of the *πάθη* see i. 20.

5. **ignorance.** Zeno, according to Stobaeus, classed some vices as *ἄγνοιαι*, and there was a Stoic dogma, *πάντα ἀγνοεῖ ὁ φαῦλος*. The Stoics used the terms *σπουδαῖος* and *φαῦλος* to distinguish between two classes, the initiated and the uninitiated in philosophy; much as we might talk of saints and sinners, converted and unconverted, 'elect' and 'worldly'. I doubt, however, if the Stoic *ἄγνοιαι* were quite what is meant by *ἄγνοια* here. Deissmann thinks that this and the following verse have been bodily transposed here from ii. 24, iii. 1, where their connexion is clearer. But the mere fact that the sentences are repeated in almost the same words need hardly trouble us: the author of Fourth Maccabees does not mind repeating himself, as will be abundantly evident before the reader reaches the end of the book; and the author does get a sort of antithesis between the two passages. Here he shows us sceptics laughing at Stoicism (compare 'Coxcombs vanquish Berkeley by a grin'), but in iii. 1 it is he who laughs at the sceptics.

10. **this day we celebrate,** *τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν*. Apparently the Chanukah festival, for which see § 7 *ad finem*. Even if this treatise is not a synagogue sermon (see § 1) it may very well have been given as a lecture on the anniversary of the martyrs. The words *ὅπερ εἴωθα ποιεῖν*, two verses lower down, clearly imply that the author is speaking to an audience that he had often addressed before.

11. **their country purified.** The spirit roused by the martyrs led to the rising headed by Judas Maccabaeus and his brethren, and so was the effectual cause of the Temple being purified and its service re-established. *καθαρισθῆναι* refers not only to the cleansing of the Jews from the national sin of apostasy, but to the cleansing of the Temple itself after Zeus Olympius had been worshipped there and swine offered upon the altar.

12. **giving glory,** *δόξαν δοὺς*. Perhaps the one Hebraism in the whole book.

16 clear deliberation the life of wisdom. Wisdom I take to be the knowledge of things, divine and
17 human, and of their causes. This I take to be the culture acquired under the Law, through which
we learn with due reverence the things of God and for our worldly profit the things of man.
18 Now wisdom is manifested under the forms of judgement and justice, and courage, and temper-
19 ance. But judgement *or self-control* is the one that dominates them all, for through it, in truth,
20 Reason asserts its authority over the passions. But of the passions there are two comprehensive
sources, namely, pleasure and pain, and either belongs essentially also to the soul as well as to the
21 body. And with respect both to pleasure and pain there are many cases where the passions have
22, 23 certain sequences. Thus while desire goes before pleasure, satisfaction follows after, and while fear
24 goes before pain, after pain comes sorrow. Anger, again, if a man will retrace the course of his
25 feelings, is a passion in which are blended both pleasure and pain. Under pleasure, also, comes
26 that moral debasement which exhibits the widest variety of the passions. It manifests itself in
27 the soul as ostentation, and covetousness, and vain-glory, and contentiousness, and backbiting.
and in the body as eating of strange meat, and gluttony, and gormandizing in secret.
28 Now pleasure and pain being as it were two trees, growing from body and soul, many offshoots of
29 these passions sprout up; and each man's Reason as master-gardener, weeding and pruning and
binding up, and turning on the water and directing it hither and thither, brings the thicket of
30 dispositions and passions under domestication. For while Reason is the guide of the virtues it is
master of the passions.

Observe, now, in the first place, that Reason becomes supreme over the passions in virtue of the
31, 32 inhibitory action of temperance. Temperance, I take it, is the repression of the desires; but of the
33 desires some are mental and some physical, and both kinds are clearly controlled by Reason; when
we are tempted towards forbidden meats, how do we come to relinquish the pleasures to be derived
from them? Is it not that Reason has power to repress the appetites? In my opinion it is so.
34 Accordingly when we feel a desire to eat water-animals and birds and beasts and meats of every
35 description forbidden to us under the Law, we abstain through the predominance of Reason. For
the propensions of our appetites are checked and inhibited by the temperate mind, and all the
movements of the body obey the bridle of Reason.

15. *ορθου λογου* ℵ V *σοφιας βιον* ℵ *σοφον βιον* V 35. *φιμουται* ℵ V

---

15. **clear deliberation.** Ὀρθὸς λόγος, which here I render by 'clear deliberation', is a regular philosophic term. Stobaeus (*Ecl.* ii. 192) gives as the Stoic dogma the statement that *ὁ νόμος* was *σπουδαῖος*, i. e. on the side of the 'elect', seeing that it is *λόγος ὀρθός*, 'right reason', enjoining what should be done and forbidding what should not be done; but here the Jew parts company. For him *νόμος* means neither the man-made law of any Greek state, nor the *κοινὸς νόμος*, the Universal Law of the philosophers; but the Law of Moses which is the Law of his God. The Jewish moralist may rejoice in the acute intellectual analysis of the Greek mind; but no Greek standard of religious duty for him! He will traffic willingly with the Greek for intellectual wares, but when it comes to the moral sense he will pray in another temple.

16. **the knowledge of things.** Plutarch in *Plac. Phil.* i. 1 has this, *οἱ μὲν οὖν Στωικοὶ ἔφασαν τὴν μὲν σοφίαν εἶναι θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμην*, the exact phrase we have here with the exception of *γνῶσις* for *ἐπιστήμη*.

20. **the passions.** With this analysis of the *πάθη* compare Stobaeus, *Eth.* ii. [166], where he explains the Stoic position:—*πρῶτα δ' εἶναι τῷ γένει ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα, ἐπιθυμίαν φόβον λύπην ἡδονήν. ἐπιθυμίαν μὲν οὖν καὶ φόβον προηγεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον κακόν. ἐπιγίγνεσθαι δὲ τούτοις ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην, ἡδονὴν μὲν ὅταν τυγχάνωμεν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ ἐκφύγωμεν ἃ ἐφοβούμεθα, λύπην δὲ ὅταν ἀποτυγχάνωμεν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ περιπέσωμεν οἷς ἐφοβούμεθα.* Similarly Diogenes Laertius says (vii. 110) *τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν.*

With regard to *ἀκολουθίαι* compare this passage from Huxley, which will be found in the peroration of his work on Hume and Berkeley, *Collected Essays*, vi. 318: 'Our sensations, our pleasures, our pains, and the relations of these, make up the sum total of the elements of positive unquestionable knowledge. We call a large section of these and their relations matter and motion; the rest we term mind and thinking; and experience shows that there is a certain constant order of succession between some of the former and some of the latter.' The words underlined exactly express *ἀκολουθίαι*. Our author makes the *πάθη* cover the whole range of the emotions and affections, and includes under this head our weaknesses and moral defects generally. Among us the word passion generally has a more limited connotation. Grimm says that the Stoic view was that the *πάθη* are bad in themselves and belong to the *λόγος πονηρός*, but that the author of Fourth Maccabees holds that the *πάθη* are part of human nature implanted by the Creator, and as such require to be controlled but not extirpated.

27. **gormandizing.** Compare with this Job xxxi. 17 *εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν ψωμόν μου ἔφαγον μόνος καὶ οὐχὶ ὀρφανῷ μετέδωκα.* Aristophanes in the *Wasps*, 923, has the comic superlative *μονοφαγίστατος*—'the very greedydoggest chap of all.'

By the transposition of *μ* and *ν* the scribe in some MSS. has made the word into *νομόφαγος*, which should mean an eater of laws (swallower of formulae!) if it means anything—a nonsensical error which was corrected by Grabe only to be foolishly restored to the text of the 1817 edition by a certain careless man whom Dr. Field holds up to scorn.

29. **turning on the water.** *ἐπάρδων* is leading the water on from the *acequia madre* or main irrigating ditch; the work is well described in the *First Georgic*, 108 'Ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam Elicit', &c. *μεταχέων* is turning the water from one water-furrow to another so as to irrigate the separate squares or plots. I can find no authority for the meaning 'transplanting' which has been given to it, though it makes good enough sense.

1 And what is there to be surprised at if the natural desire of the soul to enjoy the fruition of beauty
2 is quenched? This, certainly, is why we praise the virtuous Joseph, because by his Reason, with a
3 mental effort, he checked the carnal impulse. For he, a young man at the age when physical desire
4 is strong, by his Reason quenched the impulse of his passions. And Reason is proved to subdue the
5 impulse not only of sexual desire, but of all sorts of covetings. For the Law says, 'Thou shalt not
6 covet thy neighbour's wife, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.' Verily, when the Law orders us not to covet, it should, I think, confirm strongly the argument that the Reason is capable of controlling covetous desires, even as it does the passions that militate against justice.

7 How else can a man, naturally gormandizing and greedy and drunken, be taught to change his
8 nature, if the Reason be not manifestly the master of the passions? Certainly, as soon as a man orders his life according to the Law, if he is miserly he acts contrary to his nature, and lends money
9 to the needy without interest, and at the seventh-year periods cancels the debt. And if he is parsimonious, he is overruled by the Law through the action of Reason, and refrains from gleaning his stubbles or picking the last grapes from his vineyards.

And with regard to all the rest we can recognize that Reason is in the position of master over
10 the passions *or affections*. For the Law ranks above affection for parents, so that a man may not
11 for their sakes surrender his virtue, and it overrides love for a wife, so that if she transgress a man
12 should rebuke her, and it governs love for children, so that if they are naughty a man should punish them, and it controls the claims of friendship, so that a man should reprove his friends if they do
13 evil. And do not think it a paradoxical thing when Reason through the Law is able to overcome
14 even hatred, so that a man refrains from cutting down the enemy's orchards, and protects the property of the enemy from the spoilers, and gathers up their goods that have been scattered.

15 And the rule of Reason is likewise proved to extend through the more aggressive passions *or*
16 *vices*, ambition, vanity, ostentation, pride, and backbiting. For the temperate mind repels all these
17 debased passions, even as it does anger, for it conquers even this. Yea, Moses when he was angered against Dathan and Abiram did not give free course to his wrath, but governed his anger by his
18 Reason. For the temperate mind is able, as I said, to win the victory over the passions, modifying
19 some, while crushing others absolutely. Why else did our wise father Jacob blame the houses of Simeon and Levi for their unreasoning slaughter of the tribe of the Shechemites, saying, 'Ac-
20 cursed be their anger!' For had not Reason possessed the power to restrain their anger he would
21 not have spoken thus. For in the day when God created man, he implanted in him his passions
22 and inclinations, and also, at the very same time, set the mind on a throne amidst the senses to be
23 his sacred guide in all things; and to the mind he gave the Law, by the which if a man order himself, he shall reign over a kingdom that is temperate, and just, and virtuous, and brave.

24 Well then, some one may ask, if Reason is master of the passions why is it not master of forget-
3 1 fulness and ignorance? But the argument is supremely ridiculous. For Reason is not shown to be
2 master over passions *or defects* in itself, but over those of the body. For example, none of you is able to extirpate our natural desire, but the Reason can enable him to escape being made a slave by
3 desire. None of you is able to extirpate anger from the soul, but it is possible for the Reason to
4 come to his aid against anger. None of you can extirpate a malevolent disposition, but Reason can
5 be his powerful ally against being swayed by malevolence. Reason is not the extirpator of the passions, but their antagonist.

II. 8. *ενστασων* ℵ V III. 3. *+τον λογισμον* ℵ V

II. 8. **at the seventh-year periods.** The reading *ἐντάσσων*, which is that of A, and accordingly is retained by Swete, is supported by the Syriac version, which Bensly renders as follows: 'So he reckoneth by the weeks and forgiveth part of that which is due to him.' But there is no MS. authority in the Greek for the insertion of the words '*part of*', without which *ἐντάσσων* yields very poor sense. And even if we admit 'part of', how can reckoning by the weeks be supposed to reduce the debt? The Strassburg Bible of 1526 has the more intelligible reading *ἐνστασῶν*, which must mean the seventh-year period of release. This reading is followed by Lloyd (1590) and many others. Lloyd translated the passage thus: 'Cum primum igitur quis (? quisquis) ad Legis praescriptum vivit, si avaro fuerit ac sordido ingenio, suis vim adhibere moribus cogitur, ut tenuioribus sine foenore mutuet; atque imminentibus iam septimanis mutuum amittat.' And Lloyd is followed by Hudson (1720), who also reads *ἐνστασῶν* and translates 'ut imminentibus iam septimanis mutuum amittat'. The version of Deissmann, who likewise reads *ἐνστασῶν*, runs, 'He lends to the needy without interest, although (in the future) when the seventh year comes he even loses the capital he has lent.' This reading *ἐνστασῶν* is also supported by the fact that it does certainly correspond very closely with the Law as stated in Deut. xv. 9: Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought.'

22. **his sacred guide.** As an instance of the Stoic terminology of this book I give the following passage from A. C. Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 142, where he quotes from *Nemes. de Nat. Hom.*, p. 96 *Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Στωικὸς ὀκταμερῆ φησιν εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, διαιρῶν αὐτὴν εἵς τε τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ εἰς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ εἰς τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ σπερματικόν.* And Diog. Laert. vii. 52 has this: *αἴσθησις δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς τό τ' ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διῆκον . . . καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευή.*

6. 7 The case of the thirst of King David may serve at least to make this clearer. For when David had fought the live-long day against the Philistines, and by the help of our country's warriors had
8 slain many of them, he came at eventide, all fordone with sweat and toil, to the royal tent, around
9 which was encamped the whole army of our ancestors. So all the host fell to their evening meal;
10 but the king, being consumed with an intense thirst, though he had abundance of water, was
11 unable to slake it. Instead, an irrational desire for the water that was in the possession of the
12 enemy with growing intensity burned him up and unmanned and consumed him. Then when his body-guard murmured against the craving of the king, two youths, mighty warriors, ashamed that their king should lack his desire, put on all their armour, and took a water-vessel, and scaled the
13 enemy's ramparts; and stealing undetected past the guards at the gate, they searched through
14 all the enemy's camp. And they bravely found the spring, and drew from it a draught for the
15 king. But David, though still burning with the thirst, considered that such a draught, reckoned
16 as equivalent to blood, was a grievous danger to his soul. Therefore, opposing his Reason to his
17 desire, he poured out the water as an offering to God. For the temperate mind is able to conquer
18 the dictates of the passions, and to quench the fires of desire, and to wrestle victoriously with the pangs of our bodies though they be exceeding strong, and by the moral beauty and goodness
19 of Reason to defy with scorn all the domination of the passions. And now the occasion calls us to set forth the story of the self-controlled Reason.

20 At a time when our fathers enjoyed great peace through the due observance of the Law, and were in happy case, so that Seleucus Nicanor, the king of Asia, sanctioned the tax for the temple-service,
21 and recognized our polity, precisely then, certain men, acting factiously against the general concord,
4 1 involved us in many and various calamities. Onias, a man of the highest character, being then high priest and having the office for his life, a certain Simon raised a faction against him, but since despite every kind of slander he failed to injure him on account of the people, he fled abroad with intent to betray his country.

2, 3 So he came to Apollonius, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia and Cilicia, and said, 'Being loyal to the king, I am here to inform you that in the treasuries of Jerusalem are stored many thousands of private deposits, not belonging to the temple account, and rightfully the property of King Seleucus.'

4 Apollonius, having made inquiry into the details of the matter, praised Simon for his loyal service to the king, and hastening to the court of Seleucus, disclosed to him the valuable treasure;
5 then, after receiving authority to deal with the matter, he promptly marched into our country,
6 accompanied by the accursed Simon and a very powerful army, and announced that he was there
7 by the king's command to take possession of the private deposits in the treasury. Our people were deeply angered by this announcement, and protested strongly, considering it an outrageous thing for those who had entrusted their deposits to the temple treasury to be robbed of them, and
8 they threw all possible obstacles in his way. Apollonius, however, with threats, made his way into
9 the temple. Then the priests in the temple and the women and children besought God to come to
10 the rescue of his Holy Place that was being violated; and when Apollonius with his armed host marched in to seize the moneys, there appeared from heaven angels, riding upon horses, with lightning

14. *εγεμισαν* is supported by the Syriac 18. *τη καλοκαγαθια* ℵ V IV. 8. *απειλων* ℵ 9. *του ιερου* ℵ V

12. **two youths.** The author's story of David's thirst and the water that he poured out like blood upon the ground differs materially from that told in 2 Sam. xxiii. 16 ff. and 1 Chron. xi. 11. Here the feat is performed by two young soldiers who scour the whole Philistine camp (which lies in a place whose name is not given) in order to find the spring. In the O.T. the heroes are three chiefs of David's mighty men, apparently Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah, though there is some uncertainty about the names. The action takes place at Bethlehem and the well is close to the gate, neither have they any special difficulty in finding it. The author does not use, perhaps he even avoids, the actual phraseology of the LXX, except only that in reference to David's action he employs the words *ἐπιθυμία* and *ἔσπεισεν*. Either his Bible differed materially from ours, or else he allowed himself considerable latitude in handling the incident. The latter seems probable, and this should be borne in mind when considering the various points on which he differs from the writer of 2 Maccabees.

20. **Seleucus Nicanor.** *τὸν Νικάνορα*. Perhaps we should here read with V *τὸν Νικάνορος*, 'the descendant of Nicanor', he being the one of Alexander's generals who founded the Seleucid dynasty. The king who is here meant was his sixth successor, Seleucus IV (Philopator), son of Antiochus III (the Great), and elder brother of his own successor Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). He reigned first as associated with his father and shared his defeat by Rome, and after 187 B.C. he reigned as sole king till he was murdered by Heliodorus in 176–5. Seleucus IV wasted little money in wars and left a full treasury. The words *χρήματα κτλ.* may mean that he assigned part of the state revenues to the Temple service, or that he sanctioned the exaction of the regular Temple tax, the annual half-shekel which the Jews, not in Palestine only but in all parts, were expected to pay to the priests. The authority for this tax was derived from Moses' Law, Exod. xxx. 12, 2 Chron. xxiv. 6. After the Captivity it was reduced to a third, in consequence of the rise in values and the poverty of the people; but it was raised again to half a shekel by Simon the Maccabee. The expression *τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδέχεσθαι* indicates that the king recognized the Jewish form of government which prevailed after the Return, that is to say, a theocracy under which the high-priest was also the chief ruler of the state.

11 flashing from their arms, and cast great fear and trembling upon them. And Apollonius fell down
half-dead in the Court of the Gentiles, and stretched out his hands to heaven, and with tears he
entreated the Hebrews that they would make intercession for him and stay the wrath of the heavenly
12 host. For he said that he had sinned and was worthy even of death, and that if he were given his
13 life he would laud to all men the blessedness of the Holy Place. Moved by these words, Onias, the
high-priest, although most scrupulous in other cases, made intercession for him lest King Seleucus
should possibly think that Apollonius had been overthrown by a human device and not by divine
14 justice. Apollonius, accordingly, after his astonishing deliverance departed to report to the king the
15 things that had befallen him. But Seleucus dying, his successor on the throne was his son Antiochus
16 Epiphanes, an overweening terrible man; who dismissed Onias from his sacred office, and made his
17 brother Jason high-priest instead, the condition being that in return for the appointment Jason should
18 pay him three thousand six hundred and sixty talents yearly. So he appointed Jason high-priest and
19 made him chief ruler over the people. And he (*Jason*) introduced to our people a new way of life
20 and a new constitution in utter defiance of the Law; so that not only did he lay out a gymnasium
21 on the Mount of our fathers, but he actually abolished the service of the temple. Wherefore the
22 divine justice was kindled to anger and brought Antiochus himself as an enemy against us. For
when he was carrying on war with Ptolemy in Egypt and heard that the people of Jerusalem had
23 rejoiced exceedingly over a report of his death, he immediately marched back against them. And
when he had plundered *the city* he made a decree denouncing the penalty of death upon any who
24 should be seen to live after the Law of our fathers. But he found all his decrees of no avail to
break down the constancy of our people to the Law, and he beheld all his threats and penalties
25 utterly despised, so that even women for circumcising their sons, though they knew beforehand
26 what would be their fate, were flung, together with their offspring, headlong from the rocks. When
therefore his decrees continued to be contemned by the mass of the people, he personally tried to
force by tortures each man separately to eat unclean meats and thus abjure the Jewish religion.

5 1 Accordingly, the tyrant Antiochus, accompanied by his councillors, sat in judgement on a certain
2 high place with his troops drawn up around him in full armour, and he ordered his guards to drag

19. εξεδιητησεν ℵ V Syr. 21. επολεμωσεν 24. ευνομιαν ℵ V Syr.

IV. 13. **most scrupulous.** I have followed Grimm's rendering, but it here may be noted that εὐλάβεια, caution, is the regular philosophical term for the useful side of the passion which in excess becomes fear. If we take it in the latter sense, ἄλλως εὐλαβηθείς would mean that Onias was so much alarmed as to the possible effect on King Seleucus that on this occasion he swallowed his repugnance and offered the prayer. In 2 Macc., where the story is told at much greater length, and where the offender is called Heliodorus not Apollonius, Onias not only prays but also offers sacrifice 'as an atonement for the man'. Poor Onias seems to have been a lover of peace, nevertheless he was, after his retirement, murdered at Antioch by Menelaus, the usurping high-priest who outbid and ousted Jason.

15. **his son,** υἱός. An extraordinary mistake for brother, but the MSS. leave no doubt that the author made it. Antiochus Epiphanes was a curious mixture. Like the rest of the Seleucid House he was of mixed Persian and Macedonian blood, and his education, half Greek, half Roman, was no less mixed, for he spent his childhood at the Graeco-Syrian court, and his boyhood at Rome, where he became a hostage for his father on his defeat. Released after his father's death, he played as a young man at being a citizen and an elected official of Athens, keeping his eye all the time on the Syrian throne. Then came the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus, and Antiochus presently made his bid for the kingdom and won. Thenceforth he reigned with a sort of insane energy, acting as the militant missionary of Hellenism in the East, and backing up his mission with wayward freakishness. While planting gorgeous new temples and new Antiochs everywhere, he took advantage of his audacious title of Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής, the Manifest God, to assert his right to plunder remorselessly the already existing temples in order that their treasures might support his extravagances. His looting of the Temple at Jerusalem was but one instance out of many, and it was the failure of his attempt on the shrine of Ishtar at Elymais that brought about his doom.

22. **war with Ptolemy.** Antiochus made several campaigns against Ptolemy and succeeded in conquering the whole of Egypt with the single exception of Alexandria, to which he actually laid siege. But he had reckoned without Rome, who disapproved of his ambitions, and having finished the Macedonian war had got her hands free at last. Antiochus was watching the siege when he saw a small party of Romans who had just landed approaching him. He recognized their leader, a consular, Pompilius Laenas, whom he had known as a boy in Rome, and held out his hand in greeting. Pompilius took no notice of the offered hand, but presented a note from the senate desiring Antiochus to quit Egypt. The Syrian king looked at it, and said lightly, 'I will consider it with my friends.' Pompilius held in his hand a vine-stick, a thing as characteristic of a Roman officer as the sjambok was of a Boer commander. He drew a circle in the sand with it round the king. 'Consider there,' he said. Antiochus paused, hesitated, and then, still inside the circle, said, 'The senate shall be obeyed.' His hand was instantly grasped by Pompilius, and they were the best of friends. Having accepted the situation Antiochus withdrew his armies from Egypt, but being enraged with the Jews, as related in the text, he relieved his feelings by the sack of Jerusalem and the persecution of the Jews.

V. 1. **a certain high place.** Tradition varies as to the scene of the martyrdoms. In Maccabees there is nothing to indicate that they took place anywhere except at Jerusalem. The early Church, however, held the place to have been Antioch, and a basilica was erected there in the martyrs' honour. For the transfer of the relics from Antioch to Milan and Cologne, see § 8. The relics are said now to be in Rome.

there every single man of the Hebrews and compel them to eat swine's flesh and things offered to
3 idols; but if any should refuse to defile themselves with the unclean things, they were to be tortured
4 and put to death. And when many had been taken by force, one man first from among the company was brought before Antiochus, a Hebrew whose name was Eleazar, a priest by birth, trained in knowledge of the law, a man advanced in years and well known to many of the tyrant's court for his philosophy.
5 And Antiochus, looking on him, said:
6 'Before I allow the tortures to begin for you, O venerable man, I would give you this counsel, that you should eat of the flesh of the swine and save your life; for I respect your age and your grey hairs, although to have worn them so long a time, and still to cling to the Jewish religion, makes me
7 think you no philosopher. For most excellent is the meat of this animal which Nature has graciously
8 bestowed upon us, and why should you abominate it? Truly it is folly not to enjoy innocent
9 pleasures, and it is wrong to reject Nature's favours. But it will be still greater folly, I think, on your part if with idle vapouring about truth you shall proceed to defy even me to your own punish-
10, 11 ment. Will you not awake from your preposterous philosophy? Will you not fling aside the nonsense of your calculations and, adopting another frame of mind befitting your mature years, learn the
12 true philosophy of expediency, and bow to my charitable counsel, and have pity on your own
13 venerable age? For consider this, too, that even if there be some Power whose eye is upon this religion of yours, he will always pardon you for a transgression done under compulsion.'
14 Thus urged by the tyrant to the unlawful eating of unclean meat, Eleazar asked permission to
15 speak; and receiving it, he began his speech before the court as follows:
16 'We, O Antiochus, having accepted the Divine Law as the Law of our country, do not believe any stronger necessity is laid upon us than that of our obedience to the Law.
17, 18 'Therefore we do surely deem it right not in any way whatsoever to transgress the Law. And yet, were our Law, as you suggest, not truly divine, while we vainly believed it to be divine, not even so
19 would it be right for us to destroy our reputation for piety. Think it not, then, a small sin for us
20 to eat the unclean thing, for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally
21, 22 heinous; for in either case equally the Law is despised. And you scoff at our philosophy, as
23 if under it we were living in a manner contrary to reason. Not so, for the Law teaches us self-control, so that we are masters of all our pleasures and desires and are thoroughly trained in manli-
24 ness so as to endure all pain with readiness; and it teaches justice, so that with all our *various* dispositions we act fairly, and it teaches righteousness, so that with due reverence we worship only the
25 God who is. Therefore do we eat no unclean meat; for believing our Law to be given by God, we know

V. 4. φιλοσοφιαν V 11. των λογισμων ℵ 24. εκδιδασκει ℵ

4. **advanced in years.** According to 2 Macc. he was ninety. Prof. Kraus in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* has this interesting note on him: 'Cardinal Rampolla's investigations have proved the historical character of the account despite the fact that while the seven martyrs are mentioned in rabbinical legend, Eleazar seems to be unknown to the Rabbis (*Martyre et Sépulture des Macchabées*, Bruges, 1900). Grätz had already declared it to be substantially true (*Geschichte*, 2nd ed., ii. 317). Hertzfeld's supposition (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 75) that Eleazar is identical with Eleazar ben Harsom is untenable.'

5. **And Antiochus... said.** The author adopts the usual ancient practice of making up speeches for his characters, a practice too common to call for comment. In some cases the speeches must have been invented from beginning to end; in others they doubtless contain actual phrases worked into their text which had been used by the speaker in whose mouth they are put. Such interweavings of truth and fiction are well known as occurring, to take the most obvious case, in Shakespeare's historical plays; and, to come down to our own day, I have seen in America a popular biography of so great a man as Abraham Lincoln which purported to report verbatim long conversations of his, suitable indeed to the circumstances but unquestionably invented. It is hard to be sure that even the shortest phrase is truly recorded in history. I think I have seen four or five different accounts both in Greek and Latin of the scene outside Alexandria between Antiochus and Pompilius Laenas (see on iv. 22, note), where scarcely a dozen words were spoken between the two men, but I cannot remember that any two of the reports can be said to coincide, or even to approach it. So at Waterloo; what was the word that Cambronne used? or did the Duke ever say, 'Up, guards, and at them,' or anything of the sort? We must make the best of our history as we have it.

20. **equally heinous.** This is a well-known doctrine of the Stoics. Stobaeus (*Eth.* ii. 218) says ἴσα τε πάντα λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, οὐκ ἔτι δ' ὅμοια. And he goes on to explain how a lie is always a lie καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οὐκ ἔστι, πᾶσαν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν κατὰ διάψευσιν πράττεσθαι. Horace in the *Satires* makes fun of the idea (I. iii. 115):

'It never can be an equivalent crime
To crib the cheap cabbage and plunder the shrine.'

Zeno himself is quoted as the original authority for it by Diog. Laert. vii. 120 ἀρέσκει τε αὐτοῖς ἴσα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καθά φησι Ζήνων. With these pronouncements of the Stoics we may compare James ii. 10: 'For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.' St. James was the most Jewish of the apostles, and the idea which to us seems so strained was not less familiar to the Jew than to the Greek.

26 also that the Creator of the world, as a Lawgiver, feels for us according to our nature. He has commanded us to eat the things that will be convenient for our souls, and he has forbidden us to
27 eat meats that would be the contrary. But it is the act of a tyrant that you should compel us not only to transgress the Law, but should also make us eat in such manner that you may mock at this
29 defilement so utterly abominable to us. But you shall not mock at me thus, neither will I break the
30 sacred oaths of my ancestors to keep the Law, not even though you tear out mine eyes and burn out
31 mine entrails. I am not so unmanned by old age but that when righteousness is at stake the strength
33 of youth returns to my Reason. So twist hard your racks and blow your furnace hotter. I do not so
34 pity mine old age as to break the Law of my fathers in mine own person. I will not belie thee, O Law
35 that wast my teacher; I will not desert thee, O beloved self-control; I will not put thee to shame, O wisdom-loving Reason, nor will I deny ye, O venerated priesthood and knowledge of the Law.
36 Neither shalt thou sully the pure mouth of mine old age and my lifelong constancy to the Law.
38 Clean shall my fathers receive me, unafraid of thy torments even to the death. For thou indeed mayest be tyrant over unrighteous men, but thou shalt not lord it over my resolution in the matter of righteousness either by thy words or through thy deeds.'

6 1 But when Eleazar replied thus eloquently to the exhortations of the tyrant, the guards around
2 him dragged him roughly to the torturing place. And first they unclothed the old man, who was
3 adorned with the beauty of holiness. Then binding his arms on either side they scourged him,
5 a herald standing and shouting out over against him, 'Obey the orders of the king!' But the great-souled and noble man, an Eleazar in very truth, was no more moved in his mind than if he
6 were being tormented in a dream; yea, the old man keeping his eyes steadfastly raised to heaven suffered his flesh to be torn by the scourges till he was bathed in blood and his sides became a mass
7 of wounds; and even when he fell to the ground because his body could no longer support the
8 pain he still kept his Reason erect and inflexible. With his foot then one of the cruel guards as
9 he fell kicked him savagely in the side to make him get up. But he endured the anguish, and
10 despised the compulsion, and bore up under the torments, and like a brave athlete taking punishment,
11 the old man outwore his tormentors. The sweat stood on his brow, and he drew his breath in hard
12 gasps, till his nobility of soul extorted the admiration of his tormentors themselves. Hereupon,
13 partly in pity for his old age, partly in sympathy for their friend, partly in admiration of his courage,
14 some of the courtiers of the king went up to him and said: 'Why, O Eleazar, dost thou madly
15 destroy thyself in this misery? We will bring to thee of the seethed meats, but do thou feign only to partake of the swine's flesh, and so save thyself.'
17 And Eleazar, as if their counsel did but add to his tortures, cried loudly: 'No. May we sons of Abraham never have so evil a thought as with faint heart to counterfeit a part unseemly to us.

11. ευψυχια ℵ

---

26. **according to our nature.** The Rabbis explained these commands to abstain from unclean food in the following way: 'These commands were given with the highest of all objects—for the sake of the purity which obedience to them imparts to the moral life.' And again: 'The ideal Jew does not say, "I have no desire to eat swine's flesh, no desire to indulge in any sensual cravings; I desire, but I will conquer the desire for the sake of my Father which is in Heaven"' (Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 412). Of course anthropologists explain such matters as taboos, probably based on a primitive totemism.

38. **through thy deeds.** Before we begin the dreadful story of the martyrdoms I would like to recall the words of Heine, the emancipated Jew, who from his mattress-grave tilted against Destiny with a sardonic humour that often mocked both himself and his race. 'If suffering ennobles,' he says, 'then has Israel attained the highest rank.' And if the Jewish refusal to eat swine's flesh seems a trivial cause for which to endure death in torments, let me also quote here these words of a yet more recent writer: 'There is no idea so ridiculous and outlandish but that some one has gone to the stake for it. Thousands have died for the Crescent as for the Cross, for the Synagogue as for the Church, for heresy as for orthodoxy, for undistinguishable shades of opinion about beliefs which were wholly false, for tyranny as for liberty, for anarchy as for order—faithful unto death for the truth that was no truth, doing loyal service to detestable masters, wasting heroism in the service of poltroons. Yet by such have the great human virtues of constancy and loyalty been established; and if not martyrs for the truth, they are witnesses to the best in man—his fantastic chivalry and contempt for death, when once an idea has laid hold of his imagination.'

VI. 5. **Eleazar.** This name means 'God help'. As to his defiance of torture let me quote the following passage from Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 214: 'The Indian philosophers are said to have used these words to Alexander: *σώματα μὲν μετάξεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δ' ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα. πῦρ ἀνθρώποις μέγιστον κολαστήριον, τούτου ἡμεῖς καταφρονοῦμεν.* Similarly Philo, in telling the same story (*Quod omnis probus sit liber*, p. 879), has this: *πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται, τούτου ὑπεράνω ἡμεῖς γινόμεθα, ζῶντες καιόμεθα.* Other historians attest the custom of burning themselves alive, which is said to have been practised by the Brahmans. Strabo, xv. 1. 65, says *αἴσχιστον δ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι νόσον σωματικήν· τὸν δ' ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὑτοῦ τοῦτο ἐξάγειν καθίσαντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ὑφάψαι κελεύειν, ἀκίνητον δὲ καίεσθαι.*'

15. **We will bring.** In 2 Macc. vi. 21 they beseech him 'to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king'.

18 Contrary to Reason, indeed, were it for us, after living unto the truth till old age, and guarding in
19 lawful guise the repute of so living, now to change and become in our own persons a pattern to
20 the young of impiety, to the end that we should encourage them to eat unclean meat. Shame were
21 it if we should live on a little longer, during that little being mocked of all men for cowardice, and
22 while despised by the tyrant as unmanly should fail to defend the Divine Law unto the death. There-
23 fore, O sons of Abraham, do ye die nobly for righteousness' sake; but as for you, O minions of the tyrant, why pause ye in your work?'

24 So they, seeing him thus triumphant over the tortures and unmoved even by the pity of his
25 executioners, dragged him to the fire. There they cast him on it, burning him with cruelly cunning
26 devices, and they poured broth of evil odour into his nostrils. But when the fire already reached
27 to his bones and he was about to give up the ghost, he lifted up his eyes to God and said, 'Thou,
28 O God, knowest that though I might save myself I am dying by fiery torments for thy Law. Be
29 merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.'

30 And with these words the holy man nobly yielded up his spirit under the torture, and for the sake of the Law held out by his Reason even against the torments unto death.

31, 32 Beyond question, then, the Inspired Reason is master over the passions; for if his passions *or sufferings* had prevailed over his Reason we should have credited them with this evidence of their
33 superior power. But now his Reason having conquered his passions, we properly attribute to it
34 the power of commanding them. And it is right that we should admit that the mastery lies with
35 Reason, in cases at least where it conquers pains that come from outside ourselves; for it were ridiculous *to deny it.* And my proof covers not only the superiority of Reason to pains, but its superiority to pleasures also; neither does it surrender to them.

7 1 For the Reason of our father Eleazar, like a fine steersman steering the ship of sanctity on the
2 sea of the passions, though buffeted by the threats of the tyrant and swept by the swelling waves
3 of the tortures, never shifted for one moment the helm of sanctity until he sailed into the haven of
4 victory over death. No city besieged with many and cunning engines ever defended itself so well as did that holy man when his sacred soul was attacked with scourge and rack and flame, and he moved them who were laying siege *to his soul* through his Reason that was the shield of sanctity.
5 For our father Eleazar, setting his mind firm as a beetling sea-cliff, broke the mad onset of the
6 surges of the passions. O priest worthy of thy priesthood, thou didst not defile thy holy teeth,
7 nor didst thou befoul with unclean meat thy belly that had room only for piety and purity. O
8 confessor of the Law and philosopher of the Divine life! Such should those be whose office is to serve the Law and defend it with their own blood and honourable sweat in the face of sufferings to
9 the death. Thou, O father, didst fortify our fidelity to the Law through thy steadfastness unto glory; and having spoken in honour of holiness thou didst not belie thy speech, and didst confirm
10 the words of divine philosophy by thy deeds, O aged man that wast more forceful than the tortures, O reverend elder that wast tenser-strung than the flame, thou great king over the passions, Eleazar.
11 For as our father Aaron, armed with the censer, ran through the massed congregation against the
12 fiery angel and overcame him, so the son of Aaron, Eleazar, being consumed by the melting heat of
13 the fire, remained unshaken in his Reason. And yet most wonderful of all, he, being an old man, with the sinews of his body unstrung and his muscles relaxed and his nerves weakened, grew a young
14 man again in the spirit of his Reason and with Isaac-like Reason turned the hydra-headed torture
15 to impotence. O blessed age, O reverend grey head, O life faithful to the Law and perfected by the seal of death!

16 Assuredly, then, if an old man despised the torments unto death for righteousness' sake it must
17 be admitted that the Inspired Reason is able to guide the passions. But some perhaps may answer that not all men are masters of the passions because not all men have their Reason enlightened.

18. επ' αυτω ℵ 24. μεταβαλλομενον ℵ VII. 13. τονων ℵ Syr

20. **a little longer.** There is a curiously close correspondence between these words and the counsel attributed by Stobaeus to Eusebius: 'We ought not therefore for the sake of brief, uncertain, and transitory pleasure to choose great evils which endure for all time, and, in a life which is of the briefest, injure the after-life which is immensely long, nor yet, fearing a short pain, should we loose hold on great blessings which endure for all time and on the happiness of the immensely long life which comes after this world.' *Ethica* ii. 420.

29. **to ransom their souls.** These remarkable words on the martyr's death being taken as an atonement for the whole people are discussed in § 9.

35. **for it were ridiculous,** *ἐπεὶ καὶ γελοῖον.* Bensly translates the Syriac thus: 'It is therefore ridiculous that a man should say, Reason does not rule, where we have shown that it overcame not only passions (sufferings) but also threats.' Lloyd, whose reading is the same as that in our text, translates 'nisi ridiculi esse velimus'. *οἱ ἔξωθεν ἀλγηδόνες* are the physical tortures as distinguished from *οἱ ἔνδοθεν πόνοι* of xv. 29 and xviii. 2.

18 But as many as with their whole heart make righteousness their first thought, these alone are able
19 to master the weakness of the flesh, believing that unto God they die not, as our patriarchs, Abra-
20 ham and Isaac and Jacob, died not, but that they live unto God. Therefore there is nothing contradictory in certain persons appearing to be slaves to passion in consequence of the weakness of
21 their Reason. For who is there that being a philosopher following righteously the whole rule of
22 philosophy, and having put his trust in God, and knowing that it is a blessed thing to endure all
23 hardness for the sake of virtue, would not conquer his passions for the sake of righteousness? For the wise and self-controlled man alone is the brave ruler of the passions. Yea, by this means even young boys, being philosophers by virtue of the Reason which is according to righteousness, have triumphed over yet more grievous tortures.

8 1 For when the tyrant found himself notably defeated in his first attempt, and impotent to compel
2 an old man to eat unclean meat, then truly in violent rage he ordered the guards to bring others of the young men of the Hebrews, and if they would eat unclean meat to release them after eating it,
3 but if they refused, to torture them yet more savagely. And under these orders of the tyrant seven brethren together with their aged mother were brought prisoners before him, all handsome,
4 and modest, and well-born, and generally attractive. And when the tyrant saw them there, standing as if they were a festal choir with their mother in the midst, he took notice of them, and struck by their noble and distinguished bearing he smiled at them, and calling them nearer said:

5 'O young men, I wish well to each one of you, and admire your beauty, and honour highly so large a band of brothers; so not only do I advise you not to persist in the madness of that old
6 man who has already suffered, but I even entreat of you to yield to me and become partakers in my friendship. For, as I am able to punish those who disobey my orders, so am I able to
7 advance those who do obey me. Be assured then that you shall be given positions of importance
8 and authority in my service if you will reject the ancestral law of your polity. Share in the
9 Hellenic life, and walk in a new way, and take some pleasure in your youth; for if you drive me to anger with your disobedience you will compel me to resort to terrible penalties and put
10 every single one of you to death by torture. Have pity then on yourselves, whom even I, your
11 opponent, pity for your youth and your beauty. Will you not consider with yourselves this thing, that if you disobey me there is nothing before you but death in torments?'

12 With these words he ordered the instruments of torture to be brought forward in order to per-
13 suade them by fear to eat unclean meat. But when the guards had produced wheels, and joint-dislocators, and racks, and bone-crushers, and catapults, and chaldrons, and braziers, and thumb-
14 screws, and iron claws, and wedges, and branding irons, the tyrant spoke again and said, 'You
15 had better feel fear, my lads, and the Justice you worship will pardon your unwilling transgression'.

But they, hearing his persuasions, and seeing his dreadful engines, not only showed no fear but actually arrayed their philosophy in opposition to the tyrant, and by their right Reason did abase his tyranny.

16 And yet consider; supposing some amongst them to have been faint-hearted and cowardly, what sort of language would they have used? would it not have been to this effect?

17 'Alas! miserable creatures that we are and foolish above measure! When the king invites us
18 and appeals to us on terms of kind treatment shall we not obey him? Why do we encourage our-
19 selves with vain desires and dare a disobedience that is to cost us our lives? Shall we not, O men my brothers, fear the dread instruments and weigh well his threats of the tortures, and abandon these
20 empty vaunts and this fatal bragging? Let us take pity on our own youth and have compassion on
21 2 our mother's age; and let us lay to heart that if we disobey we shall die. And even the divine
3 justice will have mercy on us, if compelled by necessity we yield to the king in fear. Why should
24 we cast away from us this dear life and rob ourselves of this sweet world? Let us not strive against

VII. 19. **they live unto God.** These words on immortality are repeated in xvi. 25. The closest parallel is Mark xii. 26: 'And as touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living.'
See also § 9.

VIII. 13. **wheels,** &c. Erasmus gives the horrid list in Latin thus: 'Exhibentur itaque rotae, radii, ungulae, rotabula, catapultae, lebetes, catastae, frixoria, digitaria, pugillaria, manus ferreae, subulae, succensoria, ollae aeneae, sartago. Haec enim illis nomina esse reperimus. Succensorium ad excitandam flammam quoddam tenue esse ferri telum accepimus. Exhibentur id genus reliqua nimis profecto abhorrenda, quae sigillatim enarrantem dies sit defecturus.' Lloyd's list is 'rotae, eculeus, fidiculae, unci, catapultae, lebetes, sartagines, digitalia, manicae ferreae, cunei, et folles'. For myself I agree with the poet that artists in torture should be hoist with their own petard.

'. . . neque enim lex aequior ulla est
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.'

25 necessity nor with vain confidence invite our torture. Even the Law itself does not willingly con-
26 demn us to death, we being in terror of the instruments of torture. Why does such contentiousness
inflame us and a fatal obstinacy find favour with us, when we might have a peaceful life by obeying
27 the king?' But no such words escaped these young men at the prospect of the torture, nor did
28 such thoughts enter into their minds. For they were despisers of the passions and masters over pain.
29 And thus no sooner did the tyrant conclude his urging of them to eat unclean meat than all with
one voice together, and as with one soul, said to him:

9 1 'Why dost thou delay, O tyrant? We are ready to die rather than transgress the command-
2 ments of our fathers. For we should be putting our ancestors also to shame, if we did not walk in
3 obedience to the Law and take Moses as our counsellor. O tyrant that counsellest us to transgress
4 the Law, do not, hating us, pity us beyond ourselves. For we esteem thy mercy, giving us our life
5 in return for a breach of the Law, a thing harder to bear than death itself. Thou wouldst terrify us
with thy threats of death under torture, as if a little while ago thou hadst learned nothing from
6 Eleazar. But if the old men of the Hebrews endured the tortures for righteousness' sake, yea, until
they died, more befittingly will we young men die despising the torments of thy compulsion, over
7 which he our aged teacher also triumphed. Make trial therefore, O tyrant. And if thou takest our
8 lives for the sake of righteousness, think not that thou hurtest us with thy tortures. For we through
9 this our evil entreatment and our endurance of it shall win the prize of virtue; but thou for our
cruel murder shalt suffer at the hands of divine justice sufficient torment by fire for ever.'

10 These words of the youths redoubled the wrath of the tyrant, not at their disobedience only but
11 at what he considered their ingratitude. So by his orders the scourgers brought forward the eldest
of them and stripped him of his garment and bound his hands and arms on either side with thongs.
12 But when they had scourged him till they were weary, and gained nothing thereby, they cast him
13, 14 upon the wheel. And on it the noble youth was racked till his bones were out of joint. And as
joint after joint gave way, he denounced *the tyrant* in these words:

15 'O thou most abominable tyrant, thou enemy of the justice of heaven and bloody-minded, thou dost
torment me in this fashion not for manslaying nor for impiety but for defending the Law of God.'

16 And when the guards said to him, 'Consent to eat, that so you may be released from your
17 tortures,' he said to them, 'Your method, O miserable minions, is not strong enough to lead captive
18 my Reason. Cut off my limbs, and burn my flesh, and twist my joints; through all the torments I
19 will show you that in behalf of virtue the sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquerable.' As he thus
spake they set hot coals upon him besides, and intensifying the torture strained him yet tighter on
20 the wheel. And all the wheel was besmeared with his blood, and the heaped coals were quenched
by the humours of his body dropping down, and the *rent* flesh ran round the axles of the machine.
21 And with his bodily frame already in dissolution this great-souled youth, like a true son of Abraham,
22 groaned not at all; but as if he were suffering a change by fire to incorruption, he nobly endured
23 the torment, saying, 'Follow my example, O brothers. Do not for ever desert me, and forswear

IX. 2. Μωϋσει ℵ Syr. 19. λεγοντι ℵ

IX. 9. **torment by fire for ever.** For the eschatology of this passage see § 9. There is here no trace of the spirit of the Crucified: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'

18. **alone are unconquerable.** Some commentators think that the words put into the mouths of the martyrs are unreal and impossible. Dramatic inventions they doubtless are, like most other speeches that have come down to us from antiquity, but for a commentator to reject them *a priori* as impossible is to assume to himself the power to plumb the depths of human nature. That is an assumption that does not commend itself to one who has heard with his own ears the strange things even a ruffian can say with the hangman's rope round his neck. And when it comes to martyrdom for a principle, we have good evidence that men dying for what they hold truth can play the man in the tenth or twentieth century as well as in the first. Did not Latimer, here in Oxford three and a half centuries ago, say at the stake, 'Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out'? And did not Cranmer—Cranmer who so feared the fire—thrust the hand which had signed his recantation into the flames that it might be burned first? The nature of man is strangely compounded, and it is best not to dogmatize too rashly about what it can or cannot rise to.

19. **tighter on the wheel.** Bensly translates the Syriac here: 'They made the wheel more cruel by artifice against him.' Erasmus translates: 'Haec eo loquente praeparatur incendium, et ut erat affixus rotae, igni in catasta obiicitur, atque ita tendentibus corpus radiis et contrahentibus flammis, costis deinde patentibus lateribus vitalia rumpuntur.' In this he adds to the original narrative certain explanatory details as to the exact workings of the torment; probably some fifteenth-century expert in torture told him all about how it was done, if indeed he had not seen it for himself. But it is better not to go more closely into the horrors of torture. The writer happened once to be in company with some frontiersmen who were pursuing a white renegade, said to be guilty of having betrayed the whites to the Indians. He learned that if they caught the renegade they proposed to burn him alive, and they treated with some scorn the suggestion that death was penalty enough, as they grimly jested over the various particulars of what they intended for him. The wretch was not caught, but it is as true to-day as ever it was that the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.

24 not our brotherhood in nobility of soul. War a holy and honourable warfare on behalf of righteous-
ness, through which may the just Providence that watched over our fathers become merciful unto his
25 people and take vengeance on the accursed tyrant.' And with these words the holy youth yielded
up the ghost.
26 But while all were wondering at his constancy of soul, the guards brought forward the second
in age of the sons, and grappling him with sharp-clawed hands of iron they fastened him to the
27 engines and the catapult. But when they heard his noble resolve in answer to their question, 'Would
28 he eat rather than be tortured?' these panther-like beasts tore at his sinews with claws of iron, and
rent away all the flesh from his cheeks, and tore off the skin from his head. But he steadfastly
29 enduring this agony said, 'How sweet is every form of death for the sake of the righteousness of
30 our fathers!' And to the tyrant he said, 'O most ruthless of tyrants, doth not it seem to thee that
at this moment thou thyself sufferest tortures worse than mine in seeing thy tyranny's arrogant
31 intention overcome by my endurance for righteousness' sake? For I am supported under pain
32 by the joys that come through virtue, whereas thou art in torment whilst glorying in thy impiety;
neither shalt thou escape, O most abominable tyrant, the penalties of the divine wrath.'
]) 1 And when he had bravely met his glorious death, the third son was brought forward and was
2 earnestly entreated by many to taste and so to save himself. But he answered in a loud voice,
'Are ye ignorant that the same father begat me and my brothers that are dead, and the same
3 mother gave us birth, and in the same doctrines was I brought up? I do not forswear the noble
4 bond of brotherhood. Therefore if ye have any engine of torment, apply it to this body of mine; for
5 my soul ye cannot reach, not if ye would.' But they were greatly angered at the bold speech of the
6 man, and they dislocated his hands and his feet with their dislocating engines, and wrenched his
limbs out of their sockets, and unstrung them; and they twisted round his fingers, and his arms,
7 and his legs, and his elbow-joints. And in no wise being able to strangle *his spirit* they stripped off
his skin, taking the points of the fingers with it, and tore in Scythian fashion the scalp from his head,
8 and straightway brought him to the wheel. And on this they twisted his spine till he saw his own
9 flesh hanging in strips and great gouts of blood pouring down from his entrails. And at the point
10 of death he said, 'We, O most abominable tyrant, suffer thus for our upbringing and our virtue that
1 12 are of God; but thou for thy impiety and thy cruelty shalt endure torments without end.' And
13 when this man had died worthily of his brothers, they brought up the fourth, and said to him, 'Be
not thou also mad with the same madness as thy brethren, but obey the king and save thyself.'
1 15 But he said unto them, 'For me ye have no fire so exceeding hot as to make me a coward. By the
blessed death of my brethren. by the eternal doom of the tyrant, and by the glorious life of the
16 righteous, I will not deny my noble brotherhood. Invent tortures, O tyrant, in order that thou
17 mayest learn thereby that I am brother of those who have been already tortured.' When he heard
this the bloodthirsty, murderous, and utterly abominable Antiochus bade them cut out his tongue.
18 But he said, 'Even if thou dost remove my organ of speech, God is a hearer also of the speechless.
1 20 Lo, I put out my tongue ready: cut it out, for thou shalt not thereby silence my Reason. Gladly
21 do we give our bodily members to be mutilated for the cause of God. But God will speedily pursue
after thee; for thou cuttest out the tongue that sang songs of praise unto him.'
1 But when this man also was put to a death of agony with the tortures, the fifth sprang forward
3 saying, 'I shrink not, O tyrant, from demanding the torture for virtue's sake. Yea, of myself I come
forward, in order that, slaying me also, thou mayest by yet more misdeeds increase the penalty thou
4 owest to the justice of Heaven. O enemy of virtue and enemy of man, for what crime dost thou
5 destroy us in this way? Doth it seem evil to thee that we worship the Creator of all and live
7 according to his virtuous Law? But these things are worthy of honours not of tortures, if thou
8 didst understand human aspirations and hadst hope of salvation before God. Lo, now thou art
9 God's enemy and makest war on those that worship God.' As he spake thus the guards bound
10 him and brought him before the catapult; and they tied him thereto on his knees, and, fastening
them there with iron cramps, they wrenched his loins over the rolling 'wedge' so that he was
11 completely curled back like a scorpion and every joint was disjointed. And thus in grievous strait
12 for breath and anguish of body he exclaimed, 'Glorious, O tyrant, glorious against thy will are

XI. 7. *ανθρωπου ποθων*

XI. 3. **increase the penalty.** Erasmus paraphrases thus: 'Reum te gehennae effusus quattuor innocentum sanguis effecit, me quinto gradatim numerus ipse ampliandus est, ut tibi tandem poenae ex multitudine peremptorum accrescant.'

7. **if thou didst understand.** *εἴπερ ἠσθάνου ἀνθρώπου ποθῶν.* Lloyd's text omits 7 and 8 entirely, following the Strassburg Bible. What Erasmus had before him is hard to guess: what he prints is '. . . honor nobis est et salus non poena: mirificum accipiemus a deo beneficium, si in nulla nobis laterum parte parcatur'.

the boons that thou bestowest on me, enabling me to show my fidelity to the Law through yet more honourable tortures.

13 And when this man also was dead, the sixth was brought, a mere boy, who in answer to the
14 tyrant's inquiry whether he was willing to eat and be released, said: 'I am not so old in years as
15 my brethren, but I am as old in mind. For we were born and reared for the same purpose and are
16 equally bound also to die for the same cause; so if thou chooseth to torture us for not eating unclean meat, torture.'

17, 18 As he spake these words they brought him to the wheel, and with care they stretched him out and
19 dislocated the bones of his back and set fire under him. And they made sharp skewers red-hot
20 and ran them into his back, and piercing through his sides they burned away his entrails also. But he in the midst of his tortures exclaimed, 'O contest worthy of saints, wherein so many of us brethren, in the cause of righteousness, have been entered for a competition in torments, and have not been
21, 22 conquered! For the righteous understanding, O tyrant, is unconquerable. In the armour of virtue
23 I go to join my brothers in death, and to add in myself one strong avenger more to punish thee, O
24 deviser of the tortures and enemy of the truly righteous. We six youths have overthrown thy tyranny.
25 For is not thine impotence to alter our Reason or force us to eat unclean meat an overthrow for thee?
26, 27 Thy fire is cool for us, thy engines of torture torment not, and thy violence is impotent. For the guards have been officers for us, not of a tyrant, but of the Divine Law; and therefore have we our Reason yet unconquered.'

12 1 And when this one also died a blessed death, being cast into the cauldron, the seventh son, the
2 youngest of them all, came forward. But the tyrant, although fiercely exasperated by his brethren, felt pity for the boy, and seeing him there already bound he had him brought near, and sought to
3 persuade him, saying, 'Thou seest the end of the folly of thy brethren; for through their dis-
4 obedience they have been racked to death. Thou, too, if thou dost not obey, wilt thyself also be
5 miserably tortured and put to death before thy time; but if thou dost obey thou shalt be my friend,
6 and thou shalt be advanced to high office in the business of the kingdom.' And while thus appealing to him he sent for the boy's mother, in order that in her sorrow for the loss of so many sons she
7 might urge the survivor to obey and be saved. But the mother, speaking in the Hebrew tongue, as
8 I shall tell later on, encouraged the boy, and he said *to the guards*, 'Loose me, that I may speak to
9 the king and to all his friends with him.' And they, rejoicing at the boy's request, made haste to
10, 11 loose him. And running up to the red-hot brazier, 'O impious tyrant,' he cried, 'and most ungodly of all sinners, art thou not ashamed to take thy blessings and thy kingship at the hands of God,
12 and to slay his servants and torture the followers of righteousness? For which things the divine justice delivers thee unto a more rapid and an eternal fire and torments which shall not leave hold
13 on thee to all eternity. Art thou not ashamed, being a man, O wretch with the heart of a wild beast, to take men of like feelings with thyself, made from the same elements, and tear out their
14 tongues, and scourge and torture them in this manner? But while they have fulfilled their righteous-
15 ness towards God in their noble deaths, thou shalt miserably cry "Woe is me!" for thy unjust slaying of
16, 17 the champions of virtue.' And then standing on the brink of death he said, 'I am no renegade to
18 the witness borne by my brethren. And I call upon the God of my fathers to be merciful unto my
19, 20 nation. And thee will he punish both in this present life and after that thou art dead.' And with this prayer he cast himself into the red-hot brazier, and so gave up the ghost.

13 1 If therefore the seven brethren despised the tortures even to the death, it is universally proved
2 that the Inspired Reason is supreme lord over the passions. For if they had yielded to their passions *or sufferings* and eaten unclean meat, we should have said that they had been conquered thereby.
3 But in this case it was not so; on the contrary by their Reason, which was commended in the sight
4 of God, they rose superior to their passions. And it is impossible to deny the supremacy of the
5 mind; for they won the victory over their passions and their pains. How can we do otherwise than admit right Reason's mastery over passion with these men who shrank not before the agonies of

18. *επιμελως* 19. *αυτου και* ℵ 20. *αγωνος* ℵ Syr. XII. 6. *εαυτην ελεησασα . . . . . επι την σωτηριον ευπειθειαν* ℵ Syr. XIII. 2. *ει* ℵ *αν* ℵ

19. **sharp skewers.** Erasmus has 'Subulis etiam ferire pendentis latera ad viscera iubet, ut per eas (quae his ductae erant in longum tramitem) rimas ad intimas fibras flamma perveniret'.

XII. 7. **speaking in the Hebrew tongue.** Erasmus chooses to insert her speech at this point instead of keeping it back as the author had done. He also adds, borrowing from I know not where, or else inventing, a long torture scene with the seventh son; and in the son's speech he introduces (apparently after verse 12) 'Sit enim inter te et reliquos discretio potestatis. Numquid alterius tu operis, tuve alterius naturae homo es? · Una nascendi et moriendi omnibus ratio est. Quisquis hominem interficit, interfici se posse confirmat. Tu effigiem tuam laceras, tu in torquendo nihil proficis.'

6 burning? For even as towers on harbour-moles repulse the assaults of the waves and offer a calm
7 entrance to those entering the haven, so the seven-towered right Reason of the youths defended the
8 haven of righteousness and repulsed the tempestuousness of the passions. They formed a holy choir
9 of righteousness as they cheered one another on, saying: 'Let us die like brothers, O brethren, for
the Law. Let us imitate the Three Children at the Assyrian court who despised this same ordeal of
10 11 the furnace. Let us not turn cravens before the proof of righteousness.' And one said, 'Brother, be
12 of good cheer,' and another, 'Bear it out nobly'; and another, recalling the past, 'Remember of what
stock ye are, and at whose fatherly hand Isaac for righteousness' sake yielded himself to be a sacri-
13 fice.' And each and all of them together, looking at each other brightly and very boldly, said, 'With
a whole heart will we consecrate ourselves unto God who gave us our souls, and let us lend our bodies
14 15 to the keeping of the Law. Let us not fear him who thinketh he kills; for a great struggle and
16 peril of the soul awaits in eternal torment those who transgress the ordinance of God. Let us then
17 arm ourselves with divine Reason's mastery of the passions. After this our passion, Abraham, Isaac,
and Jacob shall receive us, and all our forefathers shall praise us.'

18 And to each separate one of the brothers, as they were dragged off, those whose turn was yet to
come said, 'Do not disgrace us, brother, nor be false to our brethren already dead.'

19 You are not ignorant of the love of brethren, whereof the divine and all-wise Providence has given
an inheritance to those who are begotten though their fathers, implanting it in them even through
20 the mother's womb; wherein brethren do dwell the like period, and take their form during the same
21 time, and are nourished from the same blood, and are quickened with the same soul, and are brought
into the world after the same space, and they draw milk from the same founts, whereby their frater-
22 nal souls are nursed together in arms at the breast; and they are knit yet closer through a common
nurture and daily companionship and other education, and through our discipline under the Law
of God.

23 The feeling of brotherly love being thus naturally strong, the seven brethren had their mutual
24 concord made yet stronger. For trained in the same Law, and disciplined in the same virtues, and
25 brought up together in the upright life, they loved one another the more abundantly. Their
26 common zeal for moral beauty and goodness heightened their mutual concord, for in conjunction
with their piety it rendered their brotherly love more fervent.

27 But though nature, companionship, and their virtuous disposition increased the ardour of their
brotherly love, nevertheless the surviving sons through their religion supported the sight of their
1 1 brethren, who were on the rack, being tortured to death; nay more, they even encouraged them to
face the agony, so as not only to despise their own tortures, but also to conquer their passion of
2 brotherly affection for their brethren. O Reasoning minds, more kingly than kings, than freemen
3 more free, of the harmony of the seven brethren, holy and well attuned to the keynote of piety!
5 None of the seven youths turned coward, none shrunk in the face of death, but all hastened to
6 the death by torture as if running the road to immortality. For as hands and feet move in har-
mony with the promptings of the soul, so those holy youths, as if prompted by the immortal soul
7 of religion, went in harmony to death for its sake. O all-holy sevenfold companionship of brethren
8 in harmony! For as the seven days of the creation of the world do enring religion, so did the youths

9. Ασσυριας (ασ superscrip.). 12. καταμνησθεις ℵ V Syr. 19. αδελφοτητος ℵ 24. εαυτους ηγαπων ℵ V Syr.
XIV. 2. βασιλεων ℵ V 3. ευαρμοστου ℵ

XIV. 2. **more kingly than kings**, *βασιλέων βασιλικώτεροι*. The Stoics held that the wise man alone was a king: *μόνον εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα καὶ βασιλικόν* (Stob. *Eth.* ii. [222] of Heeren's ed.). Also we have in Diog. Laert. vii. 122 *οὐ μόνον δ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου.*

8. **the seven days of the creation**, *οὕτως περὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα χορεύοντες κτλ.* Erasmus paraphrases thus: 'Quos (credo) propterea in eo numero esse voluit in quo mundum ipse construxit, ut septem fratres septem dierum, quibus perfecta sunt omnia, aemuli redderentur.' The general sense of the passage in the Greek is clear enough, though a word for word translation does not yield very intelligible English, and Deissman accordingly transposes *ἑβδομάδα* and *εὐσέβειαν*, and renders it 'For as the seven days of creation around the (sacred) number seven, so circled the youths in chorus round piety'. Grimm describes the passage as a forced comparison in the style of the Alexandrian mystics; the seven days of the week were meant by God to recall to His people's minds the sacred seven days of creation; and the figure seven being thus a means of grace, this sacred number stands in the text as a visible expression of the piety which was the centre of these young men's lives. Doubtless the above explains well the Jewish feeling of reverence for the mystical nature of seven. This feeling of reverence was, however, common to other ancient peoples besides the Jews, and most students of early man now incline to the belief that the sacred number seven derived its mystic significance from astrology. Astrology, indeed, was forbidden to the Jews, but that need not prevent their having assimilated ideas to which it had given birth elsewhere. When first men began to observe the stars attentively, it presently appeared that in the heavens, visible to the naked eye, there were certain bodies that were always changing their position among the fixed stars; and ultimately men succeeded in tracing out, more or less correctly, their motions and calculating their periodic times. These times ran from the Moon's one month to the thirty years of Saturn, and

choir-like enring their sevenfold companionship, and made the terror of the tortures of no account.
9 We now shudder when we hear of the suffering of those youths; but they, not only seeing it with
their eyes, nor merely hearing the spoken, imminent threat, but actually feeling the pang, endured
10 it through; and that in the torture by fire, than which what greater agony can be found? For
sharp and stringent is the power of fire, and swiftly did it bring their bodies to dissolution.
11 And think it not wonderful if with those men Reason triumphed over the tortures, when even
12 a woman's soul despised a yet greater diversity of pains; for the mother of the seven youths
endured the torments inflicted on each several one of her children.
13 But consider how manifold are the yearnings of a mother's heart, so that her feeling for her
14 offspring becomes the centre of her whole world; and indeed, here, even the irrational animals have
15 for their young an affection and love similar to men's. For example, among the birds, the tame
16 ones sheltering under our roofs defend their nestlings; and those that nest upon the mountain
tops, and in the rock clefts, and in the holes of trees, and in the branches, and hatch their young
17 there, do also drive away the intruder. And then, if they be unable to drive him away, they flutter
around the nestlings in a passion of love, calling to them in their own speech, and they give suc-
18 cour to their young ones in whatever fashion they can. And what need have we of examples of the
19 love of offspring among irrational animals, when even the bees, about the season of the making
of the comb, fend off intruders, and stab with their sting, as with a sword, those who approach their
20 brood, and do battle against them even to the death? But she, the mother of those young men,
with a soul like Abraham, was not moved from her purpose by her affection for her children.
15 1 O Reason of the sons, lord over the passions! O religion, that wast dearer to the mother than
2 her children! The mother, having two choices before her, religion and the present saving alive of
3 her seven sons according to the tyrant's promise, loved rather religion, which saveth unto eternal
4 life according to God. O how may I express the passionate love of parents for children? We stamp
a marvellous likeness of our soul and of our shape on the tender nature of the child, and most of all
5 through the mother's sympathy with her children being deeper than the father's. For women are
softer of soul *than men*, and the more children they bear the more do they abound in love for them.
6 But, of all mothers, she of the seven sons abounded in love beyond the rest, seeing that, having in
7 seven child-bearings felt maternal tenderness for the fruit of her womb, and having been constrained
8 because of the many pangs in which she bore each to a close affection, she nevertheless through the
9 fear of God rejected the present safety of her children. Ay, and more than that, through the moral
beauty and goodness of her sons and their obedience to the Law, her maternal love for them was
10 made stronger. For they were just, and temperate, and brave, and great-souled, and lovers of each
other and of their mother in such manner that they obeyed her in the keeping of the Law even unto

XV. 4. (;) after *παθη* *εναποσφραγιζομεν* ℵ* *το των πατερων* V 7. *ηναγκασμενη* ℵ V

---

their proper motions were seen to be confined within the broad belt of the heavens known to us as the Zodiac. Seven was found to be the number of these *πλάνητες* or Wanderers, who did indeed appear to go like the fixed stars round the earth from east to west once in every twenty-four hours, but, as was well known to Chaldaean, Egyptian, and Greek star-gazers, had likewise another exceedingly complicated set of movements peculiar to themselves. The direction of these movements was retrograde or from west to east: *ἀπὸ γὰρ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς ἀντιφέρεσθαι* says Plutarch (*Plac. Phil.* ii. 16), describing the astronomical knowledge possessed by Alcmaeon and the mathematicians. And the early star-gazers, who by painful labour had obtained this difficult knowledge, took these movements of the mysterious Seven, their journeyings and their standings still, their oppositions and their conjunctions, to be the visible hand of Fate writing the scroll of man's destiny upon the sky. Thus the sacred Seven, the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, to whom in the course of time were assigned the different hours of the day and after whom were named the days of the week, came to be honoured as the lords of heaven and earth, and the very number of them, seven, was nothing less than a power to conjure with.

9. **We now shudder.** An important inference can be drawn from this phrase. It is true that *νῦν* may mean no more than that the discourse is being delivered on the anniversary of the martyrs. But it has also been taken to indicate something further, namely, that the audience shudder at the past as contrasted with the present state of things in which they find themselves. If this be so, it certainly points to a time when the Jews in Alexandria had little or no personal experience of persecution, and necessarily indicates for the discourse a date previous to the awful persecution under Caligula in A.D. 38. See § 5.

XV. 4. **a marvellous likeness,** *ψυχῆς τε καὶ μορφῆς ὁμοιότητα.* There is a whole literature, ancient as well as modern, on heredity and the mysterious relation of parent to child in mind as well as body. I will only quote here a fragment of Cleanthes from Nemesius, *Nat. Hom.*, p. 32 (see Pearson, *Fragm. Cleanthes*, 36) *Ὁ Κλεάνθης τοιόνδε πλέκει συλλογισμόν· οὐ μόνον φησὶν ὅμοιοι τοῖς γονεῦσι γινόμεθα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, τοῖς πάθεσι, τοῖς ἤθεσι, ταῖς διαθέσεσι*: and also this from Plut. *Plac. Phil.* lib. 5, cap. 11 *οἱ Στωικοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὅλου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φέρεσθαι τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀναπλάττεσθαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γενῶν τοὺς τύπους καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, ὡσπερανεὶ ζωγράφον ἀπὸ ὁμοίων χρωμάτων εἰκόνα τοῦ βλεπομένου.* And yet one more from cap. 12, where he makes the curious statement that certain women have admired statues so passionately as to produce children like them: *πολλάκις γὰρ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἠράσθησαν γυναῖκες, καὶ ὅμοια τούτοις ἀπέτεκον. οἱ Στωικοί, συμπαθείᾳ τῆς διανοίας, κατὰ ῥευμάτων εἰσκρίσεις καὶ ἀκτίνων, οὐκ εἰδώλων, γίνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλήλων ὁμοιότητας.*

11 death. But nevertheless, though she had so many temptations to yield to her maternal
instincts, in no single instance did the dreadful variety of tortures have power to alter her Reason;
13 but the mother urged each son separately, and all together, to die for their religion. O holy nature,
and parental love, and yearning of parents for offspring, and wages of nursing, and unconquerable
14 affection of mothers! The mother, seeing them one by one racked and burned, remained unshaken
15 in soul for religion's sake. She saw the flesh of her sons being consumed in the fire, and the
extremities of their hands and feet scattered on the ground, and the flesh-coverings, torn off from
16 their heads right to their cheeks, strewn about like masks. O mother, who now knew sharper
17 pangs than the pangs of labour! O woman, alone among women, the fruit of whose womb was
18 perfect religion! Thy firstborn, giving up the ghost, did not alter thy resolution, nor thy second,
19 looking with eyes of pity on thee under his tortures, nor thy third, breathing out his spirit. Neither
didst thou weep when thou beheldest the eyes of each amid the torments looking boldly on the same
20 anguish, and sawest in their *quivering* nostrils the signs of approaching death. When thou sawest
the flesh of one son being severed after the flesh of another, and hand after hand being cut off, and
head after head being flayed, and corpse cast upon corpse, and the place crowded with spectators
21 on account of the tortures of thy children, thou sheddest not a tear. Not the melodies of the sirens
nor the songs of swans with sweet sound do so charm the hearers' ears, as sounded the voices of the
22 sons, speaking to the mother from amid the torments. How many and how great were the tortures
with which the mother was tormented while her sons were being tortured with torments of rack and
23 fire! But Inspired Reason lent her heart a man's strength under her passion of suffering, and
exalted her to make no account of the present yearnings of mother-love.

24 And although she saw the destruction of her seven children and the many and varied forms of
25 their torments, the noble mother willingly surrendered them through faith in God. For she beheld
in her own mind, even as it had been cunning advocates in a council-chamber, nature, and parenthood,
26 and mother-love, and her children on the rack, and it was as if she, the mother, having the choice
27 between two votes in the case of her children, one for their death and one to save them alive, thereupon
28 regarded not the saving of her seven sons for a little time, but, as a true daughter of Abraham, called
29 to mind his God-fearing courage. O mother of the race, vindicator of our Law, defender of our religion,
30 and winner of the prize in the struggle within thyself! O woman, nobler to resist than men, and braver
31 than warriors to endure! For as the Ark of Noah, with the *whole living* world for her burden in
32 the world-whelming Deluge, did withstand the mighty surges, so thou, the keeper of the Law, beaten
upon every side by the surging waves of the passions, and strained as with strong blasts by the
tortures of thy sons, didst nobly weather the storms that assailed thee for religion's sake.

XVI. 1 Thus then, if one both a woman and advanced in years, and the mother of seven sons, endured
the sight of her children being tortured to death, the Inspired Reason must confessedly be supreme
2 ruler over the passions. I have proved, accordingly, that not only have men triumphed over their
3 sufferings, but that a woman also has despised the most dreadful tortures. And not so fierce were
the lions around Daniel, not so hot was the burning fiery furnace of Mishael, as burned in her the
4 instinct of motherhood at the sight of her seven sons being tortured. But by her religion-guided
5 Reason the mother quenched her passions, many and strong as they were. For there is this also to

11. +βασανοι 13. γενεσει V: γενεσις Syr. 18. εις]+σε ℵ V 21. ως ℵ V Syr. 32. υπερ ℵ V Syr.
XVI. 3. εκεινην ορωσαν ℵ V Syr. ουτως ποικιλως ℵ V Syr.

---

13. **wages of nursing.** Deissmann would read *γένεσις φιλόστοργε καὶ τροφέ*, and objects to Grimm who upholds *τροφεῖα*. The MS. authority for *γένεσις* is weak, but V reads *γενέσει*; and *γένεσις*, according to Bensly, has the support of the Syriac, and it makes good sense with or without Deissmann's emendation of *τροφέ*. The Strassburg text has *ὦ φύσις ἱερὰ καὶ φίλτρα γονέων, καὶ σύνεσις φιλόστοργε, καὶ τροφεῖα, καὶ μητέρων ἀδάμαστα πάθη*, which Lloyd keeps, rendering, 'O sanctissimam naturam, amorisque parentum illecebras; et intelligentiam indulgentissimam, et nutricia, matrumque motus indomitos.' The marginal collation in the Bodleian copy of the Geneva edition of 1611 has the curious variation *γοναὶ φιλόστοργοι καὶ τροφεῖαι*. I have attempted to render *γένεσις φιλόστοργε, καὶ τροφεῖα*.

20. **the place crowded.** The text here is very corrupt: *χωριον* (A) gives good sense and has the support of V, but there is another reading *χοριον* (ℵ*) or *χαριδιον* (ℵ$^{c.a}$) which appears as *χορεῖον*, a dancing-place, in the Strassburg LXX; *χορεῖον* would undoubtedly be quite in the author's rhetorical style, as it would artfully recall his comparison in viii. 4 of the band of youths to a *χορός* or festal choir with the mother in their midst, and also allude to *χορεύοντες* above in xiv. 8. The Syriac has the strange rendering, 'when she saw the servants of the tyrant falling like a storm upon her sons,' which does not seem reconcilable with any Greek text known to us.

29. **the struggle within thyself.** These are the *οἱ ἔνδοθεν πόνοι* as distinguished in xviii. 2 from *οἱ ἔξωθεν πόνοι*, the physical tortures. We may note again in *ἀθλοφόρε* how the author recurs to the comparison with the Greek games.

31. **her burden in the world-whelming Deluge.** *κοσμοπληθής* and *κοσμοφορεῖν* are vigorous compounds coined by the author, and good specimens of their sort, just as the whole passage is typical of his rhetoric. The three alliterative quadrisyllables, rolling in like waves one after the other, aim at something like the Homeric *πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*. I have attempted a slight imitation of his effect with 'world-whelming' and 'whole living world'.

consider, that had the woman been weak of spirit, despite her motherhood, she might have wept
6 over them, and perchance spoken thus: 'Ah, thrice wretched me, and more than thrice wretched!
7 Seven children have I borne and am left childless! In vain was I seven times with child, and to no profit was my ten months' burden seven times borne, and fruitless have been my nursings, and
8 sorrowful my sucklings. In vain for you, O my sons, did I endure the many pangs of labour, and
9 the more difficult cares of your upbringing. Alas. for my sons, that some were yet unwed, and those that were wedded had begotten no children; I shall never see children of yours, nor shall I be called
10 by the name of grandparent. Ah me, that had many beautiful children, and am a widow and
11 desolate in my woe! Neither will there be any son to bury me when I am dead!'
12 But the holy and God-fearing mother wailed not with this lamentation over any one of them, neither
13 besought she any to escape death, nor lamented over them as dying men; but, as though she had a soul of adamant and were bringing forth the number of her sons. for a second time, into immortal life,
14 she besought rather and entreated of them that they should die for religion's sake. O mother, warrior of God in the cause of religion, old and a woman, thou didst both defeat the tyrant by thy endurance,
15 and wast found stronger than a man, in deeds as well as words. For verily when thou wast put in bonds with thy sons, thou stoodest there seeing Eleazar being tortured, and thou spakest to thy
16 sons in the Hebrew tongue: 'My sons, noble is the fight; and do ye, being called thereto to bear
17 witness for our nation, fight therein zealously on behalf of the Law of our fathers. For it would be shameful if, while this aged man endured the agony for religion's sake, you that are young men shrank
18 before the pain. Remember that for the sake of God ye have come into the world, and have enjoyed
19, 20 life, and that therefore ye owe it to God to endure all pain for his sake; for whom also our father Abraham made haste to sacrifice his son Isaac, the ancestor of our nation; and Isaac, seeing his
21 father's hand lifting the knife against him, did not shrink. And Daniel, the just man, was cast to the lions, and Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael were flung into the furnace of fire, and they endured
22, 23 for God's sake. And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled; for it were against Reason that ye, knowing righteousness, should not withstand the pains.'
24 With these words the mother of the seven encouraged every single one of her sons to die rather
25 than transgress the ordinance of God; they themselves also knowing well that men dying for God live unto God, as live Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs.

17 1 Some of the guards declared that when she also was about to be seized and put to death, she
2 cast herself on the pyre in order that no man might touch her body. O mother, that together

20. ορων ο Ισαακ Syr. 24. αποθανειν ℵ Syr. 25. ειδοτες ℵ V XVII. 1. τις ℵ V Syr.

XVI. 14. **old and a woman.** The Syriac has 'who didst go a warfare in old age'.

20. **ancestor of our nation.** ἐθνοπάτωρ is another of the author's coinages like ἐθνόπληθος in vii. 11. He has an affection for the word ἔθνος, much as some English writers like to speak of 'our people', by way of heightening the sense of union between author and reader as belonging to a nation set apart for great ends.

25. **knowing well.** I have accepted the reading of ℵ, εἰδότες, but it really seems to me that I have translated εἰδότας, which Grimm adopts apparently without MS. authority. In this I rely upon Deissmann, whose note I translate verbatim: 'Read with Sin. Ven. εἰδότες. Freudenthal, S. 123 f., is unjust in his complaints of the "ungrammatical sequence". For this formal and rigid εἰδότες is found elsewhere: 2 Cor. i. 7, Rom. xiii. 11. Egyptian report of the Berlin Museum No. 246, Z. 11 f. Private letter, Fayoum, 2–3 century A.D.: ἢ οὐκ ἰδότες (*sic*) ὅτι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνω (*sic*) τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. The nominative plural of a participle in other instances readily becomes an anacolouthon.'

XVII. 1. **she cast herself,** ἑαυτὴν ἔρριψεν κατὰ τῆς πυρᾶς. It is curious in what a sidelong fashion the author does but hint at the suicide of the woman. The writer of Second Maccabees never alludes to it at all, though he can hardly have considered it wrong, for the act is nowhere forbidden in the Old Testament and he himself celebrates (xv. 42) the self-inflicted death of Razis, who 'fell upon his sword, choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth'. It is well known that the Stoics habitually advocated suicide, ἐξαγωγή, when life became a burden, but the author of Fourth Maccabees makes no allusion to this, neither does he quote the various Old Testament instances of it. There is, indeed, only one case in the O.T. that can really be considered analogous to the Mother's, for Samson's deed in pulling down the house on himself and his enemies must be classed as an act of war, and was no more suicide than the self-devotion of Arnold von Winkelried embracing the spears at Sempach, or of Salkeld and Burgess blowing in the Cashmere Gate at Delhi. There is, however, an exact parallel in the case of Saul, when he killed himself (or had himself killed) 'lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through, and abuse me'. Erasmus does not mention the mother's suicide, unless indeed 'ultro' is intended to suggest it, but (as already mentioned in § 8) he pictures the woman as being in the first instance most horribly tortured by Antiochus, and then, 'being brought to the fire-vomiting brazier,' she of her own accord (*ultro*) joins her sons who had been already burnt, in their pains, 'ac oratione protensis surrectisque manibus pro gravidis matribus fusa coelibem effudit spiritum'; where *coelibem* is quite un-Jewish and mediaeval. As to the morality of such an act opinions differ and will differ to the end of time. During the Indian Mutiny, near sixty years ago, a bishop of the Irish Church gave it as his opinion that it was morally justifiable for white women there to choose death before outrage, and those who know anything of savage warfare, be it in India, or Africa, or America, or even in Europe (for we still have savages in Europe), will agree with him. As to such a deed being cowardly, I can only

with thy seven sons didst break the tyrant's force, and bring to nought his evil devices, and
3 gavest an example of the nobleness of faith. Thou wert nobly set as a roof upon thy sons as pillars,
4 and the earthquake of the torments shook thee not at all. Rejoice therefore, pure-souled mother,
5 having the hope of thy endurance certain at the hand of God. Not so majestic stands the moon amid
the stars in heaven as thou, having lit the path of thy seven starlike sons unto righteousness, standest
6 in honour with God; and thou art set in heaven with them. For thy child-bearing was from the
7 son of Abraham. And had it been lawful for us to paint, as might some *artist*, the tale of thy
piety, would not the spectators have shuddered at the mother of seven sons suffering for righteous-
8 ness' sake multitudinous tortures even unto death? And indeed it were fitting to inscribe these
words over their resting-place, speaking for a memorial to future generations of our people:

9 HERE LIE AN AGED PRIEST
AND A WOMAN FULL OF YEARS
AND HER SEVEN SONS
THROUGH THE VIOLENCE OF A TYRANT
DESIRING TO DESTROY THE HEBREW NATION.
10 THEY VINDICATED THE RIGHTS OF OUR PEOPLE
LOOKING UNTO GOD AND ENDURING
THE TORMENTS EVEN UNTO DEATH.

1.12 For truly it was a holy war which was fought by them. For on that day virtue, proving them
13 through endurance, set before them the prize of victory in incorruption in everlasting life. But the
first in the fight was Eleazar, and the mother of the seven sons played her part, and the brethren
14 fought. The tyrant was their adversary and the world and the life of man were the spectators.
1.16 And righteousness won the victory, and gave the crown to her athletes. Who but wondered at the
17 athletes of the true Law? Who were not amazed at them? The tyrant himself and his whole
18 council admired their endurance, whereby they now do both stand beside the throne of God and
19 live the blessed age. For Moses says, 'All also who have sanctified themselves are under thy
20 hands.' And these men, therefore, having sanctified themselves for God's sake, not only have
received this honour, but also *the honour* that through them the enemy had no more power
2.22 over our people, and the tyrant suffered punishment, and our country was purified, they having
as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men
and the propitiation of their death, the divine Providence delivered Israel that before was evil
23 entreated. For when the tyrant Antiochus saw the heroism of their virtue, and their endurance
24 under the tortures, he publicly held up their endurance to his soldiers as an example; and he thus

3. στυλους ℵ V 4. βεβαιαν ℵ V 7. ως επι τινος ℵ* V Syr. ευσεβιας σου ιστοριαν ℵ V

---

say that a few years ago, when the Red Indian tortures still awaited captives, many frontiersmen, men whom it would hardly have been safe to call cowards, made no secret that they intended to keep their last bullet (if need be) for themselves. As to whether a woman could harden her heart to the act, let me borrow the words of the author of this book, *πολλαχόθεν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν ἔχοιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι*, and say that many a woman in every age and every land has chosen death rather than that polluted hands should touch her body.

7. **some artist**, *ὡς ἐπί τινος*. The conjecture *πίνακος* is highly plausible, but lacks MS. authority; and If we may take *ἐπί* as 'after', i.e. 'in the style of', *πίνακος* is not really needed, for the word *ζωγραφῆσαι* itself must imply an artist to paint the picture. In § 8 I have discussed the very striking allusion to this passage in Chrysostom's *τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπογράψαντες*, and also the curious turn given to it by Erasmus when he suggests that the figure of the martyr might be made into an amulet. The latter quite excels himself in his paraphrase of the first part of the passage: 'Si possit in picturam aliquam manus humana describere et victorum omnium poenarum genus in posteros ceris, ut gestum constitit, explicare, sine lachrymis nemo transiret, omnis utique multitudo conflueret, suffragarentur plurimi, et multa videretur donasse qui in gloriam summi dei stratagemata depinxisset.'

8. **for a memorial**. *τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς μνείαν λεγόμενα*. The author may well have been thinking of the great monument of polished white stone, rising above a cloister with monolithic columns of the same, which Simon Maccabeus set up in memory of his parents and his brethren at Modin near Joppa. Neither Josephus in his *Antiquities* nor the author of 1 Macc. speaks of any inscription on the monument, though the latter mentions the armour of the heroes being set on the pillars, 'and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.' But some fitting inscription there must have been of a tenor not unlike that proposed here. Of course to employ sculpture to represent Jewish heroes and martyrs was out of the question, but our author in the verses which follow uses the imagery of the Greek games, making the tyrant and the martyrs, as it were, competitors, in a way to give the idea of a frieze—may one say?—like that of a Greek temple, commemorating their exploits.

19. **under thy hands**. *πάντες οἱ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς σου*. This is taken word for word from Deut. xxxiii. 3.

22. **having as it were become a ransom**. *ὥσπερ ἀντίψυχον γεγονότας*. The idea of the deaths of the martyrs becoming a ransom for the sin of Israel has been noticed in § 9, and the deliverance of Israel through them in the note on i. 11.

24. **as an example**. One would like further evidence before giving credence to the story that Antiochus publicly

inspired his men with a sense of honour and heroism on the field of battle and in *the labours of* besieging, so that he plundered and overthrew all his enemies.

18 1 O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways,
2 recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions, and over pains, not only from within,
3 but from without ourselves; by which means those men, delivering up their bodies to the torture for righteousness' sake, not only won the admiration of mankind, but were deemed worthy of
4 a divine inheritance. And through them the nation obtained peace and restoring the observance of the Law in our country hath captured the city from the enemy.
5 And vengeance hath pursued the tyrant Antiochus upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment. For when he failed utterly to constrain the people of Jerusalem to live like Gentiles and abandon the customs of our fathers, he thereupon left Jerusalem and marched away against the Persians.
6 Now these are the words that the mother of the seven sons, the righteous woman, spake to her
7 children: 'I was a pure maiden, and I strayed not from my father's house, and I kept guard over
8 the rib that was builded *into Eve*. No seducer of the desert, no deceiver in the field, corrupted me;
9 nor did the false, beguiling Serpent sully the purity of my maidenhood; I lived with my husband all the days of my youth; but when these *my sons* were grown up, their father died. Happy was
10 he; for he lived a life blessed with children, and he never knew the pain of their loss. Who,
11 while he was yet with us, taught you the Law and the prophets. He read to us of Abel who was slain by Cain, and of Isaac who was offered as a burnt-offering, and of Joseph in the prison.
12 And he spake to us of Phineas, the zealous priest, and he taught you *the song of* Ananias, Azarias,
13 and Mishael in the fire. And he glorified also Daniel in the den of lions, and blessed him; and
14 he called to your minds the saying of Isaiah, "Yea even though thou pass through the fire, the

XVIII. 5. εθων V Syr. 9. επιζηωας ℵ c.a V

---

extolled them to his troops. The text here is practically the same as that of the Strasburg LXX, and also as that of Lloyd, but Erasmus, followed by Lloyd, takes the latter part of the sentence in a way that is hard to reconcile with the original: 'videns namque Antiochus magnitudinem fidei mortisque contemptum peditum sibi legiones ex Hebraeorum numero congregat, per quas hostem perculit, et laudis plurimum cepit.' If this be so the Syrian king would have understood William III's feeling, when he met in battle the brave exiles whom the penal laws had driven from Ireland, and cried, 'Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such soldiers.' But history knows nothing of these Hebrew legions, and Antiochus, like William, had to do without the soldiers whose religion he could not shake.

all his enemies. *καὶ ἐκπορθήσας ἐνίκησεν πάντας τοὺς πολεμίους.* This is one way of drawing a moral from history. Whether Antiochus fired his soldiers by the martyrs' example or not, he did certainly after leaving Jerusalem conquer Armenia and no small part of Persia. And as it would rather spoil the moral to say that in the full tide of success he failed miserably in an attack on an obscure Persian temple and died almost immediately after, the fatal ending is quietly dropped just for the moment. But of course the audience knew perfectly well the story of Antiochus' death, so the author covers himself by deftly alluding to it five verses later, where he says that vengeance pursued the tyrant upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment still. It is a neat rhetorical turn.

XVIII. 2. **from within.** *οἱ ἔνδοθεν πόνοι* are mental sufferings, *οἱ ἔξωθεν πόνοι* are physical: see on xv. 29 and vi. 35.

4. **restoring the observance,** *ἀνανεωσάμενος.* If we keep this reading we must take it that some masculine word like Israel equivalent to *τὸ ἔθνος* is the subject understood. The alternative is to read the plural forms given in ℵ and V both for the participle and the verb, and make the subject simply 'they', or even 'the Maccabees' understood. Historically the statement is correct; for the Maccabees truly did recapture Jerusalem and restore the Law and win Jewish independence.

7. **I strayed not,** *οὐχ ὑπερέβην πατρικὸν οἶκον.* Erasmus translates word for word, 'domum patriam non reliqui'. This home-keeping habit was of course a virtue highly extolled in a Jewess, and certainly the race seems to have found a certain profit in the strictness with which it has been practised.

the rib that was builded, *τὴν ᾠκοδομημένην πλευράν.* In the translation I have added *into Eve* to make the sense clear. Grimm at one time held the idea that the phrase might mean 'the woman's side of the house', but he gave it up. The allusion to the Garden of Eden and the creation of Eve is infinitely more in keeping with Jewish style and taste. The actual words in Genesis are *καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ.* The moral of the passage is that a woman gets her body, as it were, direct from God, and should therefore keep it worthy of Him.

8. **No seducer of the desert,** *λυμεὼν τῆς ἐρημίας φθορεὺς ἐν πεδίῳ.* This is a curious instance of the Jewish belief that evil spirits haunted the waste, to which we have references in the New Testament. It seems hardly credible to us, but the Jews did actually believe that out in the desert there were demons who would lie in wait for women and lead them astray. The Australian Arunta similarly hold that certain rocky places in their deserts are the habitation of wanton spirits, and that women venturing near them may become mothers, apparently without knowing it. And for the Jew the Prince of the demons was Satan, the *λυμεὼν ἀπάτης ὄφις* who had started his campaign against mankind by corrupting Eve. The authors of *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, already quoted, say, 'Jewish traditions vary, however, as to the reason of Satan's tempting Eve; in several passages it is stated that Satan's lust towards her brought about her fall; see *Bereshith rabbah*, c. 18, 19; *Sanhedrin* 59^b; *Sotah* 9^b; *Yebamoth* 103^b; *Abodah zarah* 22^b.' Philo has some curious remarks about the woman and the serpent in *Sacr. Leg. All.* iii. 20, 21. He calls *ἡδονή* snakelike, and declares that *ἡ ἡδονὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐστι μοχθηρά.*

9. **these my sons.** It looks as though some phrase such as 'and bore him seven sons' were omitted between 8 and 9. It is therefore necessary to insert '*my sons*' in 9 to explain *τούτων.*

flame shall not hurt thee." He sang to us the words of David the psalmist, "Many are the afflictions of the just." He quoted to us the proverb of Solomon, "He is a tree of life to all them that do his will." He confirmed the words of Ezekiel, "Shall these dry bones live?" For he forgat not the song that Moses taught, which teaches, "I will slay and I will make alive. This is your life and the blessedness of your days."'

Ah, cruel was the day, and yet not cruel, when the cruel tyrant of the Greeks set the fire blazing for his barbarous braziers, and with his passions boiling brought to the catapult and back again to his tortures the seven sons of the daughter of Abraham, and blinded the eyeballs of their eyes, and cut out their tongues, and slew them with many kinds of torment. For which cause the judgement of God pursued, and shall pursue, the accursed wretch. But the sons of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are gathered together unto the place of their ancestors, having received pure and immortal souls from God, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

21. επηρωσεν ℵ¹

23. **having received,** &c. These words point to an original difference between good and bad souls before their incorporation in the body. Cp. Wisd. viii. 19.

PIRKĒ ABOTH

SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The treatise called 'Pirkē Aboth', or 'Sayings of the Fathers', is a collection of maxims, mostly ethical and religious, uttered by Jewish teachers within a period extending from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. 'Pirkē Aboth' is not its original title, neither is 'Sayings of the Fathers' a correct rendering of that title; but the former is very ancient, and the latter is so far sanctioned by custom that it would be inconvenient to correct it to 'Chapters of Fathers', though that is what it ought to be. The book was not the production of one author. It was one of the sixty-three treatises of the Mishnah, the great *corpus juris* in which the Tradition of the Elders was reduced to order. The compiler or editor of the Mishnah was Rabbi Judah the Holy, commonly called 'Rabbi', who died A.D. 219; and to that extent he may be regarded as the author of the Pirkē Aboth. But this treatise, like the Mishnah itself, is mainly composed of material older than the time of 'Rabbi'; and both give clear evidence of later additions. From this it will be seen that Pirkē Aboth can hardly be treated as a book in the ordinary sense of the word, and that no definite date can be given for its composition or even for its completion. While still a portion of the Tradition of the Elders, it differs in character and form from the main body of the Tradition, and is thus capable of separate treatment and study. As a collection of moral and religious sayings it was included in the liturgy of the synagogue at least as early as the eleventh century; and many commentaries upon it were written in and after the Middle Ages. Since the invention of printing, it has been published in innumerable editions, mostly Hebrew, but recently in other languages.

The contents of the book are not arranged in any obvious order, and it is evidently made up of several collections differing in aim and method. Chronological sequence is observed in ch. i, and to some extent in ch. ii. It is wholly disregarded in the remaining chapters. The maxims in ch. i–iv are the utterance of named teachers, while those in ch. v are mostly anonymous. Ch. vi is no part of the original book, and only attempts to catch the manner of it. But in all six chapters there is no attempt at a completely representative list of names. Sixty-five teachers are named, out of the hundreds who belonged to the period of the Mishnah; and while it was not to be expected that all these should be included, it is hard to account for some of the omissions. It is remarkable that Gamaliel II, one of the most important of all, is not mentioned, though all the line of Hillel, with that one exception, is represented, down to the beginning of the third century. So, too, in regard to the substance of the maxims, while these touch upon some of the main heads of Rabbinical theology and ethics, they by no means cover the whole field; and in what they do give there is no appearance of systematic arrangement. The whole collection, indeed, might well have been taken from the editor's note-book. But, while thus 'formless', it is by no means 'void'; and the reader who will persevere will find much that is valuable and instructive for the right understanding of the religion and ethics of the Pharisees; much, also, which, without being either very profound or very sublime, is yet well and wisely said.

For the explanation of the origin and nature of the book, several things need to be said which cannot well be given under the separate heads of title, date, integrity of composition, and authorship. In place of these sections there will here be given—

§ 2. Historical and Critical Account of Pirkē Aboth.

1. *Origin and growth of the Mishnah as a whole.* The characteristic feature of the reformation of Ezra in the fifth century B.C. was the stress laid upon the idea of Torah as the complete divine revelation given to Israel. 'Torah' should never be translated 'Law'; it is much more than Law. The written record, the Pentateuch, contained divine instruction in other forms besides that of precept. The interpretation of the Pentateuch was the unfolding of

the contents of revelation in every direction, not in that of practical conduct alone. The truth thus rendered explicit through valid interpretation was part of the contents of the original revelation; hence the written word and the unwritten interpretation were each Torah, and together made up the whole Torah. What was sought in the divine revelation was either truth to be known or directions for conduct to be obeyed. In order to carry out the fundamental command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' &c., it was needful that the Jew should know exactly what the divine will was on every occasion of choice. Therefore one main line on which the idea of Torah was developed was that of a Rule of right conduct. This was obtained first of all from the written word, and thence extended by successive definitions and the application of recognized methods of interpretation. The results of this process were carefully handed on from one teacher to another, being regarded as ascertained portions of Torah, no longer to be disputed and of binding authority. The body of judicial interpretations thus accumulated is the Tradition of the Elders; and the name given to the Rule of right conduct embodied in the tradition is Halachah. The tradition probably began with Ezra, but no names are preserved of the earliest teachers. In the centuries after his time, the mass of halachah increased in amount and complexity, since in each generation the more eminent teachers made their own contributions to it. The teachers whose names are given in the Pirkē Aboth are those who were chiefly instrumental in developing the Tradition on the line of halachah. R. Akiba (see notes) made the first attempt to classify the unwieldy mass of halachah, but left the work unfinished. His pupil, R. Meir, carried it further; but it was left to R. Judah (Rabbi) to undertake and accomplish the orderly arrangement of the whole, in the Mishnah. In form, the Mishnah is a series of definitions of halachah upon various subjects, extending over the whole range of practical life, regarded from the point of view of the Pharisee. In addition to the definitions of halachah, the Mishnah contains many rejected opinions, together with the reasons for rejecting them; also the names of the teachers on whose authority the tradition rested, as well as occasional historical and biographical notes. It is divided into six orders (*sedarim*) and sixty-three treatises or books (*massichtoth*). Each treatise is divided into chapters (*perakim*), and each chapter into paragraphs (each called a *halachah* or a *mishnah*). One of these treatises, in the fourth order, is that now known as Pirkē Aboth. In the editions of the Mishnah and the Talmud it is always called 'Aboth'.

2. *The treatise Aboth.* While the rest of the Mishnah consists mainly of halachah, Aboth contains no halachah at all; and the only reason for its inclusion in the Mishnah would seem to be the fact that its list of 'Fathers' is made up of those teachers who mainly produced the Mishnah. But why it was placed where it now stands, in the main division dealing with 'Injuries', has not been satisfactorily explained. That it was incorporated in the Mishnah, and was not left an isolated book as might well be supposed, is shown by the fact that in the Gemara (the later comment on the Mishnah, in the third to the fifth centuries) there are at least seventeen references to passages in Aboth, introduced by one or other of the formulae regularly used in quoting from the Mishnah. Several of these references are on the authority of R. Johanan, who had been a pupil of 'Rabbi' and must have known the Mishnah as Rabbi left it. But it was incorporated in the Mishnah, as an extraneous element, not forming part of the halachic tradition. The motive for the collection of the contents of Aboth was originally the desire to indicate the links in the chain of tradition from the time of Moses to the time of the compiler, whoever he was. This earliest nucleus of Aboth is contained in ch. i, and, as I believe, ends there. It will be seen from the notes that the last teacher mentioned in ch. i died in the war of A.D. 68–70, a date which is one of the fixed points of Rabbinical chronology. Who it was that drew up this list of 'Fathers' there is no evidence to show; it might well have been R. Zadok (iv. 7), an old man who just survived the fall of Jerusalem. But it is clear that the title 'Fathers' belongs to this earliest list, and, strictly speaking, only to that. The ancient, not the contemporary, teachers were the Fathers of Israel. In ch. ii is found another list, probably suggested by, but not continuous with, the earlier one. It deals mainly with R. Johanan b. Zaccai, his teacher, and his chief pupils; in other words, with the men who re-established the tradition after the war. A connexion with the older series is made by the statement that R. Johanan b. Zaccai 'received from' Hillel. But there is no further attempt to carry on the successive stages of the tradition. The mention in ii. 1, 2 of Rabbi and his son is clearly a later addition, and the same may perhaps be the case with R. Tarphon ii. 19, 20. Chapters iii and iv (which are continuous) abandon chronology altogether, and seem to be due to a desire to enrich the former collections of ancient wisdom with specimens from later times. Ch. v in its turn abandons the form of personal reference, and consists mainly of a series of groups based on numbers. All these different elements are clearly distinguishable; but it is impossible to allot them to their respective authors. I can only suggest that Rabbi found ch. i and ii already in existence, possibly also iii and iv (if he did not compile them himself), and that he added ch. v as a conclusion to the whole collection. Ch. vi was

not added till long after. The Mishnah, as left by Rabbi, contained then the treatise Aboth substantially complete; but interpolations were made in the one as in the other. Those in Aboth will be pointed out in the notes. The Mishnah became the subject of study in the Rabbinical schools both of Palestine and Babylonia, and the resulting commentary is called the Gemara. The Mishnah and the Gemara together form the Talmud, and there are thus two Talmuds, known respectively as the Jerusalem and the Babylonian. But there is no Gemara on Aboth, since it did not deal with halachah. At some period, probably after the closing of the Talmud, there was compiled a sort of expansion of Aboth, the work known as the Aboth of R. Nathan, though he was certainly not the compiler of the whole of it (see the preface in Schechter's edition of the *ARN*, 1887). The older Aboth was not displaced by the later expansion; it gradually came to be used as a book of edification for Sabbath reading by students in the colleges. The earliest trace of such use is in the college at Sura, towards the middle of the ninth century. At some later period, but before the end of the eleventh century, its use was extended from the colleges to the synagogues, and it was appointed to be read in the service on certain Sabbaths. Already in the college at Sura, the sixth chapter had been added to Aboth; and, if the reading was intended to last over six Sabbaths (as is the case in many Jewish communities), here would be the reason for compiling an additional chapter to the original five. Since the eleventh century, Aboth has been included in all the Jewish liturgies, though the days on which it is to be read vary in different localities. The most usual practice is to read it on the six Sabbath afternoons after Passover.

§ 3. The Manuscripts.

These are either of the whole Talmud, or of the Mishnah, or of Aboth separately. The Munich MS. of the Babylonian Talmud, written in 1369, and collated by Rabbinowicz for his *variae lectiones*, contains Aboth; but it has never been published, and the great work of Rabbinowicz was left unfinished at his death, the collation of Aboth being amongst the unprinted remainder. The most important Mishnah MS. is that in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 470. 1), fully described in Taylor's edition of Aboth (Appendix, 1900). In that Appendix, Taylor gives a classified list of 170 MSS. of Aboth contained in the libraries of London (B. Museum), Oxford (Bodleian), Cambridge, Paris, Hamburg, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Parma. The reader is referred to Taylor's list, also to the section on MSS. in Strack's article 'Thalmud' in Hauck's *Encyklopädie*. The present translation and notes have been made (so far as manuscript authority is concerned) with the help of Taylor's critical material; it may be sufficient therefore to describe briefly the chief MSS. used by him. For convenience of printing, ordinary capitals have been substituted for his Old English letters.

A. The Cambridge MS. mentioned above, containing the whole Mishnah according to the Palestinian recension, date fourteenth century. It has been published in full by W. H. Lowe, 1883. Taylor uses this as the basis of his translation. Aboth contains only five chapters.

B. Cambridge, St. John's College, K. 7. A copy (1517) of the commentary on Aboth (six chapters) by R. Isaac Israeli (1368), which was based upon an older commentary by R. Israel of Toledo (twelfth–thirteenth centuries).

C. Cambridge University, Add. 667, date 1220. Contains an unpointed text of Aboth (six chapters), also a commentary upon it.

D. Br. Museum, Add. 27200–1, date not later than 1242. Contains an unpointed text of Aboth, together with commentary. Six chapters are given; but it is expressly stated that Aboth ends with v. 23.

S. London, Jews' College, date about 1610. Contains pointed text of Aboth, six chapters, with a grammatical commentary.

§ 4. Influence of Aboth on Later Literature.

Very little can be said under this head, although Pirkē Aboth has been more widely read amongst Jews than almost any other book. Its influence upon life and character has been very great, because it has kept before the minds of its readers a certain type of piety. But it does so only by expressing the ethical, and to some extent the religious, ideas common to the whole of the literature coeval with the Talmud. It strikes out no new line, presents no new thought whose influence might be traced in later writings. The object of its compilation was to collect the treasures of ancient wisdom, not to invite a search for the new. There was progressive thought in Talmudic and mediaeval Judaism; but it received no stimulus from Pirkē Aboth. When Maimonides wrote his commentary on Aboth, he got his ethics mainly from Aristotle and interpreted the Jewish wisdom in terms of the Greek. Aboth served him as a basis for his exposition, not as the source of his ideas. The same is more or less true of all the many commentaries on Aboth; the object of them is to unfold the meaning of an ancient manual of piety, according to the moral judgement of the

interpreter, and not to go beyond it. The value of Aboth consisted largely in its presentation of the past, its reflection of the wisdom and piety which had stood the test of long experience, and was consecrated by the memory of revered sages and saints of the olden time. As a factor in training character it has played a great part in Jewish history; but as a source of new developments in literature, what influence it may have had is merged in that of the Talmud and the Midrash as a whole.

Outside the domain of Jewish literature and life Aboth has had practically no effect at all. It was known only to scholars, and by them used for the illustration of Jewish thought; it did not, so far as I know, lead to any fresh literary creation by non-Jewish writers.

§ 5. Theology of Aboth.

As will have appeared already, the main character of the book is ethical rather than theological. A theology is certainly implied in it, but it is the theology which underlies the whole of Rabbinical Judaism, and is in no way peculiar to Aboth. A full account of this theology would be out of place in an introduction to a book which is not specially theological, and would moreover occupy far more space than could be given to it. All that will here be attempted is to remark on those features of Aboth which may be regarded as theological. The distinction here drawn between ethical and theological would be hardly felt by those for whom Aboth was intended or by whom it was compiled. To be virtuous was to do the will of God; and the way to become virtuous was to learn what He had revealed and to take it to heart. A Talmudic Rabbi would not deny that there were virtuous Gentiles; but for those to whom the Torah, the complete divine revelation, had been given, there could be no moral excellence apart from Torah. The sanction of ethics was the revealed will of God; and there was no moral worth in obeying the precepts, in doing the things prescribed, unless there were the conscious intention of serving God in so doing. Hence, for all that the maxims in Aboth are in form mostly ethical, they are in substance religious, and, to the Jew, inseparable from religion. The character formed in accordance with them is the character of the *ḥasid*, the saint, the type of what the Jew ought to be as one of the children of God. To bear this in mind is constantly necessary in reading Aboth, else the non-Jewish reader will be likely to be little impressed by a series of moral counsels which do not appear to be very profound or very interesting. Behind them all (or nearly all) is, for the Jew, the thought of his personal relation to God, to whose perfect service those counsels are the guides. In this sense, the whole of Aboth is religious, though not specifically theological.

Of theology proper, the chief concept in Aboth is Torah, as it is the chief concept in all Rabbinical theology. What Torah means has been to some extent explained in § 2. A large proportion of the maxims in Aboth refer to the study of Torah; and by that is to be understood not merely the reading of the Pentateuch but the study of the divine thought, revealed implicitly in the written word (directly in the Pentateuch, indirectly in the rest of Scripture), and rendered explicit in the oral interpretation. Torah virtually means the whole of divine truth, so far as it was accessible to human minds. The characteristic terms of Talmudic Judaism are those of teaching and learning; the names Talmud, Mishnah, Midrash express the giving or receiving of knowledge, the thing known being Torah. Hence the keynote of Rabbinism is wisdom, and its saints are its sages; and here is to be found the clue to the remarkable difference in tone and character between the Talmudic literature and the N. Testament.

When the real significance of Torah is understood, it will not seem surprising that in Aboth there is no very frequent mention of God. Wherever Torah is referred to God is implied. He is not actually named by the use of the word 'God' all through the book, except in Scriptural citations. The term most often used is 'Makom', lit. 'place', as we should say 'the All-present'.[1] But it must not be inferred from this that the Talmudic idea of God was of a remote and abstract being. This was not so; although the evidence for denying this frequent misrepresentation cannot be given here. God is once referred to, in the concluding verse of the original book, v. 23, as 'thy Father which is in heaven', a term which is quite as characteristic of Talmudic religion as 'Makom', and which belongs of right to Judaism no less than to Christianity.

In regard to God's dealings with man, His foreknowledge is asserted, but most stress is laid upon His justice which shows itself in retribution; reward and punishment are apportioned for good deeds and bad respectively, and, though sometimes described in figures of speech commercial rather than religious, reward and punishment signify the divine approval and disapproval not limited to particular forms of expression. God must be served not for the sake of the reward, but for His own sake; 'for the sake of Heaven' is only another way of saying 'for the sake of God'. The love of God to man

[1] Other terms are 'Holy One, blessed be He', 'Heaven', 'Shechinah', 'King of the kings of the kings'.

is also mentioned, and is not confined to Israel (iii. 19). God hears prayer; and prayer is not to be restricted to fixed forms, but is to be the spontaneous utterance of the soul to Him. It may be inferred, though it is not expressly said, that as man was made in the image of God, the characteristics of the saint (see especially vi. 6) are likewise (so far as they are applicable) attributes of God.

There is no theological doctrine which is taught in Aboth and not found elsewhere; while there is much that is found elsewhere and only unmentioned in Aboth because there was no occasion for it. The object of the compiler was not to produce a handbook of theology, but to illustrate from famous examples the character of the saint. For Rabbinical theology as a whole the reader is referred to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and is warned that Weber's *System of Synagogue Theology* is a most unsafe guide, as it presents the results of great learning from a standpoint entirely mistaken and by a method fundamentally wrong.[1] (See the present writer's *Pharisaism*, pp. 235–7.)

§ 6. Bibliography.

There is no need to distinguish here between editions of the text and editions of the book; and the critical problems presented by the text are of comparatively small importance, relating only to various readings and interpolations. There is nothing in the criticism of Aboth comparable to the problems presented by the Hexateuch, or Isaiah, or the Synoptic Gospels.

Apart from the editions of the Mishnah and of the whole Talmud, there is, so far as I know, no *editio princeps* of Aboth. The separate text appeared first in the prayer-books, or less probably in the commentaries. It was never, till quite recently, printed as a book on its own account. The text in Hebrew, for private edification, has been published in many editions, but without any pretence of textual criticism.

Of critical editions, prepared with all the resources of modern scholarship, there are only two. The first is that by C. Taylor (reprinted as second edition with appendix, in two volumes, 1900). This gives text, translation, critical and general notes, and a full critical apparatus. It is quite indispensable to the student of Aboth, though the notes are somewhat overloaded and not always strictly relevant. The chief omission is an account of the origin and history of the book, a few lines in the preface being all that is given to that branch of the subject. With that exception, Taylor's edition leaves little to be said by any future editor of the text. The other critical edition is that by Strack, published in 1882. It is much shorter than that of Taylor, the notes being mainly grammatical and literary. But, so far as it goes, the work could hardly be improved; the scholarship and minute accuracy for which Strack is so well known appear on every page. The introduction, though short, includes almost everything that is necessary, except an account of the MSS. Strack does not say what text he has used, nor what is the authority for the various readings which he rejects. For further details upon editions of Aboth, see the article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and Strack's Introduction just mentioned.

Supplementary Notes.

In the following translation I have used the text as given in Taylor, in Strack, in the Wilna edition of the Talmud Babli (1880–1884), and in the Amsterdam edition of the Mishnah, 1675 (a copy that belonged to R. Moses of Rothenburg). I have not followed any one of them exclusively. I have also got useful help from the edition, with commentary, called 'Minḥah ḥadashah', 1722 (written by Michael Moravczyk and published in 1576). I have throughout consulted the commentaries of Rashi, R. Obadiah of Sforno (Bartenora), Maimonides, and Jom-tob-Heller. I have followed the usual division of chapters; but, as there is no recognized division of paragraphs, I have used my own judgement in dividing them.

[1] The student, however, should bear in mind that Rabbinic Pharisaism after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A. D. differs largely from Pharisaism before that date. See the Introduction to this Vol.—Gen. Editor.

PIRKĒ ABOTH

SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS

1 Moses received Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgement; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence for the Torah.

2 Simeon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say: On three things the world standeth: on the Torah, and on the Service, and on the doing of kindnesses.

3 Antigonos of Socho received from Simeon the Just. He used to say: Be not like slaves who serve the master with a view to receiving a present; but be like slaves who serve the master not with a view to receiving a present: and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

4 Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem received from them. Jose b. Joezer of Zeredah said: Let thy house be a house of meeting for the Wise, and bedust thyself with the dust of their feet, and drink with thirst their words.

I. 1. **Torah.** A technical term not identical with 'Law'. *Torah* (= teaching) denotes the revelation which God gave to Israel by Moses, supposed to be eomplete and final. The Pentateuch is the written record of that teaching; hence the name Torah is often applied to the Pentateuch. But Torah included also the unwritten tradition whereby the implicit contents of the revelation were made explicit by successive interpretations. No English word is equivalent to Torah, which is therefore retained untranslated in the text and the notes.

the Elders. Probably the 'able men' chosen by Moses to assist him (Exod. xviii. 25), and regarded as a permanent body.

Great Synagogue. In the rabbinical tradition a council founded by Ezra which lasted for many years. The scanty references to it indicate the assembly mentioned in Neh. ix, x. No such permanent council can be shown to have existed; but the tradition is not wholly worthless. The term 'Great Synagogue' may be taken to denote the early Scribes (Sopherim), who developed the religion of Torah on the lines and in the spirit of Ezra, for several generations after his time. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 18–22.

They said, i.e. the men of the Great Synagogue said. Tradition represented as decrees of a council what were probably only the rules agreed on by the Scribes for their own guidance. The three sayings are certainly very ancient. It was the duty of the Scribes to judge, also to teach Torah.

a fence for the Torah, סיג לתורה. This does not mean that the Torah was to be made into a stiff hedge, but refers merely to precautions by which a man might be guarded from transgression before it was too late.

2. **Simeon the Just,** or the Righteous. It is impossible to be sure who is meant, whether Simeon, grandson of Jaddua, who was High Priest from 310 to 291 B. C. (or 300–270), or his grandson, who was High Priest from 219 to 199. Josephus mentions both (*Ant.* xii. 2. 5 and 4. 10), but he only applies the epithet 'the Just' to the older man. The Simon of Sirach i is probably the younger, and he is not there called 'the Just'. The rabbinical references confuse the two, and possibly allude to other men also.

the world standeth. Meaning that the three things are the fundamentals of human (or perhaps national) life.

Torah. See above.

the Service, העבודה. The Temple service. The three things represent revelation, worship, and sympathy, i. e. God's word to man, man's response to God, and man's love to his fellow men.

3. **Antigonos of Socho.** Note the Greek name. His date, being dependent on that of Simeon the Just, is uncertain. Later tradition said that he had two disciples, one of whom, Zadok, became the founder of the Sadducees.

a present. The Hebr. word פרס represents the Gk. *φόρος*, and is distinguished from 'reward', שכר, that which the servant has a right to expect.

fear of Heaven, i. e. the fear of God. Heaven, for God, a frequent substitute in Jewish speech; the most familiar instance is 'kingdom of heaven' = kingdom of God. The two dicta of Antigonos are unconnected with each other.

4. From here to *v.* 12, the successive teachers are arranged in pairs. They are so grouped elsewhere in the Talmud, and are called Zūgōth (Pairs). They are represented in tradition as having been, in each case, the president and vice-president of the Sanhedrin, the great council of the state. This is incorrect, as Kuenen has conclusively shown (see his essay 'Over de samenstelling van het Sanhedrin'). If, however, there were some assembly of Scribes, as suggested above, *v.* 1, then the Zūgōth may have been presidents and vice-presidents of that body.

Jose b. Joezer was probably among the sixty who were killed by Alcimus (1 Macc. vii. 16), 162 B. C. Alcimus is said to have been his nephew.

from them, מהם. The MSS. and printed texts are divided between this reading and an alternative 'from him' ממנו. For the former ABCD, for the latter S. Taylor, Baer, and Strack adopt the former. The latter is perhaps due to a desire to obviate the difficulty of the reading 'from them', since only Antigonos is mentioned in the preceding verse. The reading 'from them' implies that a name or names are missing between Antigonos and the first Pair. This favours the authenticity of the list; if it had been fictitious, names would have been supplied.

the Wise. The recognized teachers, whether the early Scribes or the later Rabbis.

bedust thyself. The disciple should sit at the feet of his teacher; cp. Acts xxii. 3.

5 Jose b. Joḥanan of Jerusalem said: Let thy house be opened wide; and let poor folk be thy household; and talk not much with the wife.

5 *a* [He said it concerning his own wife; much more concerning the wife of his associate. Hence the Wise have said: So long as a man talks much with the wife he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Torah, and his end is that he inherits Gehenna.]

6 Joshua b. Peraḥiah and Nittai the Arbelite received from them. Joshua b. Peraḥiah said: Make to thyself a teacher; and get thee an associate; and judge every man with a leaning to *his* merit.

7 Nittai the Arbelite said: Keep far from an evil neighbour, and consort not with the wicked, and be not heedless of retribution.

8 Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetaḥ received from them. Judah b. Tabbai said: Make not thyself as those that prepare the judges; and when the suitors are standing before thee let them be in thine eyes as wicked men; and when they have been dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as just *men* who have received their sentence.

9 Simeon b. Shetaḥ said: Do much in examining the witnesses; and be careful in thy words; perchance by means of them they may learn to lie.

10 Shemaiah and Abtalion received from them. Shemaiah said: Love work, and hate mastery, and make not thyself known to the government.

5. **the wife**, or 'woman' in general; cp. John iv. 27. But the former is more likely, because the whole verse refers to the one household; also in the following verse, which interprets this saying, the meaning is clearly 'wife'.

5 *a*. This verse is a later comment on the preceding, though it is included in all the MSS. Ch. i is the oldest part of the treatise (v. Introduction); this verse may have been added by the compiler.

He said it. The Hebr. is אמרו, which, being unpointed, may be translated 'he said it', or 'they said'. The former suits the context, while the latter can only be made intelligible by supplying 'the Wise' from the next clause. Taylor and Strack render 'they said', and do not notice the alternative. Schoettgen has 'he said it', *dixit*. The meaning of the prohibition to talk with the wife is variously explained: (*a*) it distracts the man's attention from words of Torah; (*b*) she may put him to shame by gossiping of what he says to her; (*c*) it may lead to his talking with other women, thence to suspicion, thence to sin.

inherits, יורש. So most MSS. S has יורד 'descends into'. 'Inherit' is frequently used of Paradise, the bliss after death; v. *infra*, *v.* 22, 'Garden of Eden', and cp. Matt. xxv. 34, 41.

Gehenna, Γέεννα, the abode of the wicked after death.

6. The second Pair, v. *supra*, i. 4. Their approximate date is 110 B.C. J. b. Peraḥiah, according to one set of traditions in the Talmud, was the teacher of Jesus.

Nittai the Arbelite. From Arbela (mod. Irbid) in Galilee, a few miles west-north-west of Tiberias. Nittai is the usual reading, and is a contracted form of Nethaniah. A reads Mattai, here and Ḥag. ii. 2, the only other place where this teacher is mentioned; the difference is only between נתאי and מתאי.

associate, *ḥaber*, חבר, the name applied to members of a society, *ḥabūrah*, pledged to strict observance of the rules of 'clean' and 'unclean', &c. The term is possibly derived from Ps. cxix. 63, and was used by Pharisees to designate each other.

leaning to his merit, לכף זכות. Metaphor of a balance with two pans, one to hold the merit, the other the demerit. That which holds the merit is to be helped to descend. The maxim simply means 'believe the best of every man'.

7. **evil neighbour**. Probably general.

heedless, perhaps 'hopeless'. It has been suggested (*J. Enc.* s. v. Nittai) that this third saying was uttered in reference to the persecution of the Pharisees by John Hyrcanus after he had gone over to the Sadducees (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6), and that it was meant to encourage the Pharisees to hope that Hyrcanus would yet be punished for his apostasy. This is possible; but the commentators interpret the saying of retribution in general.

8. The third Pair. **S. b. Shetaḥ**, brother-in-law of King Jannaeus (126–76 B.C.), whom he survived. He was successful in restoring the influence of the Pharisees which had been lost under Hyrcanus (see above). In the tradition, though **J. b. Tabbai** is here placed first, S. b. Sh. is by far the more important. (See *Rev. d. Études Juives*, 1912, pp. 216–32.)

prepare the judges, עורכי הדיינין, i. e. influence them before the trial. As the maxim is addressed to judges the meaning seems to be 'do not listen to those who prepare the judges', in any case 'be impartial'. This clause is repeated below, iv. 7. [If we read הדינין we have an excellent sense: 'Make not thyself like those who prepare the suits,' i. e. do not play the part of a counsel but of a judge.—Gen. Editor.]

wicked: not, however, guilty (Taylor). The judge must not assume that the accused has done what he is accused of, but must merely show no favour to either party; he must not say 'this man is respectable' (Rashi).

just: as they have received the sentence, there is no further ground of imputing evil to them; they have satisfied the law.

9. Again addressed to judges. **careful in thy words**, זהיר בדבריך: the judge is not to indicate what his own opinion is, lest the witnesses should adapt their evidence to his views and swear falsely for the sake of a verdict in their favour.

10. The fourth Pair. **Shemaiah** and **Abtalion** are probably the Σαμέας and Πολλίων of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 1. 1). Both are said to have been proselytes of heathen origin; but Grätz (*G. d. Jud.* iii. 481) disproves this, and suggests that they were Alexandrian Jews. Date, 60 B.C., *circa*. Shemaiah is the more prominent figure; but it is said by Josephus that he was a disciple of Abtalion.

mastery, רבנות, the word used in later literature to describe the status of a Rabbi. It cannot have that meaning here, for Shemaiah himself was a Rabbi, and magnified his office. The Talmud (b. Sotah. 13^{b}) says that 'Joseph died before his brethren because he behaved with *rabbanuth*', i. e. he domineered over them. Shemaiah warns against arrogance.

11 Abtalion said: Ye Wise, be careful in your words; lest ye become guilty with the guilt *that involves* exile, and be exiled to a place of evil waters, and the disciples that come after you drink and die, and the Name of Heaven be found profaned.

12 Hillel and Shammai received from them. Hillel said: Be of the disciples of Aaron, one that loves peace, that pursues peace, that loves mankind and brings them nigh to Torah.

13 He used to say: *Whoso* makes great his name destroys his name; whoso adds not makes to cease; and he who will not learn is guilty *so as to deserve* killing. And whoso serves himself with the crown passes away.

14 He used to say: If I am not for myself, who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?

15 Shammai said: Make thy Torah a fixed *duty*; say little and do much; and receive every man with the look of a cheerful face.

16 Rabban Gamaliel said: Make to thyself a teacher; and remove thyself from what is doubtful; and do not often tithe by *mental* valuation.

government, רשות. The authorities (so ii. 3 below). It is dangerous to become known to the authorities, or it is corrupting. Probably here the latter is meant; as Shemaiah was very well known to the authorities.

11. **Wise.** The teachers, Rabbis; see above, i. 4. To expound Torah wrongly is to promote the transgression of its precepts. If, as the divine retribution for doing so, a teacher is exiled to a place of **evil waters,** i. e. a place where there is no sound teaching of Torah, he may perpetuate his error, so that those who **come after,** i. e. learn from him, may **drink,** i. e. receive his teaching, and **die,** i. e. fall into sin for which death is the divine punishment. In that case, it will **be found,** i. e. it will result, that the name of God has been **profaned.**

12. **Hillel** and **Shammai,** the fifth and last Pair (date 30 B. C. and after). Hillel is said to have lived 120 years, but this is only a way of comparing him with Moses. The same is said of R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai. The disciples of H. and S. were divided in opinion upon many questions, and their controversies lasted for nearly a century. It was perhaps owing to this that no further Pairs are mentioned. The authorized tradition was that of the school of H.; and, with the one exception of R. Joḥ. b. Zaccai, descendants of H. successively held the leading position (later, with the title of 'Nasi', 'prince') down to A. D. 415. Seven sayings of H. are given in this book, i. 12–14, ii. 5–8. The originals are part in Hebrew, part in Aramaic.

disciples of Aaron. The association of Aaron with peace is frequent in the Rabinical literature, and is possibly due to H. himself.

mankind, בריות, lit. 'creatures', but the commentators agree that it refers to the human race as a whole; and thus it often denotes the Gentiles as distinguished from the Jews. Taylor compares Mark xvi. 15 and Rom. viii. 19. The sense is probably the same; but in these and similar passages *κτίσις* is in the singular (R. V. 'creation').

brings . . . nigh to Torah, מקרבן לתורה. As the Torah was the divine revelation, the 'creatures', i. e. all mankind, should be invited to come and share in it. This is the motive of 'compass sea and land to make one proselyte', Matt. xxiii. 15.

13. The original is in Aramaic. **name,** reputation. For the sense of the maxim cp. 'vaulting ambition doth o'erleap itself' (Shaks.).

adds not, i. e. to what he learns from his teacher; he must contribute something from his own intelligence.

makes to cease. The reading varies between the trans. and the intrans. יסף and יסוף. In the first case the learner loses what he has learned; in the second he comes to an end, is good for nothing.

guilty . . . killing, קטלא חיב. For the form of the phrase cp. (A. V.) Matt. xxvi. 66. 'Guilty of death' gives the wrong sense in English; but it exactly represents the Hebrew, of which *ἔνοχος θανάτου* is the rendering in the Gospel. To refuse to learn Torah at all is to despise the divine revelation, and is, as it were, spiritual suicide. One who does so 'deserves death', but is not 'guilty of killing' himself.

serves himself, makes his own profit out of.

crown: any position of authority or privilege, here his knowledge of Torah. The teacher of Torah must not be paid for teaching. The Rabbis either worked for their living or had private means. See below, iv. 7, where this maxim is paraphrased by R. Zadok, and Hillel's own words added, perhaps by the editor.

14. Original in Hebrew. The general sense is of self-reliance and readiness. The contrast between 'now' and 'when?' refers either to 'this world' and 'the world to come', or else merely to the present and some future time. The opportunity may never come again.

15. **Shammai** (see above, *v.* 12) was much less prominent in the tradition. He had the character of being harsh and severe, as contrasted with Hillel.

fixed, קבע: 'duty' is added to complete the sense. Torah is to be the foundation of all, the one essential in life, and the study of it is to take precedence over everything else. Another interpretation is that fixed times are to be kept for the study of Torah lest it be omitted. Another is, that Torah (precept) is to be applied uniformly, not in favour of one and against another, but equally to both.

16. **Rabban Gamaliel.** In Hebrew גמליאל. Grandson of Hillel; this is the teacher of Paul, and the Gamaliel of Acts v. 34. Rabban is a title, first used in his case, to denote the head of the house of Hillel. According to the Rabbinical view, this carried with it the presidency of the Sanhedrin; but the passage in Acts shows that Gamaliel did not hold that position. After the fall of Jerusalem, when the Sanhedrin ceased to be the great council under the presidency of the High Priest, and became merely the assembly of the Rabbis, the chief of the house of Hillel was its president; except that for some years, A. D. 70–80, R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai held the office. The title Rabban is not indicated in the passage in Acts; but if it were the retrospective compliment of a later age, it would almost certainly have been given also to Hillel. Perhaps it is the expression of the fact that Gamaliel was 'held in honour of all the people'.

remove . . . doubtful, הסתלק מן הספק. Taylor renders 'Be quit of doubt', but does not explain the saying. The commentators connect it with the previous saying, and take it to mean, 'In doubtful cases consult some one else,

17 Simeon his son said: All my days I have grown up among the Wise, and I have not found anything better than silence; and not study is the chief thing but action; and whoso makes many words occasions sin.

18 Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: On three things the world stands: on judgement, on truth, and on peace. [As it is said: 'Truth and judgement of peace judge ye in your gates.'] Zech. viii. 16

2 1 Rabbi said: What is that right way which a man should choose for himself? Whatever is an honour to him that does it and an honour to him *in the sight of* men. And be careful over a light precept as over a weighty, for thou knowest not the giving of the rewards of the precepts. And reckon the loss *involved in a* precept against its reward, and the reward of a sin against its loss. And

and do not depend on your own judgement alone'; the reference is to the functions of a judge, and not to the difficulties of a searcher after truth. The third saying is mere practical advice not to rely on guesswork in estimating the amount to be separated (from corn, &c.) as tithe.

17. **Simeon his son.** This would be the son of the preceding, and is so understood by nearly all the commentators. But a much more probable explanation is that *vv.* 16, 17 have been transposed, and that the Simeon of *v.* 17 is the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel. In favour of this view is the fact that this Simeon is not called Rabban, as he would have been if he had succeeded Gamaliel. Also, that Simeon the son of Hillel was so unimportant that he is only once mentioned in the Talmud; this is in keeping with the saying mentioned in *v.* 17, which is the utterance of a shy, retiring man. Also, in *v.* 18, there is Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, i. e. the man to whom *v.* 17 is commonly supposed to refer, viz. the Simeon who was one of the leading men during the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *Wars*, iv. 3. 9). The commentators, however, having already assigned *v.* 17 to him, are obliged to assign *v.* 18 to a younger S. b. Gamaliel, in the middle of the second century, who is here quite out of place. The identification I propose makes the arrangement simple and natural; it brings the line of Hillel down to the year of the siege and stops there, in accordance with the remark in the Talmud (b. Shabb. 15[a]) that the order of succession was: Hillel, Simeon, Gamaliel, Simeon; of whom it is said that the four held office for a hundred years prior to the destruction of the Temple. The whole line of descent for the period included in this book is as follows: Hillel, Simeon I, Gamaliel I, Simeon II, Gamaliel II, Simeon III, Judah the Prince, Gamaliel III, each being son of his predecessor. For the bearing of this conjecture on the compilation of the book, see the Introduction. The saying recited in *v.* 17 scarcely needs explanation; it is in keeping with the character of a man who had no head for study, and found it safest to remain silent. It was natural that he should lay more stress on the practice than on the theory of Torah. On the danger of much speaking cp. iii. 17 below, 'Silence is a fence for wisdom.'

18. For the identification of this teacher, see preceding note. This is the Simeon of the siege, in the course of or soon after which he was apparently killed. His maxim is a variant on *v.* 2 above, where three fundamentals are laid down in a saying ascribed to Simeon the Just. The text, Zech. viii. 16, cited in support of the maxim, is probably an editorial addition. The citations of Scripture become more frequent in the later parts of the book, but it is seldom possible to be sure whether any of them were included in the original text.

II. 1. For the division of chapters in this book see the Introduction.

Rabbi. This is R. Judah the Prince (Nasi), son of Simeon III, see above on i. 17; also called Judah the Holy (ha-ḳadosh). The title Rabbi was given to every accredited teacher in Palestine, but always with the addition of his own name, thus—Rabbi Zadok. In the case of Judah the Holy, the name was omitted and the title alone given, as if to indicate that he was *the* Rabbi *par excellence*. Rabbi died A.D. 219. He is said to have been born A.D. 135, but this is probably too early. He was the last and chief compiler of the Mishnah, though additions were made to it after his time. This is evident from the mention of him in this verse, and still more from *v.* 2. See the Introduction.

way, path, or course, used as in English of the manner of life, course of action. The 'way of the earth', דרך ארץ, means general intercourse with one's fellow men. It was the aim of the Rabbis to deduce from Torah directions for the practical service of God in daily life, guidance in the right 'way'; and the rules which they formulated were called (singly and collectively) 'halachah', הלכה, i. e. 'going', in other words 'rule of right conduct'. The Mishnah is, mainly, a collection of 'halachah', and the Gemara the commentary on it. Mishnah and Gemara together make up the Talmud. For the use of the term 'way', in its ethical meaning, cp. Acts xviii. 26; xix. 9, 23; xxiv. 14; also the title of the early Jewish treatise, adapted to Christian use, 'The Two Ways.'

a man, האדם, not especially a Jew.

him that does it. The almost universal reading is לעשה, which is pointed either לְעֹשֵׂהּ or לְעֹשֵׂה. I do not venture to depart from this in the translation. But עשה is not the verb which would naturally be used in reference to דרך 'way'; and, further, some commentators have felt that the maxim of Rabbi requires a different antithesis. R. Israel of Toledo (twelfth to thirteenth century) suggests that לעשה ought to be read לְעֹשֵׂהוּ (or, more simply, לְעֹשֵׂהוּ, as the first letter of the next word is ו), and translated 'to his Maker'. The maxim would then mean that a man's actions should be honourable in the sight of God, as well as in the sight of men. This is certainly a brilliant conjecture, but there is no manuscript authority for it. According to the usual reading, the meaning is merely that a man should do what is a credit to himself and meets with the approval of his fellow men.

light . . . weighty, קלה . . . חמורה, i. e. in appearance. In theory, all precepts of the Torah were of equal obligation, because all were expressions of the divine will.

rewards, שכר. The Rabbis meant by 'reward' the sign (whatever form it might take) of God's approval of what was done in obedience to His will; they did not mean a payment for service rendered, a claim for which could be set up against God. The precepts were to be obeyed 'with a perfect heart', not for the sake of the reward. (See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 267–76.) The saying of Rabbi is commented on in this sense (though he is not named) in Midrash Rabbah, *Deut.*, p. 112[a], a fine passage too long to quote.

loss . . . reward, הפסד מצוה . . . שכרה. Whatever sacrifice a duty entails there is the divine approval for it,

keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin; know what is above thee, an eye that sees and an ear that hears, and all thy deeds written in a book.

2 Rabban Gamaliel the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince said: Comely is study of Torah with worldly occupation, for toil in both makes sin forgotten. And all Torah without work ends in failure and brings *with it* sin. And let all who labour with the congregation labour with them for the Name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers upholds them, and their righteousness standeth for ever. And ye—I confer upon you, *saith God*, [plenteous] reward, as if ye had wrought.

3 Be careful with the government, for they do not come near to a man except for their own need; and they appear like friends in the hour of their advantage, and they stand not by a man in the hour of his need.

4 He used to say: Make His will as thy will that He may make thy will as His will; efface thy will before His will that He may efface the will of others before thy will.

5 Hillel said: Separate thyself not from the congregation, and be not sure of thyself till the day of thy death; and judge not thine associate until thou comest to his place. And say not *of* a word which cannot be understood that it will be understood in the end. And say not 'when I am at leisure I will study'; perchance thou wilt not be at leisure.

6 He used to say: A rude man fears not sin; and no vulgar person is pious; and the shy man does

and whatever be the advantage or profit gained by sin, there is the divine disapproval, retribution, behind it. Cp. Matt. xvi. 26.

three things. It is not quite clear what the 'three things' are, as 'know what is above thee' may be reckoned as one of them. But probably this is only a variation on 'consider', and the three things are the seeing eye, the listening ear, and the book of record. C reads 'know that above thee *are*', &c. For the book of record cp. Rev. xx. 12.

2. **Rabban Gamaliel.** This is Gamaliel III, son of Rabbi. His date may be put at A.D. 250; hardly anything is known of him. The heads of the house of Hillel continued to hold the position of Nasi, and were the representatives of their people in dealing with the Roman government; but they ceased to take the lead in the teaching of Torah in the Rabbinical schools. Of this Gamaliel's contemporaries, the chief teachers were R. Johanan in Palestine and Rab in Babylonia.

worldly occupation, דרך ארץ. See above, note on *v.* 1, on 'way of the earth'; Rabbinical opinion was divided on the amount of דרך ארץ to be allowed in conjunction with Torah; see below, iii. 20, vi. 7.

failure . . . sin, בטלה . . . עון. The consequences, not of Torah, but of Torah without practice; cp. Jas. ii. 26, iv. 17.

congregation, צבור. The community of Israel as a whole, or any local community; the reference is to synagogue officials, and more particularly to the 'parnas' or steward who dispensed the charity and administered the funds of the congregation. The steward must do his work as a service of God, and not take credit to himself for what he does. The congregation do their charity through him, but the 'righteousness' is theirs, not his. The merit of their fathers upholds them, not the merit of the steward. But, if the steward acts thus piously and disinterestedly, there is reward, divine approval, for him also. God reckons it to him as if he had done from himself what the congregation have done through his agency.

saith God, or, the Scripture, not in the text but implied in the singular of the verb מעלה. A has the plural מעלין 'they confer', 'they' being the angels, the 'family above', as they are called in the Rabbinical literature. The phrase is often used as equivalent to Providence. There is no thought of beings independent of God. ABC omit **plenteous.**

3. This is apparently said by the same R. Gamaliel III as the preceding. It is not clear to whom the advice is addressed. Gamaliel himself, as Nasi, was the official representative of the Jews to the Roman authorities; but the synagogue stewards may have been brought into contact with government officials. But it is possible that the saying, being anonymous, does not belong to Gamaliel at all, and may be addressed to others than the stewards of the preceding verse. The saying is based on bitter experience of the ways of the Roman government, but expresses a cynical opinion about all governments, that they only act from self-interest.

4. **He.** The speaker of the preceding verse, presumably Gamaliel III.

His will, i.e. God's will. The thought is clear, but falls short of the unconditional submission of 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt. Thy will be done.' There is no exact parallel to that saying of Jesus in the Rabbinical literature.

5. **Hillel.** See above, i. 12. There was a much later Hillel, but there is no ground for supposing that the speaker here is any but the early and famous Hillel. For the want of chronological order in the book see the Introduction.

Separate . . . congregation. Probably intended as a warning against taking up strange and heretical opinions and practices. The saying is ascribed to R. Zadok, see below, iv. 7, but perhaps only because he there repeats another saying of Hillel.

say not . . . understood. The reading varies between אפשר 'can be', and אי אפשר 'cannot be'. Also some commentators supply על 'of', to make sense. Two interpretations are possible: (*a*) the teacher shall not teach what cannot be understood and excuse himself by saying that it will be understood in time, after reflection by the learner; he ought to express his meaning clearly at the first; (*b*) the learner ought not to say 'of' anything which is taught and which seems to him unintelligible, that he will learn what it means later on; he ought to apply himself to it at once till he masters it. The difference between 'can be' and 'cannot be' understood is in appearance, not in reality. The interpretation (*b*) is that of Rashi (or the commentary ascribed to him). It is confirmed by the final clause, 'say not when I am at leisure,' &c.

6. **rude,** בור, 'empty of everything, even the knowledge of business' (Bartenora). He has no Torah to keep him from sin.

vulgar, in the sense of 'one of the common herd'. Hebr. עם הארץ, a famous term much discussed. It denotes all who for whatever reason did not seek to conform their lives and actions to the Torah. Cp. John vii. 49.

shy, בישן. One who is afraid to ask his teacher to explain what he does not understand.

not learn nor the passionate teach, nor he that hath much business become wise. And in a place where there are no men strive to be a man.

7 Moreover, he saw a skull which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it: Because thou drownedst they drowned thee; and at the last they who drowned thee shall be drowned.

8 He used to say: More flesh more worms; more wealth more care; more maidservants more lewdness; more menservants more thieving; more women more witchcraft; more Torah more life; more classroom more wisdom; more counsel more discernment; more righteousness more peace. Whoso has gained a good name has gained *it* for himself; who has gained for himself words of Torah has gained for himself the life of the world to come.

9 Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai received from Hillel and from Shammai. He used to say: If thou hast practised much Torah, take not credit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created.

10 Five disciples there were to Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai, and these are they: Rabbi Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, Rabbi Joshua b. Hananiah, Rabbi Jose the priest, Rabbi Simeon b. Nathaniel, and Rabbi Eleazar b. Arach. He used to sum up their praise—Eliezer b. Hyrcanus is a plastered cistern which loseth not a drop; Joshua b. Hananiah, happy is she who bore him; Jose the priest is pious; Simeon b. Nathaniel feareth sin; Eleazar b. Arach is a full-flowing spring.

11 He used to say: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the other scale, he would weigh down them all. Abba Saul said, in his name: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus with them, and Eleazar b. Arach in the other scale, he would weigh them all down.

12 He said to them: Go and see what is that good way to which a man should cleave. R. Eliezer said: A good eye. R. Joshua said: A good associate. R. Jose said: A good neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that regards the result of an action. R. Eleazar said: A good heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words, for your words are included in his.

13 He said to them: Go and see what is that evil way from which a man should keep himself.

passionate, קפדן. The teacher who loses his temper when his pupils do ask him questions.
become wise. Cp. Sirach xxxviii. 24.

7. An epigram of retribution. The original is in Aramaic.

8. A series of epigrams. For the sake of brevity the original מרבה 'one that increases' is rendered by 'more'. There is more of cynicism in these sayings than of the gentle and lovable nature for which Hillel was traditionally famous.

9. **Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai.** One of the disciples of Hillel; he died about A.D. 80, and is said to have been 120 years old; probably he was born about the beginning of our era. He saved Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, by gathering the surviving Rabbis in Jabneh, and re-establishing the broken fabric of the study of Torah. The surviving heir of the House of Hillel, Gamaliel II, son of Simeon II (see above, i. 17, 18), was probably too young to take the lead. He succeeded to the presidency on the death (or retirement?) of R. Johanan. Note that the title 'Rabban' is given to Johanan; also that he is said to have 'received from' Hillel, the same phrase as that used in the earlier verses of ch. i. This is the last occasion on which the phrase is used in the book.

practised, עשית. So ABCD, supported by Abarbanel and many commentators. The printed editions have 'learned', למדת, possibly influenced by a similar phrase in ii. 20. Since the verb עשה does not go well with 'Torah', some MSS. read טובה 'good', instead of תורה, with the meaning 'done much good'; but the authority for this is very slight. It may have been suggested by טובה after אל תחזק.

10. The five disciples of R. Johanan. All are known in the Rabbinical tradition, but the first two far outshone the others. R. Eliezer died shortly before A.D. 116, and was then an old man. R. Joshua had been a singer in the Temple. He was living in A.D. 130, for he met the emperor Hadrian in Alexandria; but he was dead before the rebellion of Bar Cócheba broke out in A.D. 135. Of the other three Rabbis, no chronological details can be given. ACD omit 'Rabbi' before their names when their master refers to them; the printed texts add it. Note the reference to the mother of R. Joshua; tradition says that she used to bring him in his cradle to the Synagogue that he might thus early be accustomed to hear words of Torah (Jer. Jeb. 3*a*). This is reported by Dosa b. Harchinas (see below, iii. 14), who knew him as a child.

11. **He,** i.e. R. Johanan. The two clauses contradict each other. R. Eliezer and R. Eleazar b. Arak cannot both have been supreme. The remark of Abba Saul (a contemporary) seems intended to replace a misquoted opinion of R. Johanan by a correct version. This is confirmed by R. Johanan's approval of R. Eleazar in *vv.* 12, 13.

12. **He.** Again R. Johanan.
Go and see. Merely an opening formula, 'Come now.'
good way. See above on ii. 1. The answers give not a 'way' but the clue to finding the way.
good eye. Cp. Matt. vi. 22, 23. In general it means an unselfish disposition.
associate. See above on i. 6.
neighbour. See above, i. 7.
result of an action. The meaning is that the 'good way' is found by learning from experience.
good heart, as being the source of all feeling and all action. This is the ground why R. Johanan approved R. Eleazar's answer before all the rest.

13. The negatives to the preceding answers. R. Simeon, however, varies the form of his reply. The man who borrows and does not pay is one who acts without considering the consequences. The clause, 'He that borrows from man,' &c., although it is included in the MSS., is probably a later gloss, because it is out of keeping with the brevity of all the other replies. The proof-text shows that the author of the gloss interpreted R. S.'s saying of literal borrowing.

R. Eliezer said: An evil eye. R. Joshua said: An evil associate. R. Jose said: An evil neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that borrows and does not pay. [He that borrows from man is as he that borrows from God, blessed be He; as it is said, 'The wicked borroweth and payeth not, but the righteous showeth favour and giveth.'] R. Eleazar said: An evil heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words; for your words are included in his. Ps. xxxvi.

14 They said *each* three things. R. Eliezer said: Let the honour of thine associate be dear to thee as thine own. And be not easily wroth; and repent one day before thy death. And warm thyself at the fire of the Wise, and be careful of their glowing coal lest thou be singed. For their bite is the bite of a jackal, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss the hiss of a serpent, and all their words like coals of fire.

15 R. Joshua said: An evil eye and the evil principle and hatred of mankind drive a man out of the world.

16 R. Jose said: Let the wealth of thy associate be dear to thee as thine own. And set thyself to learn Torah, for it is not a legacy to thee. And let all thy actions be to the Name of Heaven.

17 R. Simeon said: Be careful in reading the 'Shema' and in prayer. And when thou prayest make not thy prayer a fixed form, but [mercies and] entreaties before God. [As it is said: 'For he is gracious and merciful, longsuffering and full of compassion, and repenteth him of the evil.'] And be not wicked in thine own sight. Joel ii. 1;

18 R. Eleazar said: Be alert to learn Torah, [and know] what thou shalt answer to an Epicurean;

14. **They.** The five Rabbis of the preceding verses.

three things. It will be noticed that most of the teachers in i, ii are credited with a group of three sayings; this arrangement is not maintained in the case of later teachers. The three sayings of R. Eliezer are variously distinguished, according as the remark about 'the fire of the Wise', &c., is included or excluded. Maimonides excludes it, and this seems right, although a connexion can be made out between the other three clauses so as to group two of them as one. R. Eliezer was excommunicated in his old age by his colleagues; and the caustic criticism of the Wise probably expresses his sentiments upon the subject. It may well have been remembered as an epigram, but hardly as an expression of habitual wisdom.

honour, good name, credit. For a variant of the saying see below, iv. 15.

repent . . . death. R. Eliezer explained his meaning thus:—Repent every day, since thou knowest not the day of thy death (b. Shabb. 153[a]).

fire of the Wise, as being dangerous to play with. The vivid similes which follow are easily intelligible under the circumstances of R. Eliezer's closing years, and need no comment.

15. **evil eye.** See on *v.* 12, above.

evil principle, יצר הרע. According to the Rabbinical psychology, there were in every man two opposing principles or impulses, one towards good, the other towards evil. The evil principle corresponds to the σάρξ of Paul.

mankind. See above on i. 12. In place of בריות C reads חנם 'without cause', possibly influenced by a similar phrase in b. Joma 9[b]. Cp. Matt. v. 22, where, however, εἰκῇ is omitted in R.V.

drive . . . out of the world, מוציאין . . . מן העולם. Taylor compares 1 John iii. 15; but the exclusion referred to in R. Joshua's saying is exclusion from this world, not from that to come. The meaning is that the selfish man is solitary; he cuts himself off from all human fellowship.

16. **wealth.** For the form of the saying cp. ii. 14, and note the contrast.

legacy, ירשה. Torah has to be learned, acquired, by a man's own effort, even though God gave Torah to Israel as a permanent possession.

to the name of Heaven, for the sake of. Cp. Col. iii. 17.

17. **'Shema'.** The first word of Deut. vi. 4, 'Hear, O Israel,' &c. The term 'Shema' denotes the first of a group of three texts, Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21, Num. xv. 37–41, which may be called the heart of the Jewish liturgy. The Shema had to be recited in the morning and evening of every day. Cp. Mark xii. 29.

fixed form, קבע. If this refers to the public prayers, the meaning is that the spiritual intention of prayer is to be kept in mind during the recital of prescribed formulae. If it refers to private prayer, then the meaning is that this should not be a matter of prescribed formulae at all, but the spontaneous utterance of the soul. (See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 305–6.)

[**mercies**]. ABCD omit. It was perhaps suggested by the proof-text, which itself was probably an editorial addition.

God. The word used here is מקום 'place', a frequent designation of the Deity. It might be paraphrased in English by 'the Omnipresent'; but it is often used of God without special reference to that one attribute.

wicked . . . sight, רשע בפני עצמך. The meaning is doubtful. I translate according to the interpretation of Maimonides. Taylor translates 'wicked against thyself'; Geiger (quoted by Strack), 'wicked when thou art by thyself.' The difficulty, however, is to understand why such counsel should be needed. Bartenora quotes an interpretation which he had heard, 'wicked in standing by thyself,' i. e. in severing thyself from the congregation (see above on ii. 5). If this had been the meaning, a repetition of Hillel's saying would have been simpler. I suggest that the meaning is: 'Though others call thee wicked, no matter so long as thine own conscience reproach thee not.'

18. [**and know**]. ACD omit. BS contain it, and S expressly defends the reading. It has probably crept in from the beginning of the following clause; possibly תורה was also added to supply an object for ללמוד, and the original clause may have run: 'to learn what to answer,' &c., ללמוד מה שתשיב.

Epicurean, i. e. אֶפִּיקוּרוֹס, a free-thinker, from פקר, but with a play on the name of the philosopher. An Epicurean might be of any nation, but it is said that a Jewish Epicurean is more dangerous than a Gentile one (see b. Sanh. 38[a], where R. Johanan, third century, comments on this saying of R. Eleazar).

and know before whom thou toilest, and who is master of thy work, [who will pay the hire of thy labour].

19 R. Tarphon said: The day is short and the work is great, and the labourers are slow, and the hire is much, and the master of the house is urgent.

20 He used to say: It is not incumbent on thee to finish the work, and thou art not free to desist from it. If thou hast learned much Torah, they will give thee much hire; and the master of thy work is faithful who will pay thee the hire of thy labour; and know that the giving of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come.

3 1 Akabia b. Mahalalel said: Keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin;—know whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou art to give strict account. *Know* whence thou comest,—from a fetid drop; and whither thou goest,—to the place of dust, worm, and maggot; and before whom thou art to give strict account,—before the King of the kings of the kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

2 R. Ḥanina, the deputy of the priests, said: Pray for the peace of the kingdom; for except for the fear of that we should have swallowed up each his neighbour alive.

3 R. Ḥanina b. Teradion said: When two sit and there are not between them words of Torah, lo, this is 'the seat of the scornful', as it is said: 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful'. But when P
two sit and there are between them words of Torah, the Shechinah rests between them, as it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another, [and the Lord hearkened and heard, and M i
a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon His name'].

who will pay. The phrase is repeated in the next verse, and may be an interpolation here. A omits it; BS contain it.

19. **R. Tarphon** had been a priest in the Temple; probably put to death A. D. 117. He is not to be identified with the Τρύφων of Justin Martyr; the latter probably used his name and perhaps knew it as that of a bitter opponent of Christianity. If the two ever met, which is not likely, Justin would be only a boy. There is no resemblance, except in name, between Justin's Tryphon and the real Tarphon. The latter form of the name is the usual one in the Rabbinical literature. The form תריפון is found, Jer. Bikk. iii. 1; but the person so named was not the same as the subject of this note. His two sayings turn on the same comparison of life to work in a field, cp. Matt. ix. 37, 38; John ix. 4.

20. **learned.** See above, *v.* 9; 'learned' is the right reading here.

time to come. Usually, but not always, עתיד לבוא refers to the future life. It does so here.

III. 1. **Akabia b. Mahalalel.** As to his date opinions differ; some scholars place him near the time of Hillel and Shammai (see on i. 12), others bring him down to the beginning of the second century. Strack holds him to have been a contemporary of Gamaliel I. I believe this to be the most probable date. Observe that he is not called 'Rabbi'. He was excommunicated by his colleagues, and died while under the ban. The first clause of his saying is identical with that of Rabbi, ii. 1.

strict account, lit. 'judgement and reckoning'; but 'judgement', in English, is what is done upon the accused, not pleaded by him.

place of dust. A omits.

worm, and maggot. Cp. Job xxv. 6. English does not supply a synonym for 'worm'.

King . . . kings. An extension of the usual phrase, in order to exalt the majesty of God.

the Holy One, blessed be He. One of the most frequent modes of referring to God in the Rabbinical literature.

2. **R. Ḥanina, the deputy of the priests.** As his title shows, he had served in the Temple; but his date cannot be further defined. He does not appear to have survived the destruction of Jerusalem. Testimony of his was cited in the Assembly at Jabneh (end of the first century A. D.), but apparently only as tradition (Edu. ii. 1–3). The name is often written Ḥananiah.

peace of the kingdom, literally, of the political, not the spiritual kingdom. It seems natural to connect Ḥ.'s saying with the rising hostility against the Romans, which broke out in the war of A.D. 68. If so, it would be a warning to his countrymen against rebellion. But, in any case, it is quite different in character from the rest of the maxims in the book.

we . . . swallowed. So ABC, בלענו; ES 'they . . . swallowed', בלעו. Founded on Ps. cxxiv. 3. The factions which split up the nation were, according to Ḥ., only prevented from destroying each other by the fear of Rome. If the reading בלענו be adopted, Ḥ. regarded himself as a participant; if the alternative reading, as an onlooker. The maxim goes to show that Ḥ. did not witness the outbreak of the war, since that would have confuted his assertion.

3. **R. Ḥanina b. Teradion.** Date, end of first century and beginning of second; executed A.D. 135. His daughter, Beruria, was the wife of R. Meir. The name Teradion is Greek, but what it represents is uncertain. Krauss suggests Theodorion. R. Ḥanina taught in Sichnin.

Torah. See on i. 1.

'seat of the scornful'. Reference to Ps. i. 1. The relevancy of the quotation only appears when *v.* 2 is added: 'But his delight is in the Torah of the Lord,' &c. Talmudic citations of Scripture are very often confined to the opening words of a text, the rest being left to be supplied by the reader from memory. So, in the second proof-text applied by Ḥanina, probably only the words, 'Then they . . . one another,' were originally written in the text of the book, the remainder being added later.

Shechinah, lit. 'dwelling' (not the place but the act of dwelling), one of the many modes of reference to God. The word is not found in the O. T., but is clearly based on the thought expressed, e. g. in Num. xxxv. 34. Cp. Matt.

4 [I find here only two. Whence *it is proved* that when even one sits and is occupied with Torah the Holy One, blessed be He, fixes for him a reward? As it is said: 'Let him sit alone and be silent, for he hath taken it upon him.'] Lam.iii.28

5 R. Simeon said: Three who have eaten at one table and have not said over it words of Torah, lo, they are as if they had eaten sacrifices of the dead, as it is said: 'For all tables are full of vomit *and* filthiness without God.' But three who have eaten at one table and have said over it words of Torah *are* as if they had eaten from the table of God, blessed be He, as it is said: 'And he said to me, This is the table that is before the Lord.' Isa.xxviii.8 Ezek.xli.22

6 R. Ḥanina b. Ḥachinai said: He who wakes in the night, and he who walks alone by the way and turns his heart to idle thoughts, lo, he makes himself guilty against his soul.

7 R. Neḥunia b. ha-Kanah said: Every one who receives upon him the yoke of Torah, they remove from him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation. And every one who breaks off from him the yoke of Torah, they lay upon him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation.

8 R. Ḥalaphta [b. Dosa] of Chephar Ḥanania said: When ten sit and are occupied with Torah, the Shechinah is among them, as it is said: 'God stands in the congregation of God.' [And whence *is it proved for* even five? As it is said: 'He hath founded His troop upon the earth.'] And Ps.lxxxii.1 Amos ix. 6

xviii. 20, and Rev. xxi. 3. In the latter passage the Greek is: Ἰδού, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει κτλ. σκηνή looks very much like an allusion to 'Shechinah'.

4. This clause is certainly not due to R. Ḥanina. It is found, substantially, in BCDS. A omits 'I find . . . even'. But the formula 'I find . . . Whence . . .?' shows that the passage is later than the Mishnah. It represents an addition made in the Amoraic period, third to fifth century. Thus it is found in many MSS., but with variations; and some mediaeval commentators are doubtful about it. See Taylor's critical note. Probably there is some confusion with iii. 7 (last clause). R. Ḥanina had spoken of the Shechinah resting between two who study Torah. The addition does not refer to the Shechinah, but to the fixing of a reward for studying Torah. The proof-text, Lam. iii. 28, is only relevant if 'hath taken' be interpreted 'hath received (reward)'.

5. **R. Simeon.** This is the famous R. Simeon b. Joḥai; approximate date A. D. 100–170. He was a disciple of R. Akiba; he escaped the persecution of A. D. 135, and lay hid for thirteen years. Afterwards he taught in Galilee, and amongst his disciples was the future 'Rabbi', ii. 1.

sacrifices of the dead. This is explained by Bartenora as equivalent to idolatry, on the ground of Ps. cvi. 28.

without God, lit. without place, בלי מקום. Whatever may be the meaning in the passage Isa. xxviii. 8 (or the true reading of the text), R. Simeon makes a play upon the word מקום, by taking it as one of the frequent designations of God. See on ii. 17, where it occurs in a saying by this same Simeon.

table of God. The word is again מקום. The combination המקום ברוך הוא is unusual. CS omit ב׳ה׳.

6. **R. Ḥanina b. Ḥachinai,** contemporary of Simeon b. Joḥai, but somewhat older. He was a disciple of R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah (ii. 10), as well as of R. Akiba. He lived in Sidon, and thus escaped the persecution in A. D. 135.

turns . . . thoughts, ומפנה. So ABS; והמפנה CD. The difference in meaning is considerable. According to the first reading, a man endangers his soul if he gives way to idle thoughts either on waking in the night or when walking by himself. According to the second reading, a man endangers his soul when he either (*a*) wakes in the night, or (*b*) walks by himself, or (*c*) gives way to idle thoughts. The latter interpretation may have been due to a desire to find a threefold division in H.'s maxim, as in so many of the other sayings. Bartenora, who adopts the second interpretation, explains that waking in the night is dangerous because of demons, and solitary walking because of robbers. The first interpretation commends itself as superior, and has good manuscript authority.

guilty . . . soul, מתחייב בנפשו. Hardly more than 'does a wrong to himself'. There is no thought of being eternally lost.

7. **R. Neḥunia b. ha-Kanah.** Contemporary with R. Joḥanan b. Zaccai, but not among his disciples. He lived to a great age. His life covers the greater part of the first century A.D., and probably extended into the second. The epithet ha-Kanah (or Kana) is the same as that which is rendered Ζηλωτής, Luke vi. 15, and disguised as Καναναῖος, Matt. x. 4. N.'s father had been of the party of the Zealots.

yoke of Torah, עֹל תורה. This does not imply that the service of God according to Torah was a burden. The yoke is the symbol of obedience; and 'to take the yoke upon' oneself means to devote oneself to the service of the authority whose yoke it is. Cp. Matt. xi. 30, where the meaning of the symbol is exactly the same.

they, the *familia caelestis*; see on ii. 2, end.

kingdom, the actual political kingdom. Its 'yoke' took the form of taxes. The meaning is that devotion to Torah frees a man from oppression and care by setting his mind on things above; while if he despises Torah he feels all the weight of political oppression and the struggle for existence.

8. **R. Ḥalaphta [b. Dosa]**: second half of second century, disciple of R. Meir. Possibly the son of R. Jose b. Ḥalaphta, the R. Jose of the Mishnah (see below, iv. 8), who had a son of this name. The name **Dosa** is omitted in the printed texts, and has no important manuscript support. It might easily be confused with 'Jose'. Ḥ.'s saying is a series of Scripture proofs of the presence of the Shechinah. See above, *v.* 3.

ten is the usual number requisite for the worship of a congregation. Ḥ. assumes this number, as an axiom, and seeks to prove the conclusion for a series of smaller numbers. The clause relating to **five** is probably a late addition. The MSS. and commentaries show much uncertainty about it. AB connect the number five with the proof-text of the number three; BCS allot the proof-texts as in the translation. If the 'five' clause were not in the original series, it would be natural for some later hand to supply it. The proofs from the texts quoted are as follows: For five, אגדה (translated 'troop') is lit. a handful, and the hand has five fingers; for three, the **gods** are taken to mean judges, and the smallest tribunal consisted of three judges; for two, because one man talks to another man; for one, because it is said 'to thee', not 'to you'.

whence even three? As it is said: 'He judgeth among gods.' And whence even two? As it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another.' And whence even one? As it is said: 'In every place where I record My name I will come to thee and will bless thee.'

9 R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha said: Give Him of what is His, for thou and thine are His. And thus *the Scripture* saith, in *the place concerning* David, 'For all things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee.'

10 R. Jacob said: He who walks by the way and *studies* and breaks off his study and says, 'How beautiful is that tree,' and 'how beautiful is that fallow', the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul.

11 R. Dosthai b. Jannai, in the name of R. Meir, said: A disciple of the Wise who sits and studies and forgets a word of his study, the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul; as it is said: 'Only take heed to thyself and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.' It may be that his study has been hard to him. Learn to say, 'Lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life.' Lo! he makes not himself guilty until he sits and turns them away from his heart.

12 R. Ḥanina b. Dosa said: Every one whose fear of sin precedes his wisdom, his wisdom endures; and every one whose wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom does not endure.

13 He used to say: Every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, his wisdom endures. And every one whose wisdom is more than his deeds, his wisdom does not endure.

14 He used to say: Every one with whom the spirit of mankind is pleased, the Spirit of God is pleased with him. And every one with whom the spirit of mankind is not pleased, the Spirit of God is not pleased with him.

9. **R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha.** A contemporary of Akiba, end of first and beginning of second century. Some MSS. omit 'b. Judah'. The name of his place of abode is variously given, and its situation unknown, except that it was probably in Upper Galilee.

Give Him, i. e. God. Eleazar was famous for his charitable gifts.

in . . . David, בדוד. For the form of the phrase cp. Mark xii. 26.

10. **R. Jacob** (see also iv. 21, 22 below). Probably the same as R. Jacob b. Korshai, latter half of the second century, contemporary of Simeon III, b. Gamaliel II, and teacher of Judah I, 'Rabbi'. He was a grandson, on the mother's side, of Elisha b. Abuiah (see iv. 25 below). The name of R. Simeon, or R. Akiba, is sometimes given in place of R. Jacob in this passage, but with slight authority.

study. His mind is to be fixed on Torah.

How beautiful . . . tree. A repeats this exclamation.

Scripture reckons. No proof-text is given. The commentators have been rather troubled by J.'s maxim. The Mishnah itself provides a formula of praise, to be said on beholding beautiful or wonderful objects of nature (Ber. ix. 3). The Scripture proof intended may have been the text quoted in *v.* 11, Deut. iv. 9. The reading מעלה ('reckons') is supported by all the MSS.; otherwise מעלין ('they reckon') would make the meaning somewhat less objectionable.

11. **R. Dosthai b. Jannai:** end of the second century, contemporary of 'Rabbi'. The name Dosthai (=Δοσίθεος) was borne by several teachers, and represents either Mattaniah or Nathaniel. Why a Greek form should have been preferred is not clear.

forgets. It should be borne in mind that the teaching in the Rabbinical schools was oral and transmitted from memory. The Mishnah, even if written down by 'Rabbi', was a *corpus* of decisions whose accuracy of form depended on memory alone. To forget was a loss to the learner and possibly a loss to posterity.

Scripture reckons. Here the proof-text is given (see on preceding verse).

guilty . . . soul (see on *v.* 6 above). The idea is that since Torah is the means of spiritual life, to forget what it imparts is an injury to the soul. R. Dosthai seems to have uttered his maxim for the sake of putting in a plea on behalf of the man who only forgets because his task is hard. The first clause may be a general maxim already accepted, which D. wishes to qualify. He contends that only wilful neglect to remember, or even positive rejection, incurs the censure of Scripture.

12. **R. Ḥanina b. Dosa**; date, first century A. D.; disciple of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. Chiefly famous as a saint and miracle-worker.

precedes, קודמת, either in order of time or in order of importance. Fear of sin is the supreme object to be aimed at. If wisdom is sought for the sake of becoming a fearer of sin, then wisdom is of enduring worth; otherwise not. Taylor conjectures that the negative clause in this verse, and also those in *vv.* 13, 14, are later interpolations. But there is no manuscript support for this conjecture. Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, § 22, has the negative clauses of *vv.* 12, 13.

13. **He.** R. Ḥanina b. Dosa.

deeds. Not especially good deeds, but the practical application of Torah.

14. **He.** R. Ḥanina b. Dosa.

spirit of mankind . . . pleased, רוח הבריות נוחה. This is literal, but too concrete; all that is meant is a general opinion held by men, upon any subject or in regard of any person. When it is said that Jesus 'grew in favour with God and men', Luke ii. 52, the phrase expresses what is meant in 'the spirit of mankind . . . of God is pleased'. The truth of Ḥ.'s maxim, as a fact of experience, is open to question; and it appears to make human favour the criterion and condition of divine approval. Ḥ. was a mystic, and probably he is teaching here the doctrine of a correspondence between the things in heaven and the things on earth.

5 R. Dosa b. Harchinas said: Morning sleep, and midday wine, and children's talk, and sitting in the meeting-houses of the vulgar, drive a man out from the world.

6 R. Eleazar, the Modiite, said: He who profanes holy things and despises the set feasts [and shames his associate in public], and makes void the covenant of Abraham our father, and discloses meanings in the Torah which are not according to the Rule, yea, even if he have [Torah and] good works, he has no portion in the world to come.

7 R. Ishmael said: Be light-minded and yielding to forced service, and receive every man with gladness.

8 R. Akiba said: Laughter and light-mindedness accustom a man to shame. Tradition is a fence for Torah. Vows are a fence for separation. A fence for wisdom is silence.

9 He used to say: Beloved is man in that he was created in the image *of God*. [Greater love *was*

15. **R. Dosa b. Harchinas**: born about A. D. 10, died not later than A. D. 90. A teacher of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. There was another D. b. H. in the middle of the second century, perhaps grandson of the earlier. The name Harchinas (הרכינס) must not be confused with Hyrcanus (הורקנוס).

Morning . . . wine. D. was a rich man, and knew the temptations of idle luxury.

children, הילדים. Perhaps, rather 'youths', who should be silent in presence of their elders.

meeting-houses, בתי כנסיות, synagogues.

vulgar. The class known as *am-ha-aretz*; see above, on ii. 6. D.'s objection is probably that in these synagogues Torah was not properly taught or duly observed.

drive . . . world. See above, on ii. 15. It is not likely that D., or any other strict Pharisee, would attend a synagogue of the *am-ha-aretz*; the saying is a general condemnation of them.

16. **R. Eleazar, the Modiite**, i. e. of Modiin, where he lived; the former home of the Maccabees. R. Eleazar was a chief supporter of Bar Cocheba in the rebellion which ended A. D. 135. Bar Cocheba is said to have been his nephew, also to have killed him in a fit of anger. R. E. was a disciple of Tarphon. His dates may be given A. D. 50–A. D. 135.

E.'s maxim is directed against sectaries and false brethren. The formula against the Minim, i. e. Jewish Christians, had been ordained at Jabneh, under Gamaliel II, about A. D. 80. See my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 126–136. The Minim were open to all the charges in E.'s list, except that of effacing the covenant of Abraham. The MSS. vary the order in which the several charges are given. A omits 'and shames his associate in public', also 'which are not according to rule', שלא כהלכה, also 'Torah' before 'good works.' The latter omission is supported by BD. The most important of these omissions is the second, because it affects the sense of what is left in. מגלה פנים בתורת means, as Taylor says, 'to act impudently against the Torah.' But that in itself needs explanation. The phrase occurs in Jer. Peah i. 1, where it is explained as the act of one who denies that the Torah is from heaven. מגלה פנים בתורה שלא כהלכה means to reveal meanings in the Torah which are not authorized, to interpret Torah in ways not sanctioned by approved teachers. This is a definite charge, especially applicable to sectaries. שלא כהלכה is, no doubt, a gloss, but one added to bring out the right meaning, and to guard against the other and more vague interpretation.

the Rule, *halachah*. See above, on ii. 1. The addition of 'Torah' before 'good works' is, perhaps, due to the frequent mention of these in conjunction elsewhere. But a man who acts in the ways described by R. Eleazar would not naturally be credited with having 'Torah'.

portion . . . world to come. His fate would be to go down to Gehenna, and be destroyed there. On Gehenna, see above, i. 5 *a*.

17. **R. Ishmael.** This is R. Ishmael b. Elisha, a disciple of R. Joshua and contemporary of R. Akiba: born about A. D. 60; usually said to have been executed A. D. 135, but there is evidence that he lived some years longer.

light-minded, in the good sense, 'cheerful.' The meaning is, however, uncertain. The Hebr. is קל ראש, and by many this is interpreted as 'courteous to a superior'. This would require קל לראש (so CS); and while the ל may easily have slipped out, ראש is not the usual word for a superior. D has הקל ראשך, but interprets it of a man who is pliant before ראש העיר, thus seeking to combine the two meanings of ראש. The phrase קלות ראש occurs in the next verse, a fact which tends to show that the meaning here is somewhat the same.

forced service, תשחורת, a rare word whose meaning is uncertain. It is variously translated 'youth', 'age', and 'forced service'. It occurs Eccles. xi. 10, where the R. V. has 'prime of life'. The meaning 'forced service' is well supported, and has the authority of Levy, *NHW*, s. v. See Taylor's note; he translates 'impressment'. For the last clause, cp. the saying of Shammai, i. 15.

18. **R. Akiba**: b. about A. D. 50; executed in or after A. D. 135. The chief supporter of Bar Cocheba in his rebellion, and the most famous teacher of his time.

light-mindedness. In the bad sense, 'frivolity'; see note on *v.* 17.

Tradition, מסורת, the *παράδοσις* (*τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*), Mark vii. 3. The principle of tradition was the giving of adequate sanction to what was taught. The 'Torah' was the divine revelation (see on i. 1), and tradition was a fence for it, by defending it from wrong interpretation.

separation, פרישות. The Pharisees gained their name from their פרישות into societies, חבורות, pledged to the observance of rules of 'clean' and 'unclean', &c. The Talmud is the detailed exposition of the Pharisaic conception of religion. See my *Pharisaism*, p. 107. The last clause explains itself. Cp. i. 17 above.

19. **He.** Again R. Akiba. The clause in brackets, 'Greater . . . image,' omitted by A, is found in BCDS. It seems to be required both to give point to the saying, and also by analogy with the similar sayings which immediately follow. Its omission, however, may be justified by the consideration that the proof-text merely states that man was made in the image of God, not that man was made aware of the fact. This additional knowledge is the additional

it that it was known to him that he was made in the image.] As it is said: 'In the image of God he made man.'

Beloved are Israel, that they are called sons of God. Greater love *was it that it was* known to them that they were called sons of God. As it is said: 'Sons are ye to the Lord your God.'

Beloved are Israel, in that to them was given the precious instrument wherewith the world was created. Greater love *was it that it was* known to them that there was given to them the precious instrument wherewith the world was created, as it is said: 'For a good doctrine I have given you; forsake not my Torah.' All is foreseen, and free-will is given, and the world is judged by goodness, and all is according to the amount of work.

20 He used to say: All is given on pledge, and the net is spread over all the living; and the shop is open and the shopman gives credit, and the account-book is open and the hand writes, and every one who will borrow comes and borrows, and the collectors go round continually every day, and exact payment from man whether with his knowledge or without it; and they have whereon to lean, and the judgement is a judgement of truth; and everything is prepared for the banquet.

21 R. Eleazar b. Azariah said: If there is no Torah there is no worldly occupation; if there is no worldly occupation there is no Torah. If there is no wisdom there is no fear; if there is no fear there is no wisdom. If there is no knowledge there is no discernment; if there is no discernment there is no knowledge. If there is no meal there is no Torah; if there is no Torah there is no meal.

22 He used to say: Every one whose wisdom is greater than his deeds, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are many and its roots few; and the wind comes and roots it up and turns it over on its face. [As it is said: 'For he shall be like a tamarisk in the desert, and he shall not see when good cometh, but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land undwelt in.'] But every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are few and its roots many, which, if all the winds that are in the world come and blow upon it, they move it not from its place; [as it is said: 'For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and

blessing, the 'greater love' of the two following clauses. In clause 2 God is מקום, see on ii. 17 above. The proof text is a declaration to Israel of their sonship to God.

wherewith . . . created. The 'precious instrument' is the 'Torah'; not the written record or the oral interpretation of it, but the divine thought enshrined in it. This is shown by the proof-text.

All is foreseen, הכל צפוי. Lit. 'seen'; but 'all' includes future things and actions as well as present and past ones.

free-will, הרשות. Lit. 'authority', which is explained to mean man's responsibility for his own actions. The Talmudic Rabbis attempted no solution of the philosophical problem; they were content to affirm the two truths and left the reconciliation of them a divine mystery.

judged by goodness. Either by one who is good, viz. God, or according to the goodness found in it. The former is probably meant, because the latter would be hardly more than a variant of the following clause.

amount of work. So BDS. A omits 'amount', רוב. But CD have 'not according to the amount', and B knows of this reading. The difference is that between quality and quantity of human action. The former meaning is preferable, but the reading 'amount' is the better supported; and the omission of the word in A, and the addition of 'not' in CD, may be due to the desire to modify the sense.

20. **He.** Again R. Akiba. The whole passage is a rather undignified metaphor to illustrate God's dealings with man. The reader should be careful not to assume that the Jews were, or are, required to believe this or any other fanciful exposition of doctrine as an article of faith. The thought conveyed in the passage is mainly that of retribution, which follows surely, if slowly, on human actions.

pledge. A man's act binds him to accept its consequences.

net. No one can act apart from or outside the range of God's knowledge and control.

account-book, פנקס, *πίναξ*. Cp. ii. 1 above.

borrow, in freedom of action, what he will have to repay in consequences.

collectors, trials and chastisements which God sends upon him. Man does not always know why they are sent.

they . . . to lean. 'They' probably refers to the 'collectors'; their warrant is the account written in the book.

prepared . . . banquet, מתקן לסעודה. The metaphor does not really change. The 'banquet' is the symbol of the world to come, cp. Rev. xix. 9; and the idea is that the debtor, having paid his debt and submitted to just judgement, is welcomed into Paradise.

21. **R. Eleazar b. Azariah:** b. about A. D. 50, d. after A. D. 116, and before A. D. 135. One of the chief men of the Assembly in Jabneh; when Gamaliel II was deposed from the presidency, R. Eleazar was elected in his place, and was still associated with Gamaliel in that office on the latter's restoration. The MSS. differ in the order of the series of contrasted terms, but not in the substance of them. The terms, so far as they need explanation, have mostly been dealt with in previous notes.

no meal . . . no Torah, i. e. if a man have nothing to eat he cannot learn Torah; and *vice versa*, if he have no Torah, his food is worthless. If he have not heavenly things, what profit in earthly things?

22. **He.** R. Eleazar b. Azariah.

wisdom . . . deeds. For the thought, cp. *vv.* 12, 13 above.

to what is he like? למה הוא דומה The regular formula for introducing a comparison or parable. Cp. Luke xiii. 18. The proof-text may be a later insertion, though it is found in the MSS. Proof-texts in this book are always open to suspicion, because they impair the conciseness of the sayings which they illustrate. The figure of the tree may be suggested by Ps. i. 3, though the word for 'tree' is not the same.

that sendeth out its roots by the river, and shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green ; and in the year of drought he shall not be anxious, neither shall cease from yielding fruit ']. 23 R. Eleazar Ḥisma said: Offerings of birds and purifications, these are the main Rules. Astronomy and geometry are mere fringes to wisdom.

1 Ben Zoma said: Who is wise? He who learns from every man; as it is said: 'From all my teachers I get understanding, for thy testimonies are my conversation.' Ps. cxix. 99

Who is mighty? He who controlleth his *evil* disposition; as it is said: 'Better is the long-suffering than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.' Prov. xvi. 32

Who is rich? He that rejoiceth in his portion ; as it is said: 'When thou eatest of the labour of thy hands, happy art thou and it shall be well with thee.' 'Happy art thou' in this world, and 'it shall be well with thee' in the world to come. Ps. cxxviii. 2

Who is honoured? He who honoureth mankind; as it is said: 'For them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed.' 1 Sam. ii. 30

2 Ben Azai said: Be swift towards a light precept [as towards a weighty one] and flee from sin ; for precept leads to precept and sin leads to sin. For the reward of a precept is a precept, and the reward of a sin is a sin.

3 He used to say: Despise not any man, and be not captious at any thing; for you find no man that has not his hour, and no thing that has not its place.

4 R. Levitas of Jabneh said : Be exceedingly humble, for the hope of man is *only* the worm.

5 R. Johanan b. Berokah said : 'Every one who profanes the Name of Heaven in secret, they exact

23. **R. Eleazar Ḥisma.** Date, about the end of the first century and the beginning of the second. He was a disciple of R. Joshua (see on ii. 10 above). He was a great mathematician, and was said to have been able to calculate the number of drops in the sea.

Offerings of birds, קינים. Lit. 'nests', i.e. the offerings brought in accordance with Lev. v. 1–10. Cp. Luke ii. 24.

purifications, פתחי נדה. This relates to the periods of women.

Rules, *halachōth*. See on ii. 1 above.

Astronomy, תקופות. Lit. 'turnings', meaning the four points in the ecliptic which divide the seasons.

geometry, גמטריאות. The word is commonly used of a method of interpretation by giving to the letters of a word their numerical value. But here, considering the mathematical reputation of the speaker, it may be rendered 'geometry'. R. El. means that his mathematics are only pastime in comparison with the study of *halachah*. Even minor portions of the latter are worth more than whole sciences.

fringes. The word is פרפראות, which represents *περιφορά* or *περιφέρεια*. The comparison is to dishes carried round after the main meal is finished. Taylor is not afraid to translate by 'after-courses'. I have rendered by 'fringes' so as to keep the thought though not the literal form of it, and also to suggest (in keeping with the derivation from *περιφέρεια*, 'circumference') that the sciences stand around at a distance while *halachah* is at the centre. R. El. perhaps wished to excuse his favourite studies in the eyes of his less scientific brethren.

IV. 1. **Ben Zoma** (Simeon b. Z.). Note that he is not called Rabbi. He was a disciple and associate of R. Akiba, but was not ordained. His date may be given as the end of the first century. He is one of the four who were said to have entered Paradise, i.e. studied theosophy. He died young.

From . . . teachers. In the Ps. 'more than . . . teachers' ; the second clause of the proof-text is not needed.

evil disposition. See on ii. 15 above; the word 'spirit' in the proof-text represents a different Hebrew word. The clause explaining the reference to this world and the world to come has the appearance of a later comment on B. Z.'s maxim. In the parallel passage in Aboth di Rabbi Nathan (Schechter), A, § 23, omits it ; B, p. 36^b, has it.

honoured. The proof-text does not establish B. Z.'s point. The meaning may be that he who honours mankind is really honouring God who made them, and *vice versa*. Cp. iv. 8 below.

mankind. Lit. 'creatures'; see on i. 12 above.

2. **Ben Azai** (Simeon b. A.). Like Ben Zoma not called Rabbi, and for the same reason. What is said above of the one applies to the other. The two are said to have been judges in Jabneh. Azai = Azariah.

as . . . weighty one. Omitted in all the chief MSS., probably inserted from ii. 1 ; see note on that verse for the distinction between 'light' and 'weighty' precepts.

reward . . . precept. In the Rabbinical view, a precept (*mitzvah*) was simply an opportunity offered of doing the will of God ; there could be no greater reward than a further opportunity. A *mitzvah* was never regarded as a burden. On 'reward' see on ii. 1 above.

reward . . . sin. The just retribution for sin is a further temptation. This is one of the great sayings of the book.

3. **He.** Again B. Azai.

captious, מפליג. Lit. 'a causer of divisíon', especially in argument.

you find. Lit. 'there is not to thee'. For the thought cp. Eccles. iii. 1–8.

4. **R. Levitas of Jabneh.** Probably a contemporary of B. Azai. He is not mentioned elsewhere in the Talmud. The name represents the Greek *Λευίτης*.

His maxim is given by. BCDS. By an error A omits it and also the name of the next teacher, thus ascribing the saying of the latter to R. Levitas.

hope . . . worm. Cp. iii. 1 above ; and, for the phrase, Job xi. 20.

5. **R. Johanan b. Berokah.** A disciple of R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah, ii. 10, and companion of R. Eleazar Ḥisma, iii. 23 ; date, about the end of the first century and beginning of the second.

profanes . . . Heaven. To profane the Name is to be guilty of 'actions which, if they become known, bring shame on the Jew and his religion' (Levy, *NHW*, s. v. חלול). **Heaven,** i.e. God.

in secret . . . openly. Cp. Eccles. xii. 14.

punishment of him openly; the ignorant and the wilful are alike *sinners* in *regard to* the profaning of the Name.

6 R. Ishmael his son said: He who learns with a view to teaching, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach; he who learns with a view to doing, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach and to do.

7 R. Zadok said: [Separate not thyself from the congregation, and be not as they who prepare the judges]. Make not them a crown wherewith to magnify thyself, nor a dish to eat from. And thus Hillel used to say: He who serves himself with the crown passes away. Behold, [thou hast learned,] 'Every one that makes a profit from words of Torah removes his life from the world.'

8 R. Jose said: Every one who honours the Torah is himself honoured of men. And every one who dishonours the Torah is himself dishonoured of men.

9 R. Ishmael *his son* said: He who withdraws from judgement gets rid of enmity, theft and perjury; and he who is haughty in his teaching is foolish, wicked and arrogant.

10 He used to say: Judge not alone; for there is none save One that judgeth alone. And say not *to thy colleagues*, Receive my opinion; for they are entitled and thou art not.

11 R. Jonathan said: Every one who fulfils the Torah when poor will in the end fulfil it when rich; and every one who makes it vain when rich will in the end make it vain when poor.

ignorant . . . wilful. The meaning is that the guilt of profaning the Name is so great that no account is taken of whether it was done in ignorance or intentionally; both are punished alike.

6. **R. Ishmael his son.** Date, middle and end of second century; he is not to be confused with the R. Ishmael of iii. 17, nor with the R. Ishmael of *v.* 9, below.

learns, i.e. Torah.

they, the *familia caelestis*; see on ii. 2 above; here, in the meaning of 'Providence'.

7. **R. Zadok**: date, first century; contemporary of R. Johanan b. Zaccai, and possibly, like him, disciple of Hillel; he was at Jabneh with R. Joh. b. Z. after the fall of Jerusalem. There was another R. Zadok, grandson of the foregoing, and a third later still.

[**Separate . . . congregation,** &c.] Does not belong to this context. See on ii. 5 above.

[**prepare . . . judges**]. Also out of place here. See the maxim of Judah b. Tabbai, i. 8 above. R. Zadok's own saying has a close likeness to that of Hillel in i. 13.

Make . . . them. So ABCDS. Strack and Baer read 'make . . . it'. The reference is to 'words of Torah' or 'Torah'. But the first words of the maxim are evidently lost, and the two interpolations mentioned above are perhaps attempts to fill the gap.

dish . . . eat from. ACD have 'an axe to eat with (or from)'; BS 'an axe to cut with'. In order to keep the better reading 'eat with', and because an axe is not commonly used for that purpose, I render קרדום 'dish'. The meaning is clear. The teacher must not make a profit out of the teaching of Torah.

thus Hillel. May be an editorial note. For a possible interpretation, if it belongs to R. Zadok himself, see Introduction, § 2. 2.

Every . . . makes profit. Lit. 'eats advantages'. The MSS. nearly all have הנאות 'profits' (noun, not verb). This makes no sense, without a verb. S has בל האוכל ה׳, ACD הא כל ה׳, B והאכל ה׳, corrected to והאוכל. This gives the clue to the other readings. האכל was by error divided into הא כל, the verb was lost and had to be supplied as in S, or by reading נחנה in place of הנאות. After the interjection הא (as it was taken to be), some MSS. and printed texts insert למדת 'thou hast learned'.

removes . . . world. Cp. ii. 15 above. R. Joshua may have founded his maxim on that of R. Zadok, whom he must often have heard.

8. **R. Jose** (b. Ḥalaphta): born about A.D. 110, died about A.D. 180; a disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the 'Terror' A.D. 135. Rabbi was one of his disciples.

honours . . . Torah. Cp. on iv. 1 above. The commentators explain that to 'honour Torah' is to honour everything connected with it, down to the letters in which it is written.

himself. Lit. 'his body', גופו.

men. Lit. 'creatures', as explained before.

9. **R. Ishmael his son** (so BD, om. A. C has R. Simeon). Son of the preceding, and presumably brother of iii. 8; date, end of second century and beginning of third.

withdraws . . . judgement. Excuses himself from acting as a judge.

fear, theft and perjury. Because, if he judges, he displeases the losing party; he may decide wrongly as to the ownership of property, and he may lead the witnesses to commit perjury. Cp. i. 9 above.

teaching. Here the decisions he gives as a judge. On humility see above, iv. 4.

10. **He.** Again R. Ishmael b. Jose.

Note that the maxim turns again on the function of a judge.

One . . . judgeth alone, i.e. God. For the form of the phrase cp. Mark x. 18. R. I. only means, however, that a human judge should share the responsibility with others.

entitled. They are in the majority and have a right to enforce their opinion.

11. **R. Jonathan** (so BDS, Johanan A, Nathan C). There is no R. Johanan in the Mishnah without some descriptive epithet. 'R. Johanan' would mean the R. J. of the Gemara, third century. R. Jonathan was a disciple of R. Ishmael (iii. 17) and contemporary of Ben Azai; middle of second century. There was another R. Jonathan, a disciple of 'Rabbi'.

The meaning of his maxim is that a man who learns Torah when poor gives his mind to it so earnestly that he will not forget or forsake it when he becomes rich; a rich man is tempted to neglect Torah, and if he should become poor would be without the knowledge of it.

2 R. Meir said: Do little in business and be busy with the Torah; and be humble of spirit before all men; and if thou hast been idle *in respect of* the Torah, there will be many idle things in thy way; and if thou hast laboured at the Torah, there will be for Him much reward to give thee.

3 R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: He who does one precept gains for himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression gains for himself one accuser; repentance and good works are as a shield in face of punishment.

4 R. Johanan, the sandal-maker, said: Every assembly which is for the sake of Heaven will in the end be established; and *one* that is not for the sake of Heaven will in the end not be established.

5 R. Eleazar b. Shammua said: Let the honour of thy disciple be dear to thee as the honour of thy associate, and the honour of thy associate as the fear of thy teacher, and the fear of thy teacher as the fear of Heaven.

6 R. Judah said: Be careful in teaching; for error in teaching amounts to sin.

7 R. Simeon said: There are three crowns; the crown of Torah, the crown of priesthood and the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name mounts above them.

8 R. Nehorai said: Betake thyself to a place of Torah, and say not it shall come after thee; for thine associates will fulfil it through thee. And 'Lean not upon thine own understanding'. Prov. iii. 5

9 R. Jannai said: It is not in our hands *to explain* either the prosperity of the wicked or the chastisements of the righteous.

12. **R. Meir.** The most famous disciple of R. Akiba, one of the six ordained A.D. 135; married the daughter of R. Ḥanina b. Teradion, iii. 3. His origin is unknown, and it is not certain whether 'Meir' was his real name. His work formed the basis of Rabbi's Mishnah.

business, עסק. Any occupation other than study of Torah.

idle things. Trifles that hinder. For the thought cp. iv. 2, the retribution of like for like.

Him. God.

reward. See on ii. 1, and cp. ii. 18.

13. **R. Eliezer b. Jacob.** There were two teachers of this name, the elder a contemporary of R. Johanan b. Zaccai, and the younger a disciple of R. Akiba. The younger is probably intended here. Date, middle to end of second century.

precept, *mitzvah*, any one of the precepts of the Torah; the doing of a *mitzvah* was a service of God.

advocate . . . accuser. The two Hebrew words קטגור, פרקליט, represent *παράκλητος* and *κατήγορος*.

shield, תריס. Again = a Greek word, *θυρεός*.

punishment, פורענות, divine retribution. Cp. Dan. iv. 24.

14. **R. Johanan, the sandal-maker.** A disciple of R. Akiba; date, middle to end of second century.

assembly. Society, company, or association of persons, for any purpose. For the thought cp. Acts v. 38, 39, and even Matt. xviii. 19.

15. **R. Eleazar b. Shammua.** So S; ACD omit 'b. Shammua'. Disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the Terror, A.D. 135; one of the teachers of 'Rabbi'; lived to a great age. Date, the greater part of the second century.

honour . . . associate, חבירך. So ABCD; S reads כשלך 'thine own honour'. The latter is probably due to a confusion with the maxim of R. Eliezer (note the similarity of name), ii. 14. In the present passage the reading 'thy associate', besides being better supported, is more suitable to the context.

fear, in the sense of reverence; on the ground that the teacher was the medium by which Torah, the divine revelation, is imparted to the disciple.

16. **R. Judah** (b. Illai). Contemporary of the preceding; a disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the Terror, A.D. 135. Date, most of the second century.

teaching. The MSS. vary between תלמוד and למוד. The sense is the same, for תלמוד had not yet acquired the special meaning of Mishnah *plus* Gemara.

amounts to, עולה, rises to such a height of seriousness that it becomes sin. There is a contrast between 'error' and 'sin' similar to that in iv. 5. The teacher may err through ignorance; but the consequence of his error may be wilful sin on his own part or that of others afterwards.

17. **R. Simeon.** Probably R. Simeon b. Johai; see on iii. 5.

crowns. Symbol of supreme excellence.

crown . . . Torah. Cp. Prov. iv. 9.

crown . . . priesthood. Lev. viii. 9, and cp. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

good name. Cp. Prov. xxii. 1, Eccles. vii. 1.

18. **R. Nehorai.** Probably among the disciples of R. Akiba; but hardly anything is known of him. His name Nehorai is said to be merely an epithet applied to him. Some have identified him with R. Meir or with R. Nehemiah. Yet, if so, why a separate name?

Betake thyself, גולה, generally used of exile. The meaning would seem to be, 'if you are forced to leave your native place, go to a place where Torah is to be found.' Cp. i. 10 above.

fulfil . . . thee. By going to such a place he will add his share to the fulfilling of Torah by those who are there already. [Rather render: 'establish thee in the possession of it.' It is the collective not the individual judgement that is to be trusted, as the following words show.—Gen. Editor.]

19. **R. Jannai**; date, beginning and middle of third century; a disciple of 'Rabbi'. His maxim is one of the post-Mishnaic additions, like ii. 2. ABS give the name; CD have 'He used to say', ascribing this verse to the preceding teacher.

in . . . hands, אין בידינו . . משלות וגו׳, it is not for us. The lit. translation would be, 'there is not in our hands *any* of the prosperity of the wicked,' &c.

20 R. Matthia b. Harash said: Be first in greeting every man; and be a tail to lions and not a head to foxes.

21 R. Jacob said: This world is like a porch before the world to come. Make thyself ready in the porch, that thou mayst enter into the banqueting-hall.

22 He used to say: Fairer is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to come; and fairer is one hour of calmness of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.

23 R. Simeon b. Eleazar said: Pacify not thy associate in the hour of his anger, and console him not in the hour when his dead is stretched out before him; and question him not in the hour of his vow, and seek not to behold him in the hour of his degradation.

24 Samuel, the small, said: 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown, [lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath from him']. Pr. xxiv. 17, 18; ib. 3

25 Elisha b. Abuiah said: He who learns when a youth, to what is he like? To ink written on new paper. And he who learns when an old man, to what is he like? To ink written on erased paper.

26 R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli, said: He who learns from the young, to what is he like? To one that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his winepress. He that learns from the old, to what is he like? To one that eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine.

27 Rabbi said: Look not at the pitcher but at what is in it. There is a new pitcher that is full of old *wine*, and an old pitcher in which there is not even new *wine*.

28 R. Eleazar ha-Kappar said: Jealousy and desire and ambition drive a man out of the world.

29 He used to say: Those that are born are for death, and the dead for making alive, and the living

20. **R. Matthia b. Harash**; date, second century; a disciple of R. Ishmael, iii. 17; settled in Rome, where he spent the rest of his life. The name is sometimes written 'Ḥeresh', after 1 Chron. ix. 15.

tail . . . lions. The meaning is clear; perhaps the maxim is an ironical comment on R. M.'s own situation, head of an exiled community in Rome, instead of 'least among the saints' in Palestine.

21. **R. Jacob.** The same as in iii. 10 above. Date, latter half of second century.

porch. The MSS. vary between פרוזדור and פרוזדור, of which neither reproduces the Greek, *πρόθυρον*.

banqueting-hall, טרקלין, *triclinium*, the world to come; cp. iii. 20.

22. **He.** R. Jacob.

With the general thought of this maxim cp. Luke xv. 7.

23. **R. Simeon b. Eleazar**; date, end of second century; son of R. Eleazar b. Shammua, iv. 15 above; disciple of R. Meir.

Pacify . . . anger. Give him time to cool down.

console . . . not. Cp. *In Memoriam*, vi: 'One writes that other friends remain,' &c.

hour . . . vow. When he has made a vow, do not discuss it with him and so perhaps make him regret it.

degradation. Either brought on himself or by others.

24. **Samuel, the small**; date, first century. He died somewhere about A.D. 80, and is usually said to have died young. I believe, on the contrary, that he died in extreme old age. For the reasons on which this view is based, see my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 127–35. The fact that Samuel is not called Rabbi can be explained on either theory. The epithet 'small' is supposed to indicate his humility.

His maxim is merely a Scripture text without comment. The second half of the proof-text is given by BCDS, but omitted by A.

25. **Elisha b. Abuiah**; date, end of first century and up to the middle of the second, say A.D. 90–160. R. Meir was his friend, though much younger. El. is not called Rabbi, either because he was never ordained or because he fell under the censure of the Rabbis on account of his heretical views. He was one of the four who were said to have entered Paradise; and his theosophy may have been the cause of his going astray. The references to him in Rabbinic literature are numerous and mostly hostile; yet a certain respect is shown towards him as a teacher. He is the most interesting figure in the Talmud and Midrash.

to . . . like? For the phrase cp. iii. 22.

ink . . . paper, ניר . . . . . דיו. The comparison is not with the ink but with the writing. The paper is papyrus.

erased paper, ניר מחוק, palimpsest. The thought needs no explanation.

26. **R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli**; date, end of second century and beginning of third; son of R. Judah, iv. 16 above; disciple of R. Eleazar b. Shammua; contemporary of Rabbi. Chephar ha-Babli was probably in Galilee. His maxim turns on the same thought as the preceding, with a change of simile.

wine . . . winepress, wine newly made. Nothing turns on the fact that the winepress is his own.

27. **Rabbi.** See on ii. 1 above.

Taylor points out that this maxim serves to correct the preceding one. Not the age of the teacher but the worth of what he teaches is to be regarded. Did Rabbi perhaps regard himself as the 'new pitcher full of old wine', and R. Jose as the old empty pitcher?

28. **R. Eleazar ha-Kappar**; date, end of second century and beginning of third; contemporary of Rabbi.

drive . . . world. See on ii. 15.

29. **He.** R. Eleazar ha-Kappar.

This long utterance seems intended as the close of the book, or of the collection of dicta incorporated in it. Was R. Eleazar perhaps the collector?

for making alive, להחיות, i. e. for God to make them live again.

to be judged; to know and to make known and to be known that He is the maker and He the creator, and He the discerner, and He the Judge, and He the witness, and He the adversary, and He will judge in whose presence there is neither obliquity nor forgetfulness nor respect of persons nor taking a bribe; for all is His; and know that all is according to reckoning. Let not thy nature make thee believe that the grave is a place of refuge. For not of thy will wast thou formed, and not of thy will dost thou live, and not of thy will dost thou die, and not of thy will art thou to give *just* account and reckoning before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

1 By ten Sayings the world was created. And why does *the Scripture* teach this? Could not the world have been created by one Saying? But *it was in order* to exact penalty from the wicked who destroy the world that was created by ten Sayings, and to give good reward to the righteous who establish the world that was created by ten Sayings.

2 Ten generations from Adam to Noah, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until He brought the flood upon them.

3 Ten generations from Noah to Abraham, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all.

4 Ten trials Abraham our father was tried with, and he bore them all, to make known how great was the love of Abraham our father.

5 Ten wonders were done for our fathers in Egypt, and ten by the sea.

6 [Ten plagues did the Holy One, blessed be He, bring upon the Egyptians in Egypt, and ten by the sea.]

7 Ten trials did our fathers try God with in the wilderness, as it is said: 'And they tempted Me these ten times, and did not hearken to My voice.' Num. xiv. 22

8 Ten wonders were done in the Sanctuary, [for our fathers]. No woman miscarried through the smell of the sacred flesh; and the sacred flesh did not ever stink; and no uncleanness befell the High Priest on the day of Atonement; and no fly was seen in the slaughter-house; and no defect was found in the sheaf, or in the two loaves, or in the shewbread; and rain never quenched the fire; and wind never overcame the pillar of smoke; *the people* stood close together yet had room to bow themselves; no serpent nor scorpion did harm in Jerusalem; and none said to his companion, The place is too narrow for me that I should lodge in Jerusalem.

to know . . . known . . . be known, לידע ולהודיע ולהודע. Men are to know their relation to God, and learn it from others, and impart it to others (so Bartenora).

adversary, בעל דין. In the final judgement, God will be not only judge and witness but the other party in the suit.

reckoning. Cp. the saying of R. Akiba, iii. 20.

nature. The יצר, and probably the יצ׳ הרע, the evil impulse (see on ii. 15 above); the idea is that a man's lower nature will lead him to think that there is no judgement after death, so that he should need to fear.

grave. Sheol, the underworld.

refuge, a place where the soul can escape from divine justice.

just account . . . reckoning. See on iii. 1, where the whole of the concluding phrase, down to 'blessed be He', occurs. This may indicate that cc. iii–iv formed a separate collection. See Introduction.

V. This chapter is mainly taken up with groups of related things based respectively on the numbers ten, seven, four, and three. A few sayings of teachers are added at the end.

1. First group of ten. **world . . . created.** The ten 'Sayings' are the divine utterances in Gen. i, 'And God said,' &c.

why . . . teach. This is the meaning of the phrase מה תלמוד לומר, which occurs numberless times in the Talmud. The explanation is that of Bacher (*Terminologie*, i, p. 200).

But . . . penalty . . . reward. The meaning is that though God could have created the world by one 'Saying', He chose to protract His creative work, to linger over it, and thereby enhanced its worth; so much the greater is the guilt of those who destroy it by sin, or the merit of those who maintain it by righteousness.

2. Second group of ten. **Him,** God. For the thought cp. 2 Pet. iii. 5–9.

3. Third group of ten. It would seem that Noah is included amongst those who provoked God. **reward . . . all.** The meaning is not clearly expressed; the sinners did not deserve a reward, and Abraham was not punished for their sins. Probably the meaning is that God put up with the sinners till Abraham, and that he by his righteousness made up for the sins of his ancestors.

4. Fourth group of ten. The ten trials of Abraham are not all scriptural. The list is variously reckoned by different commentators. **love,** i.e. Abraham's love to God, since he 'bore them all' for His sake.

5. Fifth and sixth group of ten.

6. This clause is noted as doubtful in DS. It is evidently intended as a parallel to No. 5. Possibly the sixth group was linked with the fifth, in order to introduce the two sets of plagues.

7. Seventh (ninth) group of ten. A mere deduction from Num. xiv. 22.

8. Eighth group of ten. The separate members being specified.

sacred flesh. The carcases of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice.

uncleanness. As in Deut. xxiii. 10, which would prevent the High Priest from officiating.

sheaf, Lev. xxiii. 10–14. **loaves,** ibid. 17. **shewbread,** Exod. xxv. 30.

wind . . . smoke. It was considered a bad sign if the smoke rising from the great altar was blown aside instead of rising straight up.

place . . . narrow. Josephus says (*B. J.* vi. 9. 3) that on one occasion, just before the war, 2,565,000 persons were present at the Passover sacrifice in Jerusalem. The reader can believe that, if he will.

9 Ten things were created 'between the suns'. And these are they: The mouth of the earth; the mouth of the well; the mouth of the ass *of Balaam*; the bow; and the manna, and the rod *of Moses*; and the shamir-*worm*; and writing; and the writing; and the Tables. Some say, also the evil spirits, and the grave of Moses, and the ram of Abraham our father; and some say also the tongs that are made with tongs.

10 Seven things concerning a rude man, and seven concerning a wise man. A wise man does not speak in the presence of one who is greater than he in wisdom; and he does not break in upon the words of his associate; and he does not hasten to reply; he asks according to the Rule, and answers according to the subject; and he speaks on the first thing first, and on the last last; concerning what he has not heard he says, I have not heard; and he acknowledges the truth. The opposites of these are *found* in the rude man.

11 Seven kinds of punishment come upon the world for seven main transgressions. When some men tithe and some do not tithe, famine from drought comes; some go hungry and some are full. When they have resolved that they will not tithe *at all*, famine from tumult and from drought comes. And *when they have resolved* that they will not offer the cake of dough a famine of extermination comes. Pestilence comes upon the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Torah which are not within the jurisdiction of the court of justice. Also, for fruits of the seventh year. The sword comes upon the world for suppression of justice and for perversion of justice, and for those that teach in the Torah not according to Rule. The wild beast comes on the world for false swearing, and for profaning of the Name. Exile comes upon the world for false worship, for incest, for bloodshed, and for *not* giving release to the earth.

12 At four seasons pestilence increases; in the fourth *year*, in the seventh, at the end of the seventh, and at the end of the Feast in each year. In the fourth, because of the tithe for the poor in the third; in the seventh, because of the tithe for the poor in the sixth; at the end of the seventh, because of the fruits of the seventh; and at the end of the Feast, because of the robbery of the gifts *assigned* to the poor.

13 Four types of men: He that says, What is mine is mine and what is thine is thine; this is the average type, some say it is the type of Sodom. *He that says*, What is mine is thine and what is thine is mine, is one of the vulgar; *He that says*, What is mine and what is thine are thine, is pious. *He who says*, What is thine and what is mine are mine, is wicked.

14 Four types of character: Easy to provoke and easy to pacify, his gain is cancelled by his loss.

9. Ninth group of ten. The things here mentioned became of special importance in the later history, but they are not specially mentioned in the account of the Creation; since, it was held, God had created nothing more after He 'rested from His labour', the things here mentioned must have been created last of all.

'between the suns,' בין השמשות, i.e. between sunset and sunrise. So all the MSS. C adds 'at nightfall', and DS 'on the eve of Sabbath'.

mouth . . . earth, that swallowed Korah. Num. xvi. 32.

mouth . . . well. Probably that in Num. xxi. 16–18.

mouth . . . ass, i.e. the speaking of Balaam's ass was provided for at the Creation.

bow, the rainbow.

shamir, a worm supposed to have the power of gnawing the hardest substances. Moses and Solomon are said to have made use of it.

writing, the forms of the letters; **the writing,** either the art of combining letters into words, or the writing on the Tables, or the writing instrument, stylus or pen.

tongs . . . tongs. The meaning is, that if the smith uses tongs in order to make tongs, who made the first tongs? Answer, they were made among the last things at the Creation. Presumably meaning that God is the author of all unexplained beginnings.

10. First group of seven. **rude man,** גולם. Lit. *foetus*, the unformed human being.

Rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above.

11. Second group of seven. A deduction from Lev. xxvi. 14–22.

fruits . . . seventh year, Exod. xxiii. 11. So also, **release . . . earth.**

12. First group of four. **seasons,** פרקים. Not in each year, but regularly recurring periods within the cycle of seven years. The idea is that pestilence comes by reason of the sins committed in regard to the tithe for the poor, &c.

the Feast, i.e. of Tabernacles.

robbery . . . poor. After the harvest has been reaped, the gleaning and the corner of the field and any part forgotten were to be left for the poor. Any one who did not so leave them robbed the poor.

13. Second group of four. **types,** מדות. Lit. 'measures', the same word as in 'with what measure ye mete', &c., Matt. vii. 2; here the means by which the character of a man is estimated or measured; 'type' conveys the same meaning through a different metaphor.

Sodom. The reference is to Ezek. xvi. 49.

vulgar, *am-ha-aretz*. See on ii. 6 above. The meaning is that he who does not know the Scripture does not know that he ought only to give and not to receive, Prov. xv. 27. Hence the definition of the pious.

14. Third group of four. **gain . . . loss,** הפסדו בשכרו. The two men described lose by their anger and gain by their being pacified; but the second is of a firmer character than the first, and therefore in his case gain is mentioned before loss, and *vice versa*.

Hard to provoke and hard to pacify, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Hard to provoke and easy to pacify, he is pious. Easy to provoke and hard to pacify, he is wicked.

15 Four types of disciples: Quick to hear and quick to lose, his gain is cancelled by his loss. Slow to learn and slow to lose, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Quick to hear and slow to lose, he is wise. Slow to hear and quick to lose, this is an evil lot.

16 Four types of almsgivers: He who is willing to give but not that others should give, his eye is evil towards what is theirs; *he who is willing* that others should give but does not give himself, his eye is evil towards what is his; *he who is willing* to give and that others should give, is pious; *he who is* not *willing* that he should give or that others should give, is wicked.

17 Four types of them that go to the house of learning: He that goes and does nothing, has the reward of *his* going; he that goes not but does *something*, has the reward of doing; he that goes and does *something*, is pious; he that neither goes nor does *anything*, is wicked.

18 Four types of them that sit before the Wise: A sponge, a funnel, a strainer and a sieve. A sponge, because it sucks up everything; a funnel, because it receives at one end and lets out at the other; a strainer, because it lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs; a sieve, because it lets out the coarse meal and keeps the fine flour.

19 All love which depends on something—if the thing ceases, the love ceases. If it does not depend on something it ceases not for ever. What love is that which depends on something? This is the love of Amnon and Tamar. And that which does not depend on something? This is the love of David and Jonathan.

20 Every controversy which is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established; and that which is not for the name of Heaven will not in the end be established. What controversy is that which is for the name of Heaven? The controversy of Shammai and Hillel. And that which is not for the name of Heaven? This is the controversy of Korah.

21 Every one that makes the many virtuous, sin comes not by his means; and every one that maketh the many to sin, they give him not the opportunity to repent. Moses was virtuous and made the many virtuous, and the virtue of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'He executed the righteousness of the Lord, and His judgements with Israel.' Deut. xxxiii. 21

Jeroboam sinned and made the many to sin, the sin of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'For the sin of Jeroboam who sinned and made Israel to sin.' 1 Kings xiv. 16

22 Every one who has three things is one of the disciples of Abraham our father. And *every one who has* three other things is one of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. *If he has* a good eye, and a lowly soul and a humble spirit, he is of the disciples of Abraham our father. *If he has* an evil eye, and a boastful soul and a haughty spirit, he is of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. What is *the difference* between the disciples of Abraham our father and the disciples of Balaam the wicked? The disciples of Balaam the wicked inherit Gehenna and go down to the pit of destruction, as it is said: 'But Thou, O God, wilt bring them down to the pit of destruction. Men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in Thee.' Ps. lv. 24 But the disciples of Abraham our father inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come; as it is said: 'That I may cause them that love me to inherit substance, and that I may fill their treasuries.' Prov. viii. 21

15. Fourth group of four. Types of students, of course of Torah.

16. Fifth group of four. Almsgivers. **eye . . . evil.** See above on ii. 12.

17. Sixth group of four. Types of students, as in 15, here considered in reference to their going to the School and what they do there.

has . . . reward. Cp. Matt. vi. 2.

does something, practises some of the Torah which he learns.

18. Seventh group of four. Similes of students. The four objects described are explained, and it is clear what ought to be the effect of the sieve; but no commentator has explained what kind of a sieve lets the coarse go through and keeps the fine. The word is rightly rendered 'sieve'.

19. No longer groups but general principles. The contrast between selfish and unselfish love.

20. Controversy justifiable and unjustifiable. **be established,** סופה להתקיים. It will not establish the contentions of both opponents, but it will show that it was right for them to have argued against each other.

Shammai . . . Hillel. See on i. 12. It was said in regard to them, 'The words of each are the words of the living God, but the halachah is according to Hillel' (Erub. 13^{b}).

21. A omits the clause about Jeroboam, probably only by a scribal error.

the many, *οἱ πολλοί.*

sin. Taylor compares Rom. v. 19.

22. **disciples . . . Abraham.** Taken as a model, like Aaron, i. 12 above.

Balaam. Perhaps a covert reverence to Jesus is intended.

blood . . . deceit. This text is elsewhere used to show that Balaam (Jesus?) was about thirty-three years old. (For the Rabbinical comparison of Balaam with Jesus, see my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 64–70.)

[**inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come.** This is clearly a conflate text. One of these clauses should be excised.—Gen. Editor.]

23 R. Judah b. Tema said: Be bold as a leopard, and light as an eagle, and swift as a gazelle, and strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven.

24 [He used to say: The bold-faced man is for Gehenna, and the shame-faced man is for the Garden of Eden. May it be Thy will, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, that Thy city may be built speedily in our days; and grant our portion *to be* in Thy Torah.]

25 [Ben Bag-Bag said: Turn it, and turn it again, for the whole is in it, and the whole of thee is in it; and from it swerve not, for there is to thee no greater good than it.]

26 [Ben He-He said: According to the toil is the pay.]

27 [He said: At five years old *one is fit* for the Scripture, at ten years for Mishnah, at thirteen for the commandments, at fifteen for Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for retribution, at thirty for power, at forty for discernment, at fifty for counsel, at sixty for elderhood, at seventy for grey hairs, at eighty for strength, at ninety for decrepitude, and at a hundred he is as if he were dead and had passed away and vanished from the world.] Ps c.

END OF THE TREATISE 'FATHERS'.

THE CHAPTER OF R. MEIR, OR, THE ACQUISITION OF TORAH.

6 1 *The* Wise have taught in the language of the Mishnah; blessed is He that made choice of them and of their Mishnah.

R. Meir said: Every one who is occupied with the Torah for its own sake is worthy *to have* many things; and not only so, but the whole world, all of it, is his equivalent. He is called friend,

23. Note the return to maxims of named teachers.

R. Judah b. Tema; date uncertain; he is once mentioned with R. Meir, middle of second century.

Father . . . in heaven. This term is common in the Rabbinical literature, and is pre-Christian. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 120–4. The use of it here tends to show that this verse was originally the conclusion of the book. D says this expressly. The verses which follow are later additions, and the order of them is variously given.

24. **He.** Probably not R. Judah b. Tema. The author is unknown. Whoever added it did so as a further conclusion to the book, for the second clause is a kind of doxology common in the Jewish liturgy.

25. **Ben Bag-Bag.** This is not a real name, but an epithet formed from the initials of the words 'Ben Ben Ger Bath Gerah'; and one explanation is that his father and mother were each the offspring of converts to Judaism. The vowels are only supplied to enable the word to be sounded. He is supposed to have been a disciple of Hillel.

His maxim refers to Torah, as the full and complete divine revelation.

26. **Ben He-He.** A name formed like the preceding, and possibly the same person is referred to. The maxim is in Aramaic, as are some of those of Hillel.

27. **He.** Sometimes is introduced here the saying of Samuel the small, iv. 24, in order to make him the author of the saying about the ages of man. But this connexion is quite uncertain. The passage is only placed here as having been either added later than the body of the book, or else, as Strack suggests, having been excluded from the book on account of its melancholy conclusion. It is a series of descriptive phrases which need little comment.

twenty . . . retribution. Although he is considered to be old enough at thirteen to be able to obey the precepts (he is called then a *bar-mitzvah*), he is not held fully responsible, and therefore liable to divine punishment for sin, לרדוף, until he is twenty. [Better 'twenty . . . pursuing a calling'.—Gen. Editor.]

VI. It is admitted by all that the sixth chapter formed no part of the treatise incorporated in the Mishnah. See Introduction. It is only given here because, by long custom, it is read with the rest of the book. Nevertheless the material contained, the maxims of particular Rabbis, may be as authentic as what is included in the earlier chapters. It is usually called the 'Chapter of R. Meir', or the 'Acquisition of Torah', the former title being merely a reference to the first teacher mentioned in it. The latter title fairly describes the contents. Taylor, in his edition, merely gives a translation from the text contained in a modern prayer-book; he adds no comment and no critical apparatus. The text here translated is that of Strack's edition.

1. **The Wise,** the Talmudic teachers.

taught, שנו, the special word applied to the authoritative teaching of Torah; the name Mishnah, from the same root, denotes the *corpus* of such teaching, as it was collected and edited by 'Rabbi'. The intention of this sentence, which forms a sort of motto for the chapter, is to connect the chapter with the preceding ones as forming with them virtually a part of the Mishnah.

blessed . . . He, i.e. God.

choice. Implying, as it would seem, some degree of divine guidance in the development of the Mishnah. The Talmud says (B. B. 12ª) that prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to the Wise, meaning the Rabbis.

R. Meir. See on iv. 12. Date, middle of second century.

occupied . . . Torah. This phrase occurs in R. M.'s maxim, iv. 12, and may have been taken thence to serve as the theme for the present exposition.

worthy to have, זוכה; the corresponding noun is זכות, merit. The term denotes a condition of mind and character such as to meet with the divine approval; it does not imply a claim against God for reward. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 276–80. For the phrase cp. Rev. v. 9, 12.

equivalent, כדי הוא לו, and not more; he is worth the whole world. Strack wrongly, as I think, compares 1 Cor. iii. 21, 'for all are yours.'

beloved, one that loves God and loves mankind, makes glad both God and mankind. And it clothes him with humbleness and fear, and purifies him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful; keeps him far from sin and brings him to virtue. *Men* enjoy from him counsel and sound knowledge, discernment and might; as it is said: 'Counsel is mine and sound knowledge; I am discernment; I have might.' And it gives him sovereignty and dominion and searching out of justice; and they disclose for him secrets of Torah. And he is made like a spring which ceases not, and like a stream that goes on getting stronger. And he is modest and longsuffering and forgiving of insult. And it makes him great and lifts him above all the things that are done. Prov. viii. 14

2 R. Joshua b. Levi has said: Every day a Bath-Qol goes forth from Mount Horeb and proclaims and says 'Woe to mankind because of *their* insulting of the Torah'; for every one that is not occupied with the Torah is called reprobate; as it is said: 'As a jewel of gold in the snout of a swine, so is a fair woman without sense.' And *Scripture* says: 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing writing of God, graven on the tables.' Read not 'ḥaruth' (*graven*) but 'ḥeruth' (*freedom*); for none is your freeman, but he who is occupied with the study of Torah. And every one who is occupied in the study of Torah, lo, he exalts himself, as it is said: 'And from Mattanah to Naḥaliel, and from Naḥaliel to Bamoth.' Prov. xi. 22 Exod. xxxii. 16 Num. xxi. 19

3 He who learns from his associate one chapter, one rule, one verse, one saying, even one letter, must show honour to him; for thus we find in the case of David, king of Israel, that he learned

loves God . . . mankind. Observe the unlimited range of the love inspired by the religion of Torah.

makes glad. Cp. Zeph. iii. 17, but with a finer meaning here.

it clothes him. 'It' is Torah, personified. Cp. 1 Pet. v. 5 for humility as a virtue put on, given from above.

purifies, makes him כשר, *kāshēr*, in a fit condition to perform his religious duties. The same word, pronounced 'kosher', is used in Jewish shops to denote food ritually fit for use.

from him, i.e. from the man who is occupied with Torah. The proof-text, Prov. viii. 14, makes Wisdom say 'Counsel is mine', &c. Torah is identified with wisdom; therefore the man who has Torah is enabled to give what is inherent in wisdom.

it gives, i.e. Torah gives.

sovereignty, מלכות, moral not political supremacy.

searching . . . justice. Solomon, the wise king, was able to find out what true justice required, 1 Kings iii. 16–28.

they disclose. 'They' are the *familia caelestis*, the angels.

stream, &c. For the phrase cp. ii. 10; the simile used there is expanded here.

And . . . is. Strack reads הֹוֶה (participle) for the common reading הֱוִי, imperative, which, as he says, makes no sense. But הוה is very unusual, and it would be simpler to read הוא 'he (is)'. The structure of the whole passage is very clumsy, with its frequent changes of subject; it may be a cento of phrases from different sources.

things . . . done, meaning that he is not the slave of circumstance but spiritually free.

2. **R. Joshua b. Levi:** date, middle of third century, A.D., a famous haggadist (see note below) and mystic. The Mishnah was closed before his time, and with it the series of Rabbis known as Tannaim. Their successors, who commented on the Mishnah, and whose teaching forms the Gemara, were called Amoraim; R. Joshua was an Amora, and his mention here is one of the indications that this chapter did not form part of the original book.

Bath-Qol. Lit. 'daughter of a voice'. The term denotes a sound interpreted as a voice from heaven, delivering some special message to men. It was said to have been a 'Bath-Qol' which decided on the rivalry between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. See on v. 20 above. In John xii. 28, 29, what is referred to is evidently meant for a 'Bath-Qol'. The Rabbis held that since the extinction of prophecy, the 'Bath-Qol' took the place of the 'word of the Lord' which came to the prophet, but was an inferior mode of inspiration.

Horeb. Not that R. J. believed that God dwelt on Horeb, but merely as a scriptural phrase for the seat of divine authority.

reprobate, נזוף, one who is reproved by God. The word does not occur in the O.T. The proof-text, which seems to be wholly irrelevant, is applied after the methods of haggadah (non-literal interpretation of Scripture for edification). The text says נזם זהב באף חזיר. R. J. takes נזוף and associates it with נזם אף, by mere similarity of letters, and then argues, in effect, that as 'a fair woman without sense' is נזופה, so a man without Torah is נזוף. This is haggadah; and the haggadist did not imply that the words of Scripture really gave that meaning, but that the lesson he wished to teach could be linked on to Scripture in that way.

Read not 'ḥaruth' but 'ḥeruth'. This also is haggadah. For the sake of edification, the text of Scripture might be read otherwise than as written; but this implied no actual criticism of the text, nor any question of 'various readings'. R. J. reads 'ḥeruth' 'freedom', for the sake of making his point about the freeman; but he was quite aware that 'ḥeruth' would make no sense in the original text, Exod. xxxii. 16.

exalts himself. In the previous verse it is Torah which exalts. The proof-text, Num. xxi. 19, is again applied in the manner of haggadah. The place-names are taken according to their literal meaning, Mattanah = gift; Naḥaliel, God leads; Bamoth = heights. Thus Torah was *given*; *God leads* the man who studies it to the *heights*, i.e. exalts him. This exposition is given in the Talmud (Erub. 54[a]) but not in the name of R. J., although he is quoted on the same page.

3. This saying is anonymous. **learns,** i.e. learns Torah.

rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above.

show honour, as to a teacher of Torah, cp. iv. 15 above.

David . . . Ahithophel. The reference is to a story, not found in the O.T., intended to explain how David came to compose the fifteen 'Psalms of degrees'. The story, too long to quote, occurs in Succ. 53[b], Macc. 11[a], and the authority for it is said to be R. Joḥanan (A.D. 199–279). The present passage is thus later than the Gemara.

from Ahithophel only two things, *but* he called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend; as it is said: 'But thou, a man mine equal, my teacher and my familiar friend'. And are not these Ps.
things an argument *a fortiori*? If David, king of Israel, who learned from Ahithophel only two things, called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend, how much more one who learns from his associate one chapter or one rule, or one verse, or one saying, or even one letter, ought to show honour to him: and 'honour' simply means Torah; as it is said: 'The wise shall inherit Pro
honour'; and 'The perfect shall inherit good': and 'good' simply means Torah; as it is said: ib.
'For I have given thee good doctrine, forsake not my Torah.' ib.

4 This is the way of Torah: A morsel with salt thou shalt eat, 'and thou shalt drink water by Eze
measure'; and thou shalt sleep on the ground, and thou shalt live a life of hardship, and thou shalt labour in the Torah. If thou doest thus 'happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee'; Ps.
'happy' in this world, and 'well with thee' in the world to come.

5 Seek not greatness for thyself, neither covet honour. Perform more than thou hast learned. And crave not for the tables of kings; for thy table is greater than their table, and thy crown greater than their crown; and faithful is He, the master of thy work, to pay thee the reward of thy labour.

6 Greater is Torah than priesthood and than sovereignty. For sovereignty is acquired through thirty qualifications, and priesthood by twenty-four; but the Torah is acquired by forty-eight things. And these are they:—'By learning, the listening of the ear, the ordering of the lips, the discernment of the heart, fear, dread, humility, cheerfulness, purity, attendance on the Wise, discussion with associates, argument with disciples, sedateness, Scripture, Mishnah; by little business, little intercourse *with the world*, little sleep, little conversation, little luxury, little merriment; by forbearance, a good heart, faith in the Wise, acceptance of chastisements; *by being* one that knows his place, and rejoices in his portion, and makes a fence for his words, and claims not goodness for himself, that is loved, that loves God, that loves mankind, that loves deeds of charity, that loves uprightness, that loves reproofs, and keeps himself far from honour, and puffs not up his heart with his learning, and delights not in giving decisions, that bears the yoke along with his associate, and judges him with a leaning to merit, and establishes him upon truth, and establishes him upon peace, and settles his heart in his study, that asks and answers, that hears and adds thereto, that learns with a view to teaching, and that learns with a view to action, that makes his teacher wise, that makes sure what he hears, and that repeats a word in the name of him who said it. See, thou hast learned: Every one that says a word in the name of him who said it brings redemption into the world; as it is said: 'And Esther said to the king in the name of Mordecai.' Es

7 Great is Torah, for it gives to them that practise it life in this world and in the world to come; as it is said: 'For they are life to them that find them, and health to all their flesh.' Pr

called . . . master. This is not in the Talmudic story, but merely an inference from Ps. lv. 13, taken as referring to Ahithophel.

a fortiori, קל וחומר, lit. 'light and heavy'. The form of the argument is: 'if *A* is *B*, how much more *C* is *B*?' This is one of the seven rules which Hillel introduced for the interpretation of Scripture.

'honour' . . . means Torah. There is a confusion of thought here, for the disciple is to show honour to his Master because of Torah; he does not show Torah to him.

good doctrine. The same proof-text is quoted in iii. 19 above.

4. Anonymous. **way.** Cp. on ii. 1 above. The proof-text, Ps. cxxviii. 2, is quoted in iv. 1 above, and even there it is probably a later insertion.

5. Anonymous. **Perform . . . learned.** Cp. i. 17, iii. 12 above.

tables of kings, court favour.

thy table, the table at which thou sittest, the table of God, see on iii. 5 above.

thy crown, of Torah. See on iv. 17 above.

faithful . . . labour. Verbatim from ii. 19.

6. Anonymous. **Torah . . . priesthood . . . sovereignty.** Classed together, iv. 17 above.

acquired, נקנית; but a different word is needed. The dignities referred to are not acquired by the things specified, but these are, in the case of kings and priests, privileges enjoyed by the holder of the dignity; in the case of the man of Torah they are characteristic features. The privileges of kings and high-priests are given in the Mishnah, Sanh. ii. The list of forty-eight 'things' shows variations in the style which point to an origin from different sources. Nos. 1–25 are nouns, the remainder verbs describing what the man of Torah does. The total number is fifty, and there seems to be little attempt at orderly sequence in the list. The whole passage may be taken as the summary of the Pharisaic ideal; see my *Pharisaism*, pp. 327–30. Various parallels with phrases in the earlier part of the book occur. Detailed comment is unnecessary, as nearly all the ideas have been mentioned before. After the list is closed, follows a comment upon the last item, 'that says a word in the name of him who said it.' The Rabbis attached great importance to this, the idea being that he who brought to the knowledge of his fellows some new meaning of Torah and rendered explicit part of the divine meaning till then implicit in it, should be held in remembrance for having done so.

See, thou hast learned. The words which follow are a quotation from the Talmud, Chull. 104^{b}, another proof of the late date of this chapter. The proof-text is less cogent than the reason given above.

7. Anonymous. The life-giving power of Torah. Chiefly a series of Scripture texts.

And *Scripture* says: 'It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones.' And it says: Prov. iii. 8
'She shall be a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy are they that retain her.' ib. iii. 18
And it says: 'For they shall be a chaplet of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy ib. i. 9
neck.' And it says: 'She shall give to thine head a chaplet of grace; a crown of beauty shall she ib. iv. 9
deliver thee.' And it says: 'For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and they shall increase to ib. ix. 11
thee years of life.' And it says: 'Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches ib. iii. 16
and honour.' And it says: 'For length of days, and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee.' ib. iii. 2

8 R. Simeon b. Judah, in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai, said: Beauty, strength, riches, honour, wisdom, old age, grey hairs, children, are comely for the righteous and comely for the world; as it is said: 'The hoary head is a crown of glory; it shall be found in the way of righteousness.' Prov. xvi. 31
And it says: 'Children's children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their ib. xvii. 6
fathers.' And it says: 'The glory of young men is their strength; and the beauty of old men is ib. xx. 29
the hoary head.' And it says: 'Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed; for Isa. xxiv. 23
the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before His ancients gloriously.'

9 R. Simeon b. Menasia said: These seven attributes, which the Wise have assigned to the righteous, were all exemplified in Rabbi and in his sons.

10 R. Jose b. Kisma has said: Once I was walking by the way and there met me a man, and he greeted me, and I greeted him again. He said to me, Rabbi, whence comest thou? I said to him, I am from a great city of wise men and scribes. He said to me, Rabbi, wilt thou dwell with us in our place, and I will give thee a thousand thousand gold pieces and precious stones and pearls? I said to him, If thou gavest me all the silver and gold and precious stones and pearls which are in the world I would not dwell except in a place of Torah. For thus it is written in the book of Psalms, by the hands of David, king of Israel: 'The Torah of Thy mouth is better unto me than Ps. cxix. 72
thousands of gold and silver.' And not only so, but in the hour of a man's death it is not silver or gold or precious stones or pearls which accompany him, but Torah and good works alone; as it is said: 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee. when thou liest down it shall watch over thee, Prov. vi. 22
and when thou wakest it shall talk with thee.' 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee'—in this world. 'When thou liest down it shall watch over thee'—in the grave. 'When thou wakest it shall talk with thee'—in the world to come. And it says: 'The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine, saith the Lord Hag. ii. 8
of Hosts.'

11 Five possessions hath the Holy One, blessed be He, acquired in His world, and these are they: Torah is one possession; heaven and earth are one possession; Abraham is one possession; Israel is one possession; the house of the sanctuary is one possession. Whence *is this proved concerning* Torah? That which is written: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His Prov. viii. 22
works of old.' Whence *concerning* heaven and earth? That which is written: 'Thus saith the Isa. lxvi. 1
Lord of Hosts, Heaven is My throne and the earth the footstool of My feet: what is this house that ye build for Me, and what is the place of My rest?' And it says: 'How manifold are Thy works, Ps. civ. 24
O Lord! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy possessions.' Whence *concerning*

8. **R. Simeon b. Judah.** A contemporary, probably older, of Rabbi; date, middle of second century. He was a disciple of R. Simeon b. Johai (see iii. 5); his father was probably (R.) Judah of Chephar Ikos, mentioned in connexion with Gamaliel II. This verse is sometimes, wrongly, assigned to R. S. b. Menasia, *v.* 9.

in the name of, משום. The regular formula by which one teacher cites the dictum of another, but it does not necessarily imply that the later had actually heard it from the earlier teacher. The series of graces, together with all the proof-texts except the last, is taken verbatim from Tosephta, Sanh. xi. 8. The relevancy of the text from Isa. xxiv. 23 is not obvious.

9. **R. Ṣimeon b. Menasia.** Also, like the preceding, an older contemporary of Rabbi; date, middle of second century.

His remark, which only gives the personal application of the saying in *v.* 8, is likewise taken from Tosephta, where it follows immediately after the saying of R. Simeon.

10. **R. Jose b. Kisma.** Friend of R. Ḥanina b. Teradion (iii. 3 above); date, end of first century and beginning of second.

has said. Note the change of form. The maxims of the various Sages are what they were in the habit of saying; here we have an anecdote which R. Jose once told.

great city. R. Jose lived in Caesarea Philippi, but that city was not specially remarkable for its 'wise men and scribes'. Jerusalem cannot be meant; for though, after the siege, Jews were not forbidden to live there, it was no longer a place of learning. The seat of authority had been transferred to Jabneh, and in R. Jose's time was at Usha. Possibly this is the city referred to.

gold pieces, דינר, *denarii*.

11. Anonymous. This passage has its sources in the Talmud and the older Midrash. In Siphri 134^{a}, three 'possessions' are mentioned: Torah, Israel, and the Sanctuary. In Mechilta, Beshallaḥ 9, p. 43$^{a, b}$, four are given: Israel, heaven and earth, the Sanctuary, and Torah. In the Talmud, Pes. 87^{b}, the same four are given. Abraham is thus a later addition; the proof-text does not support his inclusion, because it says that God is the possessor, not of Abraham, but of heaven and earth.

Abraham? That which is written: 'And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abraham of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth.' Whence *concerning* Israel? That which is written: 'Till Thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over which Thou hast possessed.' And it says: 'As for the saints that are in the earth, they are the excellent in whom is all my delight.' Whence *concerning* the house of the Sanctuary? That which is written: 'The place, O Lord, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have founded.' And it says: 'And He brought them to the border of His Sanctuary, to this mountain which His
12 right hand hath possessed.' All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world, He created it only for His glory; as it is said: 'Every one that is called by My name, and whom I have created for My glory, I have formed him, I have made him.' And it says: 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.'

12. Anonymous. Probably continuous with the preceding, the idea being to supplement the statement that God has five possessions in the world by the declaration that all which it contains is His because He created it. The passage tself is older, being taken verbatim from the Talmud, Joma 38ª, and there it is assigned to a date before A.D. 70. The compiler of this chapter included it as a well-known ancient saying in praise of God, and added it here both to qualify the preceding statement about the possessions, and also to serve as a sort of concluding doxology to the whole book.

The Wilna edition of the Talmud gives, after *v.* 12, a saying ascribed to R. Ḥanania b. Akashia (date unknown) and taken from Macc. 23ᵇ, 'Be pleased, O God, to purify Israel; wherefore increase to them Torah and precepts, as it is said (Isa xlii. 21): "It pleased the Lord, for His righteousness' sake, to magnify the Torah and make it honourable."' Rashi mentions this verse, but says it does not belong to the treatise of the Fathers.

THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

In the story of Aḥiḳar we are probably, as in the parallel case of Tobit, in the region of folk-lore pure and simple. It is a tale of Ingratitude and its Just Judgement, much in the same ethical manner as Tobit is a tale of a Grateful Ghost, and how he made recompense to his benefactor, who had cared for his dead body. We make the acquaintance of the story, first of all, in the supplementary pages of the *Arabian Nights*; we then trace it through the legends of a variety of peoples, with a growing sense of the antiquity of the common nucleus which underlies the traditions, and finally, as an interesting combination of good luck with good learning, the original story turns up in an Aramaic papyrus of the fifth century B.C. among the ruins of Elephantiné; in a language, that is, which had been conjectured as its original, and of an antiquity even greater than had been assigned to it by any of its investigators. The discovery followed from first suspicions to last achievement is itself almost a romance.

Aḥiḳar, who is the hero of the tale, was Grand-Vizier to Sennacherib, King of Assyria; he was a sage, as well as a politician, high in honour, abundant in wealth, and only poor by the curse of childlessness which left him without a son whom he might make the heir of his wealth and his wisdom. Repeated prayers brought him at last an injunction to take his sister's son, Nadan, and bring him up as his own offspring. The story-teller relates the education of the youth, and how, after being deluged with proverbial philosophy, he turned out ill, intrigued against his adopted father, and betrayed him, by forged documents of a treasonable character, to the Government. Aḥiḳar is condemned to death and Nadan steps into his place; but, on the way to execution, the swordsman is reminded by Aḥiḳar of a previous occasion on which he had saved him from a similar danger. A plan is devised by the two friends for the saving of Aḥiḳar's life, a criminal is substituted for him at the place of execution, and Aḥiḳar is hidden away in his own cellarage to wait for the evolution of events. At last political circumstances bring the necessary turn to the wheel of his fortune. The King of Assyria is unable, without his aid, to meet the intrigues and satisfy the demands of the King of Egypt; he sighs over Aḥiḳar dead, and is informed, to his delight, that the sage is really living. Aḥiḳar is brought out of his hiding-place, a very spectacle, with unkempt locks and overgrown nails, and reinstated in his ancient honour. After an interval spent, in the typical folk-lore manner, in satisfying the requirements of the King of Egypt, Aḥiḳar returns to claim the boon of a due revenge on his adopted son, whom he imprisons, beats, and starves, and to whom he talks parables, till the young man dies,—after the manner recorded of another traitor in the Acts of the Apostles.

The story is divided internally into four parts, which need not, all of them, be of equal antiquity. There is (1) the narrative itself: (2) the imbedded proverbial philosophy or, as we may call it, the Teaching of Aḥiḳar: (3) the journey to Egypt, which may be the expansion of a later folklorist and can easily be detached from the main narration; and (4) the similitudes, with which Aḥiḳar completes the education of his nephew; or as we may call them, the Parables of Aḥiḳar.

§ 2. The Antiquity of the Book.

The antiquity of the book is demonstrated by the following considerations:

(*a*) That Democritus, the Greek proverbial philosopher, is alleged by Clement of Alexandria to have incorporated with his writings matter which he had appropriated from the Pillar of Aḥiḳar: if this be the real Democritus, and the monument actually contained the Sayings of Aḥiḳar, the latter must have been extant in the early part of the fifth century B.C.

(*b*) That the story of Aḥiḳar has been made the foundation for the account of the adventures of the Greek Aesop at the Court of Lykeros, King of Babylon.

(*c*) That the Book of Tobit makes definite allusion to the story of Aḥiḳar and Nadan, the deliverance of the former, and the just doom of the latter, in a way that assumes the story to be well known to the author of Tobit and to his readers.

(*d*) That Theophrastus is said to have composed a book called Aḥiḳar, which suggests some account of the hero of our tale.

(*e*) That Strabo enumerates amongst persons who had mantic gifts a man named Ahaikar amongst the people of the Bosporus, where it has been acutely suggested that we should read 'the people of Borsippa'.[1]

(*f*) The names of the leading characters in the story are Assyrian in form, a peculiarity which is often conserved in the very latest versions.

(*g*) Aḥiḳar appears to be included amongst the wise men of the world in a mosaic found at Trèves.

(*h*) And lastly, the story of Aḥiḳar is found in a fragmentary papyrus recently recovered from the ruins of Elephantiné, and without doubt belonging to the fifth century before Christ.

A further confirmation, if confirmation were needed, would lie in the occurrence of definite quotations from the recovered story in other early works. The investigation of such quotations is, however, complicated by the uncertainty as to whether all parts of the Aḥiḳar-tradition are substantially of the same age. If we could assume that they were, then, in view of the great age of the Elephantiné-papyrus and the still greater age of the original from which it is derived, we could at once infer that the Aḥiḳar story was an influencing factor in a number of Biblical Psalms and in certain of the Sapiential books, such as Proverbs and Sirach, as well as in Daniel and in Tobit, in the Book of Jubilees and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. We shall also have a number of significant parallels in the New Testament, in the Gospels, the Acts, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the second Epistle of Peter. It will, probably, be best to present all these coincidences as parallels in the first instance, and postpone the decision as to whether they are actual quotations until we have further light on the development of the story itself. Over and above these Biblical parallels, we have a number of quotations made by Shahrastani, probably through the medium of Democritus, a series of adaptations of the proverbs of Aḥiḳar by Mohammed, an incorporation of part of the opening sentences in the story of Syntipas, a versification in Old French of one of the Parables of Aḥiḳar, and a number of quotations in early Armenian writers. Few books have so wide an attestation as the story of Aḥiḳar. For convenience we tabulate the above parallels and quotations as follows:—

Democritus.	Matthew.
Tobit.	Luke.
Psalms.	Acts.
Proverbs.	1 Corinthians.
Sirach.	2 Peter.
Daniel.	2 Timothy.
Jubilees.	Koran.
Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs.	Syntipas, and an Old French Parable.

§ 3. Quotations and References.

a. Democritus.

Now that the antiquity of Aḥiḳar is so firmly established, there is very little ground for questioning the references made to him or his teaching by Democritus or other writers depending on Democritus. Here are the principal passages that come under discussion:

Shahrastani, as from Democrates (ed. Cureton, p. 306):

'The tail of a dog gives him meat, his voice gets him blows.'

Cf. Aeth. 2: 'My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.'

Syr. ii. 38: 'My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, but his mouth gets him blows.'

It is also found in the Copenhagen Arabic in this form:

'The tail of a dog gives him bread to eat, and his mouth gives him a beating with stones to eat.'

In Cod. Syr. S_3 it recurs in this form:

'For the tail of the dog gives him bread, but his mouth gives him blows and stones.'

In the Armenian sayings it has got into the second group in the form:

'(God passes judgement between me and thee). For the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth a cudgel.'

[1] Th. Reinach in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxxviii, pp. 1–13, and Fränkel in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Ahikaros.

In the Aesop story it comes in this form:

'My child . . . be accessible to those whom thou meetest, knowing that even to the dog his tail supplies bread.'

Here then, in every version except the Slavonic, we have the traces of the special proverb. There can be no doubt that it formed part of the primitive collection.

A second example from the same source runs as follows:

'Do not allow any one to tread on your heel to-day, lest he tread on your neck to-morrow.'

This is almost exactly the Syriac proverb (ii. 39):

'My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.'

The proverb is also found in the Armenian, Arabic, and Slavonic versions.

A third example which follows in Shahrastani is as follows:

'Be not over-sweet, lest thou be swallowed down: nor over-bitter, lest thou be spit out.'

The proverb is found in the Slavonic and Armenian versions (c. ii. 8): it is no doubt to be referred to both Democritus and Aḥiḳar.

The next instance from Shahrastani is as follows:

'(Solon) saw a man who stumbled, and said to him: It is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue.'

The proverb is found in the Ethiopic, in the Syriac (ii. 53), and in the Slavonic. In the proverbs of Maximus it is referred to Socrates: for which I propose to read Democrates (= Democritus).

The last, and perhaps the most interesting of the maxims of Democritus, will be found in Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 75:

'For swine delight in mud more than in clean water, and wallow in a drain, according to Democritus.'

The latter half of the sentence is quoted by Plutarch, *De tuenda sanitate* 14, again with reference to Democritus. There seems to be little room for doubt that Democritus is quoting from the same proverb of Aḥiḳar which we find quoted in 2 Peter ii. 22, and which is current in the Syriac (viii. 18), Armenian, and Karshuni versions: e.g. in the Karshuni (viii. 15):

'My son, thou hast been to me like the pig, who went to the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath it saw a filthy hole, and it went down and wallowed in it.'

These examples will show conclusively the correctness of the tradition that Democritus copied from Aḥiḳar, and issued the proverbs of the latter under his own name.

b. The Tobit Parallels.

The parallel passages in the Book of Tobit, and the supposed references to Aḥiḳar, have occupied the leading place in the criticism of the text, partly because it was by their means that the antiquity of Aḥiḳar was, in the first instance, established, and partly because around these parallels the question of relative priority was, in the first instance, debated. Now that the antiquity of Aḥiḳar has been vindicated in an extraordinary manner, we need not hesitate to mark quotations in Tobit, only reserving such cases as may properly be referred to a more recent manipulation of the text of Aḥiḳar.

The following are the principal parallels, as given in the Vatican Codex, with which, however, the Sinaitic text should be carefully compared:

Tob. i. 21 seq.: 'And Esarhaddon[1] his son reigned in his stead, and he appointed Achiachar the son of Anael my brother over all the fisc of this Kingdom, and over all the administration. And Achiachar asked on my behalf, and I came to Nineveh. And Achiachar was Cupbearer and Great Seal, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Esarhaddon appointed him a second time:[2] and he was my cousin.'

Tob. ii. 10: 'And I (Tobit) went to the physicians, and they could not help me. And Achiachar maintained him until the time that he went to Elymais' (where an acute conjecture suggests to read 'his hiding-place' for 'Elymais').

Tob. xi. 17, 18: 'And there was great joy to all the brethren in Nineveh, and Achiachar and Nasbas his cousin (?) came (to the wedding festival).'

[1] It is difficult to say if this is the original form; it looks as if *Σαχερδονός* were a misplaced genitive, and the original reading 'the son of Esarhaddon', which would mean that Tobit had repeated the blunder of the versions of Aḥiḳar, by making Sennacherib later than Esarhaddon.

[2] Exactly, but unintelligibly, 'Sacherdonos, a son *ἐκ δευτέρας*', which again looks like an original 'Son of Sacherdon'.

For 'Nasbas' the Sinaitic text has 'Nabad', which can hardly be right, and it makes Achiachar and Nabad to be both of them cousins of Tobit. Perhaps the obscure Nasbas covers the name of Nadan's younger brother.

> Tob. xiv. 10: 'My child, consider what Nadab did to Achiachar that brought him up, how from the light he led him to the dark and what recompense he made him: and Achiachar (God) saved, but to the other the just reward was made, and he went down to the dark. Manasses (*read* Aḥiḳar) did alms, and he was saved from the snare of death which he laid for him, but Nadab fell into the snare and perished.'

I have corrected some obvious transcriptional blunders, and made one bold but necessary emendation. For the almsgiving of Aḥiḳar, see also Tob. iv. 10, 'Alms doth deliver from death, and will not suffer thee to come into darkness'. See also Aḥiḳar (viii. 2, viii. 37 Syr.).

> Tob. xiv. 15: 'And he heard before his death of the destruction of Nineveh, which Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus took captive;'

where the Sinaitic text expands, and explains that Nineveh was taken captive by Achiakar, the King of Media.

Ahasuerus is a mere blunder for 'Nineveh and *Athur*' in the Aḥiḳar story: the Sinaitic expansions have made the confusion worse confounded. Tobit's history and his geography are out of the reach of justification.

> Tob. iv. 17: 'Pour out thy bread on the graves of the righteous and do not give it to sinners:'

with which cf. Aḥiḳar

> (Arab. ii. 13): 'O my son, pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.'
>
> (Syr. ii. 10): 'My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.'

[On this question see I. 189–192.—Gen. Editor.]

c. Parallels in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

See p. 291 of this volume.[1]

d. Some Old Testament Parallels.

The parallels with the O.T., especially with the Sapiential books, are constant, and it is not always easy to say certainly on which side antiquity lies. As a general principle the Aḥiḳar sentences are older than their parallels in Sirach. A few places may be noted:

> Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 45 Syr.): 'My son, I have carried salt and have removed lead; but I have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay a debt that he did not borrow,' &c.
>
> Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15: 'What is heavier than lead, and what is the name thereof, but a fool? Sand and salt and a mass of iron are easier to bear than a man without understanding.'

Some traces of a similar proverb will be found in the papyrus:

> Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 65 Syr.): 'My son, strive not with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.'
>
> Cf. Sirach iv. 26: 'Do not stand up against a river' (cf. the Syriac version).
>
> Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 2 Syr.): 'My son, if thou hast heard a word let it die in thy heart.'
>
> Cf. Sirach xix. 10 (Syr.).
>
> Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 19 Arab.): 'O my son, be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him.'
>
> Cf. Ps. cxli. 4.
>
> Aḥiḳar (c. ii. 61 Arab.): 'O my son, let the wise man beat thee with a rod: but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve.'
>
> Cf. Ps. xli. 5 (LXX).
>
> Aḥiḳar (c. viii. 38 Arab.; cf. viii. 41 Syr.): 'For he who digs a pit for his brother, falls into it; and he who sets traps shall be caught in them.'
>
> Cf. Ps. cxli. 10.

For coincidences with Daniel we may take:

> Aḥiḳar c. i. 3 (Arab.) with Dan. ii. 2, ii. 27, v. 7.
> Aḥiḳar c. i. 7 (Arm.) with Dan. v. 16.
> Aḥiḳar c. v. 4 (Arab.) with Dan. ii. 11.
> Aḥiḳar c. v. 11 with Dan. iv. 33.

[1] In Jub. xxxvii. 23 the words 'When the raven becomes white as the râzâ (i.e. a large white bird), then know that I have loved thee' may be an echo of Syriac A 62 'And the raven become white as snow'.—[Gen. Editor.]

e. Coincidences and Parallels with the New Testament.

Aḥiḳar, c. iv. 14, has the account of Nadan's revelry, after he has got rid of his uncle, and of his beating the menservants and the women-servants, &c. We have to compare carefully Matt. xxiv. 48–51, and Luke xii. 43, 46, and it will be seen that the language of Aḥiḳar has coloured one of our Lord's parables.

Perhaps the same thing is true of the parable of the Prodigal Son; for we have in the Syriac (viii. 34):

'Forgive me this my folly; and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house.'

and in the Armenian (viii. 24):

'Father, I have sinned against thee. Forgive me, and I will be a slave unto thee henceforth and for ever.' Cf. Luke xv. 19.

Nor should we neglect to compare the story of the unfruitful fig-tree in the Gospel with:

Aḥiḳar, c. viii. 35 (Syr.): 'My son, thou hast been to me like the palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river; and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"'

for which we compare Luke xiii. 6–9.

For Aḥiḳar, c. viii (death of Nadan), cf. the death of Judas in Matt. xxvii. 5, in Acts i. 18, 19, and in the traditions of Papias.

For the rest of the N.T. compare

Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 16 (Syr.): 'My son, it is not proper even to eat with a shameless person.'

with 1 Cor. v. 11;

Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 59 (Syr.): 'Visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the presence of the ruler, and do one's diligence to save him from the lion.'

with 2 Tim. iv. 17;
and Aḥiḳar, c. viii. 18 (Syr.), viii. 15 (Arab.), viii. 24 (Arm.) (the pig that went to the bath), with the 'true proverb' in 2 Peter ii. 22, noting that the proverb in Aḥiḳar can be traced back to him through Democritus.

f. Parallels in the Koran.

The Koran knows Aḥiḳar by the name of Loqman, and makes allusion to him and his gnomic sayings.

The 31st Sura of the Koran is, in fact, named after him, and we may compare:

'O my son . . . be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice, for the most ungrateful of all voices surely is the voice of asses.'

The passage becomes intelligible when we put by the side of it Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 45 (Arm.), ii. 8 (Syr.), ii. 11 (Arab.):

'My son, cast down thy eyes and lower thy voice . . . for if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day.'

§ 4. Materials for the Determination of the Text.

a. The Aramaic Papyrus.

The first and only authority for the original text of Aḥiḳar is the Aramaic papyrus, discovered at Elephantiné by Dr. Rubensohn in the excavations of 1906–1908, and published by Sachau in 1911 as part of his *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantiné*. The MS. is unfortunately imperfect, but it is clear, from comparison with a number of dated documents with which it was found, that it was written somewhere between 420 B.C. and 400 B.C. It is thus the earliest example of either Biblical or Apocryphal literature. The book itself cannot have been composed very much earlier than its copy, and Sachau suggests that it was produced somewhere between 550 and 450 B.C. We should say that the upper limit is more likely, for even if the book were at once popular (as it almost certainly was) it would take time for it to be carried from Mesopotamia to the outlying Jewish colony at the first cataract of the Nile. Suppose we say that it was written about 500 B.C., or a little earlier. It should be somewhat later than the Aramaic inscriptions from Zinjerli, for in these the name of Assyria is still written Asshur, whereas the Aḥiḳar book has Athur. The

Aramaic, then, is the original language: there is no sign of Hebraism anywhere in the book. We are as near to the first form of an ancient book as we are ever likely to be.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the papyrus is so incomplete. There is nothing preserved of the narrative portion after the condemnation of Aḥiḳar, and not very much of what leads up to the condemnation; while the fragments of the proverbs and parables are so difficult to reconstruct, that we are hardly able to read a single unbroken sentence. It appears as if the proverbial philosophy and the parabolic admonitions were mixed up together, and that there was little agreement between what is contained of them in the papyrus and the two collections which are exhibited in our extant versions.

Moreover, as the latter part of the narrative is not extant, which must at least have contained the account of Aḥiḳar's recovery, we cannot be certain whether the Egyptian episode is a part of the missing matter or whether it is the addition of a later folklorist. We can, however, make certain things quite clear.

First of all, the papyrus makes the story fall under Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, his son; and it does not make the mistake which occurs in most of the later versions, of calling Sennacherib the son of Esarhaddon, and putting all the story in his reign. It is nearer to history even if it is not exactly history. We understand, too, what used to be a difficulty, why Tobit, which certainly follows Aḥiḳar, does not make the mistake of inversion with regard to the kings which we find in Aḥiḳar, according to the later versions (though there are suspicions that Tobit has corrected an original mistake).

If, however, the papyrus in certain points discredits the later versions, there are other points in which it accredits even the youngest of them. Thus the Arabic version has the correct Assyrian form, Nabušumiškun, for the executioner of Aḥiḳar; and M. l'Abbé Nau, in his valuable book on Aḥiḳar, has pointed out that one of the youngest copies of the Syriac text is free from the historical blunder over Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. Further, amongst the few proverbial sentences that can be reconstructed from the papyrus fragments there is one which is preserved in the Armenian version, and apparently nowhere else. So that even late versions are not to be despised in the reconstruction of the original legend.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the story has been treated very freely by many generations of transcribers. Even if it should be maintained that there was an original historical nucleus (which seems very unlikely in view of the manner in which the story is told) there can be no doubt that it was handled as a folk-tale from the earliest times. For example, in the opening of the story, Aḥiḳar explains his unsuccessful wedlock with sixty wives, for whom he built sixty castles or palaces. That is genuine folk-lore. When he adopts his sister's son, Nadan, he hands him over to eight wet-nurses that they may bring him up; and the boy grows up like a cedar under their assiduous fostering. If any one doubts whether this is folk-lore or not, he may consult the following openings of Tibetan tales from the collection of von Schiefner and Ralston:

Story of Sudhana Avadana, p. 52.

The boy Sudhana was handed over to eight nurses, two to carry him, two to suckle him, two to cleanse him, and two to play with him. As those eight nurses fed him and brought him up on milk, &c.: . . . he shot up like a lotus in a tank, &c.

An exactly similar story concerning the rearing of Visvantara on p. 257; again, on p. 273, *The Story of the Fulfilled Prophecy*, the same description is given of the rearing of Sūryanemi; and on p. 279, *The Story of the Two Brothers*, the same description will be found for the early years of Kohemankara.

In the same way, whether the Egyptian episodes of the story are a part of the original document or not, they are neither more nor less than folk-lore. For instance, the demand of the Pharaoh that Aḥiḳar should make some ropes out of sand is one of the themes in the Tibetan tale of Mahausadha and Vasakha, which will be found, in the collection from which we have just quoted, on p. 138: 'King Janaka sent a messenger to Pūrna, the head-man of the village Pūrnakatshtshha, with an order to send a rope made of sand one hundred ells long,' &c.

These examples, taken from a single collection of Eastern folk-tales, will be sufficient to show, to any one who is unfamiliar with Eastern story-telling, that the Aḥiḳar legend is not meant to be taken for history. It is an ethical folk-tale, with Ingratitude for its theme of reprehension. To try to turn it into history is to do the original composer a literary injustice. We now turn to the description of the leading versions.

b. The Syriac Version (S).

There are not many copies of this version, and those that do exist are late. The following are the chief texts:

S_1: a single leaf of the twelfth or thirteenth century in the British Museum (Cod. Add. 7200).
S_2: a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, formerly in the possession of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated A. D. 1697 (Univ. Cant. Add. 2020).
S_3: a MS. in the Sachau Collection at Berlin (Cod. Sach. 336), written in 1883. This is the MS. to which M. Nau attaches so great importance, that he has made it the basis of his text. The main thing in its favour is that it has escaped the inversion of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.
S_4, S_5, S_6 are three transcripts in the American Mission Library at Ooroomiah, none of them of any importance.
S_7 is a fragment of the fifteenth century at Berlin (Cod. Sach. 162).
S_8 in the British Museum (sixteenth or seventeenth century) = Cod. Or. 2213, contains the latter part of the story of Aḥiḳar.
S_9 is a MS. in the Chaldean convent which Nau describes as 'Notre-Dame des Semences, à neuf heures au nord de Mossoul', written in 1883.

Of these S_1, S_2, S_3, S_8 are the only ones that require attention.

There is also a translation into modern Syriac (dialect of the Jebel Tûr) in the Berlin MS., Cod. Sach. 339; it is accompanied by an Arabic text, of which it appears to be a direct translation.

c. The Arabic and Karshuni Versions (A and K).

We have the text of Aḥiḳar in Arabic, printed by Salhani in his *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout), and there are also a number of MSS. either in Arabic script, or in Karshuni (Arabic in Syriac characters): of these the principal are:—

K_1: a Cambridge MS. (Cod. Add. 2886) dated 1783.
K_2: a British Museum MS. (Cod. Add. 7209).

The former of these MSS., with the latter as an occasional supplement, is the base of Mrs. Lewis's translation of Aḥiḳar in the Cambridge volume.

K_3: a Gotha MS. (no. 2652), which was employed by Cornill in editing an Arabic counterpart to his Ethiopic text of the Sayings of Aḥiḳar.
K_4: a Vatican MS. from Aleppo, referred to by Assemani.
K_5: the Arabic half of the Berlin MS. (Cod. Sach. 339) described above as containing a modern Syriac version and a Karshuni original.

The Arabic MSS. proper must be fairly numerous. There are examples in Copenhagen and in the Vatican and at Paris.

A_1: Copenhagen (Cod. Arab. 236), written in 1670.
A_2: Vatican (Cod. Arab. 11), from the collection of Pope Innocent XIII, written in 1766.
A_3: Vatican (Cod. Arab. 55).
A_4: Paris (Cod. Arab. 3637), from which Caussin de Perceval made his translation.

d. The Ethiopic Version (Aeth.).

A complete Ethiopic version has not yet been found; but in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers* fifteen maxims of Aḥiḳar are extant, translated from an Arabic original. They were published by Cornill in 1875.

e. The Armenian Version (Arm.).

This version is of peculiar importance. It is at least as early as 450 A.D., and is extant in numerous copies, most of which are unfortunately late. It was also frequently printed in Constantinople in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mr. Conybeare has noted the following MSS.:—

$Arm._1$ in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
$Arm._2$ at Venice, no. 482 in the Library of San Lazaro: fifteenth or sixteenth century.
$Arm._3$ at Paris (Cod. Arm. no. 92), in the National Library: dated A. D. 1619.
$Arm._4$ at Paris (Cod. Supp. 58), seventeenth century.
$Arm._5$ at Paris (Cod. Arm. 131), late seventeenth century.
$Arm._6$ at Paris (Cod. Arm. 69), seventeenth century.
$Arm._7$ at Oxford (Bodl. Can. Or. 131), A. D. 1697.
$Arm._8$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 2048), about A. D. 1600.
$Arm._9$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1633) in A. D. 1604.

Arm.$_{10}$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1995) in A. D. 1605.
Arm.$_{11}$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1986) in A. D. 1623.
Arm.$_{12}$ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 51) in A. D. 1642.

As we have said, this version is early, its text inspires confidence. For example, the saying 'Son, rejoice not thou in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not thou distressed' is found only in the Armenian and in the newly-found papyrus.

The translation of the Armenian version is made from Mr. Conybeare's Armenian text which is published in *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, Cambridge, 1898, and is based on the above MSS.

f. The Greek Version (Aes.).

All that we at present know of the Greek version is contained in the Greek lives of Aesop, which are modelled upon the story of Aḥiḳar, and which may conveniently be studied in Eberhard's *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, in which the part that corresponds to Aḥiḳar runs from p. 285 to p. 297.

g. The Slavonic Version (Sl.).

This version is made from the lost Greek, and is translated by Jagić in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, pp. 107–126. We have not thought it worth while to give a translation of this version.

It is probable that other versions will come to light before long: in particular we consider it very unlikely that there should be no traces of the story in Latin.

Summary of the Principal Editions, Versions, and Translations of the Text of Ahikar.

1. The original text will be found in Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantiné* (Berlin, 1911), and in Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantiné* (Leipzig, 1911).

2. The Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic versions in *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, edited by Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis (Cambridge, 1898).

3. The Slavonic version translated into German by Jagić, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i, pp. 107–26 (1892). This translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

4. The Ethiopic fragment was published by Cornill in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers*, and Cornill's translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

5. The Arabic version was published by Salhani in *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout) and in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

6. The Arabic version was translated in not a few editions of the *Arabian Nights*, beginning with Chavis et Cazotte (Cabinet des Fées), t. xxxix.

7. A neo-Syriac version, accompanied by an Arabic text, was published by Lidzbarski in 1894 (*Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibl. zu Berlin*), Weimar. A German translation accompanies this work.

8. English translations of the chief texts are found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*; and the Syriac version was translated by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1898.

9. A French translation of the Syriac versions is given by M. Nau, *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahikar* (Paris, 1909).

10. The Greek version, so far as it is involved in the text of Aesop, may be consulted in Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*; the principal parts of the parallel story being reproduced in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.

11. The Armenian version has often been printed. The first attempt at a critical edition is found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*, accompanied by a translation; the earlier editions have been chronicled for the following dates: 1708, 1731, 1807, 1834, 1850, 1861 (see Nau, p. 15). The book appears to have been very popular in the Armenian community.

Comparative Arrangement of the Sayings of Ahikar in Different Versions.

I. *Proverbs of Ahikar.*

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter II.

Syriac.		Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.	
A	B				
1	1	1	1		Cf. Arm. c. ii at end.
2	2	2	1 *b*	1 *a*	
3	3	3, 5		1 *c*	
4	4	6		1 *b*	
5	7	9		2	Cf. Syr. A 19, 72.
6				39	
7		10		3	

Syriac.		Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.
A	B			
		11 *a*		45 *a*
8	9	11 *b*	4	45 *b*
		11 *c*		
9	10	12	5	4
10		13		7
11	11			5
12	12	14		6
13	13	16	6	9
14	14	17	7	10 *a*

Syriac. A	Syriac. B	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.	
15	15	18		10 *b*	Cf. Arm. 27.
16	16	19 *a*		10 *c*?	
17	18	58		11, 97	
18	19	8		13	
19	7 *a*, 20				Cf. Syr. A 5, 72.
20	21	19 *b*, 58 *b*			
21		21	9	12	
		22	8		
22		23	10	14	
23		24	11	14	
24		25			
25				17	
26		26		18, 78	
27		27		19	
28		28, 29		20, 21	
29		31 *a*		22 *a*	
30				22 *b*	
31		31 *b*		23	
32					
33				41	
34		33		42	
35				85	
36		30		43	
37				44 *a*	Cf. Syr. A 56.
38	5	35 *a*	2	Parab. 26 *c*	Greek 11.
39		35 *b*		47	
40		36		64?	
41		37		65	
42		39		66	Cf. Syr. A 47 and Arm. 15.
43				67	
44				68	
				69 *a*	

Syriac. A	Syriac. B	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.	
45				69 *b*	
46				69 *c*	
47		41		15	Cf. Syr. A 42, Arm. 66.
48		44		51	
49 *a*		46		73 *c*	
49 *b*		7, 47	12	50	
50 *a*		48 *a*			
50 *b*		48 *b*		25	
51		49		52	
52		53			
53		45	13		
54				56	
55	8	54 *b*	3	57	
56				91	
57		56		77	
58					
59				60	
60		58 *a*			
61	22	38, 55		28	
62		59	14	83	
63					
64		20		80 *a*	
65		38, 62		28, 81 *a*	
66	6			81 *b*	
67		60	15	38	
68		63		82	
69		64			
70		65			
71		66			
72					Cf. Syr. A 5, 19.
73		61 *a*			
74				84	
75				26, 27	

II. *Parables of Ahikar.*

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter VIII.

Syriac.	Arabic.	Arm.	
1	1	1	
2 *a*	2 *a*	2	
2 *b*	2 *b*	3, 5, 7	Cf. Syr. 23, 30–2.
3	3	8	
4	4	9	
5	6	10	
6	5	18	
7	8	12 *b c*	
8	7, 9		
9		17	
10	10	15	
11	11		
12	12 *a*	12 *d*	
13			
14	12 *b*	11	
15	13		
16			
17	14	19	
18	15	24 *a*	
19		6	
20 *a*	17	14 *a*	
20 *b*	18	14 *c*	
20 *c*	19	14 *b*	

Syriac.	Arabic.	Arm.	
21			
22			
23			Cf. Syr. 2, 30–2.
24	20	12 *a*	
25		13	
26	21	20	
27	22	21	
28			
29	23		
30			
31	26		
32	27	4	
33		22	
34	29	24 *b*	
35	30	25	
36 *a*	32	16	
36 *b*	33	23	
37		26	Cf. Arm. 7.
38	34		
39	35		
40			
41	38	26 *c*, 27	

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

Syriac Version A.
from MS. Syr.$_2$

1 1 AGAIN, by the divine power, I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥiḳar, sage and secretary of Sennacherib the king of Assyria and Nineveh.

In the twentieth year of Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, I, Aḥiḳar, was the king's secretary.

2 And it had been said to me when I was a boy, that no son will be born to thee[1]: and the wealth that I had acquired was too vast to tell. Sixty wives had I wedded: and sixty castles did I build them: and I had no son.

3 Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, built me a great altar, all of wood; and kindled fire upon it, and laid good meat thereon. and thus I spake:

4 'O Lord, my God; when I shall die and leave no son, what will men say of me? they will say that this, then, is Aḥiḳar the just and good and God-serving: he is dead, and has left no son to bury him, no! nor a daughter: and his possessions, as if he were accursed, no man inherits.
5 But I ask of Thee, O God, that I may have a male child; so that when I shall die, he may cast dust on my eyes:'

6 and this voice was heard by me, 'O Aḥiḳar, wise scribe, all that thou hast asked of me I have given thee; but as to my having left thee childless, let it suffice thee: perplex not thyself: but behold! Nadan thy sister's son: he shall be a son unto thee: so that with the growth of his stature thou shalt be able to teach him everything.'

[1] Presumably, this was said by the astrologers.

Syriac Version B.
from MS. Syr.$_3$

. . . And it was said to me, '[There will be no 1
son to thee].' And I had much wealth; I wedded me sixty wives, and built me sixty castles: and from none of these women had I a son.

Then I 3
built me a great altar of incense and vowed a vow, and said,

'O Lord God, give me a male 5
child, that when I shall die he may cast dust on my eyes.'

Thereupon there was heard by me 6
this voice, saying, 'O Aḥiḳar, vex not thyself overmuch; there is no son for thee; but behold Nadan thy sister's son; make him thy son; so that as he grows up, thou mayst be able to 8 1
teach him everything.' Then when I heard this, I took Nadan my sister's son, and he became my son.

Arabic Version

1 1 In the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God[1] and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.

There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhaduṇ, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was 2 Vizier of the king Sennacherib. He had a fine fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, [in] knowledge, [in] opinion and [in] government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them. But with it all he had no child by any of these women, 3 who might be his heir. And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness. And they said to him, 'Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy.' 4 And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request and entreaty. And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at 5 his heart. And he returned, and implored the Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, 'O Most High God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things! I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be consoled by him, that he may be present at my death, that he may close my eyes, and that he may bury me.'

Then 6 6 there came to him a voice saying, 'Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long. But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee.'

[1] Literally 'God, may He be exalted!' *passim.*

Armenian Version

1 1 THE maxims and wisdom of Khikar, which the children of men learn.

In the times and in the reign of Seneqerim King of Nineveh and of Asorestan, I, Khikar Notary of Seneqerim the King, took[1] sixty wives and builded me sixty palaces. And I, Khikar, was sixty years of age, 2 and I had not a son.

Then I went in to the 3 gods with many offerings; I lit a fire before the gods and cast incense[2] upon it, and presented my offerings and sacrificed victims, kneeled down and prayed, and thus spake in my prayer.

O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and 4 Shamin, ordain and give to me male seed. For lo, Khikar dieth alive. And what say men? That Khikar though alive and wise and clever is dead, and there is no son of his to bury him, nor daughter to bewail him. I have no heir after my death. Not even if a son should spend ten talents in the last day, would he exhaust my riches. But (I ask merely) that he may cast 5 dust with his hands upon me, in order that I may not remain unremembered.

Then there was a voice from the gods and 6 they said:

Khikar, there is not ordained seed for thee. But thou shalt take Nathan[3], thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son, and he shall pay thee back thy cost of rearing him[4].

[1] Can. thus: 'acquired me slaves and handmaids and many possessions. I builded,' &c.
[2] Add 'of sweet odour' 58 and Edjm.
[3] So the better Arm. MSS. The inferior read 'Nadan'.
[4] So Canon. Others have 'pay thee back thy name'. See note on Arm. text.

SYR. A

7 And when I heard these things, I was grieved again, and said, 'O Lord God! is it that Thou wilt give me as a son Nadan my sister's son, so that when I die, he may throw dust on my eyes?' And no further answer was 8 returned to me. And I obeyed the command and took to me for a son Nadan, my sister's son: and because he was yet young, I furnished him with eight wet-nurses: and I brought up my son on honey, and made him lie on choice carpets, 9 and clothed him in fine linen and purple; and my son grew and shot up like a cedar, and when my son was grown big, I taught him book-lore 10 and wisdom; and when the king came from the place to which he had gone, he called me and said to me, 'O Aḥiḳar, the wise scribe and master of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and die, who is there to come after thee and to serve me like thyself?'

11 And I answered and said to him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have a son, wise like myself, and book-learned like myself, and educated.'

12 And the king said to me, 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until 13 thou shalt end thy days.' Then I took my son Nadan and set him before the king, and when my lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall be a blessed day before God, so that like as Aḥiḳar walked[1] before my father Sarḥadum, and before me also, he shall be rewarded[2] and I will set his son in my gate in his lifetime, and he shall depart his life [in peace].'

14 Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, bowed down before the king and said, 'My lord the king, live for ever! And like as I walked before thy father and before thyself even until now, so do thou also extend thy forbearance to the youthfulness of this my son, that thy grace which was toward me may be found multiplied 15 towards him.' Then when the king heard this, he gave me his right hand, and I, Aḥiḳar, bowed down before the king.

Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son, until I had filled him with instruction as with bread and water. And on this wise was I discoursing to him:

[1] Lit. 'ran'.
[2] Reading ܢܬܦܪܥ.

SYR. B

ARABIC

7 Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him
8 and bring him up. And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken
9 clothing, and purple and crimson. And he was seated upon couches of silk. And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy.

10 And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqâr and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him, 'O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor[1] and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near. Tell me who shall have a place in my service
11 after thee.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child. And I have brought him up and taught him my
12 wisdom and my knowledge.' And the king said to him, 'O Haiqâr! bring him to my presence, that I may see him, and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy
13 life in sweet repose.' Then Haiqâr went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour. And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqâr: 'Is this thy son, O Haiqâr? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that I may honour him and make
14 him powerful for thy sake.' And Haiqâr did obeisance to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayst be patient with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting.' Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all
15 honour and respect. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell. And he took Nadan his sister's son with him and seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water.

[1] Literally 'the sealer of my secrets', *passim*.

ARMENIAN

And when I heard this from the gods, I took 7
Nathan my sister's son; one year old was he, and I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck; and like a king's son I decked him out with ornaments. And I gave him to drink milk and honey, and 8
laid him to sleep on my eagles and doves, until he was seven years of age. Then I began to 9
teach him writing and wisdom and the art of knowledge and the answering of dispatches, and the returns of contradictory speeches. And by day and by night I ceased not to instruct him; and I sated him with my teaching, as it were with bread and water.

Then saith the king unto me: Khikar, my 10
Notary and wise one, I know that thou art grown old; and after thy death, who is there to discharge ably and wisely the affairs of our kingdom? And I am very grieved at this thought.

And I said to him: O King, live for 11
ever. There is my son, who is superior to me and is more clever.

And the king says: Bring 12
him unto me, that I may behold him. And when I had brought him and stood him before the king, he beheld him and said: In his days may Khikar be blessed, because in his lifetime he hath led and stood before me his son, and may he himself be at rest.

I bowed my head to my lord, and taking 13
Nathan I led him into my dwelling and thus spake in my teaching[1].

[1] Canon adds: 'give ear to my conversation and precept. Write it on thy seal, and forget it not; that the years of thy life may be plentiful, and that in glory and wealth thou mayst reach old age.' No other Arm. source

The Proverbs of Ahikar

Syr. A

2 1 'Hear, O my son Nadan, and come to the understanding of me, and be mindful of my words, as the words of God[1]:

2 My son Nadan, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it to no man; lest it become a hot coal in thy mouth and burn thee, and thou lay a blemish on thy soul, and be angered against God.

3 My son, do not tell all that thou hearest, and do not disclose all that thou seest.

4 My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, and do not seal one that is loosed.

5 My son, lift not up thy eyes and look upon a woman that is bedizened and painted; and do not lust after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all that is in thy hands, thou findest no advantage in her; and thou wilt be guilty of sin against God.

6 My son, commit not adultery with the wife of thy neighbour; lest others should commit adultery with thy wife.

7 My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond-tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten; but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry-tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten.

8 My son, cast down thine eyes, and lower thy voice, and look from beneath thine eyelids: for

[1] Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, c. iv, 'Him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord'.

Syr. B

And on this wise I was saying to him[1]:

2 'Hear my teaching, my son Nadan; and come to my understanding, and be mindful of my words, according to the following sayings:' and thereupon Aḥiḳar[2] began to teach Nadan his sister's son, and answered and said to him:

'My son, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in 2
thy heart; and reveal it to no man; lest it should become a hot coal in thy mouth, and burn thee; and thou shalt lay blemish on thy soul, and shalt be hated on earth, and be angered against God[3].

My son, do not tell all that thou seest, and do 3
not disclose all that thou hearest.

My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, 4
and do not seal one which is loosed.

My son, sweeten thy tongue, and make savoury 5
the opening of thy mouth; because the tail of the dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.

My son, the eye of man is a fountain, and is 6
not satisfied with riches until [filled with dust].

⟨My son⟩, lift ⟨not⟩ up thine eyes ⟨and look 7
upon a woman bedizened⟩ and beautified, lust not after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all [that thou hast, advantage][4] in her thou wilt not find; and thou wilt be guilty of sin before God.

My son, stand not in the house of those that 8
are at strife: because from a word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel is stirred up vexation; and from vexedness springs murder[5].

My son, if a house were built by loudness of
voice, the ass would build two houses in a single

[1] The account of the earlier years of Nadan's bringing up is omitted; if indeed it existed in the first form of the story.

[2] The text is double; a copy which had the primitive 'I, Aḥiḳar, took my son' having been compounded with one that had 'Thereupon Aḥiḳar'. A comparison with the Tobit-parallels shows that the second clause is a modification of the first.

[3] We expect 'And God shall be angry with thee'.

[4] A slight correction has been made in the Syriac text.

[5] Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 'My child, be not angry, for anger leads to murder,' which is a simpler and more archaic form of the same precept.

The Proverbs of Ahikar

Arabic

Thus he taught him, saying:

2 1 'O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.

2 O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man.

3 O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and if thou hast seen something, tell it not.

4 O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer.

5 O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not.

6 O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot.

7 O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8 O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared.

9 O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe to thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee.

10 O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all.

11 O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass

Armenian

Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, 2 1
make it to die and bury it in thy heart, and to no one divulge it. The knot that is sealed do thou not loose, and that which is loosed do thou not tie. And that which thou dost see, tell not; and that which thou hearest, reveal it not.

Son, raise not up thine eyes to look on a 2
lovely woman, rouged and antimonied. Desire her not in thy heart. For if thou shouldst give her all thy riches, thou[1] dost get nothing the more out of her; but art condemned by God and by mankind. For she is like unto a sepulchre which is fair on the upper side and below is full of the rottenness and bones of the dead.

Son, be not like the olive-tree, which is first 3
to bloom and last to ripen its fruit. But be like the mulberry, which is last to bloom and first to ripen its fruit.

has such an addition, which however distantly resembles the Slavonic and Syriac.

[1] Bodl. = 'thou art not in any way benefited by her more than to be condemned by the God of just judgements and by mankind'. Canon = 'thou wilt not get anything more than thy own sin and shame from men and judgement from God', omitting the rest.

SYR. A

if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day: and if by sheer force the plough was guided, its share would never be loosed from the shoulder of the camel.

9 My son, it is better to remove stones with a wise man than to drink wine with a fool.

10 My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.

11 My son, with a wise man thou wilt not be depraved, and with a depraved man thou wilt not become wise.

12 My son, associate with the wise man, and thou wilt become wise like him; and associate not with a garrulous and talkative man, lest thou be numbered with him.

13 My son, while thou hast shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and for thy sons' sons.

14 My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "He ate it for medicine." And the poor man eats it, and they say, "For his hunger he ate it."

15 My son, eat thy portion, and despise not thy neighbours.

16 My son, it is not becoming even to eat with a shameless man.[1]

17 My son, envy not the prosperity of thy enemy; and rejoice not at his adversity.[2]

18 My son, draw not near to a woman that is a whisperer, nor to one whose voice is high.

19 My son, go not after the beauty of a woman, and lust not after her in thy heart because the beauty of a woman is her good sense, and her adornment is the word of her mouth.

20 My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with wisdom.[3]

21 My son, the wicked falleth and riseth not; but the just man is not moved, for God is with him.

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. v. 11 *ἐάν τις . . . ἢ πόρνος . . . τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν.*

[2] Cf. Prov. xxiv. 17 *ἐὰν πέσῃ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, μὴ ἐπιχαρῇς αὐτῷ.*

[3] He does not mean 'overcome evil with good', which would be a sentiment foreign to the action of the story, but 'get the better of him'.

SYR. B

day: and if by sheer force the plough was directed, the ploughshare would never be worn away under[1] the shoulder of the camel.

Better to remove stones with the wise man than to drink wine with the fool.

My son, in the company of the wise thou wilt not be depraved; and in the company of the depraved thou wilt not become wise.

My son, make companion of the wise person, and thou wilt become wise like him; and make not a companion of the foolish person, lest thou be reckoned like him.

While there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and thy sons' sons.

My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "For his medicine he ate it": the poor man eats it, and they say, "Because of his hunger he ate it."

My son, eat thy portion, and stretch not out thy hand over that of thy neighbour.

My son, do not eat bread with a man that is shameless.

My son, if thou seest thine enemy fallen, do not mock at him; lest he should rise up and repay thee.

My son, be not envious at the good fortune of thine enemy; and do not rejoice at his misfortune.

My son, do not approach a woman who is hateful and talkative, and one whose voice is high.

For the beauty of a woman is her good sense and the word of her mouth is her adornment.

My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good.

My son, if thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him. . . .'

End of Fragment.

J. R. HARRIS.

[1] This difficult expression is replaced in S_2 by the easier term 'would never be loosed from'. In either case the meaning is obscure. Quaere, 'if brute force were sufficient, the camel might go on ploughing by himself'?

ARABIC

would build many houses every day; and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.

12 O my son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man.

13 O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.

14 O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him and learn his ways.

15 O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend; and do not praise him without a trial; and do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom.

16 O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot be saved.

17 [O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say "It is by his wisdom", and if a poor man eat it, the people say "From his hunger".]

18 O my son! be content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another's.

19 O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, show him kindness.

20 O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him.

21 O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.

22 O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him.

ARMENIAN

Son, it is better with a wise man to carry stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine. 4

Son, with wise men be not a fool, and with fools be not thou wise. 5

Son, be thou the companion of a wise man, so that thou become wise as he is; but do not become the companion of a senseless man and of a fool, lest like them thou be called a fool. 6

Son, pour out thy wine, and drink it not with the senseless and with the lawless, lest thou be despised by them [1]. 7

Son, be thou not over-sweet, so that they swallow thee down, nor over-bitter, so that they spit thee out. But do thou be gentle, tranquil in the works of thy paths and in all thy words. 8

Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons [2]. 9

Son, a rich man hath eaten a serpent, and they say it is medicine for him. A poor man hath eaten it, and they say that he ate it out of hunger. Eat thy own portion in peace [3], and cast not thy eye on that of thy companion; and with one that is without fear go not on a journey; and with the senseless do thou not eat bread. 10

Son, if thou seest thy enemy fallen, do not make a scoff at him; for if he get up again, he requiteth thee evil [4]. 11

Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, but the just man is raised by his good deeds. 12

Son, go not near a senseless and backbiting woman, that thou be not despised by her [5]; and thou art made a mock of, and she robs thee. 13

[1] Canon and Edjm. = 'despised like them'.
[2] So Canon, *ordotz*: the other MSS. have *otitz*, 'for thy feet'.
[3] Ven. and Canon add 'in peace': Bodl. and 58 omit.
[4] Ven. adds: 'and there is continual ill-will.'
[5] The Arm. = 'by them'. If that be read we should turn 'woman' into the plural.

SYR. A

22 My son, withhold not thy son from stripes; for the beating of a boy is like manure to the garden, and like rope to an ass [or any other beast],[1] and like tether on the foot of an ass.

23 My son, subdue thy son while he is yet a boy, before he wax stronger than thee and rebel against thee, and thou be shamed in all his corrupt doing.

24 My son, get thee an ox that [is fat and] lies down, and an ass that has good hoofs, but do not get thee a slave that is runaway nor a maid that is thievish; lest they destroy all that thou hast gotten.

25 My son, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; and he that is void of understanding eateth them.

26 My son, bring not upon thee the curses of thy father and of thy mother, lest thou rejoice not in the blessings of thy children.

27 My son, walk not in the way

[1] The bracketed words are a gloss.

ARABIC

23 O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door.

24 O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds.

25 O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.

26 O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, "He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good."

27 O my son! walk not on

ARMENIAN

Son, spare not the rod to thy son; for the rod is to children as the dung in the garden; and as the tie and seal fastening the packet, and as the tether on the feet of the ass, so is the rod profitable to the child. For if thou strike him with a rod once or twice, he is rendered clever quietly, he does not die[1]. But if thou leave him to his own will, he becomes a thief; and they take him to the gallows and to death, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart[2]. 14

Son, train thy son in hunger and thirst, in order that in humility he may lead his life. 1

Son, receive not any who shall repeat to thee the (word) of an enemy, for they will repeat thy word. 1

Son[3], at first thou art fond of a false man[4], but in the end he becomes hateful to thee. For a false word is like a fat quail; but he that is foolish swallows it down. 1

Son, love the father who begat thee, and earn not the curses of thy father and mother; to the end that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy own sons. 1

Son, without a weapon go 1

[1] Bodl. = 'once or twice, he is quieted, but does not die'. I render the Venice text which is attested by Canon.

[2] Canon here adds in agreement with the Syriac and Slavonic these two precepts: 'Son, make thy child obedient, while he is small and pliant, lest he come into open conflict with thee, and thou be undone by his injury, and win the curses of strangers because of his disobedience. Son, acquire for thyself a sturdy ass and a strong-hoofed horse and an ox short in neck. And desire not a runaway slave, or one petulant of tongue, or a quarrelsome thief.'

[3] Paris 58 omits this adage.

[4] So Bodl., 58: Ven. = 'at first (one) loves a false man'.

SYR. A

unarmed; because thou knowest not when thy enemy shall come upon thee.

28 My son, even as a tree is fair in its branches and fruit, and a bosky mountain in its trees, so is a man fair in his wife and weans; and he that hath not brethren, nor wife nor weans, is despised and contemptible before his enemies; and he is like unto a tree by the roadside, from which every passer-by plucketh, and every beast of the weald teareth down its leafage.[1]

29 My son, say not, "My lord is a fool, and I am wise"; but take hold of him in his faults and thou shalt obtain mercy.

30 My son, count not thyself to be wise, when others count thee not to be wise.

31 My son, lie not in thy speech before thy lord, lest thou be convicted, and he shall say to thee, "Away from my sight!"

32 My son, let thy words be true, in order that thy lord may say to thee, "Draw near me," and thou shalt live.

33 My son, in the day of thy calamity revile not God; lest when He hear thee, He should be angered against thee.

34 My son, treat not thy slave better than his fellow; for thou knowest not which of them thou wilt have need of at the last.

35 My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee.

[1] Cf. Ps. cxxvii. 5.

ARABIC

the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayst be ready for him.

28 O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is disgraced in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless tree.

29 O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.

30 O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf.

31 O my son! say not, "My lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him.

32 O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us."

33 (O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.)

34 O my son! be not afraid

ARMENIAN

not on a journey by night[1], lest thy enemy meet thee, and thou be destroyed.

Son, as a tree is enjoyable to 20
see for its fruit and branches, and the mountains are wooded with the cedars, in the same way are enjoyable to see man and wife[2] and son and brother and kinsman and friend, and all families.

Son, one who hath not wife 21
or son or brother or kinsman or friend is in the long years despised, and is like unto a tree that is in the crossways, and all who pass by it pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.

Son[3], say not thus: My lord 22
is foolish and I am wise, but bear with him in his folly; and thou wilt keep thyself with a wise man, until some other one shall praise thee.

Son, say ill to no one; and 23
be thou not evil-tongued in the presence of thy lord, that thou be not contemned by him.

Son, turn not aside at the day 24
of thy sacrifice, for fear lest the Lord be displeased with thy sacrifice[4].

Son, quit not the scene of 25
mourning and repair unto the wedding; for death lies ahead of all, and the punishment is great.

Son, put not on thy finger a 26
gold[5] ring which is not thine; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple that is not thine. Neither mount a horse that is not thine, since the onlookers who know it will make mock at thee[6].

[1] Canon adds 'by night' with the Slavonic. The other sources omit with the Syriac.

[2] Ven. omits 'and wife'. The other sources with Canon add it.

[3] Paris 58 omits this adage.

[4] Paris 58 adds 'which thou offerest'.

[5] Paris 58 adds 'or silver'.

[6] Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'when they recognize it'.

Syr. A

36 My son, the flock that makes many tracks becomes the portion of the wolves.

37 My son, judge upright judgement in thy youth, in order that in thy age thou mayst have honour.

38 My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.

39 My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.

40 My son, smite the [wise] man with wise word, that it may be in his heart like a fever in summer; [but know] that if thou smite the fool with many blows, he will not understand.

41 My son, send a wise man and give him no orders; but if thou wilt send a fool, go rather thyself and send him not.

42 My son, test thy son with bread and water, and then thou canst leave in his hands thy possessions and thy wealth.

43 My son, withdraw at the first cup, and tarry not for lickerish draughts[1]: lest there be to thee wounds in thy head.

44 My son, he whose hand is full is called wise and honourable; and he whose hand is scant is called foolish and abject.

45 My son, I have carried salt and removed lead; and I have not seen anything heavier than

[1] Lit. 'heats'. But perhaps we should change the reading slightly (cf. the 73rd proverb), and translate 'tarry not for sweet unguents'.

Arabic

of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee.

35 O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue; and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread at another time on thy breast.

36 O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear.

37 O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest: and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly.

38 O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure[1], and his revenge on thee.

39 O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make away with them; for he who hath a full hand is is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.

40 O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes[2], and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity.

[1] Literally 'he will weigh thee'.
[2] Or 'myrrh'.

Armenian

Son, eat not bread that is not 27
thine own, even though thou be very hungry.

Son, if a man be stronger 28
than thyself, have no controversy with him, lest he slay thee.

Son, crush and consume the 29
evil out of thy heart, and it is well for thee with God and man, and thou art holpen by the will of God.

Son, if thy doorposts be loftily 30
built to heaven as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head.

Son, take not from others 31
with a big weight and give back to them with a little weight, and say: I have made a profit. For God allows it not, but will be wroth; and thou wilt die of starvation.

Son, swear not false, that of 3
thy days there be no fail[1].

Son, give ear unto the laws 3
of God, and be not afraid of the evil (one), for the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

Son, rejoice thou not in the 3
number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not distressed.

Son, children and possessions 3
are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, the poor man is enriched; the humble is exalted, and the exalted is humbled.

Son, if lofty be the lintels of 3
thy house, and thy friend be sick, say not: What shall I send him? but go on foot and see him with thy eyes; for that is better for him than a thousand talents of gold and silver.

Son, in reward for evil-speak- 3
ing receive not gold and silver, for it is a death-fraught deed

[1] Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'upon the earth'.

SYR. A

that a man should pay back a debt when he did not borrow.[1]

46 My son, I have carried iron and removed stones; and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law.

47 My son, teach hunger and thirst to thy son, that according as his eye sees he may govern his house.

48 My son, better is he that is blind of eye than he that is blind of heart; for the blind of eye straightway learneth the road and walketh in it: but the blind of heart leaveth the right way and goeth into the desert.

49 My son, better is a friend that is at hand than a brother who is far away: and better is a good name than much beauty: because a good name standeth for aye, but beauty wanes and wastes away.

50 My son, death is better than life to a man that hath no rest: and better is the voice of wailing in the ears of a fool than music and joy.[2]

51 My son, better is a drumstick in thy hand than a wing [?] in the pot of other people; and better is a sheep that is at hand

[1] Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15; Prov. xxvii. 3.

[2] Cf. Eccles. vii. 1, 2. Apparently the sentiments of Ecclesiastes are contradicted.

ARABIC

41 O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household.

42 O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him.

43 O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him.

44 O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eye may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way.

45 O my son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a man with his tongue.

46 O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away.

47 O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes.

48 O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing.

49 O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying; and poverty which

ARMENIAN

and very evil. And shed not just blood unrighteously, lest thy blood be shed in return for his blood.

38 Son, keep thy tongue from evil-speaking and thine eye from immodest glances, and thy hand from stealing; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether it be gold or little things that one steals, the punishment and the slaying is one and the same.

39 Son, commit not adultery with thy friend's wife, lest God be angry and others commit adultery with thy wife.

40 Son, take not a widow to wife, for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas, for my first husband! and thou art distressed.

41 Son, if retribution overtake thee from God, flee not nor murmur; lest God be angry and with other harsher stroke destroy thee untimely.

42 Son, love not thy son better than thy servant, for thou knowest not which of them will be useful to thee.

43 Son, the sheep that stray from the flock become the portion of the wolves.

44 Son, pass a just judgement in thy mind, and honour the aged; to the end that thou mayst receive honour from the great judge, and that it may be well with thee.

45 Son, incline thine eyes and soften the utterance of thy mouth, and look under thine eyes; that thou mayst not appear senseless to men, for if a temple were built by hallooings, an ass would build seven palaces[1] every day and . . .

[1] So Ven. which has *aparans*. The other MSS. with Canon have *darbas*, a word not given in lexicons, but which must have the same sense. The meaning of the word 'tchardakhs' is unknown and I leave it blank [? cottages]. Canon omits it, perhaps rightly. Canon has this precept 45 after no. 2 of our series and adds to it in that context this: 'Son, if the oxen by sheer strength drew along, the yoke would not diminish from the neck of the camel.'

SYR. A

than a heifer that is far off: and better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters; and better one sparrow in thy hand than a thousand on the wing: and better is a woollen coat on thy back than fine linen and silks on the backs of others.

52 My son, restrain a word in thy heart, and it shall be well with thee; because when thou hast exchanged thy word, thou hast lost thy friend.

53 My son, let not a word go forth from thy mouth, until thou hast taken counsel within thy heart: because it is better for a man to stumble in his heart than to stumble with his tongue.

54 My son, if thou hear an evil matter, put it seven fathoms deep underground.

55 My son, tarry not where there is contention: for from strife arises murder.[1]

56 My son, every one who does not judge right judgement angers God.

57 My son, remove[2] not from thy father's friend, lest perchance thy friend come not near to thee.

58 My son, go not down into princes' gardens, and draw not near to princes' daughters.

59 My son, aid thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayst find

[1] Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, 'Be not angry: for anger leads to murder: nor contentious'.

[2] A slight textual correction.

ARABIC

gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.

50 O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune.

51 O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man.

52 O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins.

53 O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lest thou reveal the secret of thy friend.

54 O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself.

55 O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.

56 O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last.

57 O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion.

ARMENIAN

Son, boast not in the day of 46
thy youth, lest thy youth be thy destruction.

Son, suffer not thy companion 47
to tread on thy feet, lest he should presume and tread on thy neck[1] as well.

Son, speak not in wrath with 48
thine adversary before the judge, lest thou be called senseless[2] and foolish. But whatever he asks thee, answer him with sweetness; and thou wilt heap up his judgement on his head.

Son, if thou petitionest God 49
for good, first fulfil His will with fasting and prayer, and then are fulfilled thy petitions unto thy good.

Son, a good name is better 50
than a face that excites longing. For beauty is destroyed[3], but a good name endureth for ever.

Son, it is better to be blind 51
of eye than blind of mind; for he that is blind of eye is quick to learn the coming and going of the road. But the blind in mind forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

Son, a side-bone in thy own 5
hand is better than a fat lamb in the hand of others. A sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand fluttering in the air. A kid for a feast[4] in thy own house is better than a steer in the house of others.

Son, it is better to garner with 5
poverty[5] than to squander with riches.

Son, curse not thy son, until 5
thou seest his end; and reject him not in scorn, until thou behold his latter end and earnings.

Son, examine the word in thy 5
heart and then utter it. For if thou alter the word, thou art a fawner.

[1] Bodl. add 'and head'.

[2] Bodl.: 'lest thou appear senseless and unprofitable.'

[3] Bodl. 'passes'.

[4] So Bodl. and Canon: Ven. has 'a fat kid in', &c., where *parart* 'fat' is a corruption of *patarag*, which is the *potior lectio* and better attested.

[5] Canon: 'Better is poverty with repose than . . .'

Syr. A

out how thou mayst help him from the lion.

60 My son, rejoice not over thy enemy when he dieth.

61 My son, when thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him.

62 My son, if the waters should stand up without earth, and the sparrow fly without wings, and the raven become white as snow, and the bitter become sweet as honey, then may the fool become wise.

63 My son, if thou art a priest of God, be thou ware of Him and enter His presence in purity, and from His presence remove not.

64 My son, him that God prospers do thou also honour.

65 My son, strive not [1] with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.[2]

66 My son, the eye of man is like a fountain of water, and it is not satisfied with riches until filled with dust.

67 My son, if thy will is to be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from theft, and thou shalt become wise.

68 My son, have no part in the espousal of a woman; for if it shall go ill with her, she will curse thee; and if it shall go well with her, she will not remember thee.

69 My son, he that is elegant in his dress is elegant also in his speech, and he that is con-

[1] Lit. 'judge not'.
[2] Cf. Sirach iv. 26.

Arabic

58 O my son! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting.

59 O my son! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.

60 O my son! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil; then thou wilt be called wise.

61 O my son! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age.

62 O my son! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood.

63 O my son! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, 'My lord, make provision for me'; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it.

64 (O my son! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech; and he

Armenian

Son, if thou hearest an evil word about any one, hide it in thy heart seven fathoms deep; so that the evil die and the good be fulfilled. 56

Son, do thou not scoff frivolously; for the frivolous scoff is a quarrel, and the quarrel is slaying and death. 57

Son, the false word and the false conversation is heavy as lead; but after a few days it floats upon the waters, like the leaf of a tree. 58

Son, reveal thy lesser counsel to thy friend, and after days irritate him and flout him. And [1] if he does not reveal that counsel, then reveal to him thy greater counsels, and thou keepest him a trusty friend. 59

Son, in the presence of kings and judges, be helpful to thy comrade; for, as it were from the mouth of a lion, dost thou rescue him; and he becometh to thee a good name and a glory. 60

Son, if thy enemy come to thy foot, grant him pardon and laugh with joy to his face and receive him with honour. 61

Son, where thou art not invited, go not unto a festival; and where they ask thee not, give no answer. 62

Son, over a river frozen and swollen pass thou not, lest thou die a sudden death. 63

Son, ask of a wise man words of advice [2], and thou shalt be made wise. But if thou ask a foolish man, in spite of many words, he is not wise. 64

Son, if thou sendest a wise man to give any command, he himself fulfils the matter. But if thou sendest a fool, give the command in the presence of many men. And do thou either go thyself or not send him. 65

Son, test thy son in hunger and thirst; and if he is able to bear it, then give thy riches into his hands. 66

[1] Bodl. 'and see, if' and below 'and keep him', &c.
[2] Bodl. 'words of wisdom'.

SYRIAC

temptible in his dress is contemptible also in his speech.

70 My son, if thou shalt find a find before an idol, offer the idol its share of it.[1]

71 My son, the hand that was satisfied and is now hungry will not give, nor the hand that was hungry and is now satisfied.

72 My son, let not thine eyes look upon a woman that is beautiful; and be not inquisitive into beauty that does not belong to thee: because many have perished through the beauty of woman, and her love has been as a fire that burneth.

73 My son, let the wise man strike thee with many blows, and let not the fool salve thee with sweet salve.[2]

74 My son, let not thy foot run after thy friend, lest he be surfeited with thee and hate thee.

75 My son, put not a gold ring on thy finger, when thou hast not [wealth][3], lest fools make mock of thee.'

This is the teaching which Aḥiḳar taught to Nadan his sister's son.

[1] This sentence cannot be of Christian or Moslem origin.
[2] Cf. Ps. cxli. 5, 'Let the righteous smite me,' &c.
[3] Or 'when it is not thine'.

ARABIC

who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.)

65 O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayst be delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.

66 O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry.

67 There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor.'

ARMENIAN

Son, from the house of invi- 67
tation and from the wedding go first before thy fellow, and return not again[1]; that thou mayst get thy boon fragrant[2] and mayst get no wounds on the head.

Son, a man who has many 68
possessions and chattels, they call him wise and virtuous; but one who has few chattels they call a fool and of no account, and no man honoureth him.

Son, I have eaten endive and 69
I have drunk gall, and it was not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt, and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. For though I ate and drank, I could not rest[3]. I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was better for me, than to dwell with the ignorant and the fool.

Son, if thou be poor among 70
thy fellows, reveal it not; lest thou be despised by them, and they hearken not unto thy words.

[1] Perhaps the sense is 'and stay not till the last'.
[2] Canon: 'that thou mayst be anointed with fragrant oil,' &c. Compare the Syriac. Other texts read: 'that thou mayst get a good name.'
[3] Canon adds: 'until I repaid the debt.'

ARMENIAN

71 Son[4], love thy flesh and thy wife. For she is thyself and the companion of thy life, and even by extreme labour she nurtures thy son.[5]

72 Son, if thy lord send thee to bring a dunged grape, bring it not to him; for he will eat the grape, yet not let thee off punishment for the dung.

73 Son, the word of a wise man in drink is better than the word of a fool that is thirsty or sober.[6] Better is an upright slave than one free but false. Better is a friend near at hand than a brother far away.

74 Son, reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.

75 Son, if thou drinkest wine, keep thy tongue from much speaking, and it is well for thee and thou art called wise.

76 Son, without a schedule and witness, give not up thy property, lest the other deny it and thou regret it.

77 Son, forsake not thy friend, lest thou find not another sharer of thy counsel and friend.[7]

78 Son, love thy father who begat thee, and incur not the curse of thy father and mother, so that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy sons.

[4] This precept, no. 41 in the series of Paris 58, is not in Ven.
[5] Paris 58 here repeats precept 15.
[6] The Armenian text must be faulty here.
[7] Nos. 77 and 79 are only given in Paris 58.

ARMENIAN

79 Son, it is better if they steal thy goods, than that they detect theft in thee.

80 Son, if God prosper a man in his undertakings, do thou honour him. And whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him.

81 Son, oppose not thyself to a wealthy man and to a river in flood. For the eyes of a grasping man are not filled [1] except with dust [2].

82 Son, do thou not bring about a betrothal match, for they see the good to be from God and from luck; but the bad is traced to thee, and they call thee an intriguing person [3].

83 Son, if the rivers pause in their courses or the sun in its career, or if the gall become sweet as honey, or the raven turn white as the dove, even so will the senseless man abandon his want of sense and the fool become sensible.

84 Son, go not on foot [4] too often to the house of thy friend, lest he hate thee.

85 Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, pursue him with stones [5].

86 Son, good deeds and a pure offering are pleasing to God; and do thou fear shame as thou fearest God.

87 Son, the taking of an evil counsel into thy heart is the antagonism of the *dev* [6]; and endurance is the foundation of deeds and the rampart of faith.

88 Son, that which seems evil unto thee do not to thy companion; and what is not thine own, give not unto others.

89 Son, love the truth and hate lawlessness and [7] falsehood. Give ear unto the commandments of God, and fear not the evil one. For the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

90 Son, flee from a man that is evil and speaketh falsely; for avarice is the mother of all evils, and all evils are engendered of impudence.

91 Son, love not judgement [8]; for even if thou get the better of thine adversary, yet be in fear of the judgement of God.

92 Son, he that is upright in mind is the sun giving light, and he that is treacherous in heart is gloomy with darkness, and he that is generous in heart is full of pity. He that is grasping, even though he has aught, is nevertheless dull of wit.

93 Son [9], into the house of a drunkard enter not; and if thou enter, tarry not; for in thy habits thou remainest empty and idle.

94 Son, malign not thy fellow whether near or at a distance; for evil words will quickly reach the master and lead to quarrels [10].

95 Son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of gladness, but in the place of a brothel or in any other low and unsuitable place, it is better to drink muck than wine [11].

96 Son, a drunken man thinks in his mind thus: I am brave, and everything that I say, I say wisely. He does not know that if he meets with a man of courage, he will throw him at the first touch of his hands flat on the ground and drag him.

97 (Son, if thou behold thine enemy fallen, do thou sorrow over him, that thou mayst make a friend of him; but if thou mock at him, when he gets up again he will requite thee with evil [12].)

98 Son, a drunken man thinks that the earth whirls round; in his going he knows not that his head is deranged; for as the earth is the mother of all plants and fruit-bearing things, so wine is the mother of all evils; it doth cause men to be sick with divers sicknesses, and to slay others without mercy; it deranges the man and changes his nature into that of a brute.

99 Son, flee from guaranteeing; but if thou become a guarantor, make up thy mind that thou must give away out of thy purse; and not thy purse only, but the hair off thy chin [13].

100 Son, be thou not false in speech; for if they find thee to be once false, then when thou speakest the truth, they will reckon thee false and will not believe thee [14].

101 And I say to Nadan: Son, receive into thy mind my precepts and forget them not.

[1] Paris 69 adds 'with treasure'.
[2] Paris 58 om. 81. Paris 69 has 'are not filled with treasure, but are filled with dust'.
[3] The Armenian is obscure here.
[4] Canon adds 'on foot'.
[5] Bodl., Ven. add: 'which is not.' Canon omits.
[6] Or to the *dev*, a Persian word which in Old Armenian usually means a demon.
[7] Ven. om. 'lawlessness and'.
[8] Canon adds 'of injustice'.
[9] Nos. 93–100 are only given in Codex Paris 58 and Venet.
[10] Codex Paris 58 gives this precept in late and obscure Armenian, and its text is clearly faulty.
[11] Ven. adds this: 'A drunken man is like an arrow in the hollow (lit. "palate") of a bow, which strikes no one else, but bruises its own head.'
[12] This precept has already come as no. 11, in almost identical language.
[13] This precept is in bad late Armenian and I give the sense of the last clause conjecturally.
[14] This precept also is in late Armenian.

Armenian

The questions[1] of the king's sons and the answer of Khikar.

Houday and Baliayn asked questions of Khikar, and Khikar said to Nathan: There are four things that increase the light to man's eyes,—to look upon flowers, to tread with naked foot on the green, to walk upon the water, and to see one's friend.

102 Four things are there which make a man fat and keep him healthy,—to wear linen and to hear such things as seem to him pleasant; in the house an amiable and healthy spirit, and to see one's remote (friend) well off.

103 And four things are there which improve a man's banquet,—at all times to converse well, not to give answer to every word, to be humble, to talk little, modesty in small matters and big ones.

104 And four things are there which bring shame to one's face—domination of love, to talk too much and to boast that one knows what one does not know, (to conceal everything, to weave a snare and fall into it)[2], and false-speaking.

105 They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly.

[1] The passage which follows until the resumption of the narrative is written in vulgar Armenian. Ven. gives the names thus: Shoutay and Bayilan.

[2] Ven. omits the words in brackets.

Syriac

3 1 But I, Aḥiḳar, supposed that everything which I had been teaching Nadan he took hold of in his heart, and that he stood in my stead in the king's gate; and I knew not that Nadan listened not to my words, but scattered them, as it were to the wind, and returned and said that 'my father Aḥiḳar is grown old, and stands at the door of his grave; and his intelligence has withdrawn and his understanding is diminished';

Arabic

3 1 Thus spake Haiqâr, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, he imagined that he would keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery.

Thereafter Haiqâr sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the handmaidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan; and Haiqâr sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiqâr went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home. Now when Nadan perceived that the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiqâr and scoffed at him, and set about blam-

Armenian

And[a] this was the advice which **3** 1
I taught to Nathan my sister's son. All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, I, Khikar, chief Notary of Seneqerim the king. And so I supposed in my mind that the teaching and advice which I taught to Nathan would abide and remain and that he would preserve it in his mind. And I knew not that he despised my words, and scattered them like the chaff before the wind, supposing in his mind that Khikar his father was grown very old and had arrived at the door of his tomb. His mind (he said) is distraught and his thoughts are deficient and he knows nothing.

[a] What follows is in MS. Canon given in a form which often more nearly resembles the Syriac than do the better Armenian copies, as below:

All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, thus thinking that what I taught he kept in his heart and would live in the royal gate. And I knew not that he scorned my words, and scattered them like dust before the wind. Forthwith he began to waste my chattels and my possessions. He spared not my slaves and maidservants nor even my darlings and my friends, but bound and ill-treated them; wounded with violent blows and destroyed my steeds continually.

SYRIAC

2 and my son Nadan began [to ill-treat] my servants by beating them and slaughtering them and destroying them; and he showed no mercy on my servants and my handmaidens though they were industrious and well-beloved and excellent; and my horses he slew and my good mules he hamstrung.

3 So when I beheld me that my son Nadan was doing detestable things, I answered and said to him, 'My son Nadan, touch not my property; my son, it is said in the proverb, "What the hand did not acquire, the eye did not spare."'

4 Moreover I showed to Sennacherib my lord all these matters; and my lord spake on this wise: 'As long as Aḥiḳar lives, no man shall have power over his wealth.' 5 Then when my son Nadan saw his brother Nebuzardan standing in my house, he was very irate and he spake on this wise: 'My father Aḥiḳar is grown old and his wits have waned; [and as for his wise words, he despised them][1]; hath he given his possessions to Nebuzardan my brother, and hath he removed me from his house?'

6 When I, Aḥiḳar, heard these things, I said, 'Alas for thee, my wisdom, that my son Nadan has made insipid; and as for my wise sayings, he has contemned them.'

[1] Probably a repetition from three lines lower down.

ARABIC

ing him whenever he appeared, saying, 'My uncle Haiqâr is in his dotage, and 2 he knows nothing now'; and he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqâr had owned.

3 And when Haiqâr saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision.

4 And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: 'Whilst Haiqâr remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods, nor over his household, nor over his 5 possessions.' And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqâr and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him.

6 Thereupon Haiqâr repented him of his toil with Nadan his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful. And Nadan had a younger brother named Benuzârdân, so Haiqâr took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought him up and honoured

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to dissipate 2 my property to its loss, and spared not my servants and handmaids. But he tormented them and killed them, and cut about my horses and mules, and my steeds, and destroyed the very pick of the flock.

And when I saw Nathan my 3 sister's son, that he was transforming my affairs and dissipating my property, I began to speak with him and I said: Keep away from my property, and come not near it, for it is written in the Proverbs that, whereon hands have not laboured, that thing his eye spareth not. And I went and 4 told Seneqerim my lord. And he called Nathan and said: As long as Khikar is alive, thou shalt not touch his property.

In that season Nathan saw 5 Boudan[1] his brother, who had been brought up in my house, and said: Khikar my father is grown old and his words have lost their savour.

And when I 6 heard this, I cast him out from all my belongings.

[1] In Bodleian MS. *Baudan.*

When I saw that Nathan counterfeited (*or* metamorphosed) my affairs, then I spared my chattels lest he should ruin them. And I said to Nathan: Come not near my chattels, for it is said in the wise ones, that hands which have not been hard worked, the eye shall not spare. And I went and told my lord Seneqerim. And the king ordered Nathan and said: As long as thy father Khikar is alive, go not near his possessions, but remain in the royal gate, and let thy father Khikar remain in his gate, and rest in his old age.

I, Khikar, when I saw all this that Nathan did, I said in my heart: Alas! How hath Nathan despised my sweet advice, and all my wisdom hath he set at naught and quite despised.

Syriac	Arabic	Armenian
	him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house.	
7 Now when my son Nadan heard thereof, he was angry and went to the gate of the king, and devised evil in his heart; and sat down and wrote two letters to two kings who were enemies of Sennacherib my lord; one to Akhi, the son of Ḥamselim, king of Persia and Elam, as follows:	7 Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his uncle Haiqâr, saying: 'My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune[1] of being killed.' And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus;	But Nathan 7 formed a plan of wickedness in his heart. He wrote in my name a letter[1] to the enemy of Seneqerim, the King of Nineveh and Asorestan; and it was as follows:
8 'From Aḥiḳar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, arise and come to Assyria to meet me; and I will bring thee into Assyria, and thou shalt seize the kingdom without war.'	8 'Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqâr unto thee, O great king! Let there be peace between thee and me. And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrîn[2], and to Assyria and Nineveh, I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array.'	I, Khikar, chief Notary of 8 Seneqerim the king, have sent to the King of the Egyptians to this effect: When this writing 9 reaches thee, thou shalt muster thy forces, and come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will put in your power the land of the Asores, and will give the throne of Seneqerim into thy hand without trouble, for thee to hold it.
9 And he wrote another letter, as follows: 'To Pharaoh,	9 And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqâr	And he had made his hand- 10 writing to resemble my hand-

[1] Lit. 'cast him into the misfortune'.

[2] *Nisrîn* may either mean 'the eagles' or 'the wild rose'. I prefer the latter, because the usual plural of *nasr* is *nusûr* or *ansur*.

[1] There is evidently a lacuna here to be filled up from the Bodley MS. as follows: 'to Pharaoh, king of Egypt.'

Then Nathan went into the house of the king and planned very great evils for me. For he wrote two letters. One he sent to Pharaon, king of Egypt, since he was an enemy of my lord Seneqerim, and it was written as follows:

I, Khikar, notary of Seneqerim king of Asorestan and Nineveh, to Pharaon king of Egypt write. Be it in thy cognizance, when this dispatch reaches thee, at once shalt thou muster thy forces and come to the plain of Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will lead and make thee king over these without trouble.

And again a letter which had this form:

From Seneqerim, king, health (*or* peace) to Khikar, notary of my tribunal. When there shall come to

SYRIAC

king of Egypt, from Aḥiḳar, Secretary and Great Seal of the king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter shall reach thee, arise and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Ab. And I will bring thee into Nineveh without war and thou
10 shalt seize the kingdom.' And he made these writings of his like to my own handwriting; and he sealed them in the king's palace, and went his way.

And he wrote further another letter to me, as if from my lord the king Sennacherib; and on this wise he wrote it:

11 'From Sennacherib the King, to Aḥiḳar, my Secretary and Great Seal, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, gather all thy forces together, to the rock that is called Ṣiṣ: and come forth from thence and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Ab.

12 And when thou seest me approaching to thee, array thy forces against me, like a man that is ready for battle: for ambassadors of Pharaoh the king of Egypt are

ARABIC

to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 'Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king! If at the time of this letter reaching thee thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrîn, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting.'
10 And the writing of Nadan was like to the writing of his uncle Haiqâr.

Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqâr; they were nevertheless in the king's palace.

11 Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqâr: 'Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor, Haiqâr. O Haiqâr, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of
12 Nisrîn, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me

ARMENIAN

writing, and had sealed it with my seal. And when the forces of the king asked to go home to their homes, Nathan alone remained before the king, and said: O King, live for ever. I that have eaten bread and salt in thy house, God forbid that I should see evils before thee. Khikar my father, who was in honour and greatness before thee, hath lied to me and to thee, and hath taken the side of thy enemies. And the letter which Nathan had written in my words, and had likened his handwriting to my handwriting therein, he took, and read the dispatch which he himself had sealed, before the king.

And when the king heard it, 11
he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Khikar, that he has so behaved to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the king a letter thus conceived:

When thou readest this 12
writing, thou shalt muster thy hosts and shalt come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz. And whenever thou

thee this dispatch, thou shalt prepare my forces which are under thy hand; exactly on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz thou shalt come to meet me on the plain of Eagles. And when thou comest near draw up face to face against my forces, as if it were being prepared against thine enemies. For the envoys of Pharaon are come unto me to see our forces and tremble.

And this letter Nathan sent to me as if by the command of the king. And he himself, Nathan, stood before the king and said: King, live for ever. I have eaten bread and salt in thy house. God forbid that I should deceive my king.

For my father Khikar, whom thou didst send unto rest, unto honour, unto glory, hath not done according to the command of your kingship, but hath played false to God and your kingship. And he had given the letter to certain trusty men of the king, and they gave it to the sovereign; and the sovereign gave it to Nathan and said: Read. And Nathan read it before the king; and the king was sorely troubled, and asked those who gave him the letter: Who gave into your hands this letter? And as Nathan had charged them, they answered with one mind, saying: Travellers that were going into Egypt. They had the letter, and we thy servants found them and took them by force. And when we asked them: Whence are ye? they answered, We are native slaves of Khikar.

And the king was troubled and said to the trusty men: What harm then have I done to Khikar, that he hath devised such a snare for me? Wherefore hath he returned evil for good? Nathan replied and said: Be not troubled, O mighty king. But let us go to the plain of the Eagles, as is written in the dispatch, and let us see if it is so; then let thy behests be done.

SYRIAC

come to me, that they may see what forces I have.'

13 And my son Nadan sent this letter to me by the hands of two of the king's servants.

And thereupon my son Nadan took the letters that he had written, as if he had actually found them; and he read them before the king; and when my lord the king heard them, he lamented and said, 'O God, wherein have I sinned against Aḥiḳar, that he should do unto me on this fashion?'

14 And my son Nadan answered and said to the king, 'My lord, do not fret nor rage. Arise and let us go to Eagles' dale on the day that is written by him in the letter. And if it be true, then all that thou commandest shall be done.'

15 So my son Nadan took the king my lord, and they came to me at Eagles' dale: and they found me having with me great forces that were gathered there. And when I saw the king, I put my forces in array against him, as it was written in the letter. And when the king saw it, he was much afraid.

ARABIC

the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us.'

13 Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqâr by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and showed him the seal. And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath, and said, 'Ah, I have shown my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqâr that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my 14 benefits to him?' And Nadan said to him, 'Be not grieved, O king! nor be wroth, but let us go to the plain of Nisrîn and see if the tale be true or not.'

15 Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the plain of Nisrîn. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqâr and the army were set in array. And when Haiqâr saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him. And when the king saw the act of Haiqâr he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth

ARMENIAN

shalt see me, thou shalt draw up in battle array against me. For the messengers of Pharaon are come to me to see my hosts.

He brought the letter to me, 13 and he himself went to the king. He stood before the king and said:

Grieve not, O ruler; but 14 come, let us go to the plain of the Eagles, and let us see whether this be so. Then what thou commandest is done.

And Seneqerim took his army 15 and came to the plain of the Eagles, and found me with my army; and I drew up my forces over against him as he had commanded. When the king saw this, he was very grieved.

And Nathan took the king and went to the plain of the Eagles. But I, Khikar, when I learned of the setting out of the king, prepared my forces and set them over against him, as had been written in the dispatch by behest of the king.

When the king saw my forces, he was sore troubled. The king said: If thou bringest Khikar before me, mighty presents will I give thee, and all the royal affairs shall be discharged by thee; for thou hast been found a trusty servant before me. And the king went back into his palace.

SYRIAC

16 Then my son Nadan answered and said to him: 'Let it not disturb thee, my lord the king. Return and come into thy chamber [1] in peace: and I will bring Aḥiḳar before thee.'

Then my lord the king returned to his house.

17 And my son Nadan came to me and said to me, 'All that thou hast done, thou hast done finely: and much hath the king praised thee; and he commands thee to dismiss thy forces that they may go every man to his own place and his own district. And do thou come to me thyself alone.'

4 1 Thereupon I came before the king, and when he saw me, he said unto me, 'Art thou come, Aḥiḳar, my Secretary and the foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, thou whom I caused to come into honour? but thou hast turned back and taken the part of my enemies.'

[1] Taking the word as equivalent of the Greek κοιτῶνα.

ARABIC

16 with a great wrath. And Nadan said to him, 'Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and I will bring Haiqâr to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil.'

And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiqâr, and did no-

17 thing concerning him. And Nadan went to Haiqâr and said to him, 'W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee. And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayst dismiss the soldiers to their duties [1] and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king.' Then answered Haiqâr and said, 'To hear is to obey.' And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and

4 1 chained his feet. And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiqâr entered the king's presence he did obeisance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king. Then said the king, 'O Haiqâr, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil

[1] Lit. 'to the way of their path'.

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to speak and 16 said: Grieve not, O king, but let us go home. And I will bring my father Khikar before thee. The king said to Nathan: If thou bringest Khikar before me, I will give thee very great presents and I will set thee in trust over all my affairs. And all the affairs of my kingdom shall be transacted by thee with ability.

And the king returned to his 17 palace, and Nathan my sister's son came to me and said: Seneqerim the king hath sent me to thee and says, Come to me and let us be joyful together.

And when I went, the king said **4** 1 to me:

Khikar, Notary and wise man, thou wast my counsellor and ruler, and giver of commands of the house of the Asores and Ninevites; and thou hast gone over to the side of my enemies.

And Nathan came to me and said: My father Khikar, very honourable and pleasing hath seemed to the king this preparing of thy cavalry in array. Therefore hath he sent me to thee and saith, All thou hast done thou hast done well and wisely. So then give orders to thy forces to go to their place, and do thou come and let us make merry together.

Syriac

2 And he gave me those letters that were written in my name and were sealed with the seal of my own ring. And when I read them, my tongue stammered and my limbs became faint: and I sought for a single word from the words of wisdom and I found me none.

3 And my son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Away with thee from the king's sight, thou foolish old man: and give thy hands to bonds and thy feet to iron fetters.'

Then Sennacherib the king turned away his face from me, and he talked with Nabusemakh[1] . . . and said to him, 'Arise, go slay Aḥiḳar, and separate his head a hundred ells from his body.'

4 Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live for ever. Seeing, my lord, that it hath pleased thee to kill me, thy will be done. I know, however, that I have not sinned against thee. But 5 command them, my lord the king, that they kill me at the door of my house: and let them give my body to burial.'

6 And the king said to Nabusemakh[2] . . ., 'Go, kill Aḥiḳar at the door of his house, and

[1] 'Yabusemakh Meskin Kanti', which I do not understand; the correction of the first part of the name is obvious. Possibly it should be 'Nabušumuškin, my colleague'. Compare the form as given in the papyrus, and in the Arabic.

[2] *Ut supra.*

Arabic

have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this 2 ugly deed.' Then they showed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiqâr saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb. And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to kill Haiqâr, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city.

3 Then Nadan screamed and said, 'O Haiqâr, O blackface! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?'

4 Thus says the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Ibn Samîk. And the king said to him, 'O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiqâr at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body 5 a hundred cubits.' Then Haiqâr knelt before the king, and said, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be [fulfilled]; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man has to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice.'

6 The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his

Armenian

And that letter, which Nathan 2 had written in my[1] words and had likened therein his handwriting to my handwriting, the king gave unto me and said: Take and read.

And when I read it, all my limbs were[2] dissolved, and my tongue was shrivelled up as parchment; and I was stupefied and became like one of those distraught. I sought for a word of wisdom and found no answer to give.

Nathan began to speak, 3 and said to me: Get out of the presence of thy king, grey-haired one, perverted and inane[3]. Give thy hand for the iron and thy foot for the fetter.

And the 4 king turned away his face from me and said to Abusmaq, his *nayip*: Lead away and slay yon godless Khikar, and remove his head afar, about one hundred ells.

And I fell on my face and 5 kissed the earth and said: O King, live for ever. Thou hast willed me to slaying, and hast not hearkened unto my words. And I from my heart know that I have not in any way wronged thee, and in my heart there is no guile. I am innocent. Therefore have pity on me and order that in my own house they slay me and give over my body for burial.

And the king ordered Abus- 6 maq, that they should slay me in my own house. And when

[1] Ven. omits 'my'.

[2] Bodl. = 'all the flesh of my limbs was'.

[3] The Arm. word is obscure.

SYRIAC

give his body to burial.' Thereupon I, Aḥiḳar, sent to Eshfagni my wife that she should bring forth from the daughters of my tribe maids a thousand and one: 'and let them put on raiment of mourning, and let them wail and lament and weep
7 over me. And let them come to meet me, and let them make a funeral feast [1] over me before I die. And prepare thou bread and a table and a banquet for Nabusemakh [2] . . . and his Parthians that are with him, and come to meet them, and receive them and bring them into my house. And I too will come into the house as a guest.'
8 And Eshfagni my wife, for that she was exceeding wise, understood all my message, and did whatsoever I had sent to her to do; and she came forth to meet them, and she brought them into my house: and they did eat bread, and with her own hand she served them, until they fell asleep from drunkenness, every man in his place.

9 Thereat I, Aḥiḳar, entered and said to Nabusemakh [3], 'Look towards God, and remember the love that there was between us, brother: and grieve not over my death: and remember that thee also did Sarḥadum the father of Sennacherib deliver to me that I should slay thee, yet I slew thee not, because I was aware that there was in thee no ground of offence; and I kept thee alive until the king desired thee, and when I brought thee before him,

[1] Lit. 'a house of weeping'.
[2] Yabusemakh.
[3] *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

desire. And he straightway commanded his servants to take Haiqâr and the swordsman and to go with him naked that they might slay him. And when Haiqâr knew for certain that he was to be slain he sent to his wife
7 and said to her, 'Come out and meet me, and let there be with thee a thousand young virgins, and dress them in gowns of purple and silk that they may weep for me before my death. And prepare a table for the swordsman and for his servants. And mingle plenty of wine, that they may drink.'
8 And she did all that he commanded her. And she was very wise, clever, and prudent. And she united all possible courtesy and learning.

And when the army of the king and the swordsman arrived they found the table set in order, and the wine and the luxurious viands, and they began eating and drinking till they were gorged and drunken.

9 Then Haiqâr took the swordsman aside apart from the company and said, 'O Abu Samîk, dost thou not know that when Sarhadum the king, the father of Sennacherib, wanted to kill thee. I took thee and hid thee in a certain place till the king's anger subsided and he asked for thee? And when I brought thee into his presence he rejoiced in thee: and now remember the kindness I did

ARMENIAN

I went forth from the king, I wrote a letter lamenting to Abestan my wife and said: When this letter reaches thee, do thou send out to meet me a thousand virgins; and let them put on apparel of mourning and let them mourn for me and bewail me, that I may see with my own eyes even the wailers who bewail me in my lifetime. But [a] thou shalt make large loaves, to give to my executioners, and dainty viands for them to eat and drink.

And Abestan my wife was 8
very wise and [1] fulfilled my orders. She went out to meet me, and led them into the house, and set before them a table; and fed them, and gave them to drink old wine and unmixt, till they were fuddled and were drunk and fell asleep.

Then I 9
and my wife fell at the feet of Abusmaq weeping, and I said to him: Abusmaq, my comrade, look up to heaven and behold God with thy eyes; and remember the bread and salt which we have eaten together, and remember how that they betrayed thee to Seneqerim the king's father; and I took and kept thee until the king asked for thee, and how, when I led thee before him, he gave me

[1] Paris 92 and 58 alone add the words 'was . . . and'.

[a] The narrative that follows is given in MS. Canon in a form more closely resembling the Syriac as below:

And they shall make and prepare a table, adorned with all good things, for Abusmaq and the Parthians who are with me. Thou shalt go out to meet these and shalt lead them into the house.

And Arphestan my wife did immediately what I had commanded; and we set out to my house. And Abusmaq and the Parthians reclined, and my wife set before them a table, and waited on them. And I entered with them to eat bread; and they were fuddled with wine.

And I said to Abusmaq my comrade, Look up to heaven and discern God with thy eyes and remember the love of our brotherhood. And sin not against my blood, for thou knowest that I am innocent. But

SYRIAC

he gave me great gifts, and many presents did I carry off
10 from him. And do thou too, now, preserve me alive and recompense me this kindness: and in order that the word come not abroad that I was not killed and that the king may not quarrel with thee, behold, I have in my prison-house a slave, Marzifan hight, and he is due to die: clothe this slave in my raiment and rouse up the Parthians against him and they will slay him: and I shall not die, because I have done no wrong.'

11 And when I spake thus, moreover Nabusemakh[1] . . . also was sore grieved over me, and he took my raiments and clad in them the slave that was in the prison-house. And he roused up the Parthians, and they arose in the fumes[2] of their wine, and they slew him and removed his head a hundred ells from his corse, and they gave over his body for burial.

12 Then went forth the report in Assyria and Nineveh, that Aḥiḳar the Secretary is killed.

And Nabusemakh[3] . . . rose up, and Eshfagni my wife, and they made for me a hiding-place underground; its breadth was three cubits and its height five cubits, under the threshold of the
13 door of my house. And they put bread and water with me, and went and showed to Sennacherib the king that Aḥiḳar, the Secretary, was dead: and when the men heard it, they wept; and the women disfigured[4] their

[1] *Ut supra.*
[2] Lit. 'taste'.
[3] *Ut supra.*
[4] Lit. 'scratched'.

ARABIC

10 thee. And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution. For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and
11 no one knows of it. Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed. Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing.

12 And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me.' And then the swordsman did as Haiqâr had commanded him, and he went to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live for ever!'

13 Then Haiqâr's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself. And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad

ARMENIAN

mighty gifts. Now therefore 10
keep me and render to me a return of the service I rendered thee, and to thee there will be mighty gifts as thy requital, good for good[1]. I have a man in prison, and very like unto me is he. He shed blood in my house and is under sentence of death, and his name is Seniqar. Take therefore my garments into the prison and dress him up in them and slay him; and so thou fulfillest the king's command.

And when I said this, Abus- 11
maq had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. And the soldiers, fuddled, woke up from sleep[2] at midnight, and slew Seniqar my slave, and removed his head from him one hundred ells.

And the news 12
went forth into the city of Asorestan, that Khikar, Notary and wise man, was dead.

Then Abusmaq my comrade and Abestan my wife made me a house dug out underground, its[3] length seven ells, and its height equal to my head's, hard by the door-posts of my house. And they shut me in and placed 13
beside me bread and water, and then Abusmaq went off to the king and told him that 'Khikar the wise is slain'. And all who heard of my death beat their breasts and were full of regret

[1] Bodl. has 'will be a requital from God': Paris 92, 'will be mighty gifts'. I render the Ven. MS.
[2] So Ven. and Paris 92: the rest = 'fuddled with wine, woke up at'.
[3] Canon = 'its height three ells and its length seven ells, equal to (*or* level with) the door-posts of my house'.

remember also this, that the sire of Seneqerim gave thee into my hands for slaying; and I wronged thee not, for I knew that thou wast innocent. And I kept thee until the king made a request; and then I led thee before the king, and the king gave me mighty gifts. This do thou likewise and slay me not. There is my slave whose name is Sêniphar, and very like is he unto me. And he is in prison, because he is under sentence of death. So then lead me into prison and dress him up in my garments and cast him to the Parthians, for them to slay him. . . .

SYRIAC

faces and said: 'Alas for thee, Aḥiḳar the wise Secretary, thou fence of the breaches of our country: for like thee there will never be any one to us.'

14 Then Sennacherib the king called my son Nadan, and said to him, 'Go make a funeral feast[1] for thy father Aḥiḳar, and then return to me.'

15 And when Nadan my son came, no funeral feast did he make for me, nor any remembrance at all; but gathered him the vain and lewd folk, and set them down at my table, with singing and with great joy; and my beloved servants and handmaidens he stripped and flogged without mercy.

16 Nor had he any reverence for my wife Eshfagni, but sought to do with her the way of man with woman.

17 And I, Aḥiḳar, was cast into darkness in the pit beneath. And I was hearing the voice of my bakers, cooks, and butlers as they wept and sobbed within my house.

[1] Lit. 'a house of weeping'.

ARABIC

in every place of how Haiqâr the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him. And they wept and said: 'Alas for thee, O Haiqâr! and for thy learning and thy courtesy! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge! Where can another like thee be found? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place?'

But the king was repenting about Haiqâr, and his repentance availed him naught.

14 Then he called for Nadan and said to him, 'Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqâr, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to

15 his memory.' But when Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hard-hearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heartless and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking. And Nadan began to seize the maidservants and the slaves belonging to Haiqâr, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing.

16 And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall

17 into sin with him. But Haiqâr had been cast into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One,

ARMENIAN

and said: Alas for thee, O Notary! Who is there to decide the matters of thy kingdom with thy ability?

Then the king called Nathan 14
and said to him: Go, make lamentations for the house and mourning for thy father.

Na- 15
than[a] came, and instead of lamenting he gathered together actors, and made great cheer; and he very cruelly tormented my servants and handmaids.

And even for Abestan my wife 16
he had no respect, but desired to fornicate with her, that had brought him up. And I from my subterranean chamber heard the weeping and groanings and the plaints of my servants. And 17
I moreover wept and my soul longed for a little bread and a morsel of meat and a cup. And I was destitute of all my chattels.

[a] MS. Canon has the narrative which follows in a form nearer to the Syriac. It is given below:

And Nathan went off to the house of Khikar, but with him there was no concern for mourning. And he collected all his dear ones to drink wine and made great good cheer, instead of mourning as the king commanded. Using force to the dear ones of Khikar he tortured them and had no respect for Arphestan wife of Khikar, nay rather desired to fornicate with her.

And I, Khikar, was hearing the voice of my stewards whom Nathan tortured and ill-treated. And I was tortured in the darkness. My soul was longing for bread and a morsel of meat.

SYRIAC

18 And after a few days came Nabusemakh[1] . . . and opened [my prison] over me[2] and comforted me; and set before me bread and water; and I said to him, 'When thou goest forth from me, remember me before God, and say, O God, just and righteous, and that showest grace upon the earth, hear the voice of Thy servant Aḥiḳar,[3] and remember that he sacrificed to Thee fatted oxen like sucking
19 lambs. And now he is cast into the darksome pit where he seeth no light. And dost Thou not save him that crieth unto Thee? O Lord, hear the voice of my colleague,[4] [I pray Thee.']

5 1 Now when Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard that I, Aḥiḳar, had been slain, he was greatly rejoiced, and he wrote a letter to Sennacherib on this wise:

2 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. I am planning to build a castle between heaven and earth, wherefore seek out and send me from thy kingdom a man who is a skilled architect, that he may give me reply concerning all
3 that I shall ask him. And when thou shalt send me such a man, I will collect and send thee the revenue of Egypt for three

[1] *Ut supra.*
[2] Lit. 'on my eyes'.
[3] Cf. Apoc. vi. 10, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true,' &c.
[4] This trifling but necessary emendation confirms our interpretation (*vide supra*) of the corrupt name.

ARABIC

and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God.

18 And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiqâr whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiqâr came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance.

19 And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiqâr the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiqâr the solver of riddles.

5 1 And when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiqâr was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib, reminding him in it 'of the peace and the health and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved
2 brother, king Sennacherib. I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes[1] and the custom duties of Assyria for three years.' Then he sealed

[1] i.e. taxes in kind, agricultural produce. For this rendering of the Arabic word, see Dozy, vol. ii, p. 345.

ARMENIAN

And all the inhabitants of Asorestan and of Nineveh fled from me.

When the king of Egypt **5** 1 heard this, of how Khikar the Notary was dead, and of the Ninevites and all the land (that) they were fled, he was very glad. And the king of Egypt, Pharaon, wrote a letter as follows:

To Seneqerim, king of the 2 Asores. Health be to thy Lordship and Kingship. Be it known to thee that I desire to build a palace hung betwixt heaven and earth. Look and send unto me a true and clever and wise man who can build, and also give answer to any question I ask. If however thou shalt neglect 3 this request, then I will come

And when Pharaon heard that Khikar was slain, he was very glad, and wrote a dispatch to the king Seneqerim, riddles.

And the king called Nathan and said: Write an answer to this letter.

And Nathan said: Difficult is this matter. Who is able to give answer thereto?

And the king was distressed and said: Alas for Khikar my secretary and wise man!

And when Pharaon learned that they could not give an answer to his writing, he sent puissant forces and they took tribute from Seneqerim. And as long as Khikar languished in the prison, the burden of Pharaon was multiplied on Asorestan and Nineveh. Those who were under the hand of Seneqerim also were much impoverished and all the land laid waste, and the chambers of the royal treasury were emptied.

SYRIAC

years: and if thou send me not a man who shall give me reply concerning all that I ask him, then do thou collect and send me the tribute of Assyria and Nineveh for three years, by the hands of these ambassadors that come to thee.'

4 And when this letter was read before the king, he cried out to all the nobles and franklins of his kingdom, and said unto them: 'Which of you will go to Egypt to give reply to the king concerning all that he shall ask him? And he shall build him the castle that he planneth, and bring back the three years' tribute of Egypt and come hither.'

5 And when the nobles heard this, they answered and said unto the king: 'My lord the king, thou knowest that not only in the years of thy reign, but also in the years of thy father Sarḥadum, Aḥiḳar the Secretary was in the habit of resolving
6 questions like these. And now, also, behold his son Nadan, he is instructed in his father's book-lore and wisdom.' And when my son Nadan heard these things, he cried out before the king and said: 'The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men'[1]

7 And when the king heard

[1] Cf. Dan. ii. 11.

ARABIC

the letter and sent it to Sen-
3 nacherib. He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about
4 how he should act. Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said to them, 'Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his
5 questions?' And they said to him, 'O our lord the king! know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqâr, thy vizier and
6 secretary. But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot.' Then the king called Nadan and said to him, 'Look at this letter and understand what is in it.' And when Nadan read it, he said, 'O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?'

7 And when the king heard

ARMENIAN

and take away thy kingdom and will lay waste thy land.

When 4
the king heard this he was very grieved, and sent and mustered his satraps to ask their advice, saying: What shall we do?

The[1] satraps say: O King, who 5
else can answer this question except Nathan, who hath learned of Khikar and knoweth his lore and hath been brought up in his house? He will be able to give an answer to this demand which the king of Egypt hath written. Then the king called Nathan and showed him the counsel; and he gave him the dispatch, and Nathan read it. When he had read aloud 6
the letter, he cried out with a loud voice and said: This[2] is a matter which even the gods[3] cannot settle or give answer to. How shall I be able to give answer?

When the king heard, he rose 7

[1] Canon: 'And they perplexed said: To such a matter Khikar would give an answer, and now Nathan who is in his place.'

[2] Canon: 'Such a matter the gods cannot answer, much less men. When the king heard, he was sorely troubled; he rose . . .'

[3] The Arm. word used is *diqn*, i. e. the *devs*.

And the king said: Alas for Khikar, secretary and wise man! One who should give thee to me alive, many chattels would I give him, even to the half of my kingdom.

And Abusmaq revealed it not to the king, that he might be in stress and know the value to him of Khikar.

And Pharaon sent a dispatch to king Seneqerim which had this tenor: From Pharaon to Seneqerim, health. I desire to build a palace. . . .

This when Nathan heard, he cried with a loud voice and said: King, live for ever. Such a matter as that the gods could not make answer to. Surely then not men?

When the king heard this he was very distressed. He rose from his throne and sat on sackcloth, beat his

SYRIAC

these words, he was much perturbed, and he descended from his throne and sat on the ground, and spake thus:[1] 'Alas for thee, Aḥiḳar the wise, that I destroyed thee for the words of a boy! Who will give thee to me for such a time as this? I would give him thy weight in gold.'

8 And when Nabusemakh[2] . . . heard these words, he fell down before the king and said to him: 'He who has contemned the commandment of his lord, is guilty of death; and I, my lord, have contemned the command of thy kingship. Command, therefore, that they crucify me.

[1] Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16 *καὶ καταβήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . ἐπὶ γῆν καθεδοῦνται . . . καὶ στενάξουσιν ἐπὶ σέ· καὶ λήψονται ἐπὶ σὲ θρῆνον καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι. . . .*

[2] *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat in the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqâr, saying, 'O my grief! O Haiqâr, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqâr! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqâr, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness. Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqâr is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom. Whence is this to me? Ah, Haiqâr! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee. Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqâr, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter.' And the king went on weeping night and day.

8 Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqâr, his heart was softened towards him, and he approached into his presence and said to him: 'O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head.' Then

[1] B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.

ARMENIAN

from his golden throne and sat in the ashes, and with his own hands he smote his face and plucked out his beard and said: Alas for thee, Khikar, Notary and wise, I have through the tittle-tattle of men destroyed thee! For thou didst arrange the affairs of our kingdom. Now if any one gave thee unto me, I would give him whatever he asked of me, no matter how great a treasure of gold and silver.

When Abusmaq my comrade heard this, he stood before the king and said: O King, live for ever. He that doeth not the king's commands is sentenced to death, for the commands of 8
God and of the king are one. Thou didst bid slay Khikar, and he is still living.

person and said: Alas for Khikar, able notary and wise! On the words of a lying man I slew him. There is none like thee. And there is no successor like thee in the royal gate. If any one gave thee to me, I would weigh him against gold and buy thee. When Abusmaq learned the deep distress of the king, he said: My lord king, he that contemns the behests of his lord and fulfils them not is guilty of death. Now then this word of mine is fulfilled in me. For I fulfilled not the behest of my lord. Thou didst make behest to slay Khikar, and now he is still alive.

SYRIAC

For Aḥiḳar, whom thou didst command me to slay, is yet alive.'

9 And when the king heard these words, he answered and said, 'Speak on, speak on, Nabusemakh[1]; speak on, thou good and clever man, unskilled in evil. If it is indeed as thou sayest, and thou show me Aḥiḳar alive, then I will give thee presents of silver, a hundred talents in weight, and of purple, fifty talents in value.'[2]

10 And Nabusemakh[3] answered and said, 'Swear to me, my lord the king, that, if there be not found before thee other sins of mine, this sin shall not be remembered against me.' And the king gave him his right hand on this matter.

[1] Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.
[2] Dan. v. 16.
[3] Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.

ARABIC

said the king to him: 'Woe to thee, Abu Samîk, what is thy fault?' And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed[1], and I have acted contrary to thy command.' Then the king said unto him, 'Woe unto thee, O Abu Samîk, in what hast thou acted contrary to my command?' And the swordsman said unto him,
9 'O my lord! thou didst command me to kill Haiqâr, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee.' And the king said unto him, 'Woe to thee, O Abu Samîk! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord.' And the swordsman said unto him, 'Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiqâr is safe and alive.' And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam[2], and he fainted from joy, and he commanded [them] to bring
10 [Haiqâr][3]. And he said to the swordsman, 'O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends.' And the swordsman went along rejoicing till he came to Haiqâr's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiqâr sitting, praising God, and thanking Him. And he shouted

[1] B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.
[2] Lit. 'his reason flew'.
[3] Cod. 'him'.

ARMENIAN

The king 9
said: Speak, Abusmaq, my servant and trusty one. If thou canst show me Khikar alive, I will give thee[1] byssus and purple and bestow on thee mighty presents.

And Abusmaq, when 10
he heard this from the king, like a swiftly flying fowl, came unto me, and opened the door of my subterranean chamber, and led me forth.

[1] Bodl. 'will array thee in'.

And the king said: Speak, speak, my servant, well-doing and trusty. For thou hast not sinned. But of many good things hast thou become worthy. If thou showest me Khikar, I will give thee royal purples and one hundred thousand talents of gold.

Syriac

11 And forthwith the king mounted his chariot, and came unto me in haste, and opened [my prison] over me, and I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my beard reached my breast; and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like eagles'.[1]

12 And when the king saw me, he wept and was ashamed to talk with me, and in great grief he said to me, 'It was not I that sinned against thee, Aḥiḳar; but thy son whom thou broughtest up, he it was that sinned against thee.'

13 Thereupon I answered and said to him, 'Because I have seen thy face, my lord, no evil is in my mind.' And the king said to me, 'Go to thy house, Aḥiḳar, and shave off thy hair, and wash thy body, and recover thy strength[2] forty days; and after that come to me.'

[1] Dan. iv. 33.
[2] Lit. 'let thy soul come into thee'.

Arabic

to him, saying, 'O Haiqâr, I bring the greatest of joy, and happiness, and delight!' And Haiqâr said to him, 'What is the news, O Abu Samîk?' And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and

11 went to the king. And when the king looked at him, he saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes.

12 And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: 'Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me.' Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqâr rest.

13 Then said Haiqâr to the king, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent sideways, and threw me down. But, O my lord! since I have appeared before thee, let not

14 care oppress thee.' And the king said to him: 'Blessed be God, who showed thee

Armenian

And the colour of 1 my face was changed and my head[1] was matted and my nails were grown like an eagle's.

When the king beheld me[2], 1 he bent his head and was ashamed to look in my face; and hardly looked in my face, his face being full of shame; and[a] he said to me: O my loved and honourable brother Khikar, go to thy house and repair thy person for forty days, and then come unto me. And I did so. And I came back again to the king, and the king said: I have sinned against thee, father Khikar. Not I is it that has sinned against thee, but Nathan thy sister's son, whom thou didst bring up.

And I fell on my face and 3 kissed the earth before the king and said: Forasmuch as I have seen the face of the king, I am alive; and all evils are turned for me into wellbeing, forasmuch as thy servant Khikar has found grace.

The king said: Hast thou heard this, O honourable good Khikar, to wit, what the Egyp-

[1] Canon: 'the hair of my head.'
[2] Bodl. adds 'in such plight'.

[a] For the text of MS. Canon see below:
And he sent me to the bath for them to wash and anoint me with fragrant oil (omitting the direct speech of the king on this point). And they did so, and brought raiment of great price and clad me in it. And the king brought and set me close to him. And all that he had promised to Abusmaq he fulfilled amply.

SYRIAC

1 Therefore I went to my house, and I was in my house about thirty days, and when I was recovered [1], I came to the king, and the king answered and said to me: 'Hast thou seen, Aḥiḳar, what a letter Pharaoh, king of Egypt, has written me?'

[1] Lit. 'my soul was in order upon me'.

ARABIC

mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain. But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayst do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back
15 to thee.' Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqâr, and Haiqâr thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God. And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

6 1 And he did as the king commanded him, and took a rest for forty days. Then he dressed himself in his gayest dress, and went riding to the king. with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted. But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do. And when Haiqâr saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying to him, 'O my darling Haiqâr! look at these letters which the king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain. They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us.' Then

ARMENIAN

tian has sent and that which is said, that the inhabitants of Nineveh and Asorestan are fled? And I said to the king: Therefore let a herald proclaim at the 14 gate of thy palace, that Khikar is alive; and all who shall hear it will return, each man to his place.

And the king commanded a herald to cry, saying: Khikar is alive; and that all the dwellers in Nineveh and Asorestan returned, each man to his place.

Then the king brought the letter of Pharaon and gave it to me, and said: Read and give an answer to this letter.

SYRIAC

2 And I answered and said, 'My lord the king, let there be no trouble to thee over this affair. I will go to Egypt and build the king a castle: and I will make him answer concerning all that he may ask me: and I will bring back with me the three years' tribute of Egypt.'

3 And when the king heard these things he rejoiced with a great joy: and he gave me gifts: and as for Nabusemakh[1] . . . he set him at the head of all. And after this I wrote a letter to Eshfagni my wife, as follows:

4 'When this letter reaches thee, command my huntsmen that they catch me two young eagles: and command the workers in flax, that they make me hempen ropes; the length of each one of them shall be a thousand ells, and their thickness that of one's little finger.

5 And bid the carpenters to make me cages for the young eagles: and deliver over Ubael and Tabshelim, the two boys, who do not yet know how to talk, and let them teach them to say on this wise: "Give the builders mud, mortar, tiles, bricks, for they are idle."'

[1] *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

Haiqâr took the letter and read it and understood all its
2 contents. Then he said to the king, 'Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the happiness of thy kingdom.'
3 And when the king heard this speech from Haiqâr he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded and he showed him favour. And Haiqâr said to the king: 'Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it.' And the king permitted this.
4 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this.
5 Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the

ARMENIAN

6 And I said to the king Seneqerim: Concerning this matter which the Egyptian has sent, do thou not be anxious. I will 2 go and give him answer and will bring to thee the tribute from Egypt.

3 When the king heard this he was glad, and established Abusmaq at the head of the divan. And on the morrow I wrote to Abestan my wife and said as follows:

4 When thou readest this writing, do thou have caught two nestlings of an eagle, and two children not yet able to talk, and two nursing women to nurse the little ones. And they shall say: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle. And have two ropes spun, the length thereof two hundred ells, and the thickness thereof one ell.

5 And cause a carpenter to fit together two cages for the children; and give food to the eagles, every day two lambs. And cause the children to be bound upon the eagles, and to make little flights, until they form the habit. And in this way habituate them until they soar aloft two hundred ells.

And I took and read it, and said to the king: Send yon envoys to go to their place. And I will later set out and fulfil the behests of Pharaon.

And when they were gone, I, Khikar, Secretary, sent and had brought two eaglets. . . .

SYRIAC

6 And Eshfagni my wife did all that I commissioned her: then I said to the king: 'Command, my lord, and send me that I go to Egypt.' And when the king commanded me to go, I took me a force of soldiers and went.

7 And when we came to the first halting-place, I let out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet and made the boys ride on them; and they took them and went up to a height, and the boys cried out as they had been taught, 'Mud, mortar, tiles, bricks supply to the builders who are idle.' Then I pulled them in again.

8 And when we came to Egypt, I went to the king's gate: and his nobles told the king, 'There is come the man whom the king of Assyria has sent.' And the king commanded and gave me a place to reside in; and on the following day I came in before him and worshipped him and inquired after his health [1].

[1] Lit. 'asked after his peace'.

ARABIC

boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.

6 And when Haiqâr saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying, 'Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle.' And Haiqâr was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill). Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, 'O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may show thee the

7 wonder.' So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqâr and went to a wide place and sent to bring the eagles and the boys, and Haiqâr tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as he had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places. And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqâr between his eyes and said to him, 'Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God.'

8 Then he bade him farewell, and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king. And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh,

ARMENIAN

And Abestan my wife was 6
very wise and did everything at once which I told her. Then the king commanded me to depart to Egypt.

And when I 7
reached the gate of Egypt, I brought the children's cages, even as they were habituated. And I bound them upon the eagles; they flew up and soared aloft, and the children cried out and said: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle.

And I, Khikar, took a rod, and 8
I went after all whom I met and struck them blows (and said): Hurry up, give what the artisans ask for. The king of Egypt came up and was very astonished, and was glad and bade us make (the birds) come down. And he said: Come, rest them from their labours. Eat, drink, and be merry, and on the morrow come to me.

SYRIAC

9 And the king answered and said unto me, 'What is thy name?' And I said to him, 'My name is Abikam: one of the contemptible ants of the kingdom.' And the king answered and said to me, 'Am I thus despised of thy lord, that he has sent me a despised ant of his kingdom? Go, Abikam, to thy lodging, and come to me early in the morning.'

10 Then the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in red,' and the king dressed himself in fine linen, and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow.'

11 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in robes of white linen,' and the king himself put on white and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the sun, and thy nobles to his rays.' And again he said to me, 'Get thee to thy lodging, and come to me to-morrow.'

ARABIC

and he sent a party of his Privy Councillors to bring him before him [1]. And he came and entered into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do

9 to kings. And he said to him: 'O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour; and he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth.

10 And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build [it] for thee as thou desirest. But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years—now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned, and if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king.'

11 And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and the pleasantness of his speech.

[1] Lit. 'betwixt his hands'.

ARMENIAN

And when it was dawn the king 9
called me and said: What is thy name? And I said: Abikam is my name. For I am a serf of Seneqerim the king.

And when the king heard, he was grieved exceedingly, and said: Have I seemed so contemptible in the eyes of Seneqerim the king of Asorestan, that he has sent a serf unto me to give me answer? And he said to me: Go unto thy house and to-morrow come to me.

And when on the morrow I 10
went, the king gave command to his forces to dress themselves in scarlet *chlamid*; and the king himself was arrayed in purple raiment, and sat on his throne, and his forces around him. He commanded and called me to him and said: Abikam, unto whom am I like? Or my forces, whom are they like? I said, Thou art like to the *diq* [1] and thy satraps to their priests. He said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and to-morrow come unto me.

When I had gone to my 11
house and came the next day to him, he had arrayed his forces in linen, and he himself was arrayed in scarlet, and he said to me: Unto whom am I like, or my forces, to whom are they like? And I said: Thou art like the sun and thy satraps are like its rays.

[1] i.e. 'to God'. The plural *diq* literally = 'demons', but is used like the Hebrew Elohim as a singular. The same use is found in the Arm. version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Bk. 1. In the Arm. O. T. it is used as a plural.

SYRIAC

12 And again the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in black,' and the king put on crimson. And he commanded, and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam; and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the moon, and thy nobles to the stars.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy house: and come to me to-morrow.'

13 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow dress in diverse and varied colours, and let the doors of the palace[1] be covered with red hangings.' And the king himself was robed in fine needlework.[2] And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiḳam? and my nobles, to what are they like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the month Nisan, and thy nobles to its flowers.' Then

14 the king said to me, 'The first time thou didst compare me to Bel, and my nobles to his priests. The second time thou hast compared me to the sun, and my nobles to its rays. The third time thou hast compared me to the moon, and my nobles to the stars. And the fourth time thou hast likened me to Nisan, and my nobles to the flowers thereof. And now tell me, Abiḳam, to what is *thy* lord like?'

15 And I answered and said to him, 'Be it far from me, my lord the king, that I should make mention of my lord Sennacherib, whilst thou art seated.

16 My lord Sennacherib is like[3]

[1] Lit. 'temple': but as in Daniel, it means palace; cf. Dan. iv. 4, 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace בהיכלי'; Dan. vi. 18, 'Then the king went to his palace היכלה.' Cf. also 1 Reg. xxi. 1; 2 Reg. xx. 18, &c.

[2] 'Dressed in tapestry.'

[3] An erasure has been made of two words, and these are now illegible.

ARABIC

12 And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O man! what is thy name?' And he said, 'Thy servant is Abiqâm, and I am a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?'

15 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that He may confound the strong.'

14 Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqâm and supply him with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed. And when it was finished, three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads

15 bowed. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqâm, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front

16 of him[1]. And king Pharaoh

[1] Lit. 'between his hands'.

ARMENIAN

12 And again he said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and on the morrow come to me.

13 And when I went on the morrow, he commanded the satraps to array themselves in dyed raiment, and he arrayed himself in raiment of plumes, and sat on his throne and said to me: To whom am I like? I said: Thou art like to the

14 green grass[1] and thy satraps to the blossoms thereof.

Then the king was glad and said: Tell me the truth. Seneqerim the king, to whom is he like? I said: God forbid that

15 thou shouldst mention Seneqerim the king, since thou art sitting down. But stand up, and I will tell thee. When he had risen up, I said: Seneqerim

16

[1] Venice MS. = 'to the plain'.

SYRIAC

[the God of Heaven] and his nobles to the lightnings that are in the clouds: for when he wills, he fashions the rain and the dew [and] the hail; and if he thunders, he restrains the sun from rising, and its rays from being seen; and he will restrain Bel from coming in and from going forth in the street, and his nobles from being seen; and he will hinder the moon from rising and the stars from appearing.'

Perhaps the original text was 'the God of Heaven', which was erased to make way for 'the idol Bel', but this correction was a stupid one, seeing that Pharaoh has himself been compared to the great god Bel; hence perhaps a final erasure. The Arabic has 'my lord is the God of Heaven', which is sufficiently audacious to invite correction. Mrs. Lewis by the use of a reagent has brought up the word Bel, and perhaps the whole expression 'our god Bel'.

ARABIC

said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants.' He said to him, 'Go, and come back hither to-morrow.' So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him.

ARMENIAN

the king is like unto Bêlshim, and his satraps to the lightnings. When he willeth, he weaveth the rain[1]; and he shooteth out the dew on high, he sendeth it forth in his empery. He thunders, and imprisons the rays of the sun. And when he willeth, he doth bring hail and grindeth to dust tree, green herb and dry; and he makes the dawn break and smiteth the shoots of green grass.

[1] Bodl. = 'the material of rain'.

ARABIC

17 And on the morrow Haiqâr went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before
18 the king. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants are like [its] beams.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-morrow.'
19 Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white[1], and Pharaoh was dressed like them and sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqâr. And he entered and sat down before
20 him. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles are like the planets and the stars.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here.'
21 Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqâm. And he entered and
22 did obeisance before him. And he said, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom are they like?' And he said, 'O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like
23 its flowers.' And when the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy, and said, 'O Abiqâm! the first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants. And the second time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sunbeams. And the third time thou didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles to the planets and the stars. And the fourth time thou
24 didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers. But now, O Abiqâm! tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr shouted with a loud voice and said: 'Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the king is like and to whom his nobles are like.'
25 And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqâr, and said to him, 'Tell me now, that
26 I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like.' And Haiqâr said to him: 'My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder, and when he wills the winds blow and the rain falls. And he commands the thunder, and it lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and they circle not. And he commands the tempest, and it blows and the rain falls and it tramples on April and destroys its flowers and its houses.'

[1] Or a dress completely white.

Syriac

17 And when the king heard these things he was exceeding wroth, and said to me, 'By the life of thy lord, I adjure thee tell me what is thy name?'

18 And I answered and said to him, 'I am Aḥiḳar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh.'

19 And the king said to me, 'Did I not certainly hear that thy lord had killed thee?' And I said to him, 'I am yet alive, my lord the king: and God saved me from something which my hands did not.'

20 And the king said to me, 'Go, Aḥiḳar, to thy house, and come to me to-morrow, and tell me a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles, and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom.'

Arabic

27 And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said to him: 'O man! tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art.'

28 And he told him the truth. 'I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor.'

29 And he said to him, 'Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, who knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him.'

30 And Pharaoh said to Haiqâr, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country.'

Armenian

The king said: Tell me, what is thy name? I said: Khikar is my name. He said: Wretch, hast thou come to life? And I said: Since I have seen thy face, O king, I am alive. The king said: May this day be blessed, for I have seen Khikar with my own eyes alive, with my own eyes.

And I fell on my face and did homage to him and kissed him. The king said: Expound this saying.

There stands a pillar, and upon that pillar twelve cedars, and upon them thirty wheels, and upon each wheel two couriers[1], the one black and the other white. And I said: O king, this the cowherds of the Asores know. The pillar of which thou spakest is the year and the cedars are the twelve months. The thirty wheels are the days of the months. The two couriers, the one black and the other white, are dawn and nightfall[2].

The king said, What is this story, that from Egypt as far as Nineveh there are 500 leagues —how did our mares hear the neighing of your stallions and miscarry? I, Khikar, went out from him, and I took a cat and scolded and tortured it. Then they told the king, saying: Khikar flouts the *diq* and tortures the cats. The king called me and said: Khikar, wherefore dost thou flout our *diq* and torture the cats? And I said: Yon cat has done harm enough to me. Aforetime the king gave to me a cock; sweet of voice was it, and at each hour it awoke me, to go to the king's palace. This very night (the cat) went off and bit off the head of the cock and came back here. And the king said to me as follows: It appears that as thou growest old, in the same

[1] The Arm. word has this meaning.
[2] After the explanation of the pillar MS. Canon passes direct to the rope of sand incident, as does the Syriac.

SYRIAC

7 1 Then I sat down and meditated in my heart and wrote a letter as follows:

'From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting.

2 'Kings have need of kings and brethren of brethren: and at this time my gifts are become scant, because silver is scarce in my treasury: command, therefore, to send me from thy treasury 900 talents of silver, and in a little while I will return them to their place.'

3 This letter, then, I folded and held it in my hands: and the king commanded and I came into his presence, and I said to him, 'Perhaps in this letter there is a word that was never heard by thee.' And when I read it before the king and before his nobles, they cried out, as they were ordered by the king to do, and said, 'This has been heard by all of us, and it is so.'

4 Whereupon I said to them, 'Behold, [in that case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria.' And when the king heard this, he marvelled.

5 Then he said to me, 'I am planning to build a castle between earth and heaven. Its height from the earth shall be one thousand fathoms.'

ARABIC

7 1 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter, saying in it on this wise:

'From Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

2 'Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and [my] hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that I may spend [it] upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee.' Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh.

3 And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said to him, 'Verily I have never heard anything like this language

4 from any one.' Then Haiqâr said to him, 'Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king.' And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, 'O Haiqâr, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings. Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom, and hath adorned thee with philo-

5 sophy and knowledge. And now, O Haiqâr, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldst build us a castle between heaven and earth.'

ARMENIAN

measure your words and wisdom are changed round. From Egypt to Nineveh there are 500[1] leagues. How then in a single night could a cat bite off the head of the cock and come back hither? But I said: How could your mares hear the neighing and miscarry?

The king said: Leave this. 25
Come and weave me a rope of sand. When I had gone out from him, the king said to all those with him: Whatever Khikar says, ye shall say, 'We know and have heard this saying.'

And I took and wrote a letter **7** 1
thus: From Seneqerim king, all hail to Pharaon king of Egypt.

Brethren have need of brethren 2
to behold them and kings of kings. In this season expenses and debts enough have there been and silver is wanting in our treasuries. So then give orders and have brought to me by dispatch a hundred talents of silver. And I fastened up 3
the letter and went in to the king and said: In this dispatch I have written of a matter, of which neither your city[2] nor your satraps have heard. And they all said: We have heard and we know this matter of yours. But I said: If ye have heard, say then before ye have opened the letter. And they could not say, but opened and read it. I said: Ye have heard what is written. The king said[3]: 4
If a rope of sand thou weavest not for me, thou shalt not carry

[1] MS. Canon has 360.
[2] 92 adds 'nor your king'.
[3] Canon = 'and Pharaon said: Weave me a rope of sand, in length nine ells. And I said: My lord king, order them to bring forth from your treasury a model that I may see and according to the model make it, that it be not too thick or too thin. And Pharaon said: In my treasury is none. But unless thou weave it, thou carriest not off the silver, which by thy wisdom thou hast sought and I promised.'

SYRIAC

6 Then I brought out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet, and set the boys on their backs; and they were saying, 'Provide mud, mortar; [foreman, mix] tiles and bricks for the builders, because they are idle.' And when the king saw it, he was confounded.

7 Then I, Aḥiḳar, took a switch and beat the king's nobles, till they all took to flight. Then the king was indignant with me, and said to me, 'Thou art gone clean mad, Aḥiḳar: who is able to carry up anything to these boys?'

8 And I said to him, 'Concerning the affairs of Sennacherib my lord, say ye nothing; for if he had been at hand, he would have built a couple of castles in one day.' And the king said to me, 'Have done with the castle, Aḥiḳar, and go to thy lodging; and in the morning come to me.'

ARABIC

Then said Haiqâr, 'To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord! prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as
6 thou desirest'. And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and Haiqâr and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqâr would do.

Then Haiqâr let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the young men on their backs [1], and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth. And the boys began to shout, saying, 'Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!'

7 And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered. And Haiqâr and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, 'Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work.' And the king said to him, 'Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to
8 that distance?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, O Haiqâr, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we have given up [2] building

ARMENIAN

away the tribute from Egypt. And I went into a deeply dug chamber, and perforated the wall of the chamber on the side whence the dawn shone; and when the dawn gleamed forth, it flashed into the chamber seven ells; and I took up dust of sand and cast it into the hole bored and blew into it. It appeared like woven twists, and I said: Give orders, O king, that they collect yon ropes and I will weave yet others.

When the king saw this he 5
laughed and said: Blessed art thou before the *diq*. And he gave me very great presents, and allowed the tribute from Egypt and well and gladly dismissed me, and I departed.

[1] Lit. 'on the eagles' backs'.
[2] Lit. 'we have passed away from'.

SYRIAC

9 And when it was morning, I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'Explain to me, Aḥiḳar, the following matter. The horse of thy lord neighs in Assyria, and our mares hear his voice here, and their foals miscarry.'

10 Then I went forth from the king's presence, and commanded my servants to catch me a cat, and I whipped it in the streets of the city; and when the Egyptians saw it, they went and told the king that 'Aḥiḳar has acted contemptuously of our people and makes mock of us. For he has caught a cat and whips it in the streets of our city.'

11 And the king sent for me and called me; and I came into his presence.

12 And he said to me, 'In what way art thou insulting us?' and I answered and said to him, 'This cat has seriously damaged me in no slight matter; for a cock had been entrusted to me by my lord, whose voice was extremely beautiful, and by the time that he crowed I understood that my lord wished for me, and I went to the gate of my lord. And in this past night this cat went to Assyria and tore off the head of this cock of mine and
13 returned.' And the king answered and said to me, 'As far as I can see, Aḥiḳar, since thou art grown old thou art become stark mad. For it is 360 parasangs from here to Assyria; and how canst thou say that in a single night this cat went and cut off the head of the cock and came back?'

14 Then I said to him, 'And if it is 360 parasangs from Egypt to Assyria, how do thy mares in this place hear the voice of the horse of my lord, and their foals miscarry?'

ARABIC

the castle, and to-morrow come to me'.

9 Then Haiqâr went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they
10 cast their young.' And when Haiqâr heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it, and they went and told the king about it.

11 And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqâr, and said to him, 'O Haiqâr, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat
12 that dumb beast?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night. And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to
13 thisdrubbing.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Haiqâr, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?'

14 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh, how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young?

SYRIAC

15 And when the king heard this, he was sore vexed, and he said to me, 'Aḥiḳâr, expound to me this riddle: A pillar has on its head twelve cedars; in every cedar there are thirty wheels, and in every wheel two cables, one
16 white and one black.' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, the ox-herds in our country understand this riddle that thou tellest. The pillar of which thou hast spoken to me is the year; the twelve cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month; the two cables, one white and one black, are the day and the night.'

17 Again he said to me, 'Twine me five cables from the sand of the river.' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, bid them bring me from thy treasury one rope of sand, and I will make one to match it.' Then he said to me, 'Unless thou do this, I will not give thee the Egyptian
18 tribute.' Thereupon I sat down and calculated in my heart how I should do it. And I went out from the king's palace[1] and bored five holes in the eastern
19 wall of the palace. And when the sun entered the holes I scattered sand in them, and the sun's path[2] began to appear as if [the sand] were twined in the holes. Then I said to the king; 'My lord, bid them take up these, and I will weave you others in their stead.' And when the king and his nobles saw it, they were amazed.

20 And again the king commanded to bring me an upper millstone that was broken: and he said to me, 'Aḥiḳar, sew up for us this broken millstone.' Then I went and brought a nether[3] millstone, and cast it down before the king and said

[1] Lit. 'temple', *ut supra*.
[2] Lit. 'furrow'.
[3] Lit. 'the mortar of a millstone'.

ARABIC

and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?'

15 And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqâr had answered his questions.

And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make
16 one like it.' Then Haiqâr went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes. And Haiqâr said, 'Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou desirest it, I will weave thee (some) like them.'

17 And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, we have a millstone here and it has been broken and I want thee to sew it up.' Then Haiqâr looked at it, and found another stone.
18 And he said to Pharaoh, 'O my lord! I am a foreigner, and I have no tool for sewing. But I want thee to command thy faithful shoe-

SYRIAC

to him, 'My lord the king, since I am a stranger here, and have not the tools of my craft with me, bid the cobblers cut me strips (?) from this lower millstone which is the fellow of the upper millstone; and forthwith
21 I will sew it together.' And when the king heard it, he laughed and said, 'The day in which Aḥiḳar was born shall be blessed before the God of Egypt; and since I have seen thee alive, I will make it a great and appropriate day.'

22 Then he gave me the revenue of Egypt for three years, and straightway I returned and came to my lord the king Sennacherib: and he came forth to meet me and received me.

ARABIC

makers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that millstone.'

19 Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, 'Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge.'
20 And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqâr had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to
21 Haiqâr. And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqâr, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey. And he said to him, 'Go in peace, O strength of his lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to[1] thy lord king Sennacherib, and say to him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little.'
22 Then Haiqâr arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continuance, and abundance in his treasury, and said to him, 'O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen
23 may remain in Egypt.' And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqâr. Then Haiqâr went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth.

[1] Lit. 'my peace upon'.

SYRIAC

23 And he made it a great day and set me at the head of his household: and he said to me, 'Ask what thou wilt, Aḥiḳar'; and I worshipped the king and said, 'Whatever thou willest to give me, bestow it upon Nabusemakh . . .[1]; because he gave me my life; and for myself, my lord, bid them give me my son Nadan, that I may teach him a further lesson. For he has forgotten my former teaching.'

Ut supra.

ARABIC

24 And when the news reached king Sennacherib that Haiqâr was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him, and said to him, 'Welcome home, O kinsman! my brother Haiqâr, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm. Ask what thou wouldst have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions.' Then said Haiqâr unto him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! Show favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samîk in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his.'

25 Then said Sennacherib the king, 'Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqâr! I will make the station of Abu Samîk the swordsman higher than all my Privy Councillors and my favourites.' Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the
26 presents. And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said to Haiqâr, 'Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand.' And Haiqâr said: 'Let the king live for ever! I desire naught but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness. O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like[1]? but if thou wilt show me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it.'

[1] غيرة here = *dergleichen*.

ARMENIAN

When the king Seneqerim 6
heard of my coming, he went out to meet me with joy. When we had saluted each other, he took and led me into his palace and made me recline at the head of the couch; and made merry for several days, and bestowed on me very great presents, and said to me: O my father Khikar, ask of me other very great presents and I will give them to thee. And 7
I bowed to the earth to him and said: O king, live for ever. Whatsoever thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on Abusmaq my comrade, who gave life to thy servant.

But to me thou shalt give Nathan my sister's son whom I taught[1]. For he hath not well learned my former lore.

[1] Canon = 'sister's son, that I may teach him another teaching'.

SYRIAC

24 And the king commanded and gave me my son Nadan; and the king said to me, 'Go thy way, Aḥiḳar, and work thy will on thy son Nadan; for no man shall rescue his body from thy
25 hands.' Thereupon I took Nadan my son, and brought him to my house; and I bound him with iron chains whose weight was twenty talents, and I fastened the chains in rings, and I fastened collars on his neck; and I struck him one thousand blows on the shoulders and a thousand and one on his loins [1]; and I put him in the porch of the door of my palace, and gave him bread by weight and water by measure.
26 And I delivered him to my boy Nabuel to guard, and told my boy, 'Write down in a tablet whatever I say to my son Nadan, when I go in or come out.' And I answered and said to my son Nadan as follows:

ARABIC

27 And Sennacherib the king said, 'Take him, I have given him to thee.' And Haiqâr took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him and commanded him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day; and whenever Haiqâr went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely:

ARMENIAN

And the king gave Nathan 8
my sister's son into my hands, and I [a] bound him with a single chain of iron, which was of the weight of seven talents, at the door of my portico; and I entrusted him to Bêliar my servant. And I ordered him to scourge him on his back and belly. And I said to him in my coming in and going forth: Whatsoever I speak in proverbs with him, do thou write on paper and keep it with thee; and I gave to him a 9
little bread and a little water. I began to speak and said as follows:

The Parables of Ahikar, VIII. 1–41

8 1 'My son, he who does not hear with his ears, they make him hear with the nape of his neck.'

2 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Wherefore art thou so angry against thy son?'

I answered and said to him, 'My son, I set thee on the throne of honour; and thou hast cast me down from my throne. And

[1] Cf. the punishment of the disobedient servant in the Gospel, δαρήσεται πολλάς.

1 'O Nadan, my boy! I have done to thee all that is good and kind, and thou hast rewarded me for it with what is ugly and bad and with killing.

'O my son! it is said in the proverbs: He who listeneth not with his ear, they will make him listen with the scruff of his neck.'

2 And Nadan said, 'For what cause art thou wroth with me?'

And Haiqâr said to him, 'Because I brought thee up, and taught thee, and gave thee honour and respect and made thee great, and reared thee with the best of breeding, and seated thee in my place that thou mightest be my heir in the world, and

Son, him that with his ears **8**
heareth not they make to hear through his back.

Nathan began to speak and 2
said: Wherefore art thou angry with me, my father? I have [1] sinned against thee, my father Khikar. If thou wilt have mercy on me, thy servant, I will even become to thee dust and ashes and a servant all the days of my life.

And I said to him:

Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, and from my throne thou didst hurl me to ruin.

Son, I in byssus and purples 3
clad thee, and thou with earth wouldst have destroyed my body.

Son, I raised thee on high 4

[1] Canon, with Syriac, omits the words 'I have . . . of my life'.

[a] For the text of MS. Canon, see below:

Then I took Nathan, and led him to my house; and bound (him to) my pillar of iron, of which the weight was seven hundred utres; and I placed a rope round his neck. And I smote a thousand blows (lit. trees) on his chest and a thousand on his back. And he was kept in the door of my portico. And I gave him bread by weight and water by measure; and entrusted him to Beliar my servant, and I said to him: In my goings out and my comings in, whatever I say to Nathan write it in thy book.

SYRIAC

as for me, my righteousness[1] has saved me.

3 Thou hast been to me, my son, like a scorpion, which strikes at a rock. And the rock said to it, "Thou hast struck at an unconcerned heart." And it struck at a needle, and they say to it, "Thou hast struck at a sting worse than thy own."

4 My son, thou hast been to me like a gazelle that was standing over a sumach-tree and eating it. And the sumach-tree said to it, "Why eatest thou me, seeing that they tan thy skin with me?" And the gazelle said, "I eat thee in my life, and when I am dead they will pluck thee up by thy roots."[2]

5 My son, thou hast been to me like the man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.

6 My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him.

[1] In the primitive sense of 'almsgiving'?

[2] Apparently the point of the story is missed, which is that the sumach-tree has its revenge on the gazelle: 'thy skin shall be dyed with my roots presently.'

ARABIC

thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin. But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the snare which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty.

3 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which, when it strikes on brass, pierces it.

4 O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, "Eat of me today and take thy fill, and tomorrow they will tan thy hide in my roots."

5 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him.

6 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin.

ARMENIAN

like a tower, so that if the enemy should come to me, I might go forth and fortify myself in thee; and thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house.

Son, I gave thee to glory and honour; and thou didst betray me into the hands of enmity and death. 5

Son, I nurtured[1] thee like the cub of the fox; and thine eye was on thine hole and my finger smooth was on thy mouth and thy fingers were sharpened upon my eyes. 6

Son, my righteousness and innocency saved and rescued me; and thy injustice prospered thee not. 7

Son, thou wast to me as a scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said[2]: Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again he struck the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it and said: Captive, knewest thou not that thy breath and soul were under my feet? 8

Son, thou hast been to me like a goat which was eating madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me? Knowest thou not that with my root they dye thy skin[3]? Said the goat: I in my lifetime eat thee, after my death they pluck up thy root and prepare (*lit.* build) my skin. 9

Son, thou hast been to me like him that shot his arrow up to the heavens; and he was not able to reach thereunto, but reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned upon his head. 10

[1] I render *snoutzi* of MS. Canon instead of *ousoutzi* = 'taught' of the other MSS. MS. Canon has the rest of the saying thus: 'like the young of the eagle, and thy fingers were sharpened against my eyes. For thine eye was evil to look upon me.'

[2] I supply the words 'The needle said' from MS. Canon. The other copies omit it through *homoioteleuton*.

[3] So MS. Canon; the other MSS. less well: 'with me they work thy skin.'

SYRIAC

7 My son, not when thou hadst killed me, wouldst thou have been able to stand in my place; for be well aware, my son, that even if the tail of the swine should grow to seven ells, he would never take the place of the horse: and even if his hair should become soft and woolly, he would never ride on the back of a free man.[1]

8 My son, I said that thou shouldst be in my place; and thou shouldst acquire my house and my wealth, and inherit them. But God was not pleased therewith and has not heard thy voice.

9 My son, thou hast been to me as the lion that came upon an ass in the morning of the day and said to him, "Welcome, my lord Kyrios." But the ass said to him, "May the same welcome that thou givest me be the portion of him that tied me up last night, and did not make my halter fast, so that I had not seen thy face."

10 My son, a snare was set[2] upon a dunghill, and there came a sparrow and looked at it and said, "What doest thou here?" And the snare said, "I am praying to God." The sparrow said, "And what is that in thy mouth?" The snare said, "Bread for guests." Then the sparrow drew near and took it, and the snare caught him by the neck. And the sparrow said, as he was being shaken, "If this is thy bread for guests, may the God to whom thou prayest never listen to thy voice."

11 My son, thou hast been to me as an ox that was bound with a lion; and the lion turned and crushed him.

[1] We should expect 'the free man would never ride on his back'.

[2] A Syriac play of words between ܨܠܐ = *disposuit laqueos* and ܡܨܠܐ which follows.

ARABIC

7 O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir, and wouldst have reigned over my dominions.

8 O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk.

9 O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning.

10 O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, "What doest thou here?" Said the trap, "I am praying here to God."

And the lark[1] asked it also, "What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?" Said the trap, "That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer." Said the lark: "And what is that thing in thy mouth?" Said the trap: "That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me." Said the lark: "Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?" And the trap said to him, 'Come forward.' And the lark approached that it might eat. But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck. And the lark answered and said to the trap, "If that is thy bread for the hungry

[1] For this rendering of قفشى see Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* col. 3555, *sub* ܩܦܫܝܢܐ.

SYRIAC

12 My son, thou hast been to me like the weevil that is in the corn, which destroys kings' granaries, and is itself of no account.

13 My son, thou hast been to me like the pot, to which they made golden handles[1], but its bottom was not cleansed from blackness.

14 My son, thou hast been to me like a husbandman that sowed a field with twenty measures of barley; and when he reaped it, it made him twenty measures. And he said to it: "What I scattered, I have gathered, but thou art shamed with thine evil name, in that thou hast made a bushel into a bushel[2]: and I, [how] am I to live?"

15 My son, thou hast been to me like the . . . bird that could not save himself from death, and by his voice slaughtered his companions.[3]

16 My son, thou hast been to me like the buck that led his companions into the slaughter-house; and yet he did not save his own life.

17 My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them.

[1] Lit. 'ears'.
[2] Cf. Matt. xxv. 24–7.
[3] Reading محلص.

ARABIC

God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds. And if that is thy fasting and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee."

11 O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up.

12[a] O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat, for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it.

12[b] O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: "O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk."[1]

13 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with her(self) into the net.

14 O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter's house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them.

[1] This meaning of ضرر will be found in Lane, p. 1776, col. 3.

ARMENIAN

11 Son, thou hast been to me like the sower, who sowed ten bushels, and gathered five bushels, and the rest failed.

SYRIAC

18 My son, thou hast been to me like the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to its companions, "Come and wash."

19 My son, my finger is upon thy mouth, and thy finger is upon my eyes. Why have I brought thee up, thou jackal, that thy eyes look thus upon apples?

20 My son, the dog that eats of his hunting will become the portion of wolves: and the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from its shoulder: and the eye in which there is no vision the raven shall pluck it out.

21 What good hast thou done me, my son, that I remembered thee and that my soul had comfort in thee?[1]

22 My son, if the gods steal, by whom shall they make them to swear? And a lion that steals a piece of land, how will he sit down and eat it?

23 My son, I caused thee to behold the face of the king, and brought thee to great honour: and thou hast chosen to do me evil.

24 My son, thou hast been to me like the tree that said to its woodcutters, "If there had not been somewhat from me in your hands, ye had not fallen upon me."

[1] We should have expected, 'that I might remember thee and that my soul might have comfort in thee'.

ARABIC

15 O my son! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole[1] and it went down and wallowed in it.

16 O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades (on their way) to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself.

17 O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies.

18 O my son! the hand which does not labour and plough and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder.

19 O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out.

20 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, "If (something) of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me."

[1] *Gûre* means a hollow place, *siân* is presumably from the Hebrew סוּן to be soft or sticky and the Syriac ܣܝܢ *limus, coenum*. I can find no justification for *siâq*, the reading of the MSS. used by Salhani and Lidzbarski.

ARMENIAN

Son, thou hast been to me like the axe that was chopping a tree. Said the tree: Wert[1] thou not from me, thou couldst not overcome me. Thus[2] didst thou imagine saying: I will fill his place. But if the pig's tail were about five ells long, it would not fill the place of the horse. And if its fleece were as purple, it could not be likened to the body of a king[3].

[1] MS. Canon, better: 'Were not what is in thy hand from me, thou wert not able to overcome me.'

[2] MS. Canon, better: 'My son, thou didst imagine thus, saying: I fill the place of Khikar, but were the pig's tail nine ells long,' &c.

[3] MS. Canon like the Syriac adds here this saying: 'Son, I thus thought, that thou wouldst stay in my house and inherit my goods. But according to thy lawlessness, God hath not prospered thee.'

SYRIAC

25 My son, thou hast been to me like the young swallows which fell out of their nest; and a cat caught them and said to them, "If it had not been for me, great evil would have befallen you." They answered and said to her, "Is that why thou hast put us in thy mouth?"

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

The maggot of the bread ate 12[1]
the body of a king, but was
itself of no use to any one nor
profitable, but vile.

Son, thou hast been to me 13
like the young of the swallow
which fell out of its nest, and
a weasel found it and said: If it
had not been for me[1], then a
great evil would have befallen
you. The nestling said to the
weasel: Thy good which thou
hast done to me shall return
upon thine head.

[1] Lit. 'if it had been apart from me'.

ARMENIAN

Son, a dog which itself eats the quarry, will become the prey of wolves. An eye that gives me 14
no light, the ravens dig it out. Hand which helps me not, from the shoulder let them lop it off.

Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung. A sparrow found it and 15
said: What doest thou?[2] And it said: I am engaged in prayer unto God. Said the sparrow:
And that which is in thy mouth, what is it? It said: A little loaf for the hungry. The sparrow
darted in to take the bread and was caught by the neck and said: If this was a little loaf for the
hungry, God even so heareth thy prayer.

Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I live away, I am 16
blinded; for the dust is a remedy for my eyes and benefits them.

Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. 17
The young ass said: Peace to yonder master of mine, who hath loosed the cord of my feet, and
let me behold thy face evil and bloodthirsty.[3]

Son, thou hast been to me like one who saw his fellow a-shivering. Taking water he threw 18
it over him.

Son, thou hast been to me like the dog which went into the oven of the potter. When he 19
was warm, he began to bark at the potter.

[2] So Paris 69: the rest = 'What art thou?'

[3] Canon omits 'evil and bloodthirsty'.

SYRIAC

26 My son, thou hast been to me like the cat, to which they say, "Leave off thy thievish ways, and thou shalt go out from and come in to the king's palace, according to thy heart's wish." And she answered and said, "If I should have eyes of silver and ears of gold, I will not leave off my thieving."

27 My son, thou hast been to me like a serpent that was mounted on a thorn-bush and thrown into a river; and a wolf saw them and said to them: "Bad rides on bad, and worse than either carries them off." The serpent said to him, "If thou hadst been here, thou shouldst have paid the reckoning for the she-goats and their young ones."

28 My son, I have seen a she-

ARABIC

21 O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: "Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds." And she said, "I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother."

22 O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, "Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them." And the serpent said to the wolf, "The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy

ARMENIAN

Son, they said to the cat, 20
Give up thy habitual affair[4],
and the privilege[4] is extended
to thee to enter the palace and
quit it. The cat said: If my
eyes were gold and my paw of
silver, I would yet not give up
the habitual thing[5].

Son, thou hast been to me as 21
a snake that wound itself round
a bramble and fell into a river.
A wolf saw it and said: Lo, the
evil is mounted on the evil, and
evil is that which drives them
along.

[4] Lit. 'word'.

[5] Canon here has 'habit', *bars* for *ban* = 'word', and this should probably be read all through.

SYRIAC

goat brought into the slaughter-house, and because its time was not yet come, it returned to its place and saw its children and its children's children.

My son, I have seen colts that have become slayers of their mothers.

29 My son, I fed thee with every pleasant meat: and thou, my son, hast fed me with bread of ashes[1], and I was not satisfied therewith.

30 My son, I salved thee with sweet salves, and thou, my son, hast fouled my body with dust.

31 My son, I trained up thy stature like a cedar, but thou hast humbled me in my life, and hast made me drunken with thy wickedness.

32 My son, I raised thee like a tower and said, "If the enemy should come upon me, I will go up and dwell in thee": and thou, when thou sawest my enemy, didst bow before him.

33 My son, thou hast been to me like the mole that came up out of the earth that he might get possession[2] of the sun, because he had no eyes; and an eagle saw him and struck him and carried him off.'

[1] Lit. 'dust'.

[2] Lit. 'receive'. But perhaps the original was 'that he might see the sun, though he had no eyes'.

ARABIC

life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?" Said the wolf, "No." And the serpent said to him, "I think that after myself thou art the worst of us."

23 O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry bread.[1]

24 O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink.

25 O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me.

26 O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me.

27 O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldst build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning.

28 O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me (with) evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds.'

[1] For this meaning of خبز حاف cf. Lane, Book I, part 2, p. 598, and Badger, p. 272.

ARMENIAN

Son, thou hast been to me as 22
a mole which came out of its hole and one with another went forth because of their eyes not seeing. And an eagle swooped and seized him; and the mole said: If there had been no senses in my case, I should have remained in my place and lived a peaceful life.

Son, they gave teaching to 2
the wolf's cub, and said: Say thou, *ayb*, *ben*, *gim*[1]; and he said *ayts*, *bouts*, *garhn* (i.e. goat, kid, lamb).

Son, they took the swine to 2
the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled himself in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine.

[1] i.e. the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet.

Syriac

34 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'My father Aḥiḳar, such things be far from thee: do to me according to thy mercy: for God also forgives the fault of men: and thou also, forgive me this my folly: and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house, and I shall be called evil: but thou, devise not evil against me.'

35 I answered and said to him, 'My son, thou hast been to me like that palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river, and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"

36 My son, they say to the wolf, "Why dost thou follow after the sheep?" He said to them, "Their dust is exceeding good for my eyes." Again they brought him into the school-house[1]: the master said to him, "Aleph, Beth"; the wolf said, "Kid, Lamb."

37 My son, I taught thee that there is a God: and thou risest up against good servants, and beatest those that have not sinned; and like as God has kept me alive on account of my righteousness[2] so hath He destroyed thee for thy works.

38 My son, they set the head of the ass over a dish at the table, and he rolled off and fell in the dust. And they say, "He spites

[1] Lit. 'house of the scribe'.
[2] Query, 'almsgiving'? *ut supra.*

Arabic

29 And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he said: 'O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee? Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving.'

30 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, "Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down." And its master said to it, "Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?"

31 O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow.

32 O my boy! they said to the wolf, "Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee." And the wolf said, "The dregs of the sheep's milk[1] are good for my eyes."

33 O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read, and they said to him, "Say A, B." He said, "Lamb and goat[2] in my belly."

34 O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust, and one said, "Let him roll himself, for it

[1] This is evidently a pun, *ghabar* meaning dust, and *ghubr* the last milk in the udder.
[2] The animals mentioned by the wolf had names which doubtless began with A, B. In the Arabic and English this is lost.

Armenian

Nathan began to speak and said: My father Khikar, men sin unto God, and He forgives them, when they say: I have sinned. Father, I have sinned unto thee. Forgive me, and I will be to thee a slave henceforth for ever.[1] 24b

And I spake to Nathan thus: Son, thou hast been to me like a palm-tree which was growing with roots on the bank of the river. When the fruit ripened, it fell into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, and the tree said: Leave me in this place[2], that in the next year I may bear fruit. The lord of the tree said: Up to this day hast thou been to me useless, in the future thou wilt not become useful. 25

Son, God hath rescued me because of my innocence, but hath destroyed thee because of thy lawlessness. God passes judgement between me and thee. 26a
For the tail of the dog gives bread and his mouth a cudgel.[3] 26b

[1] Canon adds: 'like one of the sinners'.
[2] Canon = 'Leave me for this year'.
[3] Canon adds this precept about the dog after no. 16. It comes as the fourth in the first series of the Syriac.

SYRIAC

himself; he does not receive honour."

39 My son, thou hast verified the proverb, which is current: "Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave."

40 My son, the proverb is true that is current: "Take thy sister's son under thy arm and dash him against a stone."

But God is He that hath kept me alive, and He will judge between us.'

41 Thereat Nadan swelled up like a bag and died. And to him that doeth good, what is good shall be recompensed: and to him that doeth evil, what is evil shall be rewarded.[1] And he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, filleth it with his own stature. And to God be glory, and His mercy be upon us. Amen.

The proverbs of Aḥiḳar the sage and secretary of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh are ended.

J. R. HARRIS.

[1] Lit. 'He shall be rewarded evil'.

ARABIC

is his nature, he will not change."

35 O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: "If thou begettest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave."

36 O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work.

37 O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets. And He will requite thee and will judge betwixt me and thee, and will recompense thee according to thy desert.'

38 And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder. And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died. And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them. This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqâr, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace. This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen.

A. S. LEWIS.

ARMENIAN

In the same hour Nathan 26
swelled up and all his body burst asunder, and I said:

Son,[a] he that doeth good, 27
winneth good; and he that digs a pit for others, himself falls into the pit. The good endeth in good and the evil in evil.

Here endeth Khikar.[1]

F. C. CONYBEARE.

[1] The last three words in Codex Ven. alone.

[a] The text of MS. Canon is as follows:

Said Khikar: He that doeth well to the good will meet with good. And he who diggeth a pit for his fellow, with his own person filleth it. He who loves evil is hateful to many, and he who pursues the good inherits it.

Aethiopic Fragments of the Sayings of Ahikar.

The following is the translation of the fifteen sayings of Aḥiḳar, published by Cornill in his *Maṣḥafa Falâsfâ Ṭabîbân*, or *Book of the Wise Philosophers*. These sayings are taken from two MSS., one at Frankfort and the other at Tübingen. They apparently come from an Arabic collection of ethical maxims, and not from a complete story of Aḥiḳar. We should have inferred that the precepts were in separate circulation in Arabic, from the title of a MS. in the Vatican described by Assemani which is said to contain *Hicari philosophi Mosulani praeccepta*.

Instruction of Ḥaiḳar the Wise.

1 He spake as follows:

'Hear, my son, and keep in remembrance my discourse, so that thou rememberest God the High and the Mighty.

My son, if thou hearest a discourse, hide it in thy heart and disclose it not to thy neighbour, that it become not to thee as a coal and burn thy tongue, and bring derision upon thee and make thee hateful to God.

2 My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.

3 My son, do not tarry with him, in whom there is strife: for strife brings controversy: and strife gives for an inheritance revengefulness and murder.

4 My son, if a house could be built by talk without action, an ass would build two houses a day.

5 My son, it is better to haul stones with a wise and understanding man, than to drink wine with a fool.

6 My son, so long as there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns, and level the way for thy children and thy children's children.

7 My son, if the rich man eats a snake, they say of him, "He seeks a medicine therein"; if, however, the poor man eats it, they say of him, "It was from hunger."

8 My son, if there come to thee a slenderer and poorer man than thyself, rise up to receive him.

9 My son, the wicked falls and rises not again; but the good man falls and rises immediately and remains in his condition.

10 My son, cease not to beat thy son; for the chastisement of a child is good for it, even as dung makes the land good; and as the land which is not rugged and on which there is grass delights the cattle, so doth a well-brought up son delight his father.

11 My son, keep thy son in curb, as long as he is small, that he may not grow up and thou have no more control over him, and be fain to blush over his corrupt behaviour.

12 A fair repute is better than a fair appearance; for the fair repute abides for ever, but the fair appearance and form pass away.

13 My son, it is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue; and bring no discourse out of thy mouth, before thou hast entered into counsel with thine own self.

14 My son, if the course of water should turn backwards, and if birds should fly without wings, and if the raven should become white as snow, then may a fool become wise.

15 My son, if thou wilt be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying and thy hands from stealing.'

J. R. Harris.

The Aramaic Fragments from Elephantiné.

The following represents roughly the narrative portion of the Aḥiḳar-legend, and the most important of the Parables and Proverbs of Aḥiḳar preserved in the papyrus:

1 . . . . . Aḥiḳar was his name, a wise and erudite scribe, who instructed his son . . . . . He said: The son will be . . . . . for me before . . . . . Aḥiḳar . . . . . the Great Seal of Sennacherib, king of Assyria . . . . . and there was no son to me . . . . . and Sennacherib,
3 king of Assyria, had fulfilled (his days) and Sennacherib died . . . . . his son, named Esarhaddon,
15 and he was king of Assyria in the place of his father (Sennacherib) . . . . . Assyria. Thereupon I (took) my son . . . . . and I instructed him and virtue . . . . . in the Palace along with . . . . . I presented him before Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria. And wisdom . . . . . what he had asked him. And thereon Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, loved him and said, (Long) life . . . . . the wise scribe, the counsellor of all Assyria, who has appointed as his son, and no son . . . . . and I bowed down and worshipped, I, Aḥiḳar, before Esarhaddon (the king) of Assyria. . . . . Aḥiḳar, and when I saw the face of Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, favourably, I rose up . . . . . (as I was before) Sennacherib thy father, who was king (before thee) . . . . .
. . . . . .

I shall not be able to serve (the king) in the gate of this palace . . . . . whose name is Nadin, my grown-up son, and he shall succeed me as Secretary . . . . . (and Great) Seal shall he be; and also my wisdom and . . . . . the king of Assyria. And he said to me, (like thyself) . . . . . and in thy stead he shall do thy work. . . . . I went to my house . . . . . and I set him in the gate of the palace . . . . . and I said, he will seek after what is good . . . . . (my son Nadin) whom I have brought up, think on . . . . . the king Sennacherib, thy father . . . . . he is wise and according to his counsel and advice . . . . . will much disquiet the king. Listen . . . . . as a son, who is not my son; as a son . . . . . .

4 1 . . . . . (Answered) Esarhaddon the king and said: . . . . . whom my father hath made great, who (ate) the bread of my father . . . . . thou wilt seek, where thou canst find . . . . . that old man Aḥiḳar. He is a wise secretary . . . . . whether he can corrupt the country against us, after that . . . . . Assyria; he attached to him two men, in order to see . . . . . that officer (?) Nabušumiškun, riding upon a swift horse . . . . . with him after yet three days . . . . . and the others who were with him, as I was walking in the vineyards. Nabušumiškun, the officer, rent his garment, and lamented . . . . . the wise Secretary and master of good counsel who . . . . . by whose counsel and words all Assyria was directed . . . . . (Nadin, thy son) whom thou hast appointed in the gate of the Palace, hath undone thee.

9 . . . . . Then was I much afeard, even I Aḥiḳar; and I answered and said to Nabušumiškun . . . . . I am he who aforetime saved thee from undeserved death . . . . . the father of the present king, Esarhaddon, (was angry) with thee . . . . . I brought thee to my house, thither was I bringing thee . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

(I treated thee) as a man treats his brother, and I hid thee from the presence of (king Sennacherib). I said, I have killed him, until at another time and after yet many days I presented thee before king Sennacherib, and caused thy sins to pass away before him: and no evil did he to thee. And with me also king Sennacherib was well pleased, because I had preserved thee alive and not

10 slain thee. And now do thou also to me in the same fashion as I did to thee. Slay me not, but bring me into thy house until other days. King Esarhaddon is merciful as one . . . . . towards another. He will remember me and will long for my advice. Thou wilt then present me before him, and he will suffer me to live. Thereupon answered Nabušumiškun and said to me, Fear not. Thou shalt live, Aḥiḳar, the father of all Assyria, according to whose counsel Sennacherib and all the Assyrian army were wont to make war. Nabušumiškun, the officer, spake to those two men, his companions, who were with him, (Listen) and I will give you a piece of advice, and it is good advice too. The two men answered and said to him, Tell it us then. And Nabušumiškun answered and said to them, Listen to me. Yonder is Aḥiḳar, a great man. He is the Great Seal of Esarhaddon. According to his counsel and word is the whole army of Assyria governed. Do not let us kill him. There is a eunuch whom I have, and whom I will give you. He must be killed in the mountain; he shall be a substitute for Aḥiḳar . . . . . other people (may come and) see the body of yonder Aḥiḳar, for the body of the young man, the eunuch, whom I have . . . . . .

. . . . . .

until our brother Esarhaddon (shall have regret) over our brother and the heart of Esarhaddon . . . . . I will give you much treasure . . . . . and the soul (of the officer) was content with his two companions.

11 (And they said,) Do as thou counsellest . . . . . Thereupon they slew the aforementioned eunuch

12 in the stead of Aḥiḳar . . . . . At that time report was made in the king's palace, (and they said) to the king, He hath been slain. Thereupon Nabušumiškun (brought me to his house, and he caused to be supplied to me there (meat and drink) and said, Let these things be furnished to my

13 lord (Aḥiḳar). Likewise he brought much treasure . . . . . Thereupon Nabusumiškun, the officer, went to Esarhaddon the king (of Assyria), and informed him, saying, I went my way, (as directed) and I found Aḥiḳar (walking in his vineyards), and I have put him to death. And do thou, O king, inquire of the two men whom thou didst appoint. So spake he . . . . . until that Esarhaddon (believed his words).

(This is all of the narrative which has been preserved: the extant portions of the proverbial and allegorical parts of the book are very fragmentary in character, and uncertain as to their restoration, to order, and sense. The most important are as follows:—

What is stronger than a braying ass? . . . . . .

The son who is instructed and disciplined, and who has on his feet . . . . . .

Do not withhold thy son from beating, if thou . . . . . .

My son, if I beat thee, thou diest not. And if I leave on thy heart . . . . . .

Smite the boy, like . . . . . even so to all thy servants . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The lion will be . . . . . the stag in the secret of his den (?) . . . . . .
And he pours out his blood and eats his flesh . . . . . .
The ass has left . . . . . and does not carry it. He takes up . . . . . from his companions, ... which was not his.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Watch carefully over thy mouth . . . . . and make thy heart slow (?), for the word spoken is like a bird, and he who utters it is like a man without . . . . . the craft of the mouth is mightier than the craft . . . . . .
Do not conceal (?) the word of a king . . . . . .
. . . . . .
They deal with trees by fire, with flesh by a knife, and with man . . . . . .
Let not thy heart rejoice in the multitude of children and over their fewness (be not thou discouraged).
(Cf. Armenian sayings, No. 34.)
A king is as a merciful man, also his voice is higher than that of him who stands before him . . .
The king is fair to look on as the sun, and for them that walk the earth, his adornment is costly . . .
. . . . . .
(My son,) I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt, but there was nothing heavier than . . . . . .
I have lifted straw and handled (?) the plough . . . . . and there was nothing lighter than the man who dwells in . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The panther met the goat, and it was naked. And the panther answered and said to the goat, Come and I will cover thee with my skin.
The goat answered and said to the panther, Why . . . . . my skin? Take it not from me . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The wolf came to the lambs (?) . . . . . and I will be silent. The lambs answered and said to him, Take what thou wantest from us . . . . . .
Nothing lies in a man's power, to lift up his foot or to set it down . . . . . .
(Do not bend) thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should . . . . . and cause it to return upon thyself.
. . . . . .
(Thou hast bent) thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou. That is a sin against our God.
. . . . . .
A loan is heavy, and borrow thou not from a man . . . . . and if thou contractest a loan, give thy soul no peace until . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . in thine ears, for the charm of a man is his trustiness, and his hatred is lying with his lips (?).
The son of my body has spied out my house . . . . . he has told strangers . . . . . .
He has become a false witness against me:
And who will now declare my righteousness?
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
With him that is higher than thyself do not . . . . . .
With him that is stronger . . . . . than thyself, do not . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . and be not insolent to thy father . . . . . .
. . . . . .
The thorn-bush sent to the pomegranate (and said):
The thorn-bush to the pomegranate. How numerous are thy thorns for him who handles thee!
The pomegranate answered and said to the thorn-bush,
Thou art all thorns for him who handles thee.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Greek Version of the Legend of Ahikar.

The following is the portion of the story of Aesop which shows coincidence with Aḥiḳar.

Fabulae Romanenses Graece Conscriptae (ed. Eberhard).

c. xxiii Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς νήσου ἀπάρας, περιήει τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγόμενος· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐπιδειξάμενος, μέγας παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκήρῳ ἐγένετο. κατ' ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην ἔχοντες καὶ τέρψεως χάριν προβλήματα τῶν σοφιστικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γράφοντες ἔπεμπον. ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ἐπιλυόμενοι φόρους ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πρὸς τῶν πεμπόντων ἐλάμβανον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἴσους παρεῖχον. ὁ τοίνυν Αἴσωπος τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν προβλημάτων Λυκήρῳ συνὼν ἐπέλυε, καὶ εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Λυκήρου ἕτερα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀντέπεμπεν, ὧν ἀλύτων μενόντων, φόρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πλείστους εἰσέπραττεν.

After this he set sail from the island, and went about the world, in discourse everywhere with the philosophic; and having reached Babylon, he then also exhibited his wisdom and acquired renown with Lykeros the king. In those days the kings were at peace with one another, and used to amuse themselves by sending one another sophistical questions to answer; and those who could resolve them used to get for their answers tribute from those who proposed them; if, however, they failed, they paid in turn the like amount. So Aesop, who was associated with Lykeros, used to solve the problems which were sent to him, and caused the king to become famous. And he himself sent through Lykeros counter-challenges to the kings, the non-solution of which brought an abundance of revenues to the king.

c. xxiv Αἴσωπος δὲ μὴ παιδοποιησάμενος, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν, Ἔννον τὴν κλῆσιν, εἰσεποιήσατό τε καὶ ὡς γνήσιον παῖδα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενέγκας συνέστησε. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ Ἔννου τῇ τοῦ θεμένου παλλακῇ συμφθαρέντος, Αἴσωπος τοῦτο γνοὺς, ἀπελαύνειν ἔμελλε τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δέ, τῇ κατ' ἐκείνου ὀργῇ ληφθείς, ἐπιστολήν τε πλασάμενος παρ' Αἰσώπου δῆθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντισοφιζομένους Λυκήρῳ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἕτοιμός ἐστι προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Λυκήρῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ τοῦ Αἰσώπου ταύτην σφραγισάμενος δακτυλίῳ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῇ τε σφραγῖδι πεισθεὶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτῳ ὀργῇ χρησάμενος, παραχρῆμα τῷ Ἑρμίππῳ κελεύει, μηδὲν ἐξετάσαντα οἷα δὴ προδότην διαχειρίσασθαι Αἴσωπον. ὁ δὲ Ἕρμιππος φίλος τε ἦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ καὶ τότε δὴ τὸν φίλον ἐπέδειξεν. ἔν τινι γὰρ τῶν τάφων μηδενὸς εἰδότος κρύψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔτρεφεν. Ἔννος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν Αἰσώπου παρέλαβε.

Now as Aesop himself had no children, he annexed a certain young man of noble birth named Ennus, and brought him to the king, with commendation as his proper son. And when, not long after, Ennus played false with the concubine of his adoptive father, Aesop, becoming aware of it, would have banished him the house. But he, seized with rage against him, and having forged a letter, to wit, from Aesop to the kings who were in contest with Lykeros, to the effect that he was prepared to take their side rather than that of Lykeros, went and put the letter into the king's hands, having first sealed it with Aesop's signet.

So he, being persuaded thereby, and under the influence of implacable anger, forthwith directs Hermippus to make away with Aesop without a trial, on the ground that he was a traitor. Hermippus, however, was a friend of Aesop, and showed himself so at the time. Without any one knowing it, he concealed Aesop in one of the tombs, and secretly maintained him. Meanwhile Ennus, by the king's orders, took over all Aesop's affairs.

c. xxv Μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον Νεκτεναβὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων πυθόμενος Αἴσωπον τεθνηκέναι, πέμπει Λυκήρῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπιστολήν, οἰκοδόμους αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι κελεύουσαν, οἳ πύργον οἰκοδομήσουσι μήτ' οὐρανοῦ μήτε γῆς ἁπτόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον ἀεὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῷη· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, φόρους εἰσπράττειν, εἰ δὲ μή, κατατίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τῷ Λυκήρῳ ἀναγνωσθέντα εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε, μηδενὸς τῶν φίλων δυναμένου τὸ πρόβλημα τὸ περὶ τοῦ πύργου συνεῖναι.

Some time after, Nectenabo, the king of the Egyptians, having ascertained that Aesop was dead, forthwith sends to Lykeros a letter, commanding him to send builders to construct him a tower that should not touch either heaven or earth, and a man withal who should make him continual answer to all his questions; if thus he would do, he should revenues acquire; but if the contrary, he should pay them over. When these

ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς καὶ κίονα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἔλεγεν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον. Ἕρμιππος δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δι' Αἴσωπον λύπην μαθών, προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ζῆν ἐκεῖνον εὐηγγέλισατο, προσθεὶς ὡς τοῦδε χάριν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν, εἰδὼς ὡς μεταμελήσει ποτὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποφάσεως. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσθέντος, Αἴσωπος ῥυπῶν καὶ αὐχμῶν ὅλος προσηνέχθη, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτόν, δακρύσαντος καὶ λούσασθαί τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι κελεύσαντος, Αἴσωπος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορήθη τὰς αἰτίας ἀπεσκευάσατο. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἔννον ἀναιρεῖν μέλλοντος, Αἴσωπος αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ᾐτήσατο. ἑπομένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπέδωκεν ἀναγνῶναι. ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν λύσιν συνεὶς τοῦ προβλήματος, ἐγέλασέ τε καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἐπειδὰν χειμὼν παρέλθῃ, πεμφθῆναι τούς τε τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομήσοντας καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, Αἰσώπῳ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισεν ἅπασαν, ἔκδοτον αὐτῷ παραδοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἔννον. ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἔννον, οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ὡς υἱῷ πάλιν προσσχών, ἄλλους τε καὶ τούτους ὑπετίθει τοὺς λόγους.

things were read to Lykeros, they put him in a sad muse, seeing that none of his friends could understand the riddle about the tower. Whereupon the king was saying that he had lost in Aesop the very pillar of the kingdom. Hermippus, however, when he learned the king's grief over Aesop, came to the king, and gave him the good news that he was yet alive, adding that it was for this very reason that he had not done him to death, because he knew that the king would some time repent him of the sentence. And when the king was mightily pleased thereat, Aesop was brought in to him, all filthy and begrimed, and the king, when he saw him, wept, and bid him to the bath and to be attended with all care, and after this Aesop cleared himself of all the accusations that had been made against him. Whereupon the king would in turn have slain Ennus, but Aesop asked that he would pardon him. Thereafter the king put into Aesop's hand the letter of the Egyptian to read. And he, promptly divining the solution of the riddle, laughed and bid them dispatch a reply to the effect that, on the approach of winter, he would send him both the builders of the tower, and the person who should answer his questions. So the king sent ambassadors to Egypt, and to Aesop he entrusted all his ancient affairs, handing over to him Ennus, to boot. So Aesop took to him Ennus, nor wrought he him any unpleasantness, but dealing with him again as with a son, he imparted to him the following and kindred instructions.

1 'Τέκνον, πρὸ πάντων σέβου τὸ θεῖον; τὸν βασιλέα
2 δὲ τίμα· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς σου δεινὸν σεαυτὸν παρασκεύαζε, ἵνα μὴ καταφρονῶσί σου· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πρᾶον καὶ εὐμετάδοτον, ὡς εὐνουστέρους σοι μᾶλλον
3 γίνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς νοσεῖν εὔχου καὶ πένεσθαι, ὡς μὴ οἵους τε εἶναι λυπεῖν σε· τοὺς δὲ φίλους κατὰ πάντα εὖ πράττειν βούλου. αἰεὶ τῇ
4 γυναικί σου χρηστῶς ὁμίλει, ὅπως ἑτέρου ἀνδρὸς πειρᾶν μὴ ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν. κοῦφον γὰρ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι
5 φῦλον καὶ κολακευόμενον ἐλάττω φρονεῖ κακά. ὀξεῖαν μὲν πρὸς λόγον κτῆσαι τὴν ἀκοήν, τῆς δὲ γλώττης
6 ἐγκρατὴς ἔσο. τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ
7 σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις.
8 τῶν οἰκετῶν σου ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς δεσπότην
9 σε φοβῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην αἰδῶνται. μὴ αἰσχύνου μανθάνειν ἀεὶ τὰ κρείττω. τῇ γυναικὶ μηδέ-
10 ποτε πιστεύσῃς ἀπόρρητα, ἀεὶ γὰρ ὁπλίζεται πῶς σου
11 κυριεύσει. καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀποταμιεύου· βέλτιον γὰρ τελευτῶντα ἐχθροῖς καταλεῖψαι, ἢ ζῶντα
12 τῶν φίλων ἐπιδεῖσθαι. εὐπροσήγορος ἔσο τοῖς συναντῶσιν, εἰδὼς ὡς καὶ τῷ κυναρίῳ ἄρτον ἡ οὐρὰ προσ-
13 πορίζει. ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μὴ μετανόει. ψίθυρον ἄνδρα ἔκβαλε σῆς οἰκίας, τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενα
14 καὶ πραττόμενα ἑτέροις φέρων ἀναθήσει. πρᾶττε μὲν τὰ μὴ λυπήσοντά σε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι μὴ
15 λυποῦ. μήτε πονηρὰ βουλεύσῃ ποτὲ μήτε τρόπους κακῶν μιμήσῃ.'

Further, let it be thy prayer that poverty and sickness may be the lot of thy enemies, that they may not have it in their power to annoy thee; but for thy friends desire good fortune in everything. Ever talk kindly to thy wife, that she may not seek to make experiment of another man. For the female sex is a slight thing, and when flattered makes little of mishap. Keep thine ear attentive to discourse, but be retentive of thy speech. Envy not the prosperous, but be glad with them: for by envying thou wilt rather damage thyself. Have such care of thy servants that they not merely fear thee as lord, but revere thee, too, as benefactor. Take no scorn to be always learning better. Never entrust secrets to the wife, for she ever sets her camp to have mastery over thee. Every day, and for the morrow, do thou store up: for it is better to die and leave one's estate to enemies than to live and be dependent on friends. Be affable to those whom thou meetest, knowing that even for the dog his tail provides him bread. When thou

c. xxvi. 1 'My child,' said he, 'first of all revere the divine,
2 and honour the king; to thine enemies make thyself dread that they despise thee not: but to thy friends be gentle and generous, that they in turn may be better affected to thyself.
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15

τούτοις τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸν Ἔννον νουθετήσαντος, ἐκεῖνος τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ συνειδήσει οἷά τινι βέλει πληγεὶς τὴν ψυχήν, μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

hast been kindly do not regret it. Turn the whisperer out of thy house, for he will carry off and deposit with others whatever thou sayest or dost. Do such things as will grieve thee not afterwards, but over things that happen grieve thou not. Devise thou not evil, nor ever imitate the ways of bad men.' 13 14 15

When thus Aesop had admonished Ennus, the latter was compunct in soul as with an arrow at his words, and by his own conscience, and not many days after he departed this life.

c. xxvii Αἴσωπος δὲ τοὺς ἰξευτὰς πάντας προσκαλεσάμενος, ἀετῶν νεοττοὺς τέτταρας συλληφθῆναι κελεύει. συλληφθέντας οὖν οὕτως ἔθρεψεν, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν, ὅπερ οὐ πάνυ τί με πειθόμενον ἔχει, ὡς παῖδας διὰ θυλάκων αὐτοῖς προσηρτημένων βαστάζοντας εἰς ὕψος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπηκόους τοῖς παισὶν εἶναι, ὡς ὅποιπερ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι βούλοιντο ἵπτασθαι ἄν τε εἰς ὕψος ἄν τε εἰς γῆν χαμαζέ. τῆς δὲ χειμερινῆς ὥρας παραδραμούσης καὶ ἦρος διαγελάσαντος, ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευασάμενος Αἴσωπος, καὶ τούς τε παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετούς, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐκεῖ κεχρημένος. Νεκτεναβὼ δ' ἀκούσας παραγεγονέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον, 'ἐνήδρευμαι,' φησὶ τοῖς φίλοις, 'μεμαθηκὼς Αἴσωπον τεθνηκέναι.'

When Aesop then called to him all the hunters, and directed the capture of four eaglets. When these were caught he reared them (so it is said) and trained them (a thing which does not altogether convince me) to carry boys, attached to them by bags, up into the air, and to be so under the boys' direction as to fly wherever they willed, whether to the heaven above or the earth beneath. Winter being now past and smiling spring arrived, Aesop made all things ready for his journey, and taking with him the boys and the eagles, he hied him to Egypt, employing much splendour and great array for the astonishment of the people in that country. Now when Nectenabo heard of the arrival of Aesop, he said to his friends, 'I have been entrapped by the information of Aesop's death.' c.

c. xxviii τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κελεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς ἐν τέλει λευκὰς περιβαλέσθαι στολάς, αὐτὸς δὲ κιρρὰν ἐνεδύσατο καὶ διάδημα καὶ διάλιθον κίταριν. καὶ κατεσθεὶς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δίφρου, καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον εἰσαχθῆναι κελεύσας, 'τίνι με εἰκάζεις,' εἰσελθόντι φησίν, 'Αἴσωπε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοί;' καὶ ὃς, 'σὲ μὲν ἡλίῳ ἐαρινῷ, τοὺς δὲ περί σε τούτοις ὡραίοις στάχυσι.' καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας αὐτὸν καὶ δώροις ἐδεξιώσατο. τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς στολὴν λευκοτάτην ἐνσκευασάμενος τοῖς δὲ φίλοις φοινικᾶς κελεύσας λαβεῖν, εἰσελθόντα τὸν Αἴσωπον τὴν προτέραν αὖθις πεῦσιν ἐπύθετο. καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, 'σὲ μέν,' εἶπεν, 'εἰκάζω ἡλίῳ, τοὺς δὲ περί σε τούτοις ἀκτῖσι.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβώ, 'οἶμαι μηδὲν εἶναι Λυκῆρον πρός γε τὴν ἐμὴν βασιλείαν·' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος μειδιάσας ἔφη, 'μὴ εὐχερῶς οὕτω περὶ ἐκείνου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λογίζου. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἡ ὑμῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένη βασιλεία δίκην ἡλίου σελαγεῖ· εἰ δὲ Λυκήρῳ παραβληθείη, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι μὴ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο ζόφον ἀποδειχθῆναι.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐστοχίαν ἐκπλαγείς, 'ἤνεγκας ἡμῖν,' ἐφη, 'τοὺς μέλλοντας τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομεῖν·' καὶ ὅς· 'ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν, εἰ μόνον ὑποδείξεις τὸν τόπον.'

On the next day, then, the king bid all his officials to robe them in white raiment, whereas he clad him in a suit of orange, with a diadem and a jewelled turban. He took his seat on a lofty throne and bid Aesop to be summoned. To whom entering said he, 'To whom dost thou compare me, Aesop, and those who are with me?' Whereat he, 'Thee to the sun in spring, and them that are around thee to its beauteous ears of corn.' The king marvelled at him, and honoured him, too, with gifts. On the next day the king arrayed him in purest white, and bid his friends be clad in purple, and upon Aesop's entrance he asked him again his former question. Whereat Aesop, 'Thee,' said he, 'I compare to the sun, and them that are about thee to his rays.' Whereat Nectenabo, 'I think,' said he, 'that Lykeros has nothing to compare with this kingdom of mine.' Aesop smiled, and said, 'Reckon not so readily, O king, concerning him. To your people your vaunted kingdom hath indeed the splendour of the sun: but if it should be compared with Lykeros, it would take nothing to convert that light into mirk.' Nectenabo, amazed at his witty words, inquired, 'Hast thou brought us those who are to build the tower?' Said he, 'They are ready, if only you show us the place.'

c. xxix μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθὼν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὑπέδειξε διαμετρήσας τὸν χῶρον. ἀγαγὼν τοίνυν Αἴσωπος ἐπὶ τὰς ὑποδειχθείσας τοῦ τόπου γωνίας τέτταρας τοὺς τέτταρας τῶν ἀετῶν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τῶν θυλάκων ἀπηρτημένοις, καὶ οἰκοδόμων τοῖς παισὶ

After that the king went out into the plain, and pointed out and measured the spot. Thereupon Aesop, bringing to the four corners of the place indicated the four eaglets with the boys fastened to them by bags, and giving to the c.

μετὰ χεῖρας δοὺς ἐργαλεῖα, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπτῆναι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕψος γενόμενοι, 'δότε ἡμῖν,' ἐφώνουν, 'λίθους, δότε κονίαν, δότε ξύλα, καὶ τἄλλα τῶν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπιτηδείων.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τοὺς παῖδας θεασάμενος εἰς ὕψος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀετῶν ἀναφερομένους ἔφη· 'πόθεν ἐμοὶ πτηνοὶ ἄνθρωποι;' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'ἀλλὰ Λυκῆρος ἔχει· σὺ δὲ θέλεις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἰσοθέῳ ἐρίζειν βασιλεῖ;' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβώ· 'Αἴσωπε, ἥττημαι.'

hands of the boys the builders' tools, bid them fly away. But they, mounted on high, kept crying out, 'Give us stones, give mud, give timber, whatever else is proper for building.' Nectenabo, regarding the lads high borne in the air of the eagles, said, 'Whence shall I get me winged men?' But Aesop said, 'Yea! but Lykeros hath such: and wilt thou, a man, strive with a king, the mate of gods?' Whereat Nectenabo: 'I am beaten, Aesop,' quoth he.

c. xx ἐρήσομαί δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόκριναι·' καὶ φησίν· 'εἰσί μοι θήλειαι ὧδε ἵπποι, αἵπερ ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσι τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων, εὐθὺς συλλαμβάνουσιν. εἴ σοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι σοφία, ἐπίδειξαι.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'αὔριον ἀποκρινοῦμαί σοι, βασιλεῦ.' ἐλθὼν δὲ οὗ κατήγετο, αἴλουρον τοῖς παισὶν ἐκέλευσε συλλαβεῖν, καὶ συλληφθέντα δημοσίᾳ περιάγεσθαι μαστιζόμενον. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ ζῷον σεβόμενοι, οὕτω κακῶς πάσχον αὐτὸ θεασάμενοι, συνέδραμον, καὶ τὸν αἴλουρον τῆς χειρὸς τῶν μαστιγούντων ἐκσπάσαντες, ἀναγγέλλουσιν ὡς τάχος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πάθος· ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον, 'οὐκ ἤδεις,' φησίν, 'Αἴσωπε, ὡς θεὸς σεβόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν αἴλουρος; ἵνα τί γοῦν τοῦτο πεποίηκας;' καὶ ὅς· 'Λυκῆρον τὸν βασιλέα ἠδίκησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς οὗτος ὁ αἴλουρος· ἀλεκτρυόνα γὰρ αὐτοῦ πεφόνευκε μάχιμον καὶ γενναῖον, προσέτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὥρας αὐτῷ τῆς νυκτὸς σημαίνοντα.' καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς· 'οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ψευδόμενος, Αἴσωπε; πῶς γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ αἴλουρος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἦλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα;' κακεῖνος μειδιάσας φησί· 'καὶ πῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῶν ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων αἱ ἐνθάδε θήλειαι ἵπποι συλλαμβάνουσιν;' ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν ἐμακάρισε.

'I will, however, ask thee somewhat, and c. xxx answer thou me.' Says he, 'I have mares here, which, when they hear the horses in Babylon neighing, straightway conceive offspring. If thou hast aught of wisdom for that matter, show it.' Said Aesop, 'To-morrow, O king, I will answer thee.' When he came to his lodging, he bid his boys to catch a cat, and when caught to drag it about in public and whip it. But the Egyptians who reverence that beast, seeing it suffer thus, ran together, and pulling the cat out of the hands of those that were whipping it, report immediately to the king its sufferings. He, then, called Aesop, and said, 'Knowest thou not, Aesop, that the cat is worshipped amongst us as a god? Wherefore hast thou done thus?' Said he, 'This cat, O king, in the past night, did wrong to King Lykeros, for he killed his cock, a game bird and well bred, which, further, used to tell him the hour of the night.' To whom the king: 'Dost thou not blush, Aesop, thus to lie? How came a cat in one night from Egypt to Babylon?' He, smiling, made reply: 'And how, O king, do thy mares here conceive when the horses neigh in Babylon?' When the king heard this, he commended his understanding.

xi μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου πόλεως ἄνδρας ζητημάτων σοφιστικῶν ἐπιστήμονας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αἰσώπου διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς, ἐκάλεσεν ἅμα τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπ' εὐωχίαν. ἀνακλιθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν, τῶν Ἡλίου πολιτῶν τίς φησι πρὸς τὸν Αἴσωπον· 'ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου πεῦσίν τινα πυθέσθαι σου, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπιλύσῃς.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'ψεύδῃ· θεὸς γὰρ παρ' ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲν δεῖται μαθεῖν. σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον σαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σου.' ἕτερος πάλιν εἶπεν· 'ἔστι ναὸς μέγας καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ στῦλος, δώδεκα πόλεις[1] ἔχων, ὧν ἑκάστη τριάκοντα δοκοῖς ἐστέγασται, τούτους δὲ περιίασι δύο γυναῖκες.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔφη· 'τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιλύσονται παῖδες· ναὸς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος, στῦλος δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός, αἱ δὲ πόλεις, οἱ μῆνες, καὶ δοκοὶ αἱ τούτων ἡμέραι, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ νὺξ αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, αἱ παραλλὰξ ἀλλήλαις διαδέχονται.'

After this he sent for men from Heliopolis, expert c. xxxi in sophist questions, and having discoursed with them about Aesop, he invited them and him to a banquet. When they were set at meat, one of the citizens of Heliopolis says to Aesop: 'I have been sent by my god with an inquiry for thee to resolve.'

'Liar!' said Aesop. 'God needeth not lore from man. Thou accusest not thyself only, but thy god!'

Another again said: 'There is a great temple, and in it is a pillar, it has twelve gates, whereof each is roofed with thirty beams, and round these go two women.' And Aesop replied: 'Even boys in our country can solve that riddle; For the temple is this world, and the pillar is the year, the gates are the months, and their beams are the days: moreover night and day are the two women who succeed one another alternately.'

τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας ὁ Νεκτεναβώ φησι· 'διὰ τὸν Αἴσωπον τοῦτον ὀφλήσομεν φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκήρῳ.' εἷς δέ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε· 'κελεύσωμεν αὐτῷ προβλήματα φράσαι ἡμῖν,

On the following day, Nectenabo called to c. xxxii him all his friends and said: 'Through this Aesop we shall incur revenue debts to King Lykeros.' But one of them said, 'Let us bid him

[1] Sic! lege πύλας.

περὶ ὧν οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' ἀρεστὸν οὖν τοῦτο τῷ Νεκτεναβῷ δόξαν, καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον ἔφη· 'φράσον ἡμῖν, Αἴσωπε, πρόβλημα περὶ οὗ οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὅς· 'αὔριον περὶ τούτου ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι.' ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ συνταξάμενος γραμματεῖον, ἐν ᾧ περιείχετο Νεκτεναβὼ ὁμολογῶν χίλια τάλαντα τῷ Λυκήρῳ ὀφείλειν, πρωίας ἐπανελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι, πρὶν ἀνοιχθῆναι τὸ γραμματεῖον, πάντες ἔλεγον· 'καὶ εἴδομεν τοῦτο καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπιστάμεθα.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'χάριν ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς ἀποδύσεως ἕνεκεν.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ὀφειλῆς ἀναγνοὺς εἶπεν· 'ἐμοῦ Λυκήρῳ μηδὲν ὀφείλοντος πάντες ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε;' κἀκεῖνοι μεταβαλόντες εἶπον· 'οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'καὶ εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λέλυται τὸ ζητούμενον.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ πρὸς ταῦτα· 'μακάριός ἐστι Λυκῆρος τοιαύτην σοφίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κεκτημένος.' τοὺς οὖν συμφωνηθέντας φόρους παραδοὺς τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπέστειλεν. Αἴσωπος δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα παραγενόμενος, διεξῆλθέ τε Λυκήρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πραχθέντα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπέδωκε. Λυκῆρος δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἀνατεθῆναι.

enounce riddles, of things we never heard nor saw.' This seemed agreeable to Nectenabo, so he called Aesop and said: 'Enounce us, Aesop, a riddle of somewhat we nor heard nor saw.' Said he, 'I will answer thee of this to-morrow.' So he went away and composed a letter in which it was contained that Nectenabo admits that he owes a thousand talents to Lykeros, and on the morrow he returned to the king and gave him the document. But the friends of the king, before the paper was opened, cried out together, 'We both know this and have heard it, and we truly understand it.' Said Aesop, 'Thank you for your answer.' But Nectenabo took and read the admission of the debt. Said he: 'You all bear witness that I owe nothing to Lykeros.' And they took him up and said, 'We neither saw nor heard of it.' Whereat Aesop: 'And if the thing is really so, your inquiry is answered.' To which Nectenabo said, 'Happy is Lykeros who has such wisdom in his kingdom.' So he handed over to Aesop the tribute as agreed, and sent him away in peace.

And Aesop, when he reached Babylon, discoursed to Lykeros of all that had taken place, and delivered to him the tribute. And Lykeros bid that a statue of gold should be set up to Aesop.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Zadokite Party and incidentally of the Book.

Written towards the close of the first century B.C. in good Hebrew,[1] our book represents the beliefs and expectations of a body of reformers who sprang up in the second century B.C. within the priesthood, as the Pharisees had within the laity, and called themselves, at all events in the first century, 'the Sons of Zadok'.[2] The reformation, in which they were the chief movers, was the result of a slow but steady religious revival, which took place between the years 196 and 176 B.C. or thereabouts (i. 6), and which culminated at the close of this period in the formation of a Party within the priesthood. This Party—'the penitents of Israel'—appears to have attempted the reform of irregularities connected with the Temple (§ 10. i), but having failed in the attempt they left Jerusalem and the cities of Israel, either voluntarily or under compulsion, and withdrew to Damascus under the leadership of 'the Star', otherwise designated as 'the Lawgiver' (§ 10. i), where they established the 'New Covenant'—'the Covenant of Repentance'. Thus the first breach of the Party was with their brethren the Sadducean priesthood. After the institution of the New Covenant, the Party appears to have returned from Damascus and made the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary efforts. For an unspecified period of years till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness, they were to obey faithfully the interpretation of the Law laid down by the Lawgiver above referred to. It was probably during this period that they first came into open antagonism with the Pharisees—an antagonism which grew in bitterness with the growing years. The most virulent attacks in our book are directed against the Pharisees (§ 10. ii). The ground for these attacks can be best understood from the knowledge of the origin of the Party. The movement that gave them birth was of an intensely ethical and religious character, and naturally tended to lead them to recognize the Prophets as of great worth, even if not of equal worth with the Law, and therein to differentiate themselves from both Pharisee and Sadducee. This was one cause of the breach with the Pharisees. Another arose from the fact that whereas the Pharisees were upholding and developing a vast body of oral tradition, the reformed Sadducees (i.e. our Party) absolutely opposed its acceptance except in a few particulars. They clung fast to the written Law and would have none of the oral. While the Pharisees called their school or college 'the House of Midrash', our Party designated theirs as 'the House of the Law'. Furthermore, since they claimed to represent the true Israel, especially on the priestly side, to them belonged the covenants and the priestly functions, and the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter functions had been usurped by the Pharisees; to them also belonged the Temple at Jerusalem as their Sanctuary, to them belonged Jerusalem, 'the holy city' (§ 10. iii).

The precepts of the Law as expounded by the Lawgiver were to be obeyed till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness. This Teacher was to come 'in the end of the days'. It was probably during this time that the Party assumed the name 'the Sons of Zadok' (§ 10. iv).

After the death of the 'Teacher of Righteousness', whose teaching and activities are not recounted—a fact which points to the defectiveness of our MSS.—a considerable period elapses, much more than forty years. We have now arrived at the date of our author. He is living 'in the end of the days', and the advent of the Messiah 'from Aaron and Israel' is momentarily looked for. If I am right in my interpretation of this phrase, the Messiah was to be a son of Mariamne and Herod (i.e. from Aaron and Israel), and the book was therefore written between 18 and 8 B.C. Herod put his two sons to death in 8 B.C., since they were the popular idols of the nation, and so this hope, like so many that preceded it, failed to reach fulfilment (§ 12).

[1] There are some Aramaisms and Rabbinic expressions in the text, but the Hebrew is good on the whole.

[2] The Party, though originating apparently with the priests and Levites, came to embrace a strong lay element, just as the Pharisaic party, though in the main a lay movement, came ultimately to embrace a section of the priests.

The later history of the Sons of Zadok is buried in all but impenetrable gloom. It is, however, not at all improbable that many of their members joined the Christian Church (§ 10. vi). For their appreciation of the Prophets—unparalleled in legalistic Judaism; their insistent preaching on the need of repentance; their constant proclamation of God's readiness to forgive the repentant; their expectation of a Messiah (and just at this period) and of a future life—all these beliefs and hopes prepared them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

§ 2. The Title.

Our book, which in its present form is only fragmentary, was most probably called 'The Book of Zadok' or some such designation. We draw this inference from the statements of Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, who wrote in the tenth century A.D. and appears to have had our book or one closely resembling it before him. In his Kitab al-Anwar ('Book of Lights') he states (1) that Zadok was the first to attack the Rabbinites. This is true of our author, who attacks fiercely the Pharisees of his time. Kirkisani further states (2) that Zadok absolutely forbade divorce: so our author in vii. 1; (3) that Zadok did not support by proofs the laws he laid down save in case of his forbidding a man to marry his niece—the daughter of his brother or sister—on the ground that these connexions were already prohibited in Lev. xviii. 13, being analogous to the forbidden connexion of a man with his aunt on the father or mother's side: so in our author, vii. 9–10.

It is worth observing also that in i. 1 *a* there is a play on the name Zadok, also that the Zadokites ascribed to a Zadok the merit of having rediscovered the Law, vii. 6. Who this Zadok was can hardly be determined. In v. 7 'the Priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok' are mentioned. From the explanation of these words in vi. 1–2 it is clear that the Priests and Levites represent the original priestly founders of the Party, and that the expression 'Sons of Zadok' designates their spiritual successors 'at the end of the days'.

§ 3. The MSS.

The text is preserved in two MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, which are designated respectively as T.-S. 10 K. 6 and T.-S. 16. 311. After the precedent of Schechter, who presented them to the Library and issued the *editio princeps*, they will hereafter be called A and B.

A, which embraces the entire work so far as it exists except ix. 28–54, consists of eight leaves $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. The first eight pages have twenty-one lines on each page, pages 9–12 have twenty-three lines on each page. As regards 13–16 the number of lines is uncertain owing to the mutilation of the bottom of the pages, but was probably twenty-three—there were at least twenty-two lines on pages 13 and 14. This mutilation extends in a slight degree to the edges of the leaves.

This MS. belongs according to Schechter to the tenth century, but the writing is of a decidedly careless description. י and ו are frequently confused, and ו is occasionally so large as to resemble נ. ה and ח are likewise confused.

B consists of a single leaf, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in., of the eleventh or twelfth century and is a more careful reproduction than A. There are thirty-four lines on each page. These two pages contain viii. 20–ix. 3, 10–54, thus preserving ix. 28–54, which has been lost in A, as well as ix. 11. That the MSS. were freely dealt with will be manifest from a comparison of ix. 3, where A gives a quotation from Isa. vii. 17, whereas instead of it B gives a quotation from Zech. xiii. 7.

§ 4. The Hebrew Text and its Phraseology.

The text is on the whole fairly preserved, though there are many corruptions. Most of these can be emended with tolerable certainty. The rest can only be tentatively restored.

The language is in itself a witness to an ancient epoch. It is good Hebrew enriched by a few Aramaisms like the Book of Daniel and Sirach, though in a less degree. It contains also a few Mishnaic and Talmudic expressions, but in certain cases the phrases in question bear a different meaning in post-Biblical Jewish literature. The language, as has been generally recognized, is not that of the Mishnah, the Midrashim, or the Talmud.

Like Sirach, our author makes constant use of O. T. diction, but, unlike him, he quotes its text frequently in the name of the writer. At times our text is of the nature of a mosaic of O. T. phrases.

The language is, as we have said, pure Biblical Hebrew, but interspersed with a few phrases which are not Biblical and are not attested save in Mishnaic or Talmudic Hebrew. Those of a Talmudic character may be due to the substitutions of later scribes. Some of these can be

supported from Jewish pre-Christian literature. Thus גלגל השמש 'the sun's orb', xiii. 1, is clearly the Hebrew implied by 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4: חבור ישראל 'the community of Israel', xiv. 8, is supported by the inscription on the Maccabean coins; see note *in loc.*: להרשותו 'allowing', xiv. 1; cf. Sirach iii. 22, הורשית 'thou art allowed': המוכן 'that which has been prepared', xiii. 8, implied in Jub. ii. 29, l. 9.

Others which have not such ancient support are פרוש ii. 8 (note), הבריאה 'the creation' vii. 3—a Talmudic word; העריות 'sexual intercourse' vii. 11; למשכים 'on the following morning' xiii. 5 (note); מובה 'entrance' xiii. 16 (see note); ממון 'wealth' xviii. 9 (note); מדוקדק xix. 14 (see note).[1]

All the preceding words are authenticated in their use in our text by parallels in earlier or later Jewish literature; but there are some expressions, as might be expected, which are more or less unique in the meaning that must be attached to them in this book. Thus סרך ix. 1, &c., which means 'order', 'arrangement', &c., is unexampled in Hebrew in this sense, but it is found in Aramaic (see note on ix. 1). Again, בית השתחות 'the house of worship', xiv. 2, is as a name of the Temple or a Synagogue a ἅπ. λεγ. Again, the word המבקר 'the censor', x. 10 (note), xvi. 1 (note), is used in Jewish literature, but not in the sense attributed to it in our text. Again, the term מעמד='office' (ii. 8 note), has in our text a nuance of its own, but Jewish literature furnishes fairly good analogies.

Finally, the term קץ (see i. 5 note) must, I think with Lévi, Bacher, and Lagrange, be rendered 'period' or 'division of time'. No true parallel for this use of the word appears to occur elsewhere, though it is easy to see how it could mean 'a final period'.

§ 5. The Zadokites were a Party and not a Sect.

Since there is no question as to the genuineness of the orders of the Zadokite Priests and Levites, and since further their Sanctuary, which is so often referred to (see note on i. 3), is, as Lévi has recognized, the Temple in Jerusalem, it follows that the Zadokites were not a heterodox Sect but a Party within Judaism. They were no more a Sect than the Pharisees. It is true that even the Pharisees are described as a Sect (αἵρεσις) in Acts xv. 5, xxvi. 5, Joseph. *Vita* 38; the Sadducees in Acts v. 17, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, and the Christians in Acts xxiv. 5, 14, xxviii. 22; but its application to the two former is a misuse of the term. If, however, we use this term of the Pharisees and Sadducees, there can be no objection to its application in the same sense to the Zadokites. But since the term is in itself misleading we shall only speak of the Party of the Zadokites.

§ 6. Date of the Original.

The limits of time between which our book appears to have been written seem clear. Since the Book of Jubilees is referred to (xx. 1) it must have been written after 106 B.C. This forms the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* is no less obvious; for the Temple is still standing (see note on i. 3, where it is shown that the Sanctuary so often referred to is the Temple).[2] Thus our book was written between 106 B.C. and 70 A.D.

But it may be possible to define these limits more closely, and fix on one or other of two periods within these limits.

(i) If the nation was free from foreign control, as might be inferred from our entire text, with the exception of the doubtful passage in x. 1, then it was written before Pompey seized Jerusalem in 63 B.C., or before Judaea was made a Roman province by Gabinius in 57 B.C. This would bring the composition of the book within the years 106–57 B.C.

[1] Schechter treats חבו 'incurred guilt', iv. 9, as a Rabbinic term. But it is found in the Piel in Dan. i. 10, and critics read חבתי for סבתי in 1 Sam. xxii. 22, in accordance with the LXX, Vulg. and Pesh. Again, דם זובה 'the blood of her issue', vii. 8, is a Biblical expression (cf. Lev. xv. 19 דם יהיה זובה בבשרה), and not merely a Rabbinic one.

[2] In addition to the grounds given in i. 3 as proofs that the Temple was still standing when our book was written, is to be mentioned the fact that nowhere is the destruction of the Second Temple so much as hinted at. Had it already occurred our author could not have omitted such an argument in support of his attack on the Pharisees. For it is characteristic of his method to trace the great national calamities of the Jews to their unfaithfulness to God. This, he declares, was the ground of the Captivity in 586 B.C., and the destruction of the First Temple, i. 3 sqq. The same unfaithfulness (ix. 17-19) led to the desolation of Judaea and Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes (ix. 20). And yet, notwithstanding such judgements in the past, 'the builders of the wall' (i.e. the Pharisees), our author complains, persist in their evil ways (ix. 21). Now, if the Second Temple had been already destroyed, this latest and overwhelming judgement could not have been passed over. Our author would have pressed it home as an irresistible proof of their guilt. That he did not do so is no accident. It was an event still in the future.

Some statements partially support this date. (*a*) The expectation of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel, ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. This expectation arose, as we know, in connexion with the Maccabean family, and probably persisted only in connexion with that family. But for the peculiar statement 'from Aaron *and Israel*', we could with some reason infer that the Maccabees were still ruling. (*b*) The halacha are severer than those in the Talmud and are closely related in some respects to those in the Book of Jubilees. (*c*) ix. 39, which speaks of 'the men of war' who marched with 'the man of lies' during forty years, would apply tolerably to Jannaeus, who was rightly an object of unmixed hatred to all the faithful of his time. He was a great warrior and his troops were ever on the march. It may, however, be objected that this king reigned not forty but twenty-six years. But to surmount this difficulty it is only necessary to suppose that the book was written during his lifetime, and that the writer expected an evil period of forty years like that in the wilderness. We have a good parallel in the 'Assumption of Moses', where the author predicts that the sons of Herod would reign for a shorter period than their father. This prediction was falsified.

If the above reasoning were valid, our book was probably written between 106 and 58 B. C. But there are stronger grounds for a later date.

(ii) Our book was most probably written between 18 B. C. and A. D. 70, or possibly between 18 B. C. and 8 B. C. The grounds for these dates are as follows: (*a*) x. 1 does seem to imply political subjection on the part of the Jews. Hence our author wrote after 63 or 57 B. C. (*b*) The phrase 'man of lies' receives its most easy explanation as applied to Herod the Great, who reigned forty-one years. The phrase 'man of lies' is eminently fitting for a prince who was wholly devoid of principle and religion. The 'men of war' who went with him were his fierce soldiery—all mercenaries, Galatians, Thracians, Germans—who on the slightest uprising struck down relentlessly on every side.[1] Now, if these identifications are valid, our book was written either during Herod's life, 37 B. C.—A. D. 4, or after Herod's death, accordingly as we take the forty years in our text as a prediction or as recording a fact already past. The next piece of evidence—the peculiar form of the Messianic expectation—favours the former alternative. (*c*) The Messiah was to arise from Aaron and from Israel. See § 12. This implies that he was not to be purely of Levitic or priestly descent, but to be sprung from Levi (i. e. the Maccabees) and some other tribe of Israel. Now when all the direct male descendants of the Maccabees were put to death directly or indirectly by Herod—Antigonus II in B.C. 37, Antigonus III, the brother of Mariamne, in 35 B.C., Hyrcanus II in 30 B.C.—there remained only Mariamne, the wife of Herod, who represented the royal Maccabean house both on her father's and her mother's side and all its claims, and the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, Alexander and Aristobulus. In 29 B. C. Mariamne was executed on a false charge by Herod, and so her two sons Alexander and Aristobulus might reasonably be described as descended *from Aaron and Israel*, seeing that Mariamne was of Aaronic descent alike on her father's and her mother's side, and Herod was said to be a Jew (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 7; cf. xiv. 1. 3), and the Herodian family regarded themselves as Jews, though they were at times reminded that they were only half Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 15. 2). These two young men were held in high esteem by the nation owing to their descent on their mother's side and their own brilliant qualities (*Ant.* xvi. 1. 2), and it is quite possible that the Zadokite Party may have cherished the hope that one of them might become the Messiah, just as similar hopes had arisen in connexion with the earlier Maccabees in the second century B.C. If this be so, our book was probably written between 18 B. C. (when these youths returned to Jerusalem after finishing their education in Rome) and 8 B. C., when they were put to death by their father. With their death the hope of a Messiah arising from the Maccabean family must have finally perished.[2] Hence it is not improbable that our book was written during the lifetime of these young princes.

§ 7. Integrity of the Text.

(i) Our text is *incomplete*. This is obvious even on the most cursory examination. Its end is missing, and probably large portions of the rest of the text as at the close of ix. In the case of the

[1] Herod treated the Sadducees with the utmost rigour. He executed forty-five of the ablest and wealthiest of their party, and confiscated their estates (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1. 2; xiv. 9. 4; *Bell. Iud.* i. 18. 4). The hatred of the priesthood for Herod is therefore very intelligible.

[2] Both Alexander and Aristobulus left sons, the former having married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the latter Bernice, the daughter of Salome. But the descendants of Alexander abandoned Judaism, and the descendants of Aristobulus, being three-fourths Herodian in blood, could not represent the priestly and royal house of the Maccabees, while their infamous character in itself was enough to alienate the few, if any, surviving hopes that attached to this great family.

A text we see that after ix. 28 there is a loss of twenty-six verses, which have happily been preserved in the B text.

(ii) Our text is in great *disorder*. The question of vows is introduced in ix. 1, and then ignored till xx. 2–12. The enumeration of the laws of the Sabbath is given in xiii. 1–11, broken off in xiii. 12 and resumed in xiii. 13, broken off in xiii. 27 and resumed in xiv. 6. The duties of the Censor are dealt with in xvi. 1–12, and again in xvii. 6–7. The laws as to Uncleanness are scattered here and there throughout chapters xii–xv, i.e. in xii. 1–2, xiii. 12, xiv. 1–3, 7–16, xv. 1–3.

(iii) Our text may be based on an earlier document or documents. This appears to be so in i. 5, where there is a prose insertion in the midst of verse. A still more obvious prose addition is to be found in ii. 8. Yet these prose additions are in character with the later chapters of the book.

§ 8. Attitude of the Party to the O. T. and other Ancient Jewish Books.

We have here a very interesting question. We have to inquire into the attitude of the Party towards the various sections of the O. T., i.e. the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. In this inquiry we shall, for the present, take account only of those passages which are introduced by such significant expressions as כאשר אמר, אשר אמר, &c. Afterwards we shall deal with those passages which are actually quotations, but which are not introduced as such. By a study of these two classes of passages, we shall be able to determine the respective values our author set on the three divisions of the O. T.

(i) *Quotations from the O. T. introduced as such* (α) *but without mention of the speaker or writer.*

(*a*) כאשר אמר (= *καθὼς εἶπεν* John i. 23, vii. 38: cf. *καθὼς ἐλάλησε* Luke i. 55, 70). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Num. xxx. 16 in ix. 1, and three times of the Prophets, i.e. Amos v. 26–7 in ix. 5, Amos ix. 11 in ix. 6, and Hosea iii. 4 in ix. 40. This usage, as we have seen above, is found in the N. T. also.

(*b*) אשר אמר (cf. *προφῆται . . . ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν* Acts iii. 24, and *ὁ λόγος Ἡσαίου . . . ὃν εἶπε* John xii. 38). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Lev. xix. 18 in x. 2, and Deut. xxiii. 24 in xx. 4: and twice of the Prophets, i.e. Hos. v. 11 in vii. 1 and Mic. vii. 2 in xx. 11. This usage also belongs to the N. T.

(*c*) בתוב (= *γέγραπται* Matt. iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, xxi. 13, &c.). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Deut. xvii. 17 in vii. 4, once of the Prophets, i.e. Nahum i. 2 in x. 3, once of the Hagiographa, i.e. Prov. xv. 8 in xiv. 1. It occurs also in xiii. 27, but the quotation is lost. This is the most usual of the N. T. usages.

(*d*) כאשר בתוב (= *καθὼς γέγραπται* Mark i. 2; Luke ii. 23; Rom. i. 17, iii. 10, &c.; *ὡς γέγραπται* Mark vii. 6; Luke iii. 4; *καθώς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον* John vi. 31). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Num. xxiv. 17 in ix. 8.

(*e*) כב (= בכתוב—practically the same as the preceding = *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον* 2 Cor. iv. 13 (cf. *καθάπερ γέγραπται* Rom. iii. 4, ix. 13, &c.—Westcott and Hort)). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. vii. 9 in viii. 21 (B).

(β) *With mention of the speaker or writer.*

(*a*) אשר אמר אל (cf. *ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τ. ἁγίων . . . προφητῶν* Acts iii. 21). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Deut. xxxii. 33 in ix. 19 and Lev. xix. 17 in x. 5 (אל אשר אמר), and once of the Prophets, i.e. Mal. i. 10 in viii. 11.

(*b*) אשר אמר משה. This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. ix. 5 and vii. 8 in ix. 23 (A B). In vii. 10 we have ומשה אמר (= *Μωυσῆς εἶπεν* Mark vii. 10; Acts iii. 22) used of Lev. xviii. 13.

(*c*) אשר אמר ישעיה in viii. 8 from Isa. liv. 16.

(*d*) אשר אמר ביד יחזקיאל in ix. 11 (B) from Ezek. ix. 4.

(*e*) אשר כתוב ביד זכריה in ix. 2 (B) from Zech. xiii. 7.

(*f*) כתוב בדברי ישעיה in ix. 2 (A) from Isa. vii. 17.

If we summarize the above facts, we find that, while the Hagiographa is expressly quoted once, the Law is quoted ten times and the Prophets eleven times. Thus in the eyes of the Zadokite Party the Prophets were at all events not less important than the Law, though theoretically the Law was held in the highest honour: cf. xix. 2, 11, xx. 2, 7. In this respect this Party are at variance with the practice of Judaism as a whole after the year A.D. 70, but not with the Apocalyptic or more spiritual side of Pharisaism before the Christian era. The chief studies of Apocalyptic Pharisaism were devoted to Prophecy, and hence to them the Law and the Prophets were *practically* of equal worth, however differently they might view this question *theoretically*. At all events, in the Apocalyptic School of Pharisaism this practical equating of the Law and the Prophets was current, and in this respect the Zadokites approximated to this School, being no doubt influenced by it. We are not surprised, therefore, that in the N. T. the actual phrase 'the Law and the Prophets' is used frequently: cf. Matt. v. 17, vii. 12, xxii. 40; Luke xvi. 16 (xxiv. 44); John i. 45; Acts xiii. 15,

xxiv. 14, xxviii. 23; Rom. iii. 21, and in the inverse order in Matt. xi. 13. The N. T. usage represents the culmination of this tendency which was at work in the preceding two centuries and more.

But in addition to the O. T. books our Party assigned to other writings a canonical or a deutero-canonical value[1]. For in vi. 10 we have the expression 'concerning which Levi the Son of Jacob spake' (אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב), the source being probably the Test. Lev. ix. 9, xiv. 5–6, xvi. 1. In xi. 4 there is a quotation drawn apparently from Jub. xxiii. 11, and the title of this book is given in full in xx. 1. Possibly to both these books a quasi-canonical authority was accorded. Another book—hitherto wholly unknown—is 'the Book of the Hagu' in xi. 2, xv. 5, xvii. 5. From the contexts in which it is mentioned it seems to have contained traditional decisions. The ten judges of each congregation (xi. 1–2) were to be thoroughly versed in it (cf. xv. 5). These judges were both clerical and lay. Associated with this book is another entitled the 'Ordinances (or 'Foundations') of the Covenant' (xi. 2). This work probably contained the statutes of the New Covenant which was drawn up at Damascus. Again, in vii. 19 we have mention of the apocryph entitled 'Jannes and Jambres'. Finally, in ix. 28 A there may be an allusion to two Pseudepigraphs—'This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi'.

In these two respects: 1° in the recognition of the Prophets as pretty much on the same level as the Law; 2° in the use and even the quasi-canonical recognition of a body of Pseudepigraphs, the Zadokite Party is like most of the intensely religious parties in Palestine before the Christian era; for all these parties edited Pseudepigraphs.

§ 9. *The Zadokite Party had its Origin in the Priesthood (i.e. the Sadducees) but was closely related to the Pharisees.*

The Zadokite Party represents an attempt at reform beginning within the ranks of the priesthood and extending outwards so as to embrace a strong lay element (xi. 2, xvii. 1–3), just as the Pharisaic movement was an attempt at reform initiated on the side of the laity but ultimately embracing a large section of the priesthood.

We have already come to the conclusion (§ 5) that the Zadokites formed a Party and not a Sect in Judaism. We have now to determine, so far as we may, the position and affinities of this Party in relation to the Samaritans, Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees. In the course of this comparison many of the distinctive teachings of this party will come to light.

1° *The Zadokites were not Samaritans.* The Zadokites were not Samaritans; for not only did they acknowledge the canonicity of the Prophets and Hagiographa, which the Samaritans denied, but they set on these two divisions of the O. T. a higher value than the legalistic side of Pharisaism.

2° *The Zadokites were not Essenes.* The Zadokites were not Essenes, since they inculcated the duty of animal sacrifice, xiii. 27; xiv. 1.

3° *The Zadokites were related in point of origin and name to the Sadducees, but were not Sadducees in the ordinary sense but a reformed Sadduceeism.* The two names are the same in Hebrew, צדוקים. The Zadokites called themselves 'sons of Zadok' בני צדוק, vi. 2, and this was also the name of the priests: cf. Sir. li. 12[9] (Hebrew) הודו לבוחר בבני צדוק לכהן 'Praise Him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests'. With this designation in Sirach cf. Ezek. xl. 46, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11; 1 Chron. xxix. 22. Thus the Party did not choose a new name but retained the name to which they had a right as priests and Levites. By so doing they no doubt claimed to be the true 'sons of Zadok' as opposed to the Sadducean priesthood. For, though they belonged in point of origin to the Sadducean priesthood, they came to differ essentially from them through internal reform and the adoption of new tenets. Theirs was a reformed Sadduceeism.

(*a*) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6. So also the priestly author of the Book of Jubilees believed.

(*b*) They believed in the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10 (B), &c.

(*c*) They cultivated an ascetic form of life, viii. 12–20, as opposed to the self-indulgent life of the Sadducees: and shunned the wealth of the Temple, viii. 12, but the meaning of this passage is doubtful.

(*d*) They set a value on the Prophets and Hagiographa which the Sadducees would wholly have repudiated.[2]

[1] In Test. Lev. x. 5 there is an express quotation from 1 Enoch lxxxix. 54. This recognition of Pseudepigraphs was very general before A.D. 70. Whatever the Law was in theory, these books formed the living literature of the most ardent spirits of the time. The Book of Daniel is simply the most prominent member of this class.

[2] That in our Lord's time the main body of the Sadducees accepted only the Pentateuch as *normative* is clear from the fact that the only argument He used in favour of a future life in His debate with them was drawn from the Pentateuch. The same argument was used by the Samaritans for the same purpose. See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4240.

(*e*) They attacked the Hellenizing priesthood, ix. 19–20. 'Their wine is the poison of dragons': i. e. they adopt the ways of the Greeks.

(*f*) They recognized a certain amount of tradition, whereas the Sadducees rejected all but the written Law. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6. In the middle of the first century B. C. there was a great strife between the Pharisees and Sadducees, in which the former won the day under the leadership of Simon ben Shetach and Judas ben Tabbai. So overjoyed were the Pharisees over this victory, i. e. of oral tradition over the letter of the written Law, that they instituted a festival to commemorate it (Meg. Taan. iv).

(*g*) They accused Israel of 'despising the prophets', ix. 7. This charge could not have been brought by a purely Sadducean priest but only by a reformed Sadducean priest.

4° *The Zadokites were related in many respects to the Pharisees but were not Pharisees.* They were related in many respects; for

(*a*) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6.
(*b*) „ „ angels and spirits, vi. 9, ix. 12 (ii. 4).
(*c*) „ „ the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10, &c.
(*d*) „ „ a certain body of tradition.
(*e*) „ „ the divine predestination, ii. 6, 10*c*, and yet in free-will, iii. 1–2, 7, iv. 2, 10.
(*f*) They required separation from the people of the land, ix. 18.

But in many respects they were opposed to the Pharisees.

(*a*) The attack on 'the builders of the wall', vii. 1, ix. 21, 26, can be best explained in reference to the Pharisees and the abnormal growth of oral tradition (see note on ix. 21). The Pharisees 'removed the landmark', viii. 1, and they made the written Law of none effect by their tradition.

(*b*) The Zadokites forbade divorce, vii. 1–3, which was permitted freely by the Pharisees. Hence the charge of fornication brought against the Pharisees in vii. 1.

(*c*) The charges of robbing the Temple offerings may have been directed against them. Simon ben Shetach, the chief Pharisee of the reign of Jannaeus, was charged with this offence: see viii. 12 note. But the text may be interpreted differently (see (*g*) below).

(*d*) While it was the practice of the Rabbis to derive halacha from the Pentateuch almost universally, the Zadokites, owing to the higher estimation in which they held the Prophets, founded halacha on their writings. Thus halacha are derived, x. 4, from Nahum i. 2; in x. 6 from 1 Sam. 26, 31; in xiii. 16 from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27 (cf. Neh. xiii. 19)—a regulation adopted also in the Mishna; in xiv 1 from Prov. xv. 8.

(*e*) The Zadokites, like the Sadducees ('Erub vi. 2), were opposed to the Pharisaic principle of the 'Erub, i. e. the combination of several private precincts in order to justify the carrying of food and vessels from one house to another on the Sabbath day: see our text xiii. 16.

(*f*) Our text in xiv. 15 (see note *ad fin.*) seems to extend the power of contamination from direct to indirect contact. This legislation was due to the Sadducees, Yad. iv. 7.

(*g*) Possibly the difficult words 'to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary' (viii. 12) may be interpreted as referring to the Sadducean contention that the daily burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 4) should be offered at the personal cost of the High Priest: whereas the Pharisees maintained that it should be provided as national sacrifice by the Temple treasury.

(*h*) The Zadokites charged the Pharisees with profaning the Temple through sexual pollution, vii. 8: with allowing a man to marry his niece, vii. 9—an act in which some of the Rabbis actually gloried: with disturbing the Sabbaths and festivals through their revolutionary reforms of the Calendar, v. 2 (see note). Though the details are not given they can be discovered by means of Jubilees and the Talmud. The Pharisees further were charged with usurping (i. 11) the judicial functions of the priesthood, vi. 4. Hence their judgements could not be right.

From the first of these two lists it appears that the Zadokite party were closely related to the Pharisees in their eschatological doctrines (*a*, *b*, *c*), in their acceptance of a limited measure of tradition, (*d*) in their views on predestination and free-will, and in their insistence on separation from the people of the land (*e*, *f*). On the other hand, from the second list it is clear that on several important questions as tradition, divorce, and the source of halacha they were opposed to the legalistic Pharisees, and in certain others mentioned under *e*, *f*, (*g*?), *h*, they held fast to the positions maintained by the Sadducean priesthood. From these two facts, combined with the facts stated under 3°, the natural conclusion is that *the Zadokites had their origin in the priesthood and formed a party within it but a reforming party, the reformation being due largely to the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism as is shown by the extreme importance attached to O. T. prophecy and the advanced views on Eschatology.*[1] The

[1] The Zadokites, owing to the right estimation they placed on O.T. prophecy, would naturally have been predisposed to accept Christianity, even in a greater degree possibly than the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism. They may have formed part, at all events, of the 'great company of the priests' that became 'obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

fact that they used the literature that supported the claims of the Maccabees (i.e. Test. Twelve Patr. and Jubilees) would in part account for their looking forward to a Messiah sprung from the Maccabees, but see § 12.

§ 10. The Principal Events in the History of the Zadokite Party.

About 390 years after the fall of Jerusalem, i.e. 196 B.C. God had mercy on His people and 'visited them,

> And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
> A root of His planting to inherit His land' (i. 5).

The order in this statement is remarkable, i.e. not 'from Aaron and Israel', but 'from Israel and Aaron'. If this order is original it seems to indicate that the religious revival referred to in i. 5–6 originated on the side of the laity. In other words, it was the same great lay movement that gave birth to the Pharisaic Party and likewise to the Zadokite, but, whereas in the case of the former the lay element always remained paramount, in the case of the latter the priestly element held unquestioned sway.[1]

I will now place under separate heads the chief stages in the actual as well as the expected developments of the Zadokite Party.

(i) *Rise of the Party and its breach with the Sadducean Priesthood.* When God visited His people about 196 B.C. there ensued a period of spiritual unrest which lasted for twenty years, during which Israel 'groped after the way', and came to know that 'they were guilty men', i. 6. What followed immediately on this religious revival we can gather by reading between the lines. For from their vigorous action later we are justified first of all in inferring that this religious revival led to action, and in the next place, from their subsequent protest, which runs through several chapters, against the profanation of the Temple by the (Hellenizing) priests and others, we may reasonably conclude that the first public act of the Zadokite Party was the denunciation of the irregularities connected with the Temple worship in more scathing and irreconcilable terms than had been used by Malachi the prophet and 1 Enoch. But when in this attempt at reform they failed to gain the support of the people (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 6–7), they migrated either voluntarily or under compulsion to Damascus, vi. 1, possibly soon after 176 B.C., under the leadership of 'the Star', ix. 8, whose advent had been foretold in Num. xxiv. 17.

(ii) *The establishment of the New Covenant of Repentance and the subsequent breach of the Party with the Pharisees.* 'The Star' just referred to is likewise called 'the Lawgiver' (מחקק), viii. 5, 8, 9. He was not a lawgiver in the sense of Moses, but rather an interpreter of the Law. Of the Star, as of the Lawgiver, the outstanding characteristic is that 'he studied the Law', viii. 8, ix. 8. Under this Lawgiver the religious side of the movement culminated at Damascus in the establishment of 'the new Covenant' (הברית החדשה), viii. 15, ix. 28, 37—the covenant foretold by Jeremiah xxxi. 30 sqq., though this claim is not advanced by our author. This covenant was fittingly called 'the covenant of repentance' (ברית תשובה), ix. 15 (B)), seeing that the Party as a whole originated in a conviction of their sinfulness before God, i. 6, and that they designated themselves as 'the penitents of Israel' (שבי ישראל), vi. 1, viii. 6, ix. 24; for they 'repented of their transgression', ii. 3, ix. 41; and dwelt frequently on the fact and the marvellousness of the divine forgiveness, ii. 3, v. 5, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8. To them the words of Ezekiel xliv. 15 were addressed, v. 7, and thus they alone formed the true priesthood of Israel, vi. 1–2.

Under the leadership of the Lawgiver the Party established itself resolutely on the lines of the *written* Law. In this task he was assisted by the other members of the Party, viii. 5.

> 'A well the princes digged,
> The nobles of the people delved it
> By the order of the Lawgiver.'

'The well' here, as our author explains, is 'the Law', and 'they who digged it are the penitents of Israel', viii. 6. But 'the Law' is not to be understood in the narrow sense of the Pentateuch. It embraces the Prophets and the Hagiographa. From the standpoint of the latter can be explained their adoption of certain tenets of the higher theology, which, from the standpoint of unreformed Sadduceeism, would have been impossible (see §§ 8 and 9. 3[o]).

It was most probably the intensely ethical and religious character of the revival in which the

[1] But it is to be observed that in viii. 3, where the same movement is referred to, its leaders are described as being raised by God 'from Aaron . . . and from Israel'. These words would represent the religious reformation as due to the joint efforts of the priests and the laity.

Zadokite Party originated that led to their recognition of the Prophets as of equal value with the Law. It is this equal recognition of the Law and the Prophets that differentiates the Zadokite Party alike from the legalistic Pharisee and the unreformed Sadducee.

Taking their stand, therefore, on the written word, they charged the Pharisees with raising such a body of tradition (i.e. 'the wall' referred to in vii. 1, ix. 21, 26) round the written Law that it was made void (see § 9. 3°, 4°) : with speaking rebellion against the Law and leading Israel astray, viii. 1, and despising the words of the Prophets, ix. 7. As the true representatives of the Law, they designated their Party as 'the House of the Law', ix. 35, 37, though it is possible that this phrase may mean the School or College belonging to their Party in which the Law was taught.[1]

(iii) *The Party claims to be the true Israel: hence the Temple was their Sanctuary, Jerusalem their holy city, and the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary effort.* The New Covenant was established by the leaders of the Party in Damascus, but from thence they returned to the land of Israel. There is not a hint that Damascus continued to be even one permanent place of sojourn of the Party among others, much less their head-quarters. Cf. viii. 6 with viii. 15, ix. 28, 37. For the true Israel as they claimed to be, heirs of all the divine promises, to whom belonged the Covenants, the priestly functions, the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter privileges had been usurped by the Pharisees—the Temple at Jerusalem (i. 3 note), in whose sacrifices they took part,[2] xiii. 27, and none other could be their Sanctuary, and Jerusalem and none other their Holy City, ix. 46, the city of their Sanctuary, ix. 46, xiv. 4, and all the cities of Israel were theirs to be instructed by them in the Law of God, xv. 1–3.

In all these cities the Zadokites organized themselves in congregations and assemblies, of which there are no less than five distinct Hebrew words used (see note on i. 17). Only the faithful members of the Party were allowed to share in their worship or take part in their counsels. To these a candidate for membership could be admitted only by the Censor, xvi. 6. Should a member of the Party profane the Sabbath or the Feasts he was to be excluded, and not to be restored for a period of seven years after his repentance, xiv. 6.

(iv) *Period of obedience to the precepts of 'the Lawgiver' (or 'the Star') till the coming of the 'Teacher of Righteousness'. The Party henceforth called the 'Sons of Zadok'.* 'Throughout the full period of the wickedness,' viii. 9 (cf. i. 5 note), the Zadokites were to walk according to the precepts laid down by the Lawgiver in accordance with the Law, viii. 9. All such as disobeyed these precepts were to be expelled from the congregation, ix. 31, and not reinstated until they returned to the degree of holy perfection, ix. 32. But in case they persisted in their apostasy, they and theirs should no longer have a share in the House of the Law, ix. 34–5. Besides these precepts they were to receive no fresh revelation or instruction till the 'Teacher of Righteousness' arose 'in the end of the days', viii. 10, i. 7 note. This last phrase is eschatological and indefinite, and does not help towards fixing the date of this Teacher. At all events, a probably considerable period elapsed between the founding of the New Covenant and his advent. From the fact that we are told nothing about the teaching of this Teacher of Righteousness, we may conclude the defectiveness of our MSS. The task of this Teacher, who was also designated the Unique Teacher, ix. 29, 39, 53, was apparently to prepare the way for the Messiah. Not improbably it was during the time of this Teacher that the Zadokites came to be known as, or assumed the name of, 'Sons of Zadok', for his time synchronizes with that of their assumption of this title—being both 'in the end of the days' (באחרית הימים), vi. 2, compared with viii. 10.

(v) *Period from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness to the expected advent of the Messiah.* After the death of the Teacher of Righteousness a fresh interval elapsed before we come to any definite date. In ix. 39–41 a period of 'about forty years' is spoken of. These may count from the death of the Teacher, or they may begin at some year subsequent to his death. In any case we have arrived at a new epoch which is at least forty years after the death of the Teacher, and may be more. Since the Teacher came '*in the end of the days*', viii. 10, and at least forty years have already run their course since his removal, it follows that we have now come to our author's own time. During these forty years those 'who repented of transgression in Jacob' had 'observed the Covenant of God', ix. 41, exhorting each other to 'hold fast to the way of God', ix. 42. But as for those who had been faithless, they were to be handed over to the sword when the Messiah [3]

[1] With this expression we might contrast the expression 'The House of Midrash' (בית המדרש), which meant the (Pharisaic) School or College in which the Law and its problems were studied. In the earlier days it designated the seat of the High Court of Justice, or of the Sanhedrin in the Temple and in Jabne. See Levy, *Lex.* iii. 34. In opposition to this phrase the Zadokites may have chosen deliberately the above expression 'the House of the Law'.

[2] On the other hand the Zadokite priests were not allowed to share in the Temple ritual unless under certain conditions, viii. 12–20.

[3] The Messiah was apparently called also 'the Sceptre', ix. 9.

'from Aaron and Israel' comes, ix. 10, 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. This event is still in the future. Now if I have been right in my interpretation of the peculiar phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' (see § 12), then the author wrote between the years 18 and 8 B.C. It is remarkable that, whereas a Pharisaic work—the Assumption of Moses—written shortly after this date abandoned wholly the hope of a Messiah, the present work, written by a priest, should just on the eve of the Christian era look forward earnestly to a militant Messiah, who should avenge his people, ix. 10, take upon himself the ruling of God's people and the settlement of all disputed questions, xv. 4.

(vi) The later history of the Zadokites can only be surmised. It is not at all improbable that some, if not many, of them joined the Christian Church. Their appreciation—unparalleled in Judaism—of the Prophets, their insistence on the need of repentance, their constant proclamation of the readiness of God to pardon the repentant, their expectation of the Messiah and of a blessed future life—all these beliefs and hopes would prepare them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

(vii) Into the possible influence of the Zadokites on the Karaites, a Jewish Sect of the eighth century of the Christian era, we cannot enter here. The whole question is too doubtful to be discussed in the present connexion. Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar and exegete who flourished in the tenth century of our era, was, as we have already pointed out (§ 2), acquainted with our present text or with something very similar to it. That the Zadokites had any direct connexion with the Dosithean Sect is improbable in every way. According to the Ps. Tertullian (*Adv. omnes Haereses*, i) Dositheus was the first to deny the Prophets. If this statement is trustworthy, it is enough to prove that the Zadokites, who regarded the Prophets as of equal worth with the Law, had nothing whatever to do with the Dositheans. Rabbinical sources make Dositheus the founder of a Samaritan Sect (see *Jewish Encyc.* iv. 643). If this has any element of truth in it, the Dositheans could claim no affinity with the Zadokites. In fact Zadokites and Dositheans, from whatever source we derive our knowledge of the latter, are widely sundered on characteristic and essential doctrines. Agreement on minor points may be established, but these points of agreement were not peculiar to the two bodies with which we are concerned.[1]

§ 11. The Constitution of the Party—the Four Orders.

The Zadokite Party consisted of four Orders—Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes, xvii. 3. The governing body in each congregation (i. 17 note) was to consist of ten men chosen from the first three Orders, xi. 2, whose age was to be not less than twenty-five years and not more than sixty. These were to be called 'judges of the congregation', and were to be selected from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and from Israel, four from the former and six from Israel. This body was to be presided over by two men, who belonged to this number or were independent of it. The first of these was to be a priest from thirty to sixty years old, learned in the Book of the Hagu and in the judgements of the Law, xvii. 5, xv. 5. His duty was to number the members of the settlement according to their rank in the Four Orders, xvii. 1–5, to decide in regard to cases of leprosy, xv. 7–8, and generally to bear rule, xv. 5–6.

The second joint authority was the Censor (=מבקר). On Jewish officials bearing this title, but with different functions, the reader should consult the notes on x. 10, xvi. 1. In our text this official, whose age was to be between thirty and fifty, xvii. 6, had very extensive duties. It was his task to give instruction to the many in the works of God, xvi. 1; to admit new members into the Party, xvi. 6 (xix. 10 sq.), assigning to each his proper place according to his personal powers and qualifications, xvi. 4; to examine and receive back the lapsed on their repentance, xix. 7–10; to administer the monthly alms of the congregation to those in need, xviii. 2 sqq.; to regulate suits and controversies, xvii. 8, xix. 12; to exercise control over all business with the Gentiles, xvi. 7–8; and to fulfil the functions of supreme judge in the case of capital and other offences, x. 10–13.

This organization was spread over the cities of Israel, xv. 1. Congregations or communities on the above model were formed in these cities, which met together in 'houses of worship', xiv. 2, for divine service. These buildings were secured against ceremonial uncleanness on the part of the worshippers, xiv. 2.

But the centre of the Party was Jerusalem—'the city of the Sanctuary', where the usual burnt sacrifices were offered, xiii. 27. The entire city, as the holy city, ix. 46, was to be kept pure from Levitical impurity, xiv. 4.

[1] On the Dositheans, see 'Dositheus' in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, i. 902–4; in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encycl.*; in the *Jewish Encycl.* iv. 643–4; and the literature cited in these articles; also Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, pp. xxi–xxvi.

§ 12. The Messiah—Expected to arise from Aaron and Israel.

The Zadokite Party expected a Messiah not from Levi simply as in the *Test. xii Patriarchs* but '*from Aaron and from Israel*', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. It must be confessed that the form of the expectation is peculiar and needs explanation. Since our author was acquainted with the *Test. xii Patr.*, the fact that he does not simply repeat the expectation there entertained, but differentiates that of his Party from it, leads us to conclude that the difference of phraseology points to a real difference in the nature of the expectation. Since the Messiah was to be descended, not from Aaron simply, but 'from Aaron and from Israel', the additional words 'and from Israel' are surely significant. The priesthood was, of course, an hereditary privilege, and could only be passed on through the male line. As long as the succession from father to son was preserved the descent through the mother was *immaterial*; for the priests were not confined in their choice of wives to the Tribe of Levi. Not only could they marry any Israelite, but they could marry the daughter of a proselyte.[1] These facts make the phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' all the more strange. In the case of unbroken descent *in the male line*, the words 'and from Israel' would be wholly superfluous. Hence they cannot point to the maternal ancestry of the expected Messiah. If not to the maternal ancestry, then they can only refer to his paternal ancestry. If this reasoning is valid, it follows that the expected Messiah was to spring from Israel, i.e. from a non-priestly source, on his father's side, and from Aaron, i.e. from a priestly source, on his mother's. Such an expectation could only be explained, so far as I am aware, in reference to the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, i.e. Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod was an Israelite—see § 6. ii—while Mariamne combined in her own person all the royal claims of the Maccabean house. Since Alexander and Aristobulus were descended from Aaron on the spindle side, they could not legitimately inherit the priesthood. But the technically non-priestly character of Mariamne's sons could not stand in the way of the Messianic hopes attached to them by the Zadokite Party, since the all but universal expectation of Israel was directed to a Messiah sprung not from Levi but from Judah. But since the Zadokite Party rejected the expectation of a Messiah from Judah they described their expected Messiah as sprung from Aaron (i.e. from the Maccabees through Mariamne) and from Israel (i.e. from Herod).

But we can go a step further in defining the comprehension of the words 'and from Israel'. Since throughout our text there is a decided *animus* against Judah and the dynasty of David, we may fairly conclude that the Messiah was not expected to spring from Levi and Judah—which would have been a natural fusion of the two conflicting hopes—but from Aaron and an Israelite, who was not descended from Judah.

This hostility to the Davidic stock and to Judah is not an unmediated and unlooked-for phenomenon. The way had already been prepared for it in the struggles of the Jewish hierarchy to preserve its ancient prerogatives against the encroachments of the Pharisees and their followers. The hostility to the Davidic stock is already apparent in Sirach—the work of a priest or at all events an upholder of the high sacerdotal claims of that period. Lévi (*L'Ecclésiastique*, I. xxxvi) has drawn attention to Sirach's glorification of the priesthood at the expense of the kings. While only a few verses are assigned to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (xliv. 19–23), and even to Moses (xlv. 1–5), Aaron and his descendants are the subjects of long and glowing eulogiums (xlv. 6–24). To Aaron God gave the priesthood by 'an everlasting covenant' (xlv. 7, 15), which was to last 'as long as the heaven endureth' (xlv. 15); to the priesthood God had entrusted the charge of His commandments, the power to deal with statutes and judgements, and the right of teaching His people (xlv. 17); and the book practically closes with a lofty panegyric on Simon the High Priest, the son of Onias (l). On the other hand, Sirach depreciates the kingly dynasty. He admits that God had, indeed, made a covenant with David touching the kingdom, but he points out that that was only an ordinary and limited heritage passing from father to son, whereas that of Aaron was an everlasting heritage transmitted to all his posterity (xlv. 25). He is careful, moreover, to point out that the dynasty of David had proved itself unworthy of the divine favour; for that only three of them, including David (xlix. 4), had been faithful to God, and that accordingly they were stripped of the kingship and the government of the nation re-entrusted to the priesthood. Nor could the Messiah arise from such a stock: if a Messiah was to be expected he was to be Elijah reappearing in the flesh (xlviii. 10–11).

[1] The greatest care was taken in regard to the character of the wives chosen by the priests. Their pedigrees, unless known to be unimpeachable, were examined for four generations on both sides in the case of priestly lineage, for five if they were of non-priestly origin. Cf. Qid. iv. 4, 5, 77 *ab*: Joseph. *Contra Ap.* i. 7. Though a priest might not marry a proselyte, he could marry the daughter of a proselyte. If both parents of a woman were proselytes, a priest was not allowed to marry her; but if he did so, the marriage was considered legitimate. See *Jewish Encyc.*, x. 195.

This glorification of Levi over Judah is repeated in Jubilees, which, like Sirach, was written by a priest, but by a priest who had assimilated some of the higher theology such as the doctrine of a blessed future life (xxiii. 31).[1] In Jubilees Levi receives the first blessing (xxxi. 15–17), and Judah the second (xxxi. 18–20). Levi was to be at once the supreme teacher, the sole priest, and the civil ruler of the nation. Judah's blessing dwells on his great military power, which the Gentiles should fear and at which the nations should quake. Thereby he should prove the help of Jacob and the royal dynasty should bring peace to Israel. There is a clause of two or three words in xxxi. 18*d* referring to a Messiah from Judah, but it is most probably an interpolation, since throughout the rest of this long work there is not even the barest hint of such a hope.

The glorification of Levi reaches its climax in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Not only is Levi the supreme authority in Church and State: from Levi also is to spring the coming Messiah. In fact the Messiah had already come in the person of John Hyrcanus according to the author of the Testaments, just as according to the earlier writing, the CX Psalm, he had already come in the person of Simon the Maccabee.

The development actually realized and the tendencies in the process of evolution in these books find a not unnatural culmination in our author. The steady glorification of Levi in Sirach, Jubilees, and the Testaments had only served to reduce Judah to the second place of authority and honour in the nation, but not otherwise to depreciate that great tribe. In no case had this process degenerated into a hostile attack on Judah. And yet this and naught else could be the inevitable outcome of the tendencies which were actively at work in the second century before the Christian era.

These tendencies came to a head in the Zadokite Fragments. Therein the glorification of the Zadokite priests is carried out *pari passu* with the disparagement of the Davidic family and claims and an attack on Judah. David is accused of ignorance of the Law (vii. 5). The title 'king' (מלך) is replaced by that of 'prince' (נשיא vii. 4). In ix. 7 the passage from Amos ix. 11, which promises the setting up of 'the tabernacle of David that is fallen', is explained in such a way that all reference to David is got rid of; for 'the king' is said to denote 'the Congregation', and 'the tabernacle of the king' to denote 'the books of the Law'. Having thus explained away the Davidic expectation, a prophecy of the Zadokite Messiah (see ix. 8) is discovered in Num. xxiii. 17.

The princes of Judah are attacked in ix. 13 as being 'like them that remove the landmark' (ix. 13), i.e. the Pharisees. When the time of the end was approaching the Zadokites were to break off all relations with Judah, vi. 7.

§ 13. Some of the Teachings of the Book.

I shall content myself in the main with referring to my notes on the theological views of the Zadokites.

The Messiah. See § 12.

Doctrine of a future life. See note on v. 6. Some scholars have doubted the reference of this verse to a future life. But even if it were absent it would not affect the question. The Zadokites are the disciples of the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and in these the doctrine of a future life is taught. The Party that regarded the Book of Daniel, the Book of Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as authoritative could not have questioned the belief in a blessed future life.

Repentance. See note on vi. 1 and references: also Introd., § 10. ii. In this respect they prepare the way for the preaching of John the Baptist.

Predestination and free-will. See ii. 6 note, iii. 7 *a*, iv. 2 *c*, 10, § 9. 4°.

Divorce. Divorce is absolutely forbidden in our text. See vii. 1.

The Law and the Prophets. It will be sufficient here to refer to § 8 and Index I, to show how profoundly the Zadokites valued the Prophets. The fact to which we have drawn attention elsewhere (see § 9. 4°), that they based halacha on the Prophets, is proof that they regarded the Prophets as of equal authority with the Law. Their attitude in this respect is nearer to that of the Sermon on the Mount than that of any other Party in Judaism.

§ 14. Bibliography.

(*a*) *Text.* As yet there is only one text, since owing to Dr. Schechter's arrangement with the University Library, Cambridge, no scholar is to be allowed to see the MSS. for five years after the publication of

[1] In the time of Josephus apparently only the Sadducees of the highest rank still denied the doctrine of a blessed future life (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 4). Thus this doctrine seemed gradually to have permeated the main body of the Sadducees by the middle of the first century of the Christian era.

Dr. Schechter's edition. Even if Dr. Schechter's edition were thoroughly satisfactory this extraordinary action on his part could hardly fail to call forth the reprobation of scholars generally. We shall now proceed to pass a few criticisms on his text.

Fragments of a Zadokite Work edited from Hebrew MSS. in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and provided with an English Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by S. Schechter, M.A., D.Litt., President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

Scholars are indeed grateful to Dr. Schechter for the discovery of these valuable MSS., but they cannot be expected to feel it in such measure for the way in which the text has been edited. It is carelessly done. Thus on eighteen pages of text there are two and a quarter pages of corrigenda and suggestions (pp. lvii–lix). A second list of corrigenda is to be found in the notes on the translation. In a third list (lix–lx) embodying corrections of and additions to the translation and notes a very important correction not included in the former two lists is given. But the above series of corrigenda are not exhaustive. This will be obvious to any student who carefully compares the text of p. 20 with the *facsimile* of this page. Let us take a few lines beginning with l. 17. In l. 17 if we read אז there is room only for one letter and not two after it. In l. 18 before את אחיו and after ן a gap is left for seven letters, four of which Dr. Schechter supplies. There is room only for four. In l. 19 after זכרן Dr. Schechter leaves a space for two letters: it should be for four or five. Before לחושבי in the same line ו should be supplied or a gap left for one letter. In l. 21 after חסר a gap is left for two letters: it should be for four or five. In l. 33 the first word is את not אל.

If Dr. Schechter chooses to edit his text so carelessly that is of course his own concern, but in that case he ought at all events to have published a *facsimile* of the entire MSS.—only a matter of eighteen pages. To publish such a text and then to deny all scholars access to the original MSS. for five years is strange conduct on the part of a seeker after truth. The world of scholars from Lévi, who first expressed the need of a *facsimile*, to the latest students of the text, look to Dr. Schechter either to remove this unscholarly embargo or himself to publish a *facsimile* without delay.

(*b*) *Translations.*[1] Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work.* The translation of a text for the first time is obviously a piece of pioneer work, and should therefore be treated with all consideration. It betrays, as might be expected, frequent failures to apprehend the meaning of the writer, but on the other hand in many passages Dr. Schechter has shown great insight and his encyclopaedic knowledge of Rabbinic literature has helped to clear up many a difficulty from the outset.

Lévi, 'Un Écrit Sadducéen antérieur à la ruine du Temple' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxi. 161–205, 1911. This masterly translation, accompanied with a few notes, forms a vast advance on the preceding. My obligations to it are mentioned not unfrequently in my notes. Unfortunately I had completed both my translation and notes before I saw either this translation or that which follows, else my notes might have taken a different form.

Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique*, Avril, 1912, pp. 213–40. While Lévi's translation is racy and idiomatic, Lagrange's translation aims at being a literal reproduction of the text. It shows the influence of Lévi, but in certain passages makes a fresh contribution to the understanding of the text.

(*c*) *Critical Studies.* Bacher, *Zeitschrift f. hebr. Bibliographie*, No. 1, Jan.–Feb. 1911. Leszynski, 'Observations sur les "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" édités par Schechter' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxii. 190–6, with Lévi's rejoinder in pp. 197–200.

Margoliouth (G.) in the *Athenæum*, Nov. 26, 1911; 'The Sadducean Christians of Damascus' in the *Expositor*, Dec., 1911, pp. 499–517: March, 1912, pp. 212–35. In these studies Mr. Margoliouth has shown great learning and acuteness in criticizing the views of his predecessors. His own view is that the Zadokites were a type of Christians who regarded John the Baptist as the Messiah and Jesus as the Teacher of Righteousness. I have found myself unable to agree with this thesis.[2]

[1] A Dutch translation has been published in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, but I have not seen it.

[2] Reviews of the *Zadokite Fragments* have appeared in *The American Journal of Theology*, by Dr. Kohler; in the Harvard Theological Review, by Dr. Moore; in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, by Landauer, &c.

I.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

I. *Israel sent into Captivity*, 3–4. *A Root of God's Planting made to spring forth after* 200 B.C. *and a Teacher of Righteousness raised up*, 5–8. *Description of Israel's Wickedness in the First Century* B.C. *or at an earlier date*, 9–17.

1 Now, therefore, hearken (unto me) all ye who know righteousness,
2 And have understanding in the works of God.
For He hath a controversy with all flesh,
And will execute judgement upon all who despise Him.

3 For because of the trespass of those who forsook Him,
He hid His face from Israel and from His Sanctuary,
And gave them over to the sword.

I. 1. **hearken . . . righteousness.** i. e. שמעו כל יודעי צדק. From Isa. li. 7. The mention of צדק may with tolerable certainty be regarded as a play on the name of the Zadokites—הצדוקים. Cf. *v.* 7 for the מורה צדק 'teacher of righteousness'.

have understanding in the works of God. Same diction in Ps. xxviii. 5 יבינו . . . אל מעשה ידיו.

2. **hath a controversy . . . with all flesh.** i. e. ריב לו עם כל בשר. Based almost verbally on Jer. xxv. 31: 'The Lord hath a controversy . . . He will plead with all flesh.' Cf. Hos. iv. 1.

all who despise Him. Num. xiv. 11, 23.

3. **hid His face.** Ps. xxii. 24, liv. 8 and *passim*.

from His Sanctuary. These words are of extreme importance in dealing with our document; for before we can make any real advance in the interpretation of the book we must know whether this sanctuary is the Temple in Jerusalem or a heterodox temple in one of the provinces. That it was the former is clear, I think, from the following evidence. The term 'sanctuary' is used nine times, i. 3, v. 7, vi. 11, vii. 8, viii. 11, 12, ix. 47, xiv. 4 (*bis*). In xiv. 4 we have the phrase 'the city of the Sanctuary' used twice. Now since in every case only one sanctuary is mentioned, as 'the Sanctuary', or 'His Sanctuary', we must conclude that it is one and the same sanctuary that is referred to in all cases. Is there any evidence to determine what sanctuary this was? Clearly there is in this very verse i. 3, where it is said that God 'hid His face from His Sanctuary'. Now there can be no doubt as to the identity of this sanctuary: it is the Temple in Jerusalem; for the context refers to the time of the Captivity. Nor can there be any doubt as to the identity of 'His Sanctuary' in v. 7; for the phrase occurs in a quotation from Ezek. xliv. 15. Next in viii. 12 it is said that the priests of the Party are 'to hold aloof from the wealth of the Sanctuary'. This could not be said of a small, sectarian provincial and wholly unknown temple. For in the first place such a temple would not have had wealth: and in the next its priesthood could have incurred no blame in accepting support from their own exclusive sanctuary. But an ascetic and puritan Party could most reasonably from their standpoint object to many things in the Temple in Jerusalem, as did Mal. i. 7; 1 Enoch lxxxix. 73; Ass. Moses v. 4, and yet share officially in its worship. Again in viii. 11 the Sanctuary can be none other than the Temple; for Mal. i. 10 is quoted as referring to it. This sanctuary, i. e. the Temple, is still standing vii. 8. Finally 'the city of the Sanctuary' which is twice mentioned in xiv. 4 and in ix. 46 can only be Jerusalem. The very phrase postulates this interpretation when we reflect that the Zadokites accepted not only the Law as binding upon them but also the rest of the scriptures, to which they attributed a higher degree of authority, than the Rabbis of subsequent times. It was the Prophets who *made Jerusalem the sacred city, and the altar in Jerusalem the sole altar*. Possessing genuine orders also as Priests and Levites they would naturally officiate in the Temple at Jerusalem. They were spread throughout the cities of Israel, xv. 1, just as the Priests and Levites were generally. In these they had their congregations: but they had only one sanctuary and that in Jerusalem. The severe conditions on which they were allowed to discharge their priestly functions in the Temple are given in viii. 11–20. Had the Zadokites disowned the Temple in Jerusalem, it is hardly possible that this matter would have been wholly passed over in silence in a document which criticizes the accepted Jewish authorities so freely—the Hellenizing priests, the Pharisees, and even the historical books of the O.T. (see vii. 7).

From the above conclusion it follows that the present work was written when the Temple was still standing. In other words, we have here the *terminus ad quem*.

gave them over to the sword (ויתנם לחרב). From Jer. xxi. 31. See preceding verse. Cf. i. 12 (להסגירם לח״), iv. 9 (יסגרו לח״), and so also in ix. 4 (A) (הסגרו לח״), ix. 11 (A and B), but ימסרו לח״ in ix. 10 (B).

4 But when He remembered the covenant of the forefathers,
He left a remnant to Israel
And gave them not over to destruction.

5 [And in the period of the wrath three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon He visited them],
And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land,
And to grow fat through the goodness of His earth.

6 And they had understanding of their iniquity,
And they knew that they were guilty men,
And **had** like the blind **been groping** after the way twenty years.

7 And God considered their works ; for they sought Him with a perfect heart
And He raised them up a Teacher of righteousness
To lead them in the way of His heart.

4. **remembered the covenant of the forefathers.** i.e. ובזכרו ברית ראשנים. Cf. viii. 3, ix. 25. From Lev xxvi. 45. Cf. Exod. ii. 24.

left a remnant to Israel (השאיר שארית). Cf. ii. 9 (התיר פליטה); Isa. i. 9; Jer. xxxi. 7; Ezek. xiv. 22.

5. **in the period of the wrath.** (i.e. בקץ חרון). I have with some hesitation adopted Lévi's rendering of קץ as 'period' and not as 'end', as in Sirach xliii. 6. In Job vi. 11 the LXX renders קצי by *μου ὁ χρόνος* (Smend). See our text ii. 8, vi. 1, 7, viii. 1, 9, 12, ix. 10, 11, 47, xv. 4, xix. 7. It is difficult to understand the chronology in this work. 'In the period of the wrath' appears to be the period beginning or else in the course of realization in the year 196 B.C. The phrase 'period of the destruction of the land' apparently refers to the same period. Probably by the phrase 'in the end of the days' (viii. 10) when the teacher of righteousness is to come, a portion of the same period is designed. On the other hand the phrases 'the period of wickedness' (viii. 12, xv. 4), 'the full period of wickedness' (viii. 9, xix. 7), 'the period of the treason of Israel' (ix. 47) appear to refer to the close of the period of the Messianic woes: cf. xv. 4.

three hundred and ninety years, &c. This number appears to be borrowed from Ezek. iv. 5, where the Massoretic text speaks of 390 days, i.e. years. Since in Ezekiel these years refer to the Exile, the Massoretic text is at variance with Ezekiel's real expectation, which is given in iv. 6, according to which it was to last forty years. The right text is preserved in the majority of the LXX MSS., i.e. 190 years. Israel had already been in exile about 150 years: Judah's exile was to last forty: thus the exile of the entire nation was to be about 190 years. But it is clear that our author found 390 in his Hebrew text—a reading that appears, therefore, to be later—possibly considerably later than 200 B.C. If we deduct 390 from 586, the year of the capture of Jerusalem, we arrive at the year 196 B.C. This date in our text would refer to the rise of the Chasidim. For 'twenty years' already the faithful in Israel had been groping after the way (i. 6). It is noteworthy that 1 Enoch xc. 6 assigns the origin of the Chasidim to the same period: see note in my edition *in loc.* The Chasidim in 1 Enoch spring from the righteous remnant, just as here they are symbolized by a root of God's planting.

wrath. See note on i. 14.

Nebuchadnezzar. This is the later and corrupt spelling for Nebuchadrezzar.

spring forth. Cf. Isa. xliv. 4, lxi. 11 where צמח also is used.

A root of His planting. The text here reads שורש מטעת, which I take to be corrupt for שרש מַטָּעוֹ. Cf. Isa. lx. 21 נצר מטעו. With the idea, cf. 1 Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5 'the plant of righteousness': also xxvi. 1. The root of God's planting is the company of the Chasidim; see note on 'three hundred and ninety years' above.

6. **had understanding . . . and they knew.** Cf. i. 1.

had like the blind been groping. The text reads וכימגששים which Schechter, on the basis of Isa. lix. 10 and Deut. xxviii. 29, has rightly emended into מגששים.

twenty years. The 'twenty years', i. e. 196–176 B.C., may refer to the period during which the Hellenizing high priests were in league with Antiochus IV and the Syrian empire. Then came the great act of repentance often referred to in the text and probably the migration to Damascus: vi. 1, viii. 6.

7. **considered their works** (ויבן אל אל מעשיהם). From Ps. xxxiii. 15. Cf. text, vii. 16.

sought Him with a perfect heart. Cf. for the thought and diction Ps. cxix. 10, 1 Chron. xxix. 9, Jub. i. 15.

raised them up. Cf. ii. 9, viii. 4, Judges ii. 18.

a Teacher of righteousness. i.e. מורה צדק. See different form of the Hebrew in viii. 10. Cf. Hos. x. 12 יורה צדק. Who is this teacher of righteousness? We know something as to his date; for he is raised up during 'the period of the wrath' (i. 5) which began about 390 years after the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. About this date, i.e. 196 B.C., God made 'a root of His planting to spring forth from Israel and Aaron', i.e. the Chasidim. This teacher may be referred to as 'the teacher' or 'teacher' in ix. 50, and is referred to as 'the teacher of righteousness' in ix. 53, and in viii. 10, according to which passage he is to arise 'in the end of the days'. So far, things are fairly certain. But there are two other titles, 'the unique teacher', ix. 29, 39, and

8 And He made known to later generations
What He had done [to a later generation] to a congregation of treacherous men:
Those who turned aside out of the way.

9 This was the time concerning which it was written:
As a stubborn heifer
So hath Israel behaved himself stubbornly:

10 When there arose the scornful man,
Who talked to Israel lying words,
And made them go astray in the wilderness where there was no way,
[to bring low the pride of the world].

11 So that they should turn aside from the paths of righteousness,
And remove the landmark which the forefathers had set in their inheritance:

'the Messiah', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B); 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. There is no ground against identifying 'the teacher of righteousness' and 'the unique teacher'. If this identification is right, then 'the teacher of righteousness' and 'the Messiah' are two different personages, ix. 29. The former prepares the way for the latter, but does not immediately precede him; for an undetermined interval elapses between them, which is longer than forty years at all events, ix. 40, but in reality nearer one hundred and forty.

lead them in the way of His heart. Cf. Isa. xlii. 16.

8–17. A difficult and important question of interpretation arises here as to the time with which these verses deal. First of all, it seems clear that the phrase 'later generations' refers to the generations subsequent to the coming of 'a teacher of righteousness' in *v.* 7. But there appears to be no way of determining the incident so vaguely described in *v.* 8, 'What He had done . . . to a congregation of treacherous men.' In any case this incident belongs to some earlier date. It is mentioned here apparently only in the way of admonition and warning against apostasy or unfaithfulness on the part of the Zadokites. We now come to *v.* 9. To which of the two periods implied in the preceding verse, i.e. the 'later generations' or the earlier time of judgement on the 'treacherous congregation', do the words 'this was the time concerning which', &c. apply? If we take *v.* 9 as referring to the period of the 'later generations', the time implied by the 'later generations' can hardly refer to any period earlier than the first century B.C., since the 'Teacher of righteousness' came after 176 B.C., and the 'later generations' must be two or more generations later than his time. If this interpretation is right, then *vv.* 9–17 would refer to the events of the first century B.C., and the persons attacked would probably be the Pharisees. Against them, at any rate, our author could bring the charge of removing 'the landmark which the forefathers had set', i.e. of introducing innovations in the ritual of the Temple and the interpretation of the Law. It is to be remembered in this connexion that although in the earlier years of Jannaeus the Pharisees were persecuted, in the later years of this king they were on friendly terms with him, whereas the Sadducean priesthood was mercilessly dealt with by him.

8. The fate of former apostates is a warning to those that come after.

[to a later generation], i.e. בדור אחרון. I have bracketed these words as a dittograph of דורות אחרונים.

congregation. See note on *v.* 17.

a congregation of treacherous men, i.e. בעדת בוגדים. Cf. עצרת בגדים in Jer. ix. 2.

turned aside out of the way (סרי דרך). Cf. ii. 4, ix. 14; Exod. xxxii. 8; Deut. ix. 16.

9–17. These verses appear to refer to the sins of Israel after the Captivity: cf. viii. 1, 2 where the phraseology in 9–11 recurs. They deal with the judgements meted out to an earlier generation which were to be a warning to later generations, i. 8.

As a stubborn, &c. From Hos. iv. 16. The 'so' in our text is not in the original. Our author can easily apply these words to post-Exilic times.

10. **the scornful man.** i.e. איש הלצון. Cf. ix. 36 'the scornful men', i.e. אנשי הלצון. The latter phrase is from Isa. xxviii. 14.

talked . . . lying words. Cf. viii. 2.

talked, i.e. הטיף. Cf. vii. 1, ix. 22; Amos vii. 16; Mic. ii. 6.

lying words. The text reads מימי כזב 'waters of lying', which I have emended into מאמרי כזב and so translated. Cf. ix. 22 (A.) מטיף כזב, and ix. 39 איש הכזב. Is this 'scornful man, who talked to Israel lying words' a collective expression for the wicked leaders who are subsequently referred to in viii. 1?

made them go astray . . . no way. Cf. viii. 1. A quotation from Ps. cvii. 40. Cf. ii. 10 of our text, where the same action is ascribed to God.

[to bring low the pride of the world] = להשח גבהות עולם. Cf. Isa. ii. 11, 17. But these words seem to be interpolated.

11. **remove the landmark.** Cf. viii. 1, ix. 13, 49. These words may refer to the revolutionary action of the Pharisees as regards law and ritual.

remove the landmark which . . . in their inheritance. From Deut. xix. 14 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance'.

12 So as to make cleave unto them
The curses of His covenant,
To deliver them to the sword
That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant.

13 Because they sought after smooth things,
And they chose deceits,
And kept watch with a view to lawless deeds.

14 And they †chose the best of the neck,†
And justified the wicked,
And condemned the righteous:

15 And transgressed the covenant,
And violated the statute,
And attacked the soul of the righteous.

16 And all that walked uprightly their soul abhorred,
And they pursued them with the sword,
And rejoiced in the strife of the people.

17 And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation,
So that He laid waste all their multitude,
And their deeds were uncleanness before Him.

12. **So as to make cleave unto them.** Cf. Deut. xxviii. 21.

The curses of His covenant. From Deut. xxix. 21.

deliver them to the sword That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant. Repeated in ix. 11 (B). We have here a quotation from Lev. xxvi. 25 חרב נקמת נקם ברית. In the same verse the words 'and ye shall be delivered' occur, ונתתם.

13. **smooth things . . . deceits** (i.e. מהתלות . . . חלקות). These two words—the latter a ἅπ. λεγ. in the O.T.—are drawn from Isa. xxx. 10.

kept watch, i.e. יצפו. Lagrange thinks that the verb here means 'concealed', Schechter proposes ויפרצו פרצות which gives a good sense 'brought about breaches' (or 'divisions').

14. **†chose the best of the neck†.** In the text יבחרו בטוב הצואר—it seems clear that הצואר is corrupt—most probably for הצאון. Cf. xi. 10 (B), where we have 'the poor of the flock'. We should then have 'they chose the best of the flock', i.e. for themselves. This may be right. But possibly the corruption lies deeper, and for the first two words we should read יחרבו מיטב. We should then have: 'they laid waste the best of the flock.'

justified . . . the righteous. From Prov. xvii. 15. The words recur in vi. 4 of our text. Lévi thinks these words refer to the usurpation of judicial powers by the Pharisees in the time of Alexandra the widow of Jannaeus.

15. **transgressed the covenant,** i.e. יעברו ברית. I have here emended יעבירו into יעברו. Schechter emends the text into יעברו בברית and translates 'transgressed the covenant'. But this means 'entered into a covenant' (cf. Deut. xxix. 11). This clause is practically equivalent to the next.

attacked the soul of the righteous. From Ps. xciv. 21.

16. **walked uprightly.** Cf. iii. 2. From Ps. xv. 2: cf. ci. 6; Gen. xvii. 1.

their soul abhorred. From Ps. cvii. 18.

pursued them with the sword (וירדפום לחרב). These words refer to the persecution of the Sadducees by Jannaeus or the Pharisees.

rejoiced. I follow Schechter in taking יסיסו as ישישו.

17. **the wrath of God was kindled** (ויחר אף אל). Cf. Exod. iv. 14, xxxii. 10, &c. This clause recurs frequently in our text: iii. 7, iv. 7, vii. 16, ix. (13), 22, 26, 40. Here the reference is doubtful. In iii. 7 it is directed against the Antediluvians: in iv. 7 against Israel in the wilderness: against Judah after the exile in vii. 16, ix. 13, 22.

their congregation (i.e. עדתם). This term הָעֵדָה 'the congregation' occurs frequently—thirteen times—in our author: cf. i. 8, iv. 7, ix. 22, 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7. In ix. 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7 it is used strictly of the congregation of the Zadokites in each city or village. In i. 17, iv. 7, ix. 22 it is used of Israel at large, and in i. 8 in a bad sense of faithless Israelites. Our text is particularly rich in terms applying to the Zadokites in their sacred capacity as a community or congregation. Thus we have 'assembly' (סוד) in ix. 29, 'congregation' (קהל) in xiv. 3, 'community' (חבור) in xiv. 8. Another designation of their community, and rather a peculiar one, is 'camp' (מחנה), which appears to have simply the meaning of settlement: cf. x. 7, xv. 6, xvi. 1, 6 (*bis*), 8 (*bis*), 9, xvii. 1, 6.

their deeds . . . uncleanness before Him (מעשיהם לנדה לפניו). Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.

II. *Wisdom is with God and Forgiveness of the repentant, but Wrath for the unrepentant, who are predestined to Destruction on the Ground of the Divine Foreknowledge*, 1–7. *But there is a Remnant whom He shall teach by the Messiah*, 9–10.

1 And now, hearken unto me all ye who have entered into the covenant,
And I will disclose to you the ways of the wicked.

2 God loveth [knowledge] wisdom:
And counsel He hath set before Him:
Prudence and knowledge minister unto Him.

3 Longsuffering is with Him
And plenteousness of forgivenesses
To pardon those who repent of transgression.

4 And power and might and great fury with flames of fire [therein are all the angels of destruction]
For them who turned aside out of the way,
And abhorred the statute,

5 So that there should be no remnant,
Nor any to escape of them.

6 For God chose them not from the beginning of the world,
And ere they were **formed** He knew their works.

7 And He abhorred **their** generations **from of old**,
And hid His face from **their** land till they were consumed.

8 [And He knew the years of (their) office and the number and exact statement of their periods for all the things that belong to the ages and have been, moreover whatsoever shall come to pass in their periods for all the years of eternity.]

II. 1. **ye who have entered into the covenant.** Cf. iv. 8, viii. 11, 15, ix. 12, 15, 49, x. 2; Jer. xxxiv. 10, באו בברית. This is the New Covenant that is spoken of in viii. 15, ix. 28, 37.

I will disclose. The text reads אגלה אזנכם as in 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 8. Schechter thinks אזנכם a corruption of עיניכם and compares iii. 1.

2. **knowledge.** Bracketed as an interpolation. It occurs in the third line.

3. **Longsuffering . . . forgivenesses,** i.e. ערך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות. The text is based on a combination of Exod. xxxiv. 6. ארך אפים ורב חסד and Ps. cxxx. 4 עמך הסליחה. For the plural סליחות cf. Dan. ix. 9; Neh. ix. 17. The last passage contains all the elements of *v.* 3 *ab* save 'with Him'.

forgiveness. Cf. v. 5 *b*, xvi. 2.

To pardon. See v. 5 *a* note.

who repent of transgression, i.e. שָׁבֵי פֶּשַׁע from Isa. lix. 20. See ix. 41 and note on vi. 1.

4. **fury with flames of fire,** i.e. חמה . . . בלהבי אש. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15 להשיב בחמה אפו וגערתו בלהבי אש which is probably the source.

therein . . . destruction. Bracketed as an interpolation.

angels of destruction (מלאבי חבל). Cf. 1 Enoch lxiii. 1, &c.

abhorred the statute (מתעבי חק). Cf. Mic. iii. 9.

5. **So that there should be no remnant,** &c. Contrast i. 4. The words 'no remnant, nor any to escape' are from Ezra ix. 14.

6. We have here the doctrine of divine election. Cf. *v.* 10 *c*.

formed, i.e. נוצרו emended by Bacher from נוסדו. Cf. Jer. i. 5.

7. **their generations from of old.** So I emend דורות מדם into דורותם מקדם. Schechter retains דורות and would change מדם into מקדם. Landauer suggests מרים 'rebellious' for מדם.

their land. The text reads ארץ מי, which I take to be a corruption of ארצם, and have translated accordingly. Schechter takes the מי to be a remainder of להשמידם. But in the present MS. there is not space for a single additional letter, and the emendation I have made explains the MS. and satisfies the context.

till they were consumed (עד תומם). Phrase in Deut. ii. 15, xxxi. 24, 30; Joshua viii. 24, &c. But the words make the line too long and may be an interpolation.

8. This verse appears to be an addition of the editor of the whole. The subject-matter belongs to the teaching of the sect, but it is an intrusion in its present context. Verse 9 follows naturally and immediately on *v.* 7. The Hebrew of this verse is very abnormal.

years of (their) office. With this obscure phrase compare vi. 3 'duration of their office'. The word 'office' (or 'service' or 'function', i.e. מעמד) appears to mean that of the members of the inner council of the sect who in ix. 32 are spoken of as 'men of the perfection of holiness'. We should, perhaps, read מעמדם here as in vi. 3. We find in later Judaism the existence of a body of men called אנשי מעמד (Taanith 15 *b*) composed of priests, Levites,

9 Yet in all of them He raised Him up men called by name,
In order to leave a remnant to the earth,
And to fill the face of the earth with their seed.

10 And through His Messiah He shall make them know His holy spirit,
And he is true, and in the true interpretation of his name are their names:
But them He hated He made to go astray.

III–IV. 1. *Exhortation to choose God's Will and to shun the evil Inclination*, 1–2; *through it fell the mighty Men of old, the Watchers and their Children*, 3–5; *and all Flesh and also the Sons of Noah*, 6–iv. 1.

3 1 Now therefore, children, hearken unto me,
And I will open your eyes to see,
And to understand the works of God.

And to choose what He approveth,
And to reject what He hateth:

2 To walk uprightly in all His ways,
And not to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination
And (with) **eyes** (full) of fornication.

and Israelites exactly as in our text. According to Taanith 15 *b* these men had to arrange the proper prayers for the various days in order that the sacrifices might be favourably received. The head of this body was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6). In Taanith 27 *b* it is said that if these duties were not fulfilled heaven and earth would cease to exist (אלמלי מעמדות לא נתקיימו שמים וארץ). Again, in Bikk. iii. 2, these אנשי מעמד, whose chief was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6), are described as having to gather in the firstfruits from the districts under their charge. The country was divided into twenty-four districts, corresponding to the twenty-four orders of the Priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 7–18). The chief city of each such division was called עיר של מעמד. This office existed among the Essenes, amongst whom the *ma'amad* constituted the district authority: see *Jewish Encyc.* v. 230. The *ma'amad* in our text was composed of Priests, Levites and Israelites, as we may fairly assume from the constitution of the party as a whole: cf. xvii. 2, 3, v. 7: it would thus consist of the same elements as the *ma'amad* in Taanith.

the number and exact statement of their periods, i.e. מספר ופרוש קציהם. This is very irregular Hebrew. It is found, however, three times in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. xi. 2; Ezek. xxxi. 16; Dan. i. 4. Perhaps the suffix in קציהם refers, as in Aramaic, to what follows לכל שני עולם. This construction may recur at the end of the verse: cf. also v. 1 *c* note.

exact statement, i.e. פרוש. Cf. פרשה in Esther iv. 7, x. 2. I have rendered the word פרוש variously as 'statement' (vi. 3), 'true interpretation' (ii. 10): פשרו (vi. 10) 'this means' &c.

that . . . have been, i.e. נהיות—referring to the past as in Sir. xlii. 19: so also Lagrange.

moreover whatsoever, i.e. עוד מָה. So I punctuate the text עד מה. Lévi takes it to be the equivalent of the Syriac עדמא.

9. **raised Him up.** See i. 7.

called by name. Cf. vi. 2 note.

to leave a remnant. See i. 4 note.

fill the face of the earth (למלא פני תבל). From Isa. xxvii. 6.

10. **And . . . He shall make them know.** So we must render ויודיעם i.e. וְיוֹדִיעֵם; for according to ix. 10 (B) the Messiah had not come when our author was writing. But the word משיחו may simply = 'His anointed one', in this case Zadok.

His Messiah. Cf. viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4; xviii. 8. See note on i. 7, where it is shown that the Messiah is distinct from 'the teacher of righteousness'.

His holy spirit. Contrast use of the phrase 'holy spirit' in vii. 12, viii. 20. Bacher here proposes to read 'by His holy spirit'.

in the true interpretation of his name. Possibly here the name of the Messiah hinted at may be הצדיק 'the Righteous One'. Cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, liii. 6. As He is הצדיק, they are the הצדיקים as in 1 Enoch xxxviii. 3, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, &c.

their names. Cf. vi. 3.

them He hated He made to go astray. Cf. i. 10.

III. 1. **open your eyes.** Cf. ii. 1.

2. **walk uprightly.** Cf. i. 16 note.

to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination: i. e. לתור במחשבות יצר אשמה. If we take this line with the next, it would suggest that the writer had Num. xv. 39 in his mind לא תתורו אחרי לבבכם ואחרי עיניכם אשר־אתם זנים אחריהם. But our author has changed the construction.

the thoughts of an evil imagination: i. e. מחשבות יצר אשמה. The יצר אשמה is here equivalent to the

3 For many were led astray by them,
And mighty men of valour stumbled by them from of old [and until this day].

4 Because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart the **watchers** of heaven fell.
By **them** were they caught because they kept not the commandment of God.

5 And their children whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars
And whose bodies were like the mountains fell **thereby**.

6 All flesh that was on dry land perished **thereby**,
And they were as though they had not been.

7 Because they did their own will,
And kept not the commandment of their Maker,
Until His wrath was kindled against them.

1 By **them** went astray the sons of Noah and their families:
Because of **them** they were cut off.

יצר הרע. יצר alone has this meaning in Sir. xv. 14 ויתנהו ביד יצרו . . . ברא האדם . . אלהים = 'God created man . . . and put him into the hand of his inclination'. On the two inclinations see T. Asher i. 3 (note on my edition): 2 Baruch, pp. 92–3 (in my edition) and the literature referred to there.

eyes (full) of fornication. Reading עיני for עני with Schechter, who compares Sifre 35 *a* עיניכם זו זנות. We might compare Sir. xxvi. 9 *πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν . . . γνωσθήσεται*, and xxiii. 4; also T. Issach. vii. 2 'I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my eyes' and T. Benj. vi. 3; Prov. vi. 25; 2 Pet. ii. 14 *ὀφθαλμοὺς . . . μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος*. Lévi retains עני and compares Sir. xlii. 8 עונה בזנות and Eccles. i. 13. He renders 'l'attrait de la luxure'.

3. **many were led astray by them.** The 'them' refers apparently to the 'thoughts of the imagination'. We have close parallels to, if not the actual antecedents of, the text in Sir. ix. 8 *ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν* and T. Reub. iv. 7 'Many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be . . . noble . . . he bringeth reproach upon himself': T. Jud. xv. 2 'though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication'.

by them. The MS. reads בם, but both 'thoughts' and 'eyes' are feminine in Hebrew. Hence here and in the next line I emend בם into בהן. On the other hand, as not infrequently in the O.T., the masc. suffix may refer to these feminine substantives: see note on vii. 2, and Gesenius *Heb. Gram.*[2] § 135 *o*. In iii. 4 *b*, iv. 1 *a b* בה should be emended into בהן, or else into בו in all cases. If the latter, the suffix would refer to the evil inclination (i.e. the יצר).

4. The example of the fall of the Watchers through fornication is cited also in the T. Reub. v. 6–7.

walked in the stubbornness of their heart (בלכתם בשרירות לבם). Cf. Jer. xiii. 10, xxiii. 17. Our author is fond of this phrase in various forms. Thus here and in iv. 5, ix. 35 we have the phrase הלך בש״ 'to walk in the stubbornness': in iv. 9 תור אחרי ש״ 'to go about after the stubbornness': in ix. 18 בחר בש״ 'to choose the stubbornness': and in ix. 27 פנה בש״ 'to turn away in the stubbornness'.

watchers: i. e. עירי emended by Schechter from עידי. See 1 Enoch vi–xvi and references.

By them: i. e. בהן (i. e. the thoughts of the evil inclination) emended from בה: or we may emend בה into בו and refer it to יצר. Cf. iv. 8.

kept not the commandment of God. Cf. iii. 7 *b*; iv. 2 *b*.

5. See 1 Enoch x. 9–10; xii–xvi; Jub. v. 9–11.

whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars (אשר כרום ארזים גבהם). From Amos ii. 9, save that our author reads 'loftiness' רום instead of 'height' גֹּבַהּ. On their height see 1 Enoch vii. 2.

thereby. Text reads בי which I have emended into בהן or בו. See *v*. 4.

6. **thereby.** Emended as in last line. Cf. Gen. vii. 22, 23.

they were as though, &c. From Obad. 16: cf. Job x. 19.

7. **did their own will** (or 'pleasure'). (Cf. iv. 10 *a, c*, v. 2 *c*), that is, they followed the evil inclination, or the thoughts of the evil inclination. See iii. 2, note.

did their own will, And kept not the commandment, &c. Cf. iv. 9 *a, b*, and contrast the conduct of Abraham iv. 2 *b, c*.

His wrath was kindled. See i. 17, note.

IV. 1. **By them.** MS. reads בה as in iii. 4 *b*, which I have emended into בהן. In both cases 'the thoughts of the imagination' are referred to. The same emendation is made in the next line. Of course it is possible that for בה we should read בו as in iv. 8, and thus refer directly to the *yeṣer* and not to the 'thoughts' of the *yeṣer* (or 'evil inclination'). Schechter thinks that for בה we should read בדם, and that the sin referred to is the eating of blood, but the whole context is against this.

went astray. Schechter has rightly emended תעי into תעו.

sons of Noah and their families. Cf. Gen. x. 32.

cut off. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 14.

IV. 2–9. *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob walked not after the evil Inclination of the Heart, 2–3; but the Sons of Israel did in Egypt and in the Wilderness and were punished accordingly, 4–9.*

2 Abraham did not walk in **them,**
And he was ⟨recorded⟩ friend because he kept the commandments of God,
And chose not the will of his own spirit.

3 And he delivered (the commandment) to Isaac and Jacob,
And they observed (it) and were recorded as friends of God,
And members of the covenant for ever.

4 The sons of Jacob went astray through them,
And they were punished **according to** their error.

5 And their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart,
So that they took counsel against the commandments of God,
And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

6 [And they eat blood], and He cut off their males in the desert ⟨when He said⟩ to them in Kadesh:
Go up and possess ⟨the land, but they hardened⟩ their spirit:

7 And they hearkened not unto the voice of their Maker
[The commandments of their **Teacher**] but murmured in their tents,
And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation:

8 And their children [perished by it
And their kings] were cut off by it,
And their mighty men perished by it,
And their land was made desolate by it.

9 By it the first that entered into the covenant incurred guilt,
And they were delivered unto the sword,

2. **in them.** MS. reads בה which I have emended into בהן. It could be emended into בו (i.e. 'the evil inclination') as proposed in note on iii. 3.

was⟨ recorded⟩ friend. Cf. Isa. xli. 8; Jub. xix. 9 'friend of God' (note): xxx. 21 'That they should fulfil (the covenant) and be recorded as friends': James ii. 23 *φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη*. The MS. is defective here, reading according to Schechter הב . . . יע, which he reads as יעשה אהב; but comparing 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34, for the use of עלה in the sense of 'to be recorded', we should here, I think, restore the text as follows יע⟨לה א⟩הב. If the ע is uncertain, then we might read יכתב as in *v.* 3 *b*, or יקרא as is implied in James ii. 23.

chose not the will of his own spirit. Contrast *v.* 9 *b*.

3. **recorded as friends.** This phrase occurs in Jub. xxx. 21, where the text implies exactly the same Hebrew as here יכתבו אוהבים.

members of the covenant. For the phrase בעלי ברית see Gen. xiv. 13.

4. **through them.** Read בהן or בו instead of בם. See *v.* 2 note.

according to. Reading לפי with Schechter for לפני.

5. **stubbornness of their heart.** See note on iii. 4.

did that which was right, &c. From Judges xvii. 6: cf. Deut. xii. 8: cf. ix. 17 *a*, *v.* 2 *c*, and contrast *v.* 2 *b*, *c*.

6. The original form of this verse seems wholly lost.

[**And they eat blood**]. I have bracketed this as an interpolation.

eat blood. Cf. 1 Enoch vii. 5; Jub. vi. 9, 12, 13; vii. 28, 29, &c.

⟨when He said⟩ to them . . . ⟨the land, but they hardened⟩ their spirit. I have with Lévi supplied the words in brackets. באמר . . . את הארץ ויקשו from a comparison of Deut. i. 21, 46; Ps. cvi. 33.

7. **and they hearkened . . . Maker** (לא שמעו לקול עשיהם). From Ps. cvi. 25 save for the change of יהוה into עשיהם. It is possible that the choice of the latter divine name is due to the fact that it rhymes with באהליהם in the next line.

the commandments of their Teacher. For יוריהם I read with Lévi מוריהם.

murmured in their tents. From Ps. cvi. 25.

wrath of God was kindled against their congregation. Cf. Ps. cvi. 40.

8. The tristich can be restored by excising 'perished by it and their kings' as an interpolation, or a dittograph of line 3. The reference to 'kings' at this period would be an anachronism.

their land was made desolate by it. From Jer. xii. 11. A strange statement in regard to this period.

9. **By it,** i.e. בו. This must mean the evil inclination as in iii. 4 *b*, iv. 1, &c.

the first that entered into the covenant. The Israelites at Sinai.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

Because they forsook the covenant of God:

10 And they chose their own will,
And went about after the stubbornness of their heart,
Every man doing his own will.

V. *God confirms the Covenant with the faithful through fresh Revelations, 1–3; when Israel transgressed again God forgave them, 4–6; and confirmed His Covenant with them through Ezekiel, 6–7.*

1 But with them that held fast by the commandments of God,
[Who were left of them],
God confirmed the covenant of Israel for ever,
Revealing unto them the hidden things
Wherein all Israel had erred:

2 His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals,
His righteous testimonies and His true ways,
And the desires of His will [the which if a man do, he shall live by them] He opened before them.

3 And they digged a well of many waters:
And he that despises them shall not live.

4 But they wallowed in the transgression of man,
And in the ways of the unclean woman,
And they said that †it belongs to us†.

5 But God **wondrously** pardoned their sins,
And forgave their transgression,

forsook the covenant of God: And they chose their own will. Cf. iii. 7 *ab*.

10. **chose their own will.** Cf. iii. 7 *a*, iv. 2 *c*, 5 *c*, 10 *c*.

went about after. The rare construction תור אחרי which occurs here is found in Num. xv. 39, which we know was in the mind of the author when writing iii. 2 *bc*. See iii. 4 note.

stubbornness of their heart. Cf. iii. 4 note.

Every man doing, &c. See iv. 10 *a* note. Cf. Esther i. 8 'to do according to each man's pleasure'.

V. 1. **that held fast by**, &c., i. e. מחזיקים ב. Cf. ix. 4, 12, 50; Prov. iii. 18; Isa. lvi. 4; T. Naph. iii. 1.

[Who were left of them]: i. e. The Remnant. Cf. i. 4 *b*, note. But it appears to be an interpolation.

the covenant of Israel. I have, with some hesitation, so rendered בריתו לישראל—an Aramaism, such as we find in ii. 8. But לישראל may be a gloss. In that case we should render 'His covenant'. Schechter gives the natural rendering 'His covenant with Israel', but this does not go properly with the preceding line.

the hidden things: i. e. those in the next verse.

2. **His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals**, &c. It is not improbable that the writer refers here to the Book of Jubilees: cf. i. 14 'they shall go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances'. In vi. 33, 34 it is said that, if Israel neglects to observe the right reckoning of the years, 'they will disturb all their seasons . . . and they will neglect their ordinances . . . and . . . the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths'; in vi. 38 'they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons, and sabbaths, and festivals': and in xxiii. 19 'they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months (? 'new moons', i. e. חדשים), and sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgements'.

the which if a man do, &c. Bracketed as an interpolation from Lev. xviii. 5.

opened before them: i. e. פתח לפניהם. Cf. Luke xxiv. 32 *διήνοιγεν . . . τὰς γραφάς*.

3. **digged a well**, studied or rather restudied the Law. See viii. 4–6; ix. 28.

4. **wallowed . . . in the ways of the unclean woman.** Cf. ix. 15 *b*.

transgression of man. Cf. Prov. xxix. 6.

†it belongs to us†, i. e. לנו היא.

5. **wondrously.** The MS. reads ברוי פלאו. Schechter emends the first word into ברוב and renders 'in the abundance of His wonder'. But this gives no sense. I emend the phrase into נִפְלָאוֹת, which gives a possible sense. Or comparing xvi. 1 (נבורות פלאו) it is not improbable that the text read ברחמי פלאו 'by His wondrous mercy'. See text xvi. 2.

pardoned, i. e. כפר בעד. This phrase with God as the subject is derived from 2 Chron. xxx. 18. This subject recurs frequently: cf. ii. 3, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8.

forgave (ויסא לפשעם). Cf. ii. 3, xvi. 2.

transgression: cf. ii. 3.

And He built them a sure house in Israel [the like of which never arose from of old nor until this day].

6 They who hold fast to Him are for the life of eternity,
And all the glory of man is for them;
As God confirmed it to them through Ezekiel the prophet, saying:

7 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of **My** Sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from them, they shall bring near unto Me fat and blood.'

VI. *Migration of the Penitents to Damascus. Sons of Zadok hold office in the end of the Days*, 1–3. *Law to be obeyed and relations with Judah broken off in the Period in which Belial is let loose*, 4–12.

6 1 The priests are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah: and ⟨the
2 Levites are⟩ they who joined them. And the sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel called by
3 the name, that are holding office in the end of the days. Behold the statement of their names according to their generations, and the period of their office, and the number of their afflictions, and the years of their sojournings, and the statement of their works.

4 The **first saints** whom God pardoned,
Both justified the righteous,
And condemned the wicked.

5 And all they who come after them must do according to the interpretation of the Law,
In which the forefathers were instructed
Until the consummation of the period of these years.

6 In accordance with the covenant which God established with the forefathers

built them a sure house (ויבן להם בית נאמן). The phrase is found in 1 Sam. ii. 35, 1 Kings xi. 38. The sure house is the pontifical dynasty of Zadok.

[**the like of which . . . this day**]. An interpolation.

6. **They who hold fast.** For phrase, cf. v. 1 *a*. This line shows that the author believes in a blessed immortality.

7. This verse, which is in prose, is a quotation from Ezek. xliv. 15: והכהנים הלוים בני צדוק אשר שמרו את־משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל מעלי המה יקרבו אלי . . . להקריב לי חלב ודם. The most important divergence in our text from the Massoretic is the insertion of an 'and' before 'the Levites' and an 'and' after them. But the first 'and' our author probably found in his text; for it is attested in the Syriac and Vulgate Versions, though it is absent (and rightly) from the LXX. The second 'and' may be due to our author. Our author reproduces the above quotation as follows: הכהנים והלוים ובני צדוק אשר שמרו את־משמרת מקדשו בתעות בני ישראל מעליהם יגישו לי חלב ודם. Here מקדשו is clearly a clerical error for מקדשי and so I have translated.

VI. 1. **the penitents.** We should here punctuate שבי as שָׁבֵי 'penitents': cf. ii. 3; viii. 6; ix. 24 (A & B). Cf. Isa. i. 27 שביה and lix. 20 שבי פשע ביעקב. It could also be punctuated שִׁבְי 'captivity' with Schechter. But the former seems right. The New Covenant was one of repentance: cf. ix. 15 (B).

Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah. Cf. viii. 6. This migration to Damascus possibly took place somewhere about 170 B.C. See notes on i. 6, viii. 1–10.

and they who joined them; i.e. והנלוים עמהם. These words denote the Levites; for our author carefully distinguishes the Priests and the Levites, xv. 5, 6. The word הנלוים 'who joined' seems to be a play on הלוים 'the Levites' in v. 7. I have restored the words in brackets.

2. The Zadokites are the spiritual successors of the 'penitents', but they were not to be known by this name apparently till 'the end of the days'—long after 176 B.C. in the time of the Teacher of Righteousness. See Introd. § 10. iv.

called by the name. קריאי השם. Cf. ii. 9 'called by name'.

that are holding office (i.e. העמדים). We have elsewhere in our text מעמד = 'office'.

in the end of the days, i.e. באחרית הימים. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Dan. xii. 13.

3. This verse appears to refer to some record or apocalypse no longer existing in the text.

statement of their names (פרוש שמותיהם). See ii. 10 *b*. On this meaning of פרוש see ii. 8.

the period of their office (קץ מעמדם). Cf. ii. 8, where the corresponding phrase is 'years of (their) office'.

4. **The first saints**, i.e. הקדוש⟨ים הרא⟩שונים. This seems the simplest restoration. Lagrange reads הקרישו שנים and renders: 'they sanctified the years when God pardoned them', and takes the words as referring to the first period of the sect—the reign of the Saints. Schechter emends הקודש שונים into הראשונים.

justified, &c. Contrast i. 14.

5–6. They were to act according to a certain interpretation of the law to a certain time limit. God will forgive the followers of Zadok as He forgave the forefathers.

5. **must do**, i.e. לעשות.

In order to pardon their sins,
So shall God make atonement for them.

7 And on the consummation of the period [of the number] of these years
They shall no more join themselves to the house of Judah,
But shall every one stand up against his net.

8 The wall shall have been built,
The boundary been far removed.

9 And during all these years Belial shall be let loose against Israel, as God spake through Isaiah
the prophet, the son of Amos, saying: 'Fear and the pit and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant
10 of the land.' This means the three nets of Belial, concerning which Levi the son of Jacob spake,
11 by which he caught Israel and directed their faces to three kinds of †righteousness†. The first is fornication, the second is the wealth ⟨of wickedness⟩, the third is the pollution of the Sanctuary.

6. **In order to pardon**, &c. Cf. v. 5 note.

7. When the limit of time referred to in *v.* 5 was reached, they should break off relations with Judah and withstand its overtures. I have bracketed 'of the number' as an explanatory gloss on 'of the period' (הקץ). See *v.* 5 *c*.

They shall no more join themselves (אין עוד להשתפח). Cf. Isa. xiv. 1.

8. **The wall shall have been built, The boundary been far removed** (i.e. נבנתה הגדר רחק החוק). These words are derived from Mic. vii. 11 'In one day thy walls shall be built, in that day thy boundary shall be far removed' (יום לבנות גדריך יום ההוא ירחק חק). I have here, as in Micah, rendered חוק by 'boundary', but it may mean 'statute' or 'decree'. If the above rendering is right, then the sense is that the community will at the end of these years of trouble be securely established and its boundaries extended afar.

9. **during all these years.** The words refer apparently to the time of the Antichrist.

Belial shall be let loose. Cf. Jubilees i. 20 'Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people . . . and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them . . . to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness': xv. 33: T. Reub. ii. 2 (*β*). This name for Satan has disappeared from Talmudic literature.

Fear and the pit, &c. Quoted from Isa. xxiv. 17.

10. **This means.** Literally, 'its explanation is'.

the three nets of Belial. According to our author (*v.* 11) these three are: fornication, wealth, and pollution of the Sanctuary. This enumeration is not found elsewhere, so far as I know, but a list of three deadly sins is found several times in Jewish literature. In Jubilees vii. 20 they are fornication, uncleanness and iniquity. 'Owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth' (vii. 21). These words of Jubilees may have been in the mind of St. Paul when he wrote: 'No fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man . . . hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God . . . for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience' (Eph. v. 5–6). According to the Ber. rabba 31, the three causes of the flood were idolatry, incest and murder.

Levi the son of Jacob spake. The words attributed to Levi are not found in the Test. Levi. In ix. 9, however, of that Testament the priests are charged with fornication and pollution of the holy place—two of the deadly sins mentioned here. Further, in *v.* 16 of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an original source of this Testament Isaac warns Levi and his sons against fornication and uncleanness (see my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 229). Finally, in Test. Lev. xiv. 5–6, the priests are accused of stealing the sacrifices, of covetousness, fornication, and profaning the priesthood and polluting the sacrifices, xvi. 1. Cf. also T. Reub. iv. 7, 11, vi. 3; T. Sim. v. 3; T. Jos. vii. 1; Jub. vii. 21, xx. 3, 5, 6, xxiii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, l. 5.

by which he caught Israel and directed their faces (אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם). The agent is here Belial. The phraseology, on the other hand, is in part borrowed, as Schechter observes, from Ezek. xiv. 4, 5, where it is said that God 'catches' Israel. This change of agent is typical in later Judaism. The Hebrew of Ezekiel is: למען תפש את בית ישראל . . . ומכשול עונו ישים נכח פניו.

†righteousness†. The text undoubtedly reads צדק here, but it seems to me to be a slip of a scribe for עולה. Hence read 'wickedness'.

11. The first sin, i.e. fornication, is dealt with in vii. 1–7; in vii. 8–17 the third—the pollution of the Sanctuary. The second is referred to in viii. 12; ix. 14.

wealth (הון). In Test. Lev. xiv. 6 the Sadducean priests are charged with 'covetousness,' i.e. *πλεονεξία*, which in the LXX is the rendering for בֶּצַע. If the text is original, our author, like a fanatic, makes, not the sinful desire, but the object of the desire a sinful thing in itself. In Jubilees xxiii. 21, where the writer is speaking of the Hellenizing priesthood in the time of the early Maccabees, he states that 'they will exalt themselves to deceit and *wealth* (i.e. wealth won by wrong) . . . and they will defile the holy of holies . . . with . . . the corruption of their pollution'. Here unrighteous gain is said to be the object of the priesthood. And so it appears to be in our text. For in viii. 12 we have 'the polluted wealth of wickedness' (הון הרשעה הטמא) and in ix. 14 'the wealth of wickedness'; also in 1 Enoch ciii. 5 'your sinfully acquired wealth', lxiii. 10 'our unrighteous gains', and see Luke xvi. 9 *μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας*. Hence I have restored 'of wickedness' (הרשעה) to the text. Cf. Targ. on Isa. v. 23 ממון דישקר.

12 He that cometh up from this shall be caught by that, and he that escapeth from this shall be caught by that.

VII. 1–7. *The Sin of Fornication. Divorce forbidden.*

7 1 The builders of the wall who walk after law—the law it is which talks, of which He said: Assuredly they shall talk—are caught [by two] by fornication in taking two wives during their life-
2, 3 time. But the fundamental principle of the creation is 'Male and Female created He them.' And
4 they who went into the Ark, 'Two and two went into the Ark.' And as to the prince it is written,
5 'He shall not multiply wives unto himself.' But David read not in the Book of the Law that was sealed, which was in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar and
6 Joshua, and the Elders who served Ashtaroth. And it was hidden ⟨and was not⟩ discovered until
7 Zadok arose: Now they glorified the deeds of David save only the blood of Uriah, and God †abandoned them to him†.

VII. 8–18. *The Sin of polluting the Sanctuary.*

8 And they also pollute the Sanctuary since they separate not according to the Law, and lie with
9 her who sees the blood of her issue. And they take (to wife) each his **brother's** daughter or his

the pollution of the Sanctuary. I have here, of course, followed Schechter's emendation of טמא into טמאת. The profanation of the sanctuary by the priesthood is a very frequent accusation in the O.T. Cf. Zeph. iii. 4 'her priests have polluted the sanctuary': also 1 Sam. ii. 12, 17, 22; Ezek. xxii. 26, xliv. 7, 8, &c.

12. **He that cometh up from this shall be caught** (יתפש) **by that,** &c. Our author returns to Isa. xxiv. 17 from which he had drawn the quotation in *v.* 9. The present words are not a quotation but are based on Isa. xxiv. 18 'He who fleeth (הַנָּס) from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he who cometh up (העוֹלֶה) out of the midst of the pit shall be taken (יִלָּכֵד) in the snare'. These words are reproduced in Jer. xlviii. 44. It will be observed that whereas the participle 'he that cometh up' (העולה) has a fitness in Isaiah as applying to 'the pit' it has lost this fitness in our context.

VII. 1. This verse seems to be directed against the Pharisees and their exposition of the Law. The text seems hopeless בוני החוץ אשר הלכו אחרי צו הצו הוא מטיף אשר אמר הטף יטיפון. החוץ is to be emended into החיץ as in ix. 21, 26 (B). The phrase בוני החיץ 'builders of the wall', is borrowed from Ezek. xiii. 10. It recurs in ix. 21, 26. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ix. 21. Possibly צו is corrupt for שׁוא in both cases. If so, we might translate: 'the builders of the wall who walk after vanity (cf. Hos. v. 11, LXX, Syr.)—the vanity it is which talks of which it is said: &c.' Lévi retains the text and translates: 'Les bâtisseurs de murailles, qui poursuivent çaw (les lois)—et çaw, c'est le bavardage à propos duquel il est dit: "ils ne font que bavarder"—ont été pris dans deux.'

[**by two**], i. e. בשתים a dittograph from the שתי following.

two wives during their lifetime. Schechter is of opinion that the text is 'not only directed against polygamy but also against divorce which certain Jewish sects forbade'. This is probably right though the suffix, i. e. 'their', is masc.—בחייהם—and if taken strictly would refer to the men. But not infrequently in the O.T. the masc. suffix is used in reference to feminine nouns: cf. Ruth iv. 11 שׁתיהם referring to Rachel and Leah: see Gesenius *Gram.* § 135 *o*. But the reference to David in *v.* 7 would imply that we have here to do with polygamy only.

2. **fundamental principle,** i. e. יסוד.

Male and Female, &c. From Gen. i. 27. Cf. Matt. xix. 4; Mark x. 7. As Schechter points out, Aboth d' R. Nathan, p. 5 *a*, uses the same argument against polygamy but does not give the verse.

4. The word for prince here is נשיא, which is used by Ezekiel. Lévi thinks that it is chosen instead of 'king' to belittle the Davidic dynasty.

He shall not multiply, &c. From Deut. xvii. 17.

5. The explanation of David's polygamy.

Joshua. The text has here a dittograph ויהושע ויושע.

served Ashtaroth. Judges ii. 13.

6. **And it was hidden ⟨and was not⟩ discovered.** Here I follow Schechter's emendation of ויטמן נגלה into נגלה ⟨ולא⟩ ויטמן.

Zadok. Some ancient worthy, but who he was cannot be determined.

7. Our author clearly disapproves of the praise of David in 1 Kings xv. 5, which seems to have been in his thoughts.

glorified (or extolled), i. e. יעלו. Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 6 for this use of the verb. It is a Talmudic use also. Schechter emends יעלו into יעלימו, i. e. 'concealed'.

abandoned them to him. Does this mean: abandoned Israel to the sway and example of David?

8. **separate.** Here מבריל must of necessity be changed into מבדלים.

blood of her issue (דם זובה). Cf. Lev. xv. 19. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with similarly profaning the altar and temple, *ἐπάτουν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας, καὶ ἐν ἀφέδρῳ αἵματος ἐμίαινον τὰς θυσίας.* But the charge here is brought against the Pharisees.

9. **brother's.** For אחיהם read אחיהו. There is no need for the two changes made by Schechter.

10 sister's daughter. But Moses said 'Thou shalt not approach thy mother's sister: she is thy
11 mother's near kin'. So the law of intercourse for males is written, and the same law holds for females; and let **not** the daughter of the brother uncover the nakedness of the brother of her father: he is near of kin.

12 They also polluted their holy spirit and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened the mouth
13 against the statutes of the covenant of God, saying: They are not established. But abominations they speak regarding them.

14 They are all 'kindlers of fire
And setters aflame of firebrands':

15 'The webs of spiders' are their weavings
And 'the eggs of cockatrices' are their eggs:

16 He who comes near them shall not be innocent:
He that chooseth them shall be held guilty [unless he was forced].

17 Aforetime God visited their works,
And His wrath was kindled because of their devices.

18 For 'it is a people of no understanding':
'They are a nation void of counsel,'
[Because there is no understanding in them].

19 For aforetime arose Moses and Aaron through the prince of the Lights. But Belial raised Jochanneh and his brother with his evil device when **the former** delivered Israel.

10. **Thou shalt not . . . kin** (i.e. אל אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא). This is a free reproduction of Lev. xviii. 13 ערות אחות אמך לא תגלה כי שאר אמך הוא: cf. Jebam. 55 *ab*.

11. **intercourse**, i.e. הערייה—a Rabbinic term.

let not the daughter of the brother, &c. The text reads ואם 'and if' which I have emended into ואל 'and let not'. This argument that, if a man must not marry his aunt, a woman must not marry her uncle is found among the Caraites, but it is earlier. Similar reasoning is attributed to the Sadducees in Baba Bathra 115 *b*, Megillat Taanith 5.

12. **their holy spirit**, i.e. רוח קדשיהם. Cf. viii. 2 note. Late Hebrew Test. Naph. x. 9 (in my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* p. 227), 'Blessed is he who does not defile the holy spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it to him.' Schechter compares Wertheimer, ii. 14 בתי מדרשות אשרי אדם שלא יטמא רוח אלהים שבקרבו.

They are not established (לא נכונו). This passage is directed against the Pharisees, who by their casuistry set at naught the Law.

14. **all kindlers of fire . . . firebrands** (כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות). These words are drawn from Isa. l. 11 though with a change: כלכם קדחי אש מאזרי זיקות לכו . . . בזיקות בערתם.

15. **The webs of spiders.** From Isa. lix. 4.

the eggs of cockatrices. From Isa. lix. 4.

16. **He that chooseth them.** The text reads the unintelligible כהר ביתו יאשם. Schechter emends the first word into בחרם. Thus we have: 'like a thing accursed shall his house be guilty.' But the parallelism points in a different direction. יאשם 'shall be held guilty' is right; for it corresponds to 'shall not be innocent' in the previous line. We require now a parallel to 'he that cometh near them'—in other words, we expect a participle behind כהר, i.e. בּחֵר. ביתו is there corrupt for בהם. Thus we arrive at the above. Lévi suggests the change of כהר into מהר = 'speedily', and renders 'bientôt sa maison est vouée à la destruction' and is herein followed by Lagrange, but neither this clause nor yet the clause which follows admits readily of the meaning they attach to them.

unless he was forced (כי אם נלחץ). An obvious gloss. The words כי אם that follow are with Schechter to be rejected as a dittograph. Lévi and Lagrange: 'assuredly it will be destroyed' (referring to the 'house').

18. The first line is verbally drawn from Isa. xxvii. 11. The second and third lines are from Deut. xxxii. 28, but the last line, which I have bracketed as a gloss, diverges slightly, i.e. מאשר אין בהם בינה whereas Deut. xxxii. 28 has ואין בהם תבונה.

19. This verse seems to have no connexion either with what precedes or what follows.

prince of the Lights, i.e. שר האורים. This may be the angel Uriel who, according to 1 Enoch, was set over the lights of heaven. Schechter suggests that we should read פנים for אורים. We should then have 'the prince of the Presence' who succoured Moses, against Mastema (i.e. Belial) Jub. xlviii. 2, 9.

Belial, i.e. Satan: cf. ix. 12.

Jochanneh and his brother. These are the two Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres, mentioned in 2 Tim. iii. 8, who withstood Moses, Exod. vii. 11 sq. In Menachoth 85 *a* they are called יוחני וממרא. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2327 sqq.

when the former delivered Israel. The text reads בהושע ישראל את הראשונה. Schechter emends את

VIII. *When the Land was laid desolate God would raise up wise men who would restudy the Law and go in Exile to Damascus*, 1–5; *and according to its Precepts the repentant ones should walk till the Teacher of Righteousness arose* (i.e. after 176 B.C.), 7–10.

8 1 And during the period of the destruction of the land there arose those who removed the landmark
2 and led Israel astray. And the land became desolate because they spake rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses [and also through His holy anointed one], and they prophesied a lie to turn away Israel from God.

3 But God remembered the covenant with the forefathers:
And He raised up from Aaron men of understanding.
And from Israel wise men:

4 And He made them to hearken,
And they digged the well.

5 'A well the princes digged,
The nobles of the people delved it
By the order of the Lawgiver.'

6 The well is the Law, and they who digged it are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called princes.
7, 8 For they sought Him and **His glory** was not turned back in the mouth of one (of them). And the Lawgiver is he who studies the Law, in regard to whom Isaiah said, 'He bringeth forth an instrument

into עת and renders 'when I. was delivered for the first time'. But this would require העת. I emend as follows: בהושיע את ישראל הראשונים. On this order of object and subject, cf. Gen. iv. 15; Joshua xiv. 11; 2 Sam. xviii. 29; Isa. xx. 1, &c. The error arose through the transposition of the את. 'The former' are of course 'Moses and Aaron'. Here Lévi and Lagrange render את הראשונה 'pour la première fois'!

VIII. 1–10. The period here referred to seems to be the same as 'the period of wrath' in i. 5 when evil men arose who rebelled against the commandments of God (*v.* 2). But God raised up men of understanding, who studied the law (4–5) and went forth out of the land of Judah to Damascus (6). In this law and its precepts they should walk till the Teacher of righteousness arose (10). We have already seen (see i. 7 note) that this teacher was raised up 'in the period of the wrath' (i. 5), which began or prevailed about 196 B. C. In *v.* 10 this period is called 'the end of the days'.

1. **the period of the destruction of the land.** See i. 5 and preceding note.
who removed the landmark. Cf. i. 11 note; ix. 13, 49. These wicked leaders may be the Hellenizers if the date is early, or the Pharisees if it is late. Perhaps the same as 'the scornful man' spoken of in i. 10; for he 'talked to Israel lying words and made them go astray' (i. 10; cf. viii. 2, 1) so that they 'should remove the landmark' (i. 11: cf. viii. 1).

2. **the land became desolate,** i. e. through the Syrians.
spake rebellion. Cf. xiv. 5 (i.e. דברו סרה). From Deut. xiii. 6.
and also through His holy anointed one. If these words are genuine they may refer, as Lévi suggests, to Aaron. Moses and Aaron would in this case be conceived as the revealers of God's commands. But since the text reads וגם במשיחו הקודש it would be more natural to translate 'and also through His holy Messiah': cf. ix. 10 (B), 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. See note on i. 7. There is a difficulty with regard to this phrase in ii. 10.

3. **remembered the covenant,** &c. Cf. i. 4 note.
Aaron . . . and Israel. Cf. ix. 10 (B); xv. 4; xviii. 8. Schechter may be right in deducing from this verse (viii. 3) the conclusion that the Zadokite Party 'insisted that the lay element should be represented in all important functions'.
made . . . to hearken. The text reads ישמעם, which with Schechter I have emended into ישמיעם. Bacher retains the text and translates 'assembled them' (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 4).
the well. Cf. v. 3. The well is the Law (*v.* 6).

5. From Num. xxi. 18.
the Lawgiver (i.e. המחוקק). A very narrow definition is given to the Lawgiver in *v.* 8. He is 'a student of the Law'. It is quite in keeping with the absolute autocracy of the Law. The Lawgiver (viii. 8, 9) is in ix. 8 called 'the Star', whose duties are described in the same terms.

6. **the penitents of Israel . . . land of Judah.** Cf. vi. 1.
land of Damascus. Cf. *v.* 15; ix. 5, 28, 37.

7. **His glory.** The text reads הושבה פארתם (= 'their bough was . . . turned back') which I take to be corrupt for הושבה תפארתו = 'His glory was . . . turned back'. This term is used frequently of God in the O.T.

8. **the Lawgiver,** i. e. המחוקק. He appears to have been the founder of the Party at Damascus.
studies the Law, i. e. דורש התורה.
He bringeth forth, &c. From Isa. liv. 16.

9 for his work.' And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well by the precepts in
the which the Lawgiver ordained that they should walk throughout the full period of the **wickedness.**
10 And save them they shall get nothing until there arises the Teacher of Righteousness in the end of
the days.

VIII. 11–20. *Conditions under which they can act as Priests in the Sanctuary.*

11 And none who **have** entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar
but they shall shut the **doors** concerning whom God said,
'O that there was one among you to shut the **doors,**
So that ye might not vainly kindle the fire upon My altar,'

12 Unless they observe to do according to the true meaning of the Law until the period of the
wickedness, and to sever themselves from the children of the pit, and to hold aloof from the
polluted wealth of wickedness under a vow and a curse, and **from** the wealth of the Sanctuary:

9. **in the which.** The text reads במה . . . אשר an obvious corruption for א״ בהם.

period of the wickedness. Cf. *v.* 12. In Ezek. xxi. 30 we have 'the time of the wickedness of the end' (עת עון קץ).

wickedness. The text reads רשיע which I have emended into רשעה. This phrase refers to the kingdom of wickedness (מלכות הרשעה) as opposed to the coming Messianic kingdom.

10. From the founding of the Party till the teacher of righteousness arose, i. e. after 196 B. C., no new teaching or light should be given. See note on viii. 1–10.

until there arises, &c. Cf. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65 for a like idea.

the Teacher of Righteousness, i. e. יורה הצדק. See i. 7 note.

11–20. These verses form one sentence, in which the conditions are given, on the fulfilment of which the priests can administer their office in the Temple.

11. **And none who have entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary,** i. e. וכל אשר הובאו בברית לבלתי בוא אל המקדש. I have here, as Schechter suggests, emended הובאו into באו. As regards the translation, there are two possible ways. I have, with Schechter, given the above rendering, but Lévi, citing Jer. xxxiv. 10 כל השרים . . . אשר באו בברית לשלח איש את עבדו . . . לבלתי עבד בם and 2 Chron. xv. 12, insists that we must connect the words as in these passages. If this is necessary the translation would run: 'And all those who had entered the covenant not to enter the Sanctuary to kindle His altar, and had shut the doors.' But, if we accept Lévi's rendering, the connexion and grammar of the entire passage are destroyed. In order to carry it out, Lévi is obliged to render אם לא as 'because . . . not' (!) in *v.* 12, and to make *vv.* 11–20 a *nominativus pendens*, which does not find a predicate to *v.* 21, and which, when it is resumed in *v.* 21, has quite changed its meaning! Lagrange accepts Lévi's suggestion but avoids rendering אם לא as Lévi has done. He rightly takes these words as meaning 'unless'. But the passage then becomes no more intelligible in his hands. *v.* 11 is a *nom. pendens* which is apparently explained in *v.* 12, which forms the beginning of a long protasis extending from *v.* 12 to *v.* 20, and then ends without an apodosis. He tries to get over these difficulties by suggesting that אם לא forms the beginning of an oath. But there is nothing in the text to suggest such an idea.

Hence I conclude that if the passage is to be construed intelligibly, it is to be taken as I have given it. The apodosis of the sentence comes first in *v.* 11, and the protasis follows in 12–20. For another long sentence where the protasis consists of four verses, see ix. 50–54. No priest of the Zadokite party is to take part in the Temple services (*v.* 11), unless he fulfils the conditions laid down in 12–20. In case the Zadokite priests fulfil these conditions, they are in *v.* 21 given the assurance of an everlasting covenant.

none . . . shall enter, i. e. בל . . . לבלתי בוא. This construction recurs in vi. 5, 7 (*bis*), ix. 2, 12, x. 1, xx. 7.

none . . . shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar. These words refer to the Temple in Jerusalem: cf. *v.* 12 where the wealth of the Sanctuary is spoken of, and i. 3 note.

have entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

doors. Text reads דלתו corrupt for דלתים as also in the quotation that follows.

O that . . . upon My altar. From Mal. i. 10, save that our text omits גם and by a slip puts דלתו for דלתים. That it is the Temple in Jerusalem that our text refers to follows inevitably from this quotation.

12. **observe to do.** Cf. Deut. xii. 1.

until the period of the wickedness, i. e. לקץ הרשע. Perhaps קץ should here have its ordinary meaning of 'end'. Cf. *v.* 9.

children of the pit, בני השחת. Cf. Jub. x. 3, xv. 26, where the phrase denotes those who refuse circumcision. In xvi. 7 it undoubtedly means the uncircumcised. In Ezek. xxx. 24, &c. 'Sheol' or 'the pit' (בור xxxii. 29 or שחת xxviii. 8) is spoken of as the final habitation of the uncircumcised.

to hold aloof . . . under a vow and a curse, i. e. to take a vow to separate themselves and invoke a curse on themselves in case they failed.

to hold aloof, i. e. להנזר. Cf. Num. vi. 2, 5, 12. The form להזיר is found in viii. 18.

the polluted wealth of wickedness. See note on vi. 11.

13 And in respect to robbing the poor of His people,
So that widows may be their spoil,
And they may murder the fatherless:

14 And to make a difference between the clean and the unclean and to make men discern between
15 the holy and the profane: And to observe the Sabbath according to its true meaning and the feasts and the day of the Fast according to the utterances of them who entered into the New
16 Covenant in the land of Damascus: To contribute their holy things according to the true inter-
17 pretation: To love every one his brother as himself, and to strengthen the hand of the poor
18 and the needy and the stranger, and to seek every one the peace of his brother: To hold aloof from harlots according to the law: and that no man should commit a trespass against his next
19 of kin: To rebuke every one his brother according to the commandment, and not to bear a grudge
20 from day to day, and to separate from all the pollutions according to their judgements. And no man

to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary. Can this be a pregnant expression for 'to hold aloof . . . from robbing the wealth, &c.'? If so, we might compare Test. Lev. xiv. 5 'The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion ye shall steal choice portions'. The chief Pharisee of the time of Jannaeus, i. e. Simon ben Shetach, is said to have appropriated to his own use half the offerings of 300 Nazarites. See Schürer[3], i. 279 sq. But the text may mean that the priests of the Party are not to avail themselves of the wealth of the Temple.

from the wealth, &c. Reading מהון instead of בהון. In vi. 11 (see note) evilly-acquired wealth is spoken of. The same charge appears here to be brought against the wealth of the Sanctuary. If this is so, the Sanctuary in question cannot be the sanctuary of the Party; for they would not in any case admit that its (small) wealth was of this nature. Hence the text can only refer to the Temple in Jerusalem.

13. **in respect to robbing . . . the fatherless.** This verse is a quotation from Isa. x. 2 ולגזול משפט עניי עמי להיות אלמנות שללם ואת־יתומים יבזו, but our author omits משפט and changes יבזו into ירצחו, which, as Lévi observes, is drawn from Ps. xciv. 6 ויתומים ירצחו.

in respect to robbing. The text reads לגזול and I have translated accordingly, but this may be corrupt for מגזול = 'from robbing'.

14. This verse is a quotation from Ezek. xxii. 26, save that our author has transposed the two verbs and read: ולהבדיל בין הטמא לטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול. In connecting הבדיל with the first clause he may have been influenced by Lev. xi. 47 which does so.

15. **the day of the Fast**, i. e. the Day of Atonement.

utterances. The text reads מצא which I take to be corrupt for מוֹצָאֵי. But Schechter is possibly right in emending it into מצות = 'command'.

the New Covenant. Cf. ix. 28, 37. See note on ii. 1. The phrase appears to be derived from Jer. xxxi. 31. It was called 'new' because it was a covenant based on repentance, ix. 15 (B) (ברית תשובה). This involved a spiritual transformation, and corresponds to the words in Jer. xxxi. 33 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it'.

the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

16. **contribute**, i. e. להרים.

their holy things (הקדשים). These words may refer to the tithes of the oxen and the sheep. These are mentioned in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6 only, but were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37–39, xii. 44–47, &c.). The literal tithing of the oxen and sheep is maintained in Jub. xxxii. 15 (see my note *in loc.*), but Rabbinic tradition sought to make it out as merely a tithe of the yearly increase.

17. **To love . . . as himself**, i. e. לאהוב איש את אחיהו כמהו. In Lev. xix. 18 we have 'neighbour' instead of 'brother'. The question arises here, who is 'the brother'? In Judaism it was always limited to fellow countrymen, and the context here favours this idea. See the *Test. Twelve Patr.* for the noblest pre-Christian enforcement of this duty: T. Sim. iv. 7; T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6; T. Gad iv. 2, vi. 1, 3, vii. 7; T. Benj. ii. 3, iii. 3, 4.

to strengthen . . . needy (להחזיק ביד עני ואביון). From Ezek. xvi. 49.

seek . . . the peace (לדרוש . . . את שלום). Cf. Deut. xxiii. 6, 7; Jer. xxix. 7.

18. I have transposed the two clauses of this verse.

harlots. For זונות we should perhaps read זנות 'fornication' with Schechter. Cf. iii. 2, vii. 2.

his next of kin (i. e. שאר בשרו). Cf. ix. 17; Lev. xviii. 6, xxv. 49.

19. **rebuke . . . his brother** (להוכיח . . . את אחיהו). The commandment is in Lev. xix. 17 תכיח את אמיתך. Cf. x. 2, 5 of our text.

not to bear a grudge. Cf. ix. 16, x. 1 note.

to separate from all the pollutions. Cf. Ezra vi. 21.

20. **no man shall make abominable his holy spirit**, i.e. לא ישקץ איש את רוח קדשיו. This is clearly a reproduction of Lev. xx. 25 with a change of phrase: לא תשקצו את נפשתיכם 'Ye shall not make your souls abominable'. See our text xiv. 12. Thus the 'spirit' (רוח = πνεῦμα) is for our author identical with the soul (נפש = ψυχή) alike in essence and function as in 1 Enoch xxii. 3, 5 &c. See my *Eschatology*, 195, sq. See vii. 12 note.

shall make abominable (with these) his holy spirit, according as God separated (these) from them.
21 As for all those who walk in these things in the perfection of holiness according to all the ordinances, the covenant of God

Text A.	Text B.
standeth fast unto them to preserve them to a thousand generations.	standeth fast unto them to preserve them for thousands of generations. As it is written, 'Who keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations.'

IX. 1. *The Law as to binding and loosing.*

1 And if they settle in camps according to the order of the land and take wives and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law, and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son'.	And if they settle in camps according to the 9 1 statutes of the land which were from of old and take wives according to the custom of the Law and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son.'

IX. 2–3. *Threatened Judgement on those who rejected the Statutes.*

2 But as for all them that reject . . . when God will bring a visitation upon the land they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when there shall come to pass the word which is written in the words of Isaiah the son of Amos 3 the prophet, who said: 'He will bring upon thee and upon thy people and upon thy father's house days that have ⟨not⟩ come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.'	But as for all them that reject the command- 2 ments and the statutes they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when God will bring a visitation upon the land, when there shall come to pass the word which is written by the hand of Zechariah the prophet: 'O sword, awake 3 against My shepherd and against the man that is My fellow, saith God; smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered, and I will turn Mine hand against the little ones.'

separated (these) from them (להם . . . הבדיל), i. e. separated the unclean things from them. From Lev. xx. 25.

21. **As for all those who walk in these things . . . the covenant of God standeth fast unto them.** These clauses recur in xvi. 12.

perfection of holiness or 'holy perfection' (תמים קדש). Cf. ix. 30, 33.

ordinances. The text reads יסודי or יסורי (= 'disciplinings'), which must be emended as in ix. 1 (A? and B) into יסודים. Cf. xi. 2.

the covenant . . . standeth fast unto them. Cf. xvi. 12. From Ps. lxxxix. 28 בריתי נֶאֱמֶנֶת לו. I have changed נאמנות into נאמנת as in the Psalms.

21. B. **Who keepeth covenant . . . generations.** From Deut. vii. 9. The לאהב and the מצותי are to be read as לאהביו and מצותיו.

IX. 1. **camps.** According to Lévi the name of the Jewish quarter even at the present day in Persia is 'camp', referring to Elkan Adler גנזי פרס, p. 3.

order (or 'regulation' or 'arrangement'), i. e. סרך a Rabbinic word. It recurs in x. 1, xv. 1, 4, xvi. 1, xvii. 1. Observe that in B we have חוקי, but later in this verse it is found both in A and B. סרך is found in *vv.* 29, 30 of the Aramaic Fragments of an original source of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* In the Greek, which is here happily preserved, *τάξις* appears as the equivalent of סרך. Both the Aramaic and Greek Fragments go back to a Hebrew original. See my *Greek Versions of the Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 250. Cf. סרכין = 'administrators' in Dan. vi. 3, 4, &c.

ordinances, i. e. יסודים in B and A (?), which latter could also be read יסורים.

between a man and his wife . . . son. From Num. xxx. 16 save that for 'son' (בנו) the O.T. reads 'daughter' (בתו). We have here a summary reference to the law of binding and loosing, which is more fully treated in xx. 2–12.

2. **will bring a visitation.** This is the visitation through the Messiah: cf. *vv.* 9–10, 12–13.

they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked. I am doubtful as to the rendering here. The text reads להשיב גמול רשעים עליהם. This use of the infinitive is frequent in our text. For the phrase cf. Joel iii. 4, 7.

3. The great difference of the two recensions here is to be observed.

3. A. This verse is quoted from Isa. vii. 17. It recurs in part in xvi. 11—a fact which may support the A recension. For יבוא we must read יביא, and לא must be restored before באו as in xvi. 11 and in the O.T.

that have ⟨not⟩ come . . . Ephraim. These words recur in xvi. 11.

3. B. This verse is quoted from Zech. xiii. 7. Our author has changed יי צבאות into אל.

A

IX. 4–9. *Foundation of the Zadokite Party and its Expectations: the Law, the Prophets, and the Messiah.*

4 When the two houses of Israel separated, [Ephraim departed from Judah, and] all who proved
faithless were delivered to the sword, and those who held fast escaped into the land of the North..
5 As He said, 'And I will cause to go into captivity Siccuth your King and Chiun your images,
6 (the star of your god which ye made for yourselves) **beyond** Damascus.' The books of the
Law are the tabernacle of the King, as He said, 'And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is
7 fallen.' The King is the congregation and Chiun the images are the books of the Prophets, whose
8 words Israel has despised. And the Star is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, as it
is written, 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' The
9 sceptre is the prince of all the congregation.

IX. 10–20. *The Messiah will destroy those who were faithless to the New Covenant: their moral Derelictions through Hellenizing Influences.*

A

10 And when he arises 'he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din'. . . . These **shall** escape during the period of the [first] visitation, but those who proved faithless **shall be** delivered to the sword.

B

And 'they that give heed unto Him are the 10
poor of the flock'. These shall escape during the period of the visitation, but the rest shall be handed over to the sword when the Messiah comes from

4. [**Ephraim . . . and**]. Bracketed as a dittograph from the preceding sentence. So Landauer.
all who proved faithless. Cf. *v.* 10.
those who held fast. See v. 1 note.
land of the North, i.e. Damascus.

5–9. The extraordinary piece of exegesis which we find in these verses has for its object the removal from the Messianic hopes of the expectation of a Messiah descended from David. No kingly but a priestly Messiah is to be looked for.

5. This verse is quoted from Amos v. 26–27, but with a few changes. Two are accidental and owing to copyists. The first of these is the omission of the clause 'the star of your God which ye made for yourselves'. The second is the corruption of מהלאה ל = 'beyond' into מאהלי 'from the tents of'. The entire context of our author requires the former. The words 'beyond Damascus' denote the destination of the captivity—called 'the land of Damascus' in viii. 6, ix. 28, 38. If our author deliberately changed מהלאה ל into מאהלי he would not have done so unless it was of importance to him. That it was not is patent from the fact that no allusion to 'tents' occurs in what follows.

There is, however, one deliberate change of the text of Amos, namely, the substitution of והגליתי 'and I will cause . . . to go into captivity' from *v.* 27 for ונשאתם 'and ye shall carry' in *v.* 26.

6. **tabernacle.** Here סכות 'Siccuth' or 'Saccuth' is read as סכת = 'tabernacle'.
And I will raise up . . . fallen. From Amos ix. 11, save that for אקים our text reads והקימותי.

7. **whose words Israel has despised.** Cf. Test. Lev. xvi. 2 'Ye shall set at naught the words of the prophets'. The meaning may be, as Lévi suggests, that Israel had treated the books of the Prophets as worthless idols.

8. The Star does not symbolize the Messiah, but the religious leader of the party of penitents that went to the land of Damascus. Hence there is no connexion between the idea in our text and in Test. Lev. xviii. 3; Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, where the Star does symbolize the Messiah, and where both passages are based on Num. xxiv. 17. Since the Star is said to 'study the Law' (דרש התורה) and likewise to have gone forth at the head of the penitents to Damascus, he is the same as the Lawgiver in viii. 5, 8, 9.
There shall come forth a star, &c. Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17.

9. The sceptre appears to denote the Messiah: cf. *v.* 10 (B). He is a militant Messiah. This reference to the Messiah is proleptic.

10. **he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din.** Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17. I have here given one of the most likely renderings of שֵׁת.

The two recensions must be used here to supplement each other. A is wanting in a clause at the beginning, which B preserves.

10 A. **shall escape:** reading ימלטו for מלטו, as in 10 B.
the period of the [first] visitation. I have bracketed 'first' (הראשון which should, if correct, be הראשונה) as an interpolation. It is not the first but the second or final visitation that is referred to, as is clear from B.
those who proved faithless. Cf. *v.* 4. Here B has הנשארים 'the rest'.
shall be delivered. Here I emend הסגירו into יסגרו (cf. יסרו in B). The Hophal הסגרו is found in this sense in *v.* 11 (B).

10 B. **they that give heed . . . flock.** This is a quotation from Zech. xi. 11, save that our author has changed אותי = 'Me' into אותו = 'Him'.

A

11 [Lost.]

12 And this also shall be the judgement of all them who have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these ⟨statutes⟩: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand
13 of Belial. This is the day on which God shall visit ⟨as He hath spoken⟩:

'The princes of Judah were ⟨like them that removed the landmark⟩:
Upon them **will I** pour out⟨My⟩wrath⟨like water⟩.'

14 For they are too sick **to be healed**,
And they **have been at the head of** all the rebels.

15 Because they have not turned from the way of traitors,
But have wallowed in the ways of harlots,
And in the wealth of wickedness and (in) revenge.

16 And every man beareth a grudge against his brother,
And every man hateth his neighbour.

17 And they **committed trespass** every man against his next of kin,
And drew near to unchastity:

B

Aaron and Israel: Just as it was during the period 11
of the first visitation, concerning which He spake through Ezekiel 'to set a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh and cry', but the rest were delivered to 'the sword that avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant'. And this also 12
shall be the judgement of all them that have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these statutes: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Belial. This is the day 13
on which God shall visit, as He hath spoken:

'The princes of Judah were like them that remove the landmark:
Upon them will I pour out ⟨My⟩ wrath like water.'

Because they entered into the covenant of 15
repentance
And yet have not turned from the way of traitors:
But have dealt wantonly in the ways of fornication,
In the wealth of wickedness and in revenge.

And every man beareth a grudge against his 16
brother,
And every man hateth his neighbour.

And they **committed trespass** every man against 17
his next of kin,
And drew near to unchastity:

from Aaron and Israel. I have here preferred מִ before both these words in accordance with ix. 29. See note on i. 7.

11. **spake.** By a slip a scribe inserts 'Ezekiel' as the subject of 'spake'.

set a mark . . . cry (i.e. להתות התיו על מצחות נאנחים ונאנקים). From Ezek. ix. 4 והתוית תיו על מצחות האנשים הנאנחים והנאנקים.

that avengeth . . . covenant. Cf. i. 12 *d*.

12. **entered into His covenant.** See ii. 1 note.

will not hold fast. Cf. v. 1 note.

they shall be visited, i.e. לפקדם. This idiomatic construction with the infinitive is frequent in our text. See note on viii. 11.

through the hand of Belial. Belial in later pre-Christian Judaism is simply another name for Satan. One of the three functions assigned to satanic spirits in 1 Enoch is that of the punishment of sinners.

13. **God shall visit.** See *v.* 2 note.

The princes of Judah, &c. From Hos. v. 10. The text of A is defective and corrupt. For עליהם אשפך כמים עברתי it reads אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה. B agrees exactly with the Massoretic Hebrew, save that it reads עברה for עברתי. For the meaning of 'princes of Judah' in our text see viii. 6.

14. In A only and very corrupt. The text runs וידקמום כל מורדים | כי יהלו למרפא, where I propose to read ממרפה and emend the *vox nulla* ידקמום into יקדמו. But the text remains a problem. Lévi suggests וינקם מ 'and He will take vengeance on all the rebels'.

15–19. Breaches by the Princes of Judah of the moral conditions laid down in viii. 11 *a*–19 *c*. Thus contrast ix. 15 *a* with viii. 11 *a*: ix. 15 *c* with viii. 18 *a*: ix. 15 *d* with viii. 12 *c*: ix. 16 *a* with viii. 19 *b*: ix. 16 *b* with viii. 17 *a*: ix. 17 *a* with viii. 18 *b*: ix. 17 *b* with viii. 19 *c*: ix. 18 *b* with viii. 19 *c*.

15 B. **entered into the covenant.** See ii. 1 note.

covenant of repentance, i.e. ברית תשובה. This is the covenant mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 30, 32.

15 A. **wallowed,** i.e. יתגוללו (A). But B reads יתעללו. Either verb does very well. But v. 4 (A) supports the former.

harlots, i.e. זונות (A). B reads זנות which punctuated זְנוּת = 'fornication', and punctuated זוֹנוֹת = 'harlots'. Since we have abstract expressions following, probably we should read 'fornication' here.

wealth of wickedness. See note on this phrase in vi. 11.

16. **beareth a grudge.** Lev. xix. 18. See x. 1 note.

hateth his neighbour. Lev. xix. 17.

17. **committed trespass.** So with Schechter I emend יתעמו (A, B) into ימעלו as in viii. 18, where this

A	B
And **exalted themselves** with a view to wealth and unjust gain, And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.	And they made themselves strong with a view to wealth and unjust gain, And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.
18 And they chose every man the stubbornness of his heart, And they separated not from the people.	And they chose every man the stubbornness of his heart, 18 And they separated not from the people and their sins.
19 And they cast off restraint with a high hand To walk in the way of the wicked, concerning whom God said: 'Their wine is the poison of dragons And the cruel venom of asps.'	And they cast off restraint with a high hand 19 To walk in the ways of the wicked; concerning whom God said: 'Their wine is the poison of dragons And the cruel venom of asps.'
20 The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles and their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.	The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles 20 and their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.

IX. 21–23. *Neither to these things nor to Moses did the Builders of the Wall give heed.*

21 But despite all these things they who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar	But despite all these things they who builded 21 the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar

line recurs. But we might retain יתעלמו and change בשאר into משאר and derive the text from Isa. lviii. 7 and translate 'hid themselves every man from his own flesh'.

exalted themselves with a view to wealth and unjust gain. The text reads †יתנכרו† להון ולבצע where I have emended יתנכרו into יתגבהו or יגבהו (cf. B יתגברו) on the strength of Jub. xxiii. 21, 'They will all exalt themselves with a view to deceit and wealth.' Here the Ethiopic word for 'deceit' is a rendering of *πλεονεξία*, which in turn is a rendering of בצע in Judges v. 19: or of *ἀδικία*, which is similarly a rendering of the same Hebrew word in Prov. xxviii. 16: cf. Ps. ix. 24. בצע is also rendered by *ἀνομία*. Thus our text is clearly dependent on Jub. xxiii. 19, which latter would be better rendered 'they will all exalt themselves with a view to unjust gain and wealth'. In B the verb is יתנברו, 'made themselves strong', which may be right, though it is not the word implied by Jub. xxiii. 21. Its appearance here may be due to *v.* 54 *c* in our text, where it occurs in a good sense.

every man did that which was right, &c. See iv. 5 *c*. Here B reads את איש הישר an obvious transposition of איש את הישר.

18. **chose . . . the stubbornness,** &c. See iii. 4 note. Possibly we should render here 'chose in the stubbornness', but the translation adopted is more likely.

separated not (לא נזרו). This separatist character relates the party so far to the Pharisees. See *v.* 24.

19–20. The degradation of Israel through Hellenizing influences and their punishment at the hand of Javan, i. e. the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria.

19. **cast off restraint,** i. e. יפרעו. Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

Their wine . . . asps. Quoted from Deut. xxxii. 33

חמת תנינים יינם
וראש פתנים אכזר

20. This verse refers to the invasions of Palestine by the successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria. This equation of Greece and Syria points to the early date of our author.

head, i. e. ראש. Our author, as Lagrange recognizes, plays here on the two different meanings of ראש.

Javan. Cf. Daniel viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2.

21. **builded the wall.** Cf. 26; vii. 1.

the wall (חיץ *μεσότοιχον* Eph. ii. 14). What is meant by 'the wall'? Does it mean 'the fence' (i. e. סיג) which the Pharisees, especially the legalistic side, raised about the Law. In Pirke Aboth i. 1 we have the command: עשו סייג לתורה 'make a fence to the Torah'. As Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 134) writes: 'in theory and practice the law required a fence, as a written Torah needs a margin to safeguard the edges of the text.'

But could the Zadokite party object *absolutely* to 'the fence', seeing they adopted it in principle in reference to the Sabbath, xiii. 1, where it is required that in order to avoid profaning it some of the time preceding it should be kept holy? Besides, this party must have adopted, and in fact did adopt, as we know from this work, a number of the traditional halacha. Hence we conclude that it is not to the principle of 'the fence' in itself, but to its abnormal growth in the form of oral tradition, that they objected. That there were

A

22 perceived not— For one who was †perturbed† of spirit and talked lies talked to them— that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation:

23 Nor that Moses said, 'Not for thy righteousness or for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but because He loved thy fathers and because He would keep the oath.'

B

perceived not— For one who †walked in wind 22
and weighed storms†, and talked **lies to man**
⟨talked⟩— . that the wrath of God was kindled
against all His congregation:

Nor that Moses said to Israel, 'Not for thy 23
righteousness nor for the uprightness of thine
heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but
because He loved thy fathers and because He
would keep the oath.'

IX. 24–27. *The Penitents like the Forefathers were loved of God for their Faithfulness to the Covenant, but as He judged the Builders of the Wall, so shall those faithless to the New Covenant be judged.*

24 And such is the case of the penitents of Israel ⟨who⟩ turned aside from the way of the people.
25 Owing to the love of God for the forefathers who stirred up ⟨the people to follow⟩ after Him, He loved them that came after them; for theirs is

Such is the case of the penitents of Israel ⟨who⟩ 24
turned aside from the way of the people. Owing 25
to the love of God for the forefathers who
admonished the people ⟨to follow⟩ after God,
He loved them that came after them, for theirs

ample grounds for their opposition we learn from the words of Shammai, who lived in the first century B.C. This Rabbi said: 'We have two Toroth, the written Torah (תורה שבכתב) and the oral Torah (תורה שבעל פה).' According to the Jer. Peah ii. 6 the latter are the 'more precious', while Rabbi Jochanan in Jer. Berakoth i. 7 declares that 'the words of the Sopherim are . . . more beloved than words of Torah' (see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 14). In Berakh. 8*a*, 13, B. Mez. 33*a*, Chag 10*a* the comparative values of the Torah and the Mishna and Talmud are dealt with, much to the disadvantage of the Torah. In the Aboda Zara 35*a* R. Dimi explained Canticles i. 2 as meaning: 'the words of thy loved ones (i.e. the scholars) are better than the wine of the Law' (דברי דודיך יותר מיינה של תורה). In the late work Aboth R. N., Book i, p. 3, the consciousness of this evil is present to the writer, since it is urged that the fence (גדר) was not to be made excessive lest it should overpower the root or plant it was intended to protect (יותר מן העיקר).

Another fact, i.e. our author's use of חיץ instead of סיג, may point in the same direction. The latter means a fence round something and סוג is 'to fence about', but the former is a partition-wall. Now it is quite possible that our author may have deliberately used חיץ instead of סיג. Thus by naming the fence חיץ the Zadokites implied that the Pharisees did not by this means so much protect the Law against profanation from without as create division among the ranks of the faithful within. We might compare St. Paul's designation of 'circumcision' (*περιτομή*) as mere 'mutilation' (*κατατομή*) in Phil. iii. 2. It is worth noting in this connexion that whereas our author brands the abnormal growth of the oral law with the name 'partition-wall', St. Paul, in Eph. ii. 14, brands the entire Law—written and oral—with the same designation.

daubed it with untempered mortar (טחי תפל). From Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 14, 15, xxii. 28.

22. Owing to a false prophet the builders of the party-wall did not perceive that God's wrath was stirred up against all the congregation. For the phrase, 'wrath of God,' &c., cf. i. 17.

†perturbed† of spirit, i.e. מבוהל רוח (A). B reads הולך רוח; and adds ושקל סופות (*sic*). See Appendix on p. 834 for restored text and rendering.

talked lies (מטיף כוב). So A. In i. 10 we have הטיף מאמרי כוב and in ix. 40 איש הכזב. The text, therefore, is probably sound. B reads מטיף אדם לכזב, where apparently we have a transposition of the preposition as in *v.* 17 above, and also of the nouns. That is, we should read מטיף כוב לאדם. Hence my rendering. It is hard to say whether the להם or the לאדם is the original. See App. on p. 834.

the wrath of God was kindled. See note on i. 17.

23. **Nor that Moses said** (ואשר אמר משה). These words are the object of לא הבינו in *v.* 21. See last lines of Appendix on p. 834.

Not for thy righteousness . . . to inherit these nations. Quoted from Deut. ix. 5, save that our author has changed 'their land' into 'these nations' (הגוים האלה).

but because . . . the oath. From Deut. vii. 8, save that our author has replaced the sacred name יי by the pronoun and changed 'you' into 'your fathers'.

24. See *v.* 18*b*.

the case, i.e. המשפט. God loves 'the penitents of Israel' as He loved the forefathers because they kept the covenant. The 'builders of the wall' had forsaken the covenant by introducing illegitimate changes of the Law.

penitents of Israel. See vi. 1 note.

25. **stirred up.** A reads היעירו (i.e. הֵעִירוּ) and B העידו. The latter reading also gives a good sense 'admonished' or 'exhorted solemnly'. After the verb A is defective and B corrupt. Where A gives merely היעירו אחריו B reads העידו על העם אחרי אל. B supplies part of the missing text but the Hebrew is impossible.

A

26 the covenant of the fathers. But since He hated the builders of the wall His wrath was kindled.

27 And such (will be) the case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

B

is the covenant of the fathers. But God hates 26
and abhors the builders of the wall and His wrath was kindled against them and against all who follow after them. And such (will be) the 27
case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

IX. 28–39. *Excommunication of those who fall away from the New Covenant.*

28 This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi. All the men who entered into the New Covenant in the land of Damascus.

So are all the men who entered into the New 28
Covenant in the land of Damascus and yet turned backward and acted treacherously and departed from the spring of living waters.

B

29 They shall not be reckoned in the assembly of the people, and in its register they shall not be written, from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until there shall arise the
30 Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. And such is the case for all that enter into the congregation
31 of the men of the perfection of holiness. And **as for him who** abhors doing precepts of upright men [he is the man who is melted in the furnace], when his deeds **become known** he shall be expelled from the congregation, as though his lot had not fallen among them that are taught of God.

First of all על cannot stand. Next we might emend העם into בעם and add להלך from a comparison of the last clause in the next verse in B. There God's wrath is kindled against 'all *who follow after them*' (i.e. the builders of the party-wall). In contrast to these the people are exhorted to follow after God in the present verse.

theirs is the covenant of the fathers. Cf. Rom. ix. 3–4 'Israelites whose . . . are the covenants'.

26. God's wrath against and judgement (cf. *v.* 27) on the builders of the party-wall.

since He hated. We must here change בשונאי into בשונאו.

the builders of the wall. See vii. 1 note.

His wrath was kindled, &c. See i. 17 note.

27–28. As was the judgement on those who built the party-wall, so shall be the judgement on those who fall away from the New Covenant.

27. **in the stubbornness,** &c. See iii. 4 note.

28 *a* (A). I do not know what our author refers to.

B. **the New Covenant.** See viii. 15.

in the land of Damascus. Cf. viii. 6, 15, ix. 5, 38.

B. **The spring of living waters,** i.e. the Law. See v. 3 *a*, viii. 6–8.

29. **They shall not be reckoned . . . written.** Quoted from Ezek. xiii. 9 but with some slight changes. לֹא יֵחָשְׁבוּ בסוד עם ובכתבו לֹא יִכָּתְבוּ.

the Unique Teacher. Cf. ix. 39, where again the death of this teacher is referred to. See i. 7 note.

the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. See i. 7 note.

30. **congregation,** i.e. עדה.

the men of the perfection of holiness, i.e. אנשי תמים הקדש. So also in *v.* 33.

perfection of holiness. See *v.* 33, viii. 21.

31. **And as for him who abhors.** The text reads ויקוין, which I have emended into והקין. We have here a *nominativus pendens.*

precepts of upright men, i.e. פקודי ישרים. This is probably a corruption of פקודים ישרים 'upright precepts'.

he is the man . . . furnace, i.e. הוא האיש הנתך בתוך כור. These words are in substance an interpolation from Ezek. xxii. 20. They are wholly foreign to the text. There is no question here of divine and final punishments, but of ecclesiastical.

when . . . become known. The text reads בהופע, which = 'when . . . shine forth', as in *v.* 49. But this meaning is impossible here and in *v.* 33. The word is apparently a corruption of בהודע = 'when . . . become known'. Schechter proposes בהורע = 'deteriorate'. But this is not the point here. The man abhors in thought the precepts, but it is not till his actions become known that judgement can be taken. The clause recurs in *v.* 33.

as though . . . not, i.e. כמו שלא. This is the only instance where we have יש for אשר in our text.

taught of God. In Isa. liv. 13 we have the phrase למודי יי.

B

32 According to his trespass they shall record him as a perverted man until he come back to stand in
33 the office of the men of the perfection of holiness. And when his deeds **become known**, in accordance with the midrash of the Law in which walk the men of the perfection of holiness, no man shall consent (to be) with him in wealth and labour; for all the saints of the Most High have
34 cursed him. And such shall be the case of every one who rejects the first and the last, who have
35 placed idols upon their hearts and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts. They have no share
36 in the House of the Law. With a judgement like unto that of their neighbours who turned away
37 with the scornful men, they shall be judged. For they spake error against the statutes of righteousness, and rejected the covenant and the pledge of faith, which they had affirmed in the land
38 of Damascus; and this is the New Covenant. And there shall not be unto them nor unto their
39 families a share in the House of the Law. And from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until all the men of war were consumed who walked with the man of lies about forty years,
40 [And during this period there shall be kindled the wrath of God against Israel as He said, 'there
41 is no king and no prince' and no judge, and none that rebuketh in righteousness,] Those who
42 repented of transgression ⟨in Jacob⟩ observed the covenant of God. Then they spake each man
43 with his neighbour ⟨to strengthen one⟩ another: 'Let **our** steps hold fast to the way of God.' And God hearkened to their words and heard, and a book of remembrance was written ⟨before Him⟩ for them that feared God ⟨and⟩ that thought upon His name until salvation and righteousness be revealed

32. **record him as a perverted man,** i.e. יזכירוהו אנש מְעָוָת. The text reads אנשי, which is obviously a slip. Schechter, however, retains it and inserting עם after the verb renders 'record him ⟨with⟩ the men of perversion'. How he can explain this Hebrew construction in אנשי מעות I cannot see.

33. **become known.** Emended as in *v.* 31.

midrash, i.e. מדרש. With the expression cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 22 'Midrash of the prophet Iddo', xxiv. 27 'midrash of the Book of Kings'. Midrash in our text means 'right interpretation' probably.

men of the perfection of holiness. See viii. 21 note.

consent, i.e. יֵאוֹת. I supply להיות.

34. **rejects.** See *v.* 27.

the first and the last, i.e. בראשונים ובאחרונים. These appear to be the first recipients of the two covenants—the Law and the New Covenant.

placed idols, &c. In a symbolic sense. Cf. Ezek. xiv. 3, 1 Enoch xcvi. 7.

stubbornness of their hearts. See iii. 4 note.

35. **the House of the Law,** i.e. בית התורה. This clause, which recurs in *v.* 38, appears to be a designation of the Party. The Zadokites are *par excellence* the representatives of the Law. Bacher thinks it designates a school or a place for teaching the Law.

36. **the scornful men.** Cf. i. 10.

37. **spake error** (דברו תועה). The phrase is found in Isa. xxxii. 6.

in the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

the New Covenant. See ii. 1 note.

39. **when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher.** Cf. ix. 29.

the Unique Teacher, i.e. יוריה היחיד. See i. 7 note.

man of lies. See i. 10 note.

40. I have bracketed this verse as an interpolation. Verse 39 is only the protasis of a sentence: the apodosis is to be found in *v.* 41.

the wrath of God, &c. See i. 17 note.

there is no king and no prince (אין מלך ואין שר). From Hos. iii. 4.

no judge . . . in righteousness, i.e. אין שופט ואין מוכיח בצדק—a reminiscence, as Lévi observes, of Isa. xi. 4 ושפט בצדק דלים והוכיח.

41. **Those who repented of transgression,** i.e. שבי פשע. The phrase is from Isa. lix. 20. If we retain *v.* 40, we should translate 'But those who', &c.

in Jacob. So Schechter supplies the lacuna.

42. **Then they spake . . . neighbour** (אז נדברו איש אל רעֵהוּ). From Mal. iii. 16. The letters with dots underneath are uncertain.

⟨to strengthen one⟩ another. So Lévi restores the text, which reads as follows: ל⟨החוי⟩ק אִישׁ אלֹ אחיו. Schechter's transcription of the facsimile here is inaccurate.

our steps hold fast (יתמך צעדנו בדרך אל). For the phrase see Prov. v. 5. I have taken צעדם 'their steps' as corrupt for צעדנו 'our steps'.

43. **And God hearkened . . . name.** From Mal. iii. 16. The words 'before Him' are obliterated in the MS., but there is room for לפניו in the facsimile but not in Schechter's transcript.

be revealed. The MS. reads יגלה and not יעלה as Schechter deciphers.

B

44 for ⟨them that fear God. Then shall ye return and discern⟩ between the righteous and wicked,
45 between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not. And He showeth mercy ⟨unto thousands⟩ of them that **love Him and** keep ⟨His commandments⟩ for a thousand generations.
46, 47 †From the house of Peleg† that have gone out from the holy city. And they trusted in God throughout the period that Israel trespassed and polluted the Sanctuary and returned again to
48 molten images. The people with **few** words shall **all** be judged, each according to his spirit in
49 the counsel of holiness. And as for all those who have broken down the landmark of the Law amongst those who entered into the covenant, when there shall shine forth the glory of God to Israel, they shall be cut off from the midst of the camp, and with all those who do wickedly of Judah in the days of its testing.

IX. 50–54. *The faithful shall confess their sins and be forgiven and blessed.*

50 But all they who hold fast by these judgements in going out and coming in according to the Law, and listen to the voice of the Teacher and confess before God ⟨saying⟩

51 'We have done wickedly, we and our fathers,
Because **we** have walked contrary to the statutes of the covenant,
And true is thy judgement against us:'

52 And (who) lift not the hand against His holy statutes, His righteous judgement, and the testimony
53 of His truth; and are chastised by the first judgements with which the children of men were judged: and give ear to the voice of the Unique Teacher of Righteousness: and reject not the statutes of righteousness when they hear them:

44. From Mal. iii. 18. The words in brackets are obliterated, but יראי אל ושבתם וראיתם בין may be regarded as having stood in the original.

45. ועשה חסד . . . . . לאוהביו ולשמר[ו] ⟨מצותיו⟩ לאלף דור. This verse is a combination of Exod. xx. 6 and Deut. vii. 9. The words 'Showeth mercy unto thousands' are from the former and the rest of the verse from the latter. Cf. Dan. ix. 4. After חסד there is a space for six letters, i.e. for לאלפים = 'unto thousands'.

His commandments. Omitted by the scribe by mistake.

46. Two words have been hopelessly obliterated at the beginning of this verse, which is as a whole unintelligible.

47. The Hebrew of this difficult verse is apparently to be read as follows: וישענו על אל בקין מעל ישראל וטמאו את המקדש ושבו עד אל נסך. If the above rendering is right, the period may be that of Antiochus IV and of the Hellenizing priests before him. Lagrange has seen that נֶסֶךְ is the reading, not נסיך.

48. **with few words . . . all.** The text reads לם . . ברברים מעט. I restore the last two words as follows: מעטים כלם.

49. **the landmark.** The text refers, apparently, to those who had adopted the views of the Pharisees. Cf. i. 11 note.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

who do wickedly of Judah, i.e. מרשיעי יהודה. This phrase might also be rendered 'who dealt wickedly by Judah'. Cf. Dan. xi. 32.

50–53. These four verses form the protasis of the sentence: the apodosis begins with *v.* 54.

51. **Because we have walked.** The text reads בלכתם (= 'because they have walked'), but this is clearly corrupt for בלכתנו, since the verse refers to the first person.

53. **the first judgements.** Temporal judgements.

with which the children of men. The text reads אשר . . . בני אנשי היחיד, where אנשי היחיד may be corrupt for אנשים בהם. The בהם goes, of course, with the אשר. The corruption could easily arise from the presence of מורה צדק in the next clause. But rather היחיד has been wrongly transposed from the following clause, where, as in ix. 29, 39, we should read, not 'the Teacher of Righteousness', but 'the Unique Teacher of Righteousness'. In that case אשר can be taken as 'as to which', or we may emend בני into בהם, but the latter is unnecessary.

Unique. This epithet has been restored from the preceding clause, into which it was wrongly transposed. See the preceding note.

reject. The facsimile reads, so far as I can make it out, ישיבו את not ישיבו אל as Schechter deciphers it. Hence my rendering. The other construction would be difficult to explain.

the statutes of righteousness, i.e. as set forth by the Unique Teacher.

54 They shall rejoice and be glad,
And their heart shall **exult**,
And they shall make themselves strong against all the children of the world,

And God will pardon them
And they shall see His salvation;
For they trust in His holy name.

A

X. 1–6. *A man is not to avenge himself or bear a Grudge.*

1 Every man who puts under the ban a man [amongst men] according to the ordinances of the Gentiles is to be put to death:

2 And as for that which He hath said: 'Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear a grudge against the children of thy people,' every man of those who have entered into the covenant, who brings a charge against his neighbour whom he had not **rebuked** before witnesses, and yet brings it in his fierce wrath or recounts (it) to his elders in order to bring him into contempt, 3 is taking vengeance and bearing a grudge. But naught is written save that, 'He taketh vengeance 4 on His adversaries, and He beareth a grudge against His enemies.' If he held his peace with regard to him from day to day, but in his fierce wrath spake against him in a matter of death, he hath testified against himself because he did not give effect to the commandment of God, Who said to him, 5, 6 'Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour and not bear sin because of him.' As regards the oath, touching that which He said 'Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand', the man who makes (another man) swear in the open field—that is, not in the presence of the judges, or owing to their commands—hath avenged himself with his own hand.

54. **exult**, i.e. the text reads ויעזו which Schechter has rightly emended into ויעלז.
make themselves strong. This verb has already occurred in ix. 17 (B).
God will pardon them. See v. 5*a* note.

X. 1. **Every man**, &c. (כל אדם אשר יחרים אדם מאדם . . . להמית הוא). The construction להמית 'is to be put to death' is found several times in our text. See note on viii. 11. I have bracketed מאדם, i.e. 'amongst men'. But cf. Lev. xxvii. 29 כל חרם אשר יחרם מן האדם . . . מות יומת. This suggests that for יחרים אדם we should read יחרם and translate 'No man who is put under the ban by man', &c.
Schechter thinks that the text contains 'a prohibition against acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Gentiles (ערכאות של גוים), which is also forbidden by Rabbinic law'. But this is very doubtful.
2. **Thou shalt not . . . of thy people**. From Lev. xix. 18. See viii. 19, ix. 16 of our text.
entered into the covenant. Here מבאי is to be read instead of מביאי. See note on ii. 1.
neighbour. The text reads דעהו corrupt for רעהו.
whom he had not rebuked. The text reads אשר לא בהוכח, where the last word is corrupt for הוֹכַח. Or possibly for הוּכַח or נוכח = 'which was not proved'. The text would then refer to slanders.
brings it, i.e. הביאו. Schechter supposes this to be a corruption for הכיהו 'smites him'. But this brings in an idea alien to the context, which deals with a charge brought hastily in anger and unsustained by evidence.
3. From Nahum i. 2, save that the divine name יי is omitted. The implication here is that no consideration is due to an enemy.
4. If a man knew of his neighbour committing a capital offence and yet did not mention it till overtaken by a burst of passion, he should be accounted guilty.
If he held his peace . . . from day to day, i.e. אם החריש לו מיום ליום. The diction here is from Num. xxx. 15.
testified against himself, i.e. ענה בו. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 3 for this construction: there is no need to emend ענה into עונו with Schechter.
5. **Thou shalt surely . . . because of him**. From Lev. xix. 17, save that our author has changed עמיתך into רעיך.
6. **Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand**, i.e. תושיעך ידך לך. The phrase is borrowed from 1 Sam. xxv. 26, 31. This verse in Samuel does not give a command, but this is a small matter in Jewish exegesis.
in the open field (על פני השדה). Cf. Lev. xiv. 7.
in the presence of. The text reads לפנים corruptly for לפני.
owing to their commands. The text reads מאמרם, which can be punctuated as מֵאֲמָרָם = 'owing to their having (so) commanded', or 'owing to their command', but hardly as מַאֲמָרָם 'their word' (Schechter); for this would give no sense here.

X. 7–9. *The law as to lost property.*

7 And as for anything that is lost, should it not be known who has stolen it from the property of the
camp in which the thing has been stolen, its owner shall **proclaim** (it) by the oath of cursing, and
8 whoso hears, if he knows and declares it not, shall be held guilty. As for any restitution made by
him who returns that which has [not] an owner, **he who returns (it)** shall confess to the priest, and
9 ⟨that which was lost⟩ shall be **given back** to him, besides the ram of the guilt-offering **to the priest**
And so everything (that was) lost (and) found and has no owner shall **be given** to the priests; for
he who found it knows not its law. If its owner is not found they shall take charge (of it).

X. 10–17. *The Number of Witnesses necessary in the case of Capital and other Offences. The Character of the Witnesses.*

10 If a man in any matter trespasses against the Law and his neighbour and none but he sees
it, if it be a matter of death, he shall make it known to the Censor in the presence of the
accused in discharging the duty of reproof: and the Censor shall write it down with his own
11 hand: **If** he do it again before **another**, he shall return and make it known to the Censor.

7–9. These verses refer to lost property. *vv.* 7–8 refer to lost property, the owner of which is known: *v.* 9 to lost property, the owner of which is unknown. This is clearly the meaning, though the text is corrupt and needs to be emended.

7. According to Deut. xxii. 1–3 restoration of a lost article was to be made to its owner, if a 'brother' or 'neighbour'. According to the Baba Kamma 113*b* (where there is a long discussion on this and kindred questions) such restoration was not to be made to a Gentile. According to the Rabbis there was in Jerusalem a 'stone of decision' (אבן טוען?) to which the losers and finders of property came, and had its ownership settled (Baba Mez. 28*b*).

And as for anything that is lost, i. e. וכל האובד. According to later Hebrew this could be translated 'and as for any one who loses (anything)'. But the context is in favour of the classical meaning of אבד here. The question first and foremost is that of lost property, not of the losers of it. The latter question necessarily follows. When property is lost, the loser is either known or unknown.

from the property of the camp, i. e. ממאד המחנה. This extraordinary use of this word recurs in xiv. 10. Else I would propose מאדם = 'of the people of the camp'. Lévi feels dissatisfied and suggests מתוך 'from the midst of the camp'.

proclaim, i. e. ישמיע emended from ישביע by Schechter. If we retain the text, render 'shall adjure (the people concerned) by the oath of cursing'.

8. **restitution made by him who returns**, i. e. אשם משיב. I have here emended מושב into משיב, just as a few words later המושב must be changed into המשיב. The phrase להשיב האשם 'to return the compensation' is found in Num. v. 7, 8.

which has [not] an owner. The negative is here an intrusion. The Hebrew is אשר אין בעלים. The אין was inserted by an unintelligent scribe, in the place of a lost לו or לה. Schechter, Lévi, and Lagrange have failed to observe this intrusion and therefore to see the meaning of the text.

⟨that which was lost⟩ . . . to the priest. The MS. reads והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם הכל, which Schechter accepts and translates 'and it shall all belong to him besides the ram of the guilt-offering'. But this is manifestly wrong. The priest in neither case became the owner of the lost property. Where the owner was unknown they were to take charge of it till he was discovered: where the owner was known it was, of course, to be restored to him. The priest's share in such a case was the ram of the guilt-offering. Now in the text it is clear, first of all, that הכל is corrupt for לכהן. Thus we get 'besides the ram of the guilt-offering to the priest'. The preceding words then must refer to the owner of the lost property, but the restoration of the original is doubtful. Possibly we might retain the text והיה לו and translate 'and it (i. e. the lost property) shall become his', i. e. that of the man who lost it. But the property could not well *become* his since it was his already. Accordingly in my translation I have supposed that האובד has fallen out before לבד and emended והיה into ונתן or ושוב. It is also possible that the text ran ונתן לאובד לבד 'and it shall be given back to him that lost it', &c. Lévi emends הכל into הכפורים and Lagrange excises it. But the emendation I have suggested appears to satisfy every requirement.

9. **shall be given.** The text reads והיתה 'shall belong', which I have emended into ונתנה.

10–12. Three witnesses required in the case of a capital offence.

10. **the Censor** (המבקר). This official corresponded to the *ἐπιμελητής* of the Essenes and to the *ἐπίσκοπος* of the Early Christians. See note on xvi. 1.

in the presence of the accused in discharging the duty of reproof, i.e. לעיניו בהוכיח. But the words may be corrupt for לעיני הנוכח 'in the presence of the impeached'.

11. **If he do it.** The text reads עד עשותו, which I have emended into אם יעשהו as at the beginning of the next verse.

another. The text reads אחר, which I have emended into אחר. Cf. *v.* 12.

, 13 If he shall be caught again before **another**, his judgement shall be executed. And if they are two and they witness against him (each) on a different thing the man shall be only excluded from the Purity, provided that they are trustworthy, and that on the day on which they have seen the 14 man they make it known to the Censor. And according to the statute ⟨they shall⟩ accept two 15 trustworthy witnesses, and **not** one to exclude the Purity†. And there shall arise no **witness** before the judges to cause a man to be put to death at his mouth, whose days have not been fulfilled so as 16 to pass over unto those that are numbered ⟨and who is not⟩ a man who fears God. None shall be believed as a witness against his neighbour who transgresses a word of the commandment with a high hand until they are cleansed through repentance.

XI. *Regulations as to the Judges of the Zadokite Party.*

1, 2 And this is the order in reference to the judges of the congregation. (They shall amount) to ten men selected from the congregation according to the time (defined); four of the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six of Israel learned in the Book of †the Hagu† and in the Ordinances of the Covenant, 3 from five and twenty years old even unto sixty years old. But none shall be appointed when he is

13. If only two witnesses appear and their testimony relates to different charges, the man is to undergo a form of excommunication. Yet see *v.* 15.

14. **⟨they shall⟩ accept.** Only the letters בלו or כלו survive. But probably Schechter is right in restoring יקבלו.

and not one. So Lagrange well emends the text ועל אחד into ואל אחד. Cf. Deut. xix. 15.

15. The meaning of this verse is somewhat doubtful. If it refers to a witness it means that a certain age and character were required in a witness.

there shall arise no witness (אל יקום עד). The words are from Deut. xix. 15. For עד the text corruptly reads עוד. But it is possible that עוד should be retained, and the verse understood of the qualification of a judge. 'None, moreover, shall become (יקומו which is possibly the real reading of the MS.) judges to put a man to death at his word whose . . . and who do not fear (ולא יראים instead of ירא) God.' The other rendering is more probable.

at his mouth (על פיהו). Cf. Deut. xvii. 6.

to pass over unto those that are numbered (לעבור על הפקודים). The phrase is from Exod. xxx. 13, 14. It seems here to denote the age at which a man attained his political majority—in other words, was reckoned in the census of the males of the nation.

⟨and who is not⟩ (ולא). Supplied with Schechter.

16. **with a high hand** (ביד רמה). Num. xv. 30.

XI. 1. **order.** See ix. 1.

2. **according to the time (defined)**, i. e. לפי העת. This may mean the period of office or the date of election. Or, again, the phrase might be translated 'according to the circumstances' (Lévi), the number 'ten' not being always necessary.

tribe of Levi and Aaron. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 19 sq. for a like terminology.

the Book of †the Hagu†, i. e. ספר ההגו. Cf. xv. 5, xvii. 5. I have, with some hesitation, marked this phrase as corrupt. It was possibly a secret book of halachic decisions or, at all events, a book the knowledge of which was necessary for the rulers of the Party. Nothing is known of Hagu. It is possible that we have in ההגו a corruption of חגי, i. e. Haggai. Now we know that a number of halachoth are attributed in the Talmud to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as the last three prophets, Naz. 53 *a*, Chull. 137 *a*, just as certain legal decisions were assigned to Moses; nay, more, we know that at times the name of Haggai alone was put forward as the source of certain traditions, Kidd. 43 *a*, and that it was claimed by teachers of later generations that they sat in his actual chair, Jeb. 16 *a*. Certain decisions are traced to him: that it was permissible to bring sacrifices independently of the existence or presence of the Temple, Mid. iii. 1; Zeb. 62 *a* (?) (מקריבין אף על פי שאין בית), Jer. Naz. ii. 7: that the month Adar should be intercalated, Rosh ha-Shanah 19 *b*. Besides these several others are attributed to him. See *Jew. Encyc.* vi. 146.

It is possible, therefore, that a book may have circulated under Haggai's name, which contained traditional lore, seeing that in after times many traditions were said to be derived from Haggai. If there was such a book it is not improbable that it is that referred to in our text. That the book in our text was not the prophetical book of Haggai is clear; for the books of the prophets are freely quoted, whereas the knowledge of this book is committed to the leaders of the Party, and it is probably, therefore, *a secret book containing traditional decisions*: cf. xvii. 5.

Lévi suggests that the book in question was a treatise commencing with the word הגו 'mediate'.

Ordinances (or 'Foundations'), i. e. יסודי. Cf. viii. 21.

from five and twenty years old, &c. This was the age at which the Levites began to serve: cf. Num. viii. 24.

4 sixty years old and upward to judge the congregation. For through the trespasses of man his days were minished, and when the wrath of God was kindled against the inhabitants of the earth, He commanded their intelligence to depart from them before they completed their days.

XII. *Levitical Law as to Bathing.*

12 1 As to being cleansed in water. No man shall wash in water (that is) filthy or insufficient for a
2 man's **bath**. None shall cleanse himself in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient (water) for a **bath**, which an unclean person has touched, its waters shall be unclean like the waters of the vessel.

XIII. 1–11. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

13 1 As to the Sabbath, to observe it according to its law, no man shall do work on the sixth day from the time when the sun's orb in its fullness is still without the gate, for it is He who has said, 'Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy.'

2, 3 And on the Sabbath day no man shall utter a word of folly and vanity. No man shall lend aught
4, 5 to his neighbour. None shall dispute on matters of wealth and gain. None shall speak on matters
6 of work and labour to be done on the following morning. No man shall walk in the field to do the
7 work of his business. On the Sabbath none shall walk outside his city more than †a thousand†

4. **trespasses**, i.e. מעל.
his days. ימיו is to be read instead of ימו.
his days were minished. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 9 'After the Flood (the days of the forefathers) began to grow less . . . by reason of the wickedness of their ways'.
commanded their intelligence to depart from them, &c. אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 11. 'Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age' (? or 'their godlessness').

XII. 1. **insufficient for a man's bath.** The text reads מעוטים מדי †מרעיל† איש. I have emended the impossible מרעיל into מרחץ. Schechter emends into מטביל, and translates מעוטים מדי מטביל איש 'not sufficient for the immersion of a man'. But is this rendering possible?
waters. MS. reads במה corrupt for במי.
2. **every pool . . . in which there is not sufficient water.** According to Yoma 31 *a* the cubical contents of such a pool should be one cubit wide, three cubits long, and one cubit deep—the size of an average human body—שכל גופו עולה בהן. Cf. Lev. xv. 13. See also Erub. 4 *b*, Pes. 109 *a*, Suk. 6 *a*.
for a bath. The text reads מרעיל, which I have emended into מרחץ.
like. ב of the MS. is to be changed into כ.

XIII. 1. This verse deals with the time before and after the Sabbath that should be observed as the Sabbath. Technically it was called the תּוֹסֶפֶת 'addition'. This view is practically enforced in Shabb. 150 *a*, where it is forbidden to carry on work to the very beginning of the Sabbath or renew it at its very close. In Yoma 81 *a* the addition before and after the Day of Atonement is treated of. The object is given in the words מיסיפין מחול על הקדש.
sun's orb, i.e. גלגל השמש. In Talmud גלגל חמה. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4 (= *κύκλος τοῦ ἡλίου*), which postulates this very phrase.
in its fullness . . . gate. That is, the gate where it sets. On the various gates where the sun sets, see 1 Enoch lxxii. The text reads רחוק מן השער מלואו. And the literal translation is: 'is distant from the gate as to its fullness.' This means just before the sun touches the horizon.
Observe the Sabbath . . . holy. From Deut. v. 12.

2. **a word of folly and vanity**, i.e. דבר נבל ורק, where רק, as Lévi has pointed out, is corrupt for ריק. Schechter compares דברי חול, i. e. matters of a secular nature, and refers to Shabb. 150 *a*. The source of the regulation is found in Isa. lviii. 13 'Call the Sabbath a delight . . . not speaking (thine own) words'. Perhaps we should, with Bacher, read הבל וריק as in Isa. xxx. 7.
3. **No man shall lend aught to his neighbour.** אל ישה ברעהו כל. The phraseology is from Deut. xv. 2, but not the sense. According to Shabbath 148 *a* a man might ask wine or oil from his neighbour on the Sabbath, provided he did not say 'lend them to me'. Lévi rightly observes that this prescript is not in place here, and proposes ישיח instead of ישה = 'let no man complain aught of his neighbour'. It is strange that both Schechter and he mistranslate ישה as 'exact a debt'.
5. **on the following morning**, i. e. למשכים. This use of the words is Mishnaic: it occurs in Bikk. iii. 2.
6. **to do.** לעשות. Perhaps we might render 'to prepare' or 'to provide for'. Cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 794 *b*.
of his business. The text reads חפצי, which with Lagrange (cf. xiii. 11) I have changed into חפצו.
7. †**a thousand**†. Here אלף is corrupt for אלפים. Cf. *v.* 14. 2,000 cubits was the limit of a Sabbath day's journey: cf. Erubin iv. 3, v. 7. See Jub. l. 8 note.

8 cubits. No man shall eat on the Sabbath day aught save that which is prepared or perishing ⟨in the
10 field⟩. Nor shall one eat or drink unless in the camp. ⟨If he was⟩ on the way and went down to
11 wash he may drink where he stands, but he shall not draw into any vessel. No man shall send the
son of a stranger to do his business on the Sabbath day.

XIII. 12. *Laws as to unclean Garments.*

12 No man shall put on garments that are filthy or were brought by a Gentile unless they were washed
in water or rubbed with frankincense.

XIII. 13–27. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

14 No man shall **fast** of his own will on the Sabbath. No man shall walk after the animal to pasture
15 it outside his city more than two thousand cubits. None shall lift his hand to smite it with (his) fist.
16 If it be stubborn he shall not remove it out of his house. No man shall carry anything from the
house to the outside or from the outside into the house, and if he be in the vestibule he shall not
17 **carry** anything out of it or **bring** in anything into it. None shall **open** the cover of a vessel that
18 is pasted on the Sabbath. No man shall carry on him spices to go out or come in on the Sabbath.
20 None shall lift up in his **dwelling** house rock or earth. Let not the nursing father take the sucking
21 child to go out or to come in on the Sabbath. No man shall provoke his manservant or his maid-
22 servant or his hireling on the Sabbath. No man shall help an animal in its delivery on the Sabbath
24 day. And if it falls into a pit or ditch, he shall not raise it on the Sabbath. No man shall

8. **save that which is prepared.** See Jub. ii. 29, l. 9 note ; Beza i. 2.

⟨**in the field**⟩ (i. e. בשדה). Only two out of the four letters are to be made out.

10. ⟨**If he was**⟩. We must with Lévi understand אם היה. What follows is at the beginning of a new page in the MS. and there may be a gap here.

he shall not draw into any vessel. The same command is given in Jub. l. 8.

11. Cf. Shabbath 150 *a*, where a man is not allowed to commission his neighbour to do what he might not do himself on the Sabbath. Here of course it is a non-Jew that is referred to.

12. **Gentile.** The text reads גו, which Schechter emends into גוי.

13. **fast.** The text reads יתערב, to which Leszynsky proposes to attach the meaning 'to set an 'erub'. I propose יתענה 'shall afflict himself by fasting', 'shall fast'. It was forbidden to go without food till noon on the Sabbath, Jer. Taan. iii. 11 ; Judith viii. 6. In Jub. l. 12 fasting is strictly forbidden on the Sabbath and feasting enjoined, l. 9–10. It was the duty of every good Israelite to take three or four meals on the Sabbath, Shabb. 117 *b*, and these of the best food procurable, *op. cit.* 118 *b*. Lévi, Bacher, and Kohler propose יתרעב.

14. See *v.* 7.

16. Cf. Jub. ii. 29.

No man shall carry anything, &c. This law is derived from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19. It is enforced in Jub. ii. 29, l. 8. It is also a Rabbinic law: cf. Shabbath vii. 2.

carry . . . bring. Read יוציא and יביא instead of יוצא and יבא respectively. The natural difficulties brought about by this law were got over by the Pharisees by the principle of 'Erub or the merging of several private precincts into one in order to transfer food or vessels to any distance desirable beyond the 2,000 paces, which was called the Sabbath limit (תחום השבת). This regulation is worked out in the Mishnah Tractate Erubin.

the vestibule (or 'entrance'), i. e. מובה, which may be corrupt for the Hebrew מבוא or the late Hebrew מבוי.

17. **open.** For פתח we must read יפתח.

18. This law is found in Shabbath vi. 3 (? 3).

19. **his dwelling house.** The MS. reads בית מושבת. The second word is corrupt for מושבו. The phrase is found in Lev. xxv. 29. Schechter emends מושבת into ביום שבת. If this were the idea then it would be best to restore בשבת as in the next verse.

20. **the nursing father . . . child,** i. e. ישא האומן את היונק. From Num. xi. 12. According to Shabbath xviii. 2, a woman might lead a child out on the Sabbath only on the condition that the child makes certain movements with its feet.

21. **his hireling.** We must change שוכרי into שכירו.

22. This regulation is found in Shabbath xviii. 3 in reference to a feast day—אין מילדין את הבהמה ביום טוב, but it is added that notwithstanding 'they give help' (אבל מסעדין), and then the various kinds of help are enumerated.

23. This regulation has a close parallel in Shabb. 128 *b*, where Rabba Jehuda in the name of Rab says that if an animal falls into a well it is lawful to provide it with food if possible ; but, if not, mattresses and cushions are to be placed under it that it might get out by its own exertions. The implication here is that it might not be raised by human agency from the pit as in our text. Yet other views are advanced. Cf. Beza iii. 4, where it is said that, 'if a firstling fall into a pit . . . a wise man will descend and . . . raise it up.'

25 rest in a place near to the Gentiles on the Sabbath. No man shall suffer himself to be polluted [the
26 Sabbath] for the sake of wealth or gain on the Sabbath. And if any person falls into a place of
27 water or into a place of . . . he shall not bring him up by a ladder or a cord or instrument. No man shall offer anything on the altar on the Sabbath, save the burnt-offering of the Sabbath, for so it is written †' Excepting your Sabbaths '.†

XIV. 1–4. *Levitical Laws as to Uncleanness.*

14 1 No man shall send to the altar burnt-offering or meat-offering or frankincense or wood through the hand of a man (that is) unclean through any of the uncleannesses allowing him to defile the altar, for it is written: ' The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous'
2 is like an offering of delight.' And none of those who enter into the house of worship shall enter
3 when he is unclean even though washed. And when the trumpets of the Congregation sound, it shall be (done) before or after, and they shall not put an end to the whole service: ⟨the Sabbath⟩ is holy.
4 No man shall lie with a woman in the city of the Sanctuary to defile the city of the Sanctuary by their impurity.

XIV. 5. *Law as to Necromancy.*

5 Any man who is ruled by the spirits of Belial and speaks rebellion shall be judged by the judgement of the necromancer and wizard.

Cf. Yoma viii. 6, 7, where it is said that the question of life takes precedence of other questions. The teaching in our text conflicts strongly with Luke xiv. 5.

24. **rest.** ישבית must be changed into ישבות. Schechter notes that a similar law prevailed among the Samaritans and Karaites, comparing Wreschner, p. 14 sq.

25. **suffer himself to be polluted**, i.e. יֵחָל—that is, ritually by contact with the dead (Lev. xxi. 4). In Lev. xxi. 1–4 the exceptions are enumerated in which a man might submit to such defilement. What our text seems to demand is that even in these cases defilement should not be incurred on the Sabbath.

[**the Sabbath**]. A scribe's slip. Schechter would emend יחל into יחלל in order to explain this phrase. But the sense would then be unsatisfactory.

26. If the text is complete as it stands, then its teaching is in conflict with Yoma 84 *b*, where it is distinctly taught that life should be saved on the Sabbath תנו רבנן מפקחין פקוח נפש בשבת. The following instances are given: if a child fall into the sea, it may be saved by means of a net; if into a pit, by a ladder. Apparently the person might be saved if he could be saved without resort to the means just mentioned.

27. This verse is corrupt.

†**Excepting your Sabbaths**†. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 38. The meaning here given to מלבד is found in the LXX and Vulg. Our author attaches quite a different meaning to Lev. xxiii. 38 in his interpretation of it.

XIV. 1. **allowing him**, i.e. להרשותו. Lévi compares Sir. iii. 21 הורשית.

The sacrifice . . . but the prayer. These words are from Prov. xv. 8. The words 'of the righteous . . . of delight' (צדק⟨י⟩ם כמנחת רצון) are a partial paraphrase of the words that follow in Prov. xv. 8 'of the upright is His delight'.

2. **the house of worship**, i.e. אל בית השתחות. Though this phrase is, so far as is known, never applied to a Jewish place of worship, there is no inherent reason why it should not. In Shek. vi. 1 it is stated that thirteen bows or prostrations were made (generally) in the Temple שלש עשרה השתחויות היו במקדש and fourteen by the houses of Gamaliel and Hananiah. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15. Lévi defends it as applied to the Temple, but suggests that possibly the text may be corrupt for אל בית אל להשתחות 'into the house of God to worship'. Bacher takes it as referring to a synagogue. We might compare Zech. xiv. 16, where it is said that all that remain of the Gentiles shall go up to Jerusalem to worship (להשתחות).

though washed (כבוס). Cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19. Schechter inserts בלי before this word and so obtains 'without washing'. Cf. Lev. xv. 10. Probably the latter is right.

3. **Congregation**, i.e. קהל, as in *v.* 6.

4. This verse is not directed against lawful cohabitation, but against carnal union that was accompanied by some ceremonial impurity; for the word for 'impurity' here is נִדָּה. This impurity was due to the menstruation of the woman. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with approaching the altar when stained with this defilement. See note on vii. 8. There is no ground for proposing the violent emendation of it into ביום השבת. We might compare Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1 עיר הקדש.

5. Cf. Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 11.

ruled by the spirits of Belial. For the idea and expression cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 3.

speaks rebellion, i.e. דבר סרה, from Deut. xiii. 6. Cf. our text, viii. 2.

necromancer and wizard, i.e. האוב והידעוני.

XIV. 6. *Law as to the Sabbath.*

6 And he whom he leads astray into profaning the Sabbath and the Feasts shall not be put to death; but it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him; and should he be healed of it, they shall watch him seven years and then he shall come into the Congregation.

XIV. 7–11. *Laws as to Intercourse with the Gentiles.*

7 None shall stretch out his hand to shed the blood of any man from among the Gentiles for the 8 sake of wealth or gain. Nor shall he take aught of their wealth lest they blaspheme, unless by 9 the counsel of the Community of Israel. No man shall sell an animal or bird that is clean to the 10 Gentiles, lest they sacrifice them. Nor shall he sell them aught from his threshing-floor or his 11 winepress for all his property. Nor shall he sell them his manservant or maidservant who entered with him into the covenant of Abraham.

XIV. 12–16. *Laws as to unclean Foods and Causes of Uncleanness.*

12 No man shall make himself abominable with any living creature or creeping thing, by eating of 13 them: **or** of the **defilements** of bees or of any living creature that moveth in the waters. Nor shall 14 fish be eaten unless they were split alive and their blood was shed. But all the locusts after their kind shall come into fire or into water whilst they are still living, for this is the manner of their 15 creation. And all wood and stones and dust which are polluted by the uncleanness of man are

6. **he whom he** (i.e. Belial) **leads astray into profaning,** i.e. כל אשר יתעה לחלל. We have here the case of all but involuntary sins through demonic influence. With the text cf. Isa. xxix. 24 תעי רוח; xxviii. 7. We may also translate: 'he who goes astray so as to profane.'

it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him, i.e. על בני האדם משמרו. For the construction cf. 1 Chron. ix. 27, where we have משמרת.

8. **Community,** i.e. חבור. Cf. the phrase on the coins of the Maccabees חבר היהודים.

9. The Jews were forbidden to sell large cattle or calves, provided they were 'undamaged' (שלמים), to the Gentiles, Abod. Zarah i. 6, on the ground that they might be made to work on the Sabbath, *op. cit.* 15 *a*. It was forbidden to sell hens to Gentiles when it was suspected that they were required for idolatrous worship, 14 *ab*.

10. **for all his property,** i.e. בכל מאדו. That is, when the Gentile would give all that he had for it. See note on x. 7.

11. The Gentile who had become a Jew could not be sold to a Gentile.

12. **No man shall make himself abominable with any . . . creeping thing.** From Lev. xi. 43. See our text, viii. 20.

by eating of them (לאכל מהם). Cf. Lev. xi. 42.

or of the defilements of bees. The text reads מעגלי הדבורים. Since עד follows, it would seem that we have here the idiom עד . . . מן, i.e. 'both . . . and', or in this context 'or . . . or'. Besides, מעגלי is meaningless. Nor is עגלי better. Accordingly, I have emended מעגלי into מגעלי or rather מגאלי. Hence the above rendering. Schechter simply takes מעגלי הד" in the sense of כוורות הד" 'beehives'. But there seems to be no ground for this identification, and even if it were just, it would be of no service; for one does not eat a beehive. Schechter himself suggests here that as the bee was an unclean insect, Bechoroth 7 *b*, the text may refer 'to particles of the bees which are mixed up with the honey', and that 'though Rabbinic Judaism had no scruples in this respect and allowed the honey as it came from the beehives (see Shulchan Aruch, Joreh Deah, § 81) . . . the Karaites . . . insisted on a preparation of the honey (through filtering)'. This suggestion supports the above emendation.

or of any living . . . waters. From Lev. xi. 46 with the change of הרמשת into אשר תרמוש.

13. Schechter thinks that this regulation is 'directed against the Rabbinic opinion permitting the eating of the blood of the fish. See Sifra 39 *a*, and Kerithoth 20 *b*.' The Samaritans 'forbade the eating of fish that died in the water or were found dead on the shore'. Lévi points out that in the Pirke R. Eliezer ix the blood of fish must be shed.

14. In the Pirke R. Eliezer ix (Lévi) it is said that locusts are not created from water. Schechter compares Chullin 27 *b* and deduces from it the conclusion that the mode of killing should be connected with the element out of which the animal was created.

15–16. Our text declares unconditionally that the wood, stones, dust, nails, and pegs in a house are made unclean by the uncleanness of the man. Schechter says that this regulation is in contradiction to the Rabbinic law. But this is only partially true. For according to Kelim xii. 7, unfinished wooden vessels, unless the wood was box, were capable of pollution, and likewise tent-pegs (יתדות המשוחות), *op. cit.* xiv. 3. According to Kelim vi. 1, if three stones were secured together with lime to support a pot on the floor, they were subject to pollution. Similarly with regard to two stones. But if one stone was secured with lime and the other not, it was not subject to pollution. As to whether a nail (מסמר) under certain conditions, Kelim xii. 5, was capable of pollution or not, Rabbi Aqiba and the wise were at variance. But all were agreed that, if a nail was driven in with a view to fastening an object, it was capable of pollution. In short, in place of all this hair-splitting and

16 **polluted like them.** According to their uncleanness shall be unclean he who toucheth them. And every instrument, nail, or peg in the wall which is with the dead in the house shall be unclean, **like** the uncleanness of an instrument of work.

XV. 1–3. *Summary Reference to Laws of Uncleanness.*

15 1 The regulation of the dwellers in the cities of Israel, according to these judgements, that a difference may be made between the unclean and the clean, and to make known ⟨the difference⟩ between the
2 holy and the common. And these statutes are to give instruction so that the whole nation may
3 walk in them according to the Law always. And according to this law shall walk the seed of Israel, and they shall not be cursed.

XV. 4–6. *The Ruler to be a Priest or a Levite.*

4 And this is the regulation of the dwellers ⟨according to which they should⟩ act during the period of the wickedness until there arises the Messiah ⟨from⟩ Aaron and Israel, up to ten men at least,
5 to thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens. And when there arise ten, the man who is a priest learned in the Book of †the Hagu† shall not depart. According to his word shall they all be ruled.
6 And if he is not expert in all these, but a man of the Levites is expert in these, the lot shall be that all those that enter into the camp shall go out and come in according to his word.

XV. 7–8. *Law as to Leprosy.*

7 And if there be a judgement regarding the law of leprosy which is in a man, then the priest shall
8 come and stand in the camp, and the Censor shall instruct him in the true meaning of the law. And (even) if he is lacking in understanding he shall shut him up ; for unto them (i.e. the priests) is the judgement.

XVI. *The Duties of the Censor.*

16 1 And this is the regulation of the Censor of the camp. He shall instruct the many in the works of

endless casuistry, our text simply declares that the uncleanness of a man affects the uncleanness of the objects he touches or is near. It is not certain, however, whether our text implies direct or indirect contact. It is probably the latter. If so, its teaching would agree with that of the Sadducees (as against the Pharisees), who extended the power of pollution from direct to indirect contact, Yad. iv. 7.

15. **are polluted like them.** The text reads לגאולי שמו בהם, which Schechter has emended into יגואלו כמוהם.

16. **like.** For ב we must read כ.

XV. 1. This verse is of the nature of a title and a fresh statement.

regulation. See note on ix. 1.

dwellers in the cities, i.e. מושב עירי. I have here taken the first word in a collective sense: cf. 2 Sam. ix. 12; 1 Kings x. 5, &c. But see *v.* 4, xvi. 9.

according to. פי is to be supplied after על with Schechter.

that a difference . . . between the unclean and the clean. Quoted from Lev. xi. 47.

between the holy and the common. From Lev. x. 10.

2. **to give instruction.** למשכיל is to be emended into להשכיל with Schechter.

always, i.e. עת⟨ועת⟩. So Schechter restores the text.

4. **dwellers** (מושב) or 'settlement' as Schechter renders it. Cf. xv. 1, xvi. 9.

⟨according to which . . .⟩ act. According to Schechter the text runs: . . . . תהל . . . . ., which may, with Lévi and Lagrange, be restored ⟨אשר י⟩תהל⟨כו בו⟩.

the period of the wickedness. See i. 5 note.

the Messiah. See on i. 7.

up to . . . thousands. For עד Lagrange suggests מן and עד in place of ל before אלפים, and so arrives at the rendering, 'from **ten** at least **to** a thousand'.

5. **Book of †the Hagu†.** See xi. 2 note.

According to his word shall they all be ruled, i.e. על פיהו ישקו כולם. This doubtful Hebrew is modelled on the equally doubtful Hebrew in Gen. xli. 40.

6. **shall go out and come in according to his word.** From Num. xxvii. 21.

8. The priest was to act in any case.

A similar law, Schechter points out, is to be found in Neg. iii. 1.

lacking in understanding, i.e. פתי.

XVI. 1. **the Censor,** i.e. המבקר. See x. 10. In Judaism there were officials who went under this name. Their duty was to examine the bodies of the animals brought for sacrifice in order to guard against blemishes. See Keth. 106 *a*; Jer. Bez. ii. 61 *c*.

God, and shall make them understand His wondrous mighty acts, and shall narrate before them the
2 things of the world **since its creation**. And he shall have mercy upon them as a father upon his
3 children, and shall for⟨give⟩ all **that have incurred guilt**. As a shepherd with his flock he shall loose
4 all the bonds of their knots . . . oppressed and crushed in his congregation. And every one who joins his congregation, he shall reckon him according to his works, his understanding, his might, his
5 strength, and his wealth. And they shall record him in his place in accordance with his **position**
6 in a lot of the ⟨camp⟩. No man of the children of the camp shall have power to bring a man into
7 the congregation ⟨without⟩ the word of the Censor of the camp. Nor shall any man of them who have entered into the covenant of God do business ⟨with⟩ the children of **the pit** ⟨un⟩less hand to
8 hand. No man shall do ⟨a thing as buy⟩ing and sell⟨ing⟩ un⟨less he has spoken⟩ to the Censor of the camp, and he shall do ⟨it in the ca⟩mp and not . . . and so to him who casts forth . . . they,
9 and he who is not connected with . . . And this is the settlement of the camps. All . . .
11 shall not succeed to settle in the land. . . . that have not come from the day that Ephraim
12 departed from Judah. And as for all who walk in these the covenant of God standeth fast unto them to save them from all the snares of the pit, for suddenly. . . .

XVII. 1–5. *The four Orders of the Community.*

, 2 And the regulation of the dwellers of all the camps is: They shall be numbered all by their names,
3 the Priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And they shall be recorded by their names one after another, the Priests first, the Levites second, the
4 children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And so they shall be seated and so they shall
5 ask with regard to every matter. And the Priest who numbers the many (shall be) from thirty years old even unto sixty years old, learned in the Book ⟨of the Hagu and⟩ in all the judgements of the Law to direct them according to their judgements.

His wondrous mighty acts, i.e. גבורות פלאו. The text reads the second word as פלאי. On the phrase cf. v. 5.
things, i.e. נהיות. Cf. ii. 7.
since its creation. The text reads בפרתיה 'in detail', which I have emended into מברייתו.

2. **forgive.** The text is imperfect, i.e. . . ויש, which I complete as ישלח, i.e. יסלח: cf. ii. 3, where the noun (סליחות) derived from this verb occurs. See also *v.* 3. This forms a good parallel to 'have mercy' (ירחם) in the preceding clause.
all that have incurred guilt, i.e. כל המחיבים. So I emend כל מדהובם. Perhaps the original was simply כל חובם 'all their guilt'.

3. **As a shepherd does his flock.** From Isa. xl. 11.
loose . . . their knots (יתר כל חרצובות קשריהם).' Cf. 1 Enoch v. 10; Dan. v. 12 משרא קטרין. Also Isa. lviii. 6 (Lévi) חרצבות רשע התר.
oppressed and crushed. Deut. xxviii. 33. These words are in the masc. sing.

5. **position.** The text reads כפי יהותו which I take to be a corruption of כפי היותו, which I find Lévi has already proposed.
of the ⟨camp⟩, i.e. ⟨מחנה⟩ה. So also Lévi.

6. **shall have power**, i.e. ימשול.
without. There is a gap here. Supply בלא.

7. **entered into the covenant of God.** See ii. 1 note.
Nor . . . do business, i.e. the Rabbinic phrase אל ישא ואל יתן. Cf. Shabb. 31 *a*, B. Mezia 48 *a*.
children of the pit. So Laszynsky emends בני השחר 'sons of the morning' into בני השחת. Cf. viii. 12. Schechter proposes בני הנכר as in xiii. 11.

8. **a thing as buying or selling.** So Schechter restores the text דְּבַר למ⟨קח⟩ ולמ⟨מ⟩כר.
him who casts forth, i.e. מְנָרֵשׁ, which could mean also 'common land' if differently pointed.

9. **settlement.** See xv. 4 note.

11. This fragment of Isa. vii. 17 has already been quoted in ix. 3 and with the same divergence from the Massoretic text, i.e. מיום for למיום.

12. **And as for all . . . standeth fast unto them.** These words have already occurred in viii. 21.
suddenly. The following letters ונע are legible, which Lévi would complete as ונענו 'shall be wounded'.

XVII. 5. **the many.** The Hebrew reads אש before these words corruptly for את.
from thirty years . . . sixty years old. These words could be connected with 'the many', i.e. the congregation as a whole, but the next verse is in favour of making them refer to the priest.
learned in the Book ⟨of the Hagu⟩. See note on xi. 2.
learned, i.e. מבונן as in xi. 2.
to direct them, &c. לרברם כמשפטם.

XVII. 6–8. *Duties of the Censor.*

6 And the Censor who is over all the camps shall be from thirty years old even unto fifty years
7 old, a **master** in every counsel of men, and in every tongue . . . According to his word shall come
8 in those who enter the congregation every man in his due order. And as regards any matter on which it shall be incumbent for any man to speak, he shall speak to the Censor in regard to any suit or cause.

XVIII. 1–5. *Almsgiving.*

18 1, 2 And this is the regulation for the many in order to provide for all their needs. The wages of two days every month is the rule. And they shall give it into the hands of the Censor and the
3 judges. From it they shall give . . . and ⟨from⟩ it they shall strengthen the hand of the poor and
4 the needy. And to the aged man who . . . to the vagrant and him ⟨who⟩ was taken captive of
5 a strange people. And to the virgin who has ⟨no dot⟩ ⟨and to him whom⟩ no man careth for: every
6, 7 work . . . and not . . . And this is the explanation of the settlement . . . And this is the
8 explanation of the judgements which . . . ⟨The Messiah from⟩ Aaron and Israel. And He will
9 pardon our sins . . . in money and he shall know . . . punishment six days and who shall
10 speak . . . against Mos⟨es⟩ . . .

XIX. *Laws as to Oaths.*

19 1 . . . ⟨Shall not swe⟩ar either by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, but by the oath ⟨written⟩ in

6. **from thirty years old,** &c. The Levites were to enter on office the thirtieth year according to Num. iv. 3, 23, 30; 1 Chron. xxiii. 3: the twenty-fifth according to Num. viii. 23–26: the twentieth according to Ezra iii. 8; 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.

a master in every counsel, i.e. בעל בכל סוד. Here I have changed the MS. reading בעול into בעל. Lagrange has here anticipated me. Lévi emends into בחון 'expert'.

7. Cf. xvi. 4, 6.

in his due order, i.e. בְּתֹרוֹ. Cf. Esther ii. 12 for the idiom.

8. **suit or cause.** 2 Sam. xv. 4.

XVIII. 1. **the regulation for the many.** סרך הרבים.

to provide for, &c., i.e. להכין כל חפציהם.

2. **two days,** i.e. שני ימים. This is one possible way of reading the MS. according to Schechter. The other, he says, is תרומתן הם. But this, though he translates it, is not possible in itself, nor does it, even if corrected, give any fitting sense.

the rule, i.e. המ⟨שפ⟩ט.

3. **give . . .** The MS. is torn and faded here. Schechter thinks that עם . . . בעד can be made out, and suggests בעד עניים 'for the poor'. But as the phrase עני ואביון occurs immediately after, this is unlikely. Possibly the original was בעד לוים 'on behalf of the Levites'. But the matter is wholly uncertain.

and from it. The text reads מני . ו for וממנו.

strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy, i.e. ממנו יחזיקו ביד עני ואביון. From Ezek. xvi. 49.

4. **the vagrant,** i.e. אשר ינוע. But the reading is doubtful.

to him who. Text reads . . לא, i.e. לא⟨שר⟩.

5. **and to him whom.** ⟨ולאש⟩ר is to be read here; for after the preceding words there is room for four letters. For the clause, see Jer. xxx. 17.

7. **⟨The Messiah from⟩.** See note on i. 7.

8. **And He will make atonement.** Since in the other four passages where atonement is mentioned God is the agent, we conclude that it is so here. See v. 5 note.

9. **money,** i.e. ממון. Cf. Aboth ii. 12 יהי ממון חברך חביב עליך כשלך for the earliest use of this term.

10. **Mos⟨es⟩.** Doubtful. The next line, which is the last of the page in the MS., is lost.

XIX. It is quite uncertain whether this chapter, which begins with the top of the next page, follows immediately on what precedes. One or more folios may be lost.

1. **swear.** There is room for ישבע at the beginning of the line, but only ע remains.

by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, i.e. וגם באלף ולמד וגם באלף ודלת. That is, the first two letters respectively of the divine names, אל of אלהים (Elohim) and אד of אדני (Adonai). The divine names were used freely in oaths by the Jews. In Shebuoth iv. 13 it is said that if a man adjure another by the divine names, Aleph Daleth, Jod-He Shaddai, &c., he is under obligation; but not if he adjures by the terms 'by heaven and earth'. משביע אני עליהם . . . הרי אלו חיבין: בשמים ובארץ הרי אלו פטורין: באלף דלת ביוד הי בשדי . . . בכלן חיב. They were allowed to swear by the Temple, Jerusalem, or their own heads. See Lightfoot on Matt. v. 33–36. The Samaritans, according to Jer. Sanh. 28 *b* (Schechter), were accustomed to use the sacred name of Yahweh in their oaths.

but by the oath. This restrictive clause shows that no form of the divine name was to be used in taking

3 the curses of the covenant. But the Law of Moses he shall not mention, for . . . And if he swears
4 and transgresses he profanes the Name. And if by the curses of the covenant . . . the Judges.
5 And if he transgress he shall be held guilty: but if he confess and make restitution he shall
6 not bear ⟨the penalty⟩ of death. And whosoever in all Israel shall enter into the covenant by a statute for ever, together with their children who are ⟨not of an age⟩ to pass over into the number of those
7 who are enrolled by the oath of the covenant, shall confirm it on their behalf. And this is also the law throughout the entire period of the wickedness for every one who returns from his corrupt
8 way. On the day when he speaks with the Censor of the many they shall enrol him by the oath
9 of the covenant that Moses established with Israel—the covenant to re⟨turn to the Law of M⟩oses . . . with all (his) heart . . . ⟨and with all his⟩ soul: as regards that which there is found
10 to be done †by them† . . . And no man shall make known to him the laws until he stand before the
11 Censor ⟨who⟩ shall **search out** concerning him when he examines him. And when he imposes it upon him to return to the Law of Moses with all his heart and all his soul . . . of him if . . .
12 And every thing that was revealed of the Law with regard to a suit . . . in him . . . the Censor him and shall command him . . . until . . . killed him . . . and the madman and all . . . (*loss of*
14 *five lines*) covenant with you and with the whole of Israel. Therefore the man shall impose it upon himself to return to the Law of Moses; for in it everything is accurately treated.

XX. 1. *Reference to the Book of Jubilees.*

0 1 And as for the exact statement of their periods to **put** Israel **in remembrance in regard to** all these, behold, it is treated accurately in the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks.

an oath. Only the oath of the covenant was allowed. In 2 Enoch xlix. 1–2 swearing by heaven or earth or any other 'created thing' was forbidden. The Essenes forbade all swearing: cf. Jos. *B. I.* ii. 8. 6; Philo ii. 458.

written. So Lévi supplies the lacuna.

2. This seems to mean that a man is not to swear by the Law.

for. There is a loss of ten to twelve letters here.

3. ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם. This verse is a paraphrase of Lev. xix. 12. A false oath is a profanation of the divine name.

4. **covenant.** Schechter proposes to fill up the lacuna by יובא לפני 'shall be brought before'.

5. **he shall be held guilty.** Cf. the concluding words of Lev. v. 2, 3, 4.

confess. Cf. Lev. v. 5.

the penalty. I restore the lost word by עֹנֶשׁ. Cf. Prov. xix. 19.

6. This verse is difficult. The rendering I have given is purely tentative. The text seems to be corrupt. The lacuna is possibly to be supplied as follows: ⟨לא⟩ אשר.

together with their children, i.e. את בניהם. We have only הבא before='he who enters', but this is taken as the plural.

pass over into the number of those who are enrolled, i.e. לעבור על הפקודים. This phrase is from Exod. xxx. 13 or 14. With these words we should perhaps connect 'by the oath of the covenant' as in *v.* 8.

shall confirm it. The text reads יקומו, which is to be emended to יקימו 'shall confirm'.

7. **period of the wickedness.** See i. 5 note.

8. **enrol.** See note on *v.* 6.

—the covenant. The text is grammatically impossible.

9. **to return to the Law of Moses.** The text is to be restored as in *v.* 11 לש⟨וב⟩ ל⟨תורת מ⟩שה.

10. **search out.** The MS. is torn in the middle of the word, which, according to Schechter, looks like יחפוד, and which he emends into יחפוש. So I have rendered. It is worth noting that the two verbs חפשׂ and דרשׁ are combined in Lam. iii. 40.

11. **imposes it upon him,** i.e. יָקִים אותו עליו. Cf. Esther ix. 21, 31. It could also be reflexive: i.e. 'imposes it upon himself'. Cf. Esther ix. 27, 31.

to return to the Law of Moses. Cf. *v.* 14, xx. 2.

12. **a suit.** Cf. xvii. 8. Of the next two lines only odd words survive, and the remaining eight (?) lines are wholly lost.

14. **impose it upon himself.** Here I emend יקום into יקים and נפשך into נפשו. See *v.* 11 note.

to return to the Law, &c. See *v.* 11.

accurately treated. i.e. מדוקדק. A Talmudic term.

XX. **the exact statement of their periods.** This phrase has already occurred in ii. 8.

to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all these. The text reads לעורן יש"מ כל אלה which I have emended into להזכיר יש"ב כל אלה.

the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks. This appears to be the Book of Jubilees, though, among the many titles under which this book was known, this title nowhere appears. (See my edition, p. xiv sq.) It recalls the Prologue to this book, which runs: 'This is the

XX. 2–12. *Laws as to Oaths and Vows.*

2 And on the day on which the man imposes it upon himself to return to the law of Moses the
3 angel of Mastema will depart from him if he make good his word. Therefore Abraham was
4 circumcised on the day of his knowing it. As to what he said, 'That which is gone forth from
5 thy lips thou shalt keep' to make it good—No binding oath, which a man imposes upon himself
with a view to perform a commandment of the law, shall he **cancel** even at the risk of death.
6 Nothing which a man ⟨imposes⟩ upon himself with a view to ⟨frustrate the la⟩w shall he make
7 good even at the risk of death. ⟨As for⟩ the oath of the woman, whose oath Mos⟨es sa⟩id should
8 be disallowed, no man shall disallow an oath which no man knew. It is to be confirmed. And
whether it be to disallow or to transgress the covenant, he shall disallow it and not confirm it.
9 And so is also the law for her father. As to the law of the of⟨fer⟩ings no man shall vow anything
10 for the altar under compulsion. Nor shall the ⟨pr⟩iests take anything from the Israelites . . .
11 ⟨Nor⟩ shall a man dedicate the food . . . this is what he said, 'They hunt every man his brother
12 with a net.' Nor shall de⟨vote⟩ . . . of all . . . his possession . . . holy . . . shall be punished
he . . . who takes a vow . . . to the judge . . .

history of the division of the days . . . of the events of the years, of their weeks, of their jubilees.' Here, as in our text, 'the weeks' are 'weeks of years'.

2. **imposes it upon,** &c. See xix. 11, 14. The text reads יקום here, which may be right, i.e. 'stand upon himself to return to'. But it may be best to read יקים.

angel of Mastema. Cf. Jubilees x. 8, xi. 5, 11, xviii. 9, &c.

4. **That which is gone forth,** &c. Quoted from Deut. xxiii. 24.

5. **binding oath,** i.e. שבועת אסר. This phrase is from Num. xxx. 13.

cancel. The text יפדהו 'redeem' is emended into יפרהו as Schechter suggests.

risk of death, i.e, מחיר מות.

6. **imposeth,** i.e. יקים of which only the מ survives.

to frustrate the law, i.e. ל⟨הפר התו⟩רה.

7. **⟨As for⟩.** We may supply על here as in *v.* 9 and xiii. 1.

Moses said, i.e. אמ⟨ר מ⟩שה.

should be disallowed. Cf. Num. xxx. 6–9.

which no man knew, i.e. אשר לא ⟨יי⟩דע⟨נה א⟩דם.

It is to be confirmed. i.e. להקים הוא. Cf. viii. 12 on this construction.

8. The same rule holds with regard to the law and the covenant.

9. **offerings,** i.e. ה⟨נדב⟩ות.

under compulsion. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7 'Not grudgingly nor of necessity'.

10. **the priests,** i.e. ⟨הכ⟩הנים.

11. **They hunt every . . . net.** The text reads איש את ע . דו . . . דו חרם, which is to be restored in accordance with Micah vii. 2 איש את אחיהו יצודו חרם.

12. The fragments here translated are all that survive of eight (?) lines of the MS.

APPENDIX ON IX. 22 *a*.

This clause is clearly derived from Mic. ii. 11 והיה מטיף העם הזה . . . לו איש הלך רוח ושקר כזב. Our author says that the Pharisees heed neither the facts of the present as to God's wrath against the nation nor the words of Moses in the past owing to a false prophet. The clause referring to this false prophet is corrupt both in A and B, but by a comparison of the two we can in some measure recover the original. A and B are as follows—*the words dependent on Micah, whether corrupt or not, being underlined*—

A מבוהל רוח ומטף כזב הטיף להם

B הולך רוח ושקל [~~מופת~~ סופות] ומטיף אדם לכזב

Here מבוהל in A is a wrong emendation of הולך which B has preserved. Next, שקל in B is corrupt for שקר as in Mic. ii. 11. But the corruption שקל led to the addition of סופות in order to give some meaning to שקל. מופת is a dittograph of סופות. Again, כזב as object of מטיף in A seems right and not לכזב. Further, אדם cannot be right, whereas להם can stand. Hence we would restore as follows:

הולף רוח ושקר ומטיף כזב הטיף להם

and translate: 'For one who walked in the spirit of falsehood and talked lies talked to them.'

Of course, it would be possible to translate בכל אלה, which I have rendered 'despite all these things', as meaning 'all these things', and render thus: 'But all these things they . . . perceived not . . . (i.e.) that the wrath of God . . . Nor that Moses said . . .'

INDEX TO VOLS. I AND II

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN THE INDEX

THE references are to chapter and verse in the case of references to the Text, to the chapter and verse under which the note is given in the case of references to the notes, and to sections in the case of references to the Introductions to the various books.

§ prefixed to a number indicates that the reference is to a section in the Introduction to the Book in question.

† prefixed to a word or name indicates a corrupt reading.

		VOL.	PAGES
A. & E.	Books of Adam and Eve	II	123–154
Add. Esth.	Additions to Esther	I	665–684
Ah.	Aḥiḳar	II	715–784
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses (text given in Books of Adam and Eve)	II	138–154
Arist.	Letter of Aristeas	II	83–122
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses	II	407–424
Azar.	Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Children	I	625–637
1 Bar.	First Book of Baruch, Apocryphal Baruch	I	569–595
2 Bar.	Second Book of Baruch, Apocalypse (Syriac) of Baruch	II	470–526
3 Bar.	Third Book of Baruch	II	527–541
Bel	Bel and the Dragon	I	652–664
1 En.	First Book of Enoch, Ethiopian Enoch	II	163–281
2 En.	Second Book of Enoch, Slavonic Enoch	II	425–469
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy	I	596–611
1 Esd.	First Book of Esdras	I	1–58
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra	II	542–624
Jub.	Book of Jubilees	II	1–82
Judith	Judith	I	242–267
1 Macc.	First Book of Maccabees	I	59–124
2 Macc.	Second ,, ,,	I	125–154
3 Macc.	Third ,, ,,	I	155–173
4 Macc.	Fourth ,, ,,	II	653–685
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah	II	155–162
P. A.	Pirkē Aboth, or Sayings of the Fathers	II	686–714
P. Man.	Prayer of Manasses	I	612–624
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon	II	625–652
S. A. & E.	Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae. *See* A. & E.	II	134–136
Sib.	Sibylline Oracles (Jewish)	II	368–406
Sir.	Sirach or Ecclesiasticus	I	268–517
Sus.	Susanna	I	638–651
Test.	Testaments	II	282–360
T. A.	Testament of Asher	II	342–345
T. B.	,, ,, Benjamin	II	354–360
T. D.	,, ,, Dan	II	332–335
T. G.	,, ,, Gad	II	339–342
T. Iss.	,, ,, Issachar	II	325–328
T. Jos.	,, ,, Joseph	II	346–354
T. Jud.	,, ,, Judah	II	315–325
T. L.	,, ,, Levi	II	304–315
T. N.	,, ,, Naphtali	II	335–339
T. R.	,, ,, Reuben	II	296–300
T. S.	,, ,, Simeon	II	300–303
T. Z.	,, ,, Zebulun	II	328–332
Test. *App.* I	First Appendix to the Testaments, i.e. Late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, containing Fragments of the Original Testament	II	361–363
Test. *App.* II	Second Appendix to the Testaments, i.e. Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an Original Source of the Testament of Levi and the Book of Jubilees	II	364–367
Tob.	Tobit	I	174–241
Wisd.	Book of Wisdom	I	518–568
Zad.	Zadokite Fragments	II	785–834

INDEX

Aaron, 1Esd. 8[2] Sir. 45[6–22,25] Wisd. 18[21] 1En. 89[18,31,37] 2Bar. 59[1] 4Macc. 7[12] P.A. 1[12] Zad. 8[3]; glory of, Sir. 45[20]; seed of, 1Macc. 7[14]; son of, 4Macc. 7[12]; sons of, 1Esd. 1[13,14] 5[5] Tob. 1[7(8)] Sir. 50[13,16].

— and Israel, judges from, Zad. 11[1,2]; Messiah from, 9[10] (B) [29](B) 15[4] 18[8]; religious revival from, 1[5] 8[3]. *See* Messiah, Zadokite Party.

— Levi and, Zad. 11[2]; cf. 15[6]. *See* Levi.

— Moses and, arose through Prince of Lights, Zad. 7[19].

Ab. the month, Ah. 3[9,11] (Syr.).

Abadias, 1Esd. 8[35].

Abal, Bel. 2.

Abba Shaul, P.A. 2[11].

Abdera, Arist. 31.

Abel, Jub. 4[1,2,4,7,31] A. & E. 22[3,4,5] 23[1,2] 48[4,6] Apoc. Mos. 1[3] 2[2] 3[1,3] 40[3] 43[1] 1En. 22[6,7] 85[3,4,6] T.Iss. 5[4] T.B. 7[4] 4Macc. 18[11].

Abel-Maul, T.L. 2[3,5(β)].

Abelsjail, 1En. 13[9].

Abestan, wife of Ahikar, Ah. 4[6,8,12,16] 6[3,6] (Arm.). *See* Eshfagni.

Abhorred. *See* Nations.

Abietes, Arist. 50.

Abikam, feigned name of Ahikar, Ah. 6[9,10] (Arm.) 6[9,10,11,12,13] (Syr.) 6[12,14,15–24] (Arab.).

Abila, T.L. 6[1].

Abimelech, Jub. 24[8,13,17,26].

Abimelech, 3Bar. *Prol.* 2.

Abiram, 4Macc. 2[17]. *See* Dathan.

Abisue, 1Esd. 8[2].

Abodes, God's four on earth, = Garden of East; Mount of East; Mount Sinai; Mount Zion, Jub. 4[26].

Abomination, Sir. 13[20] 15[13] 19[23]; of desolation set up on the altar, 1Macc. 1[54]*n.*; pulled down, 6[7].

Abominations, Sir. 27[30] 49[2] P. Man. 10.

Abraeus, Arist. 48.

Abraham, 1Macc. 2[52] 12[21] 2Macc. 1[2] Tob. 4[12] 14[7] Judith 8[28] Sir. 44[19–21] 51[12 x] Wisd. 10[5] 1Bar. 2[34] Azar. 12, Add. Esth. C[8,30] Jub. 1[7] 6[18,19] 15[7,11,15,17,18,22–24,26,30] 16[1,2,7,10,13–15,30] 17[1,2,4–6,8,15–17] 18[1,10,12–14,17] 19[1,3,8,10,11,16,16] 20[1] 21[1] 22[1,4,5,16,23,26] 23[2–7,9,10] 24[1,2,10,18,22,23] 25[5,7,17] 26[24] 27[11,22] 29[4,16,17,19] 31[5,7,25,32] 32[22,23] 33[21] 35[14] 36[1–3,6,12,20] 39[6] 41[28] 44[5] 45[3,15] 48[8] 1En. 89[10] 93[5] T.L. 6[9] 8[15] 9[12] 15[4] 18[6,14] 19[5] T.Jud. 17[5(α)] 25[1] T.D. 7[2] T.N. 1[10] T.A. 7[7] T. Jos. 6[7] T.B. 1[2] 10[4,8] Test. *App.* I 8[3,6] 9[5] 10[2] II 11, 17, 22, 57 Ass. Mos. 3[9] 2Bar. 4[4] 57[1] 4Ez. 6[8] 7[106] Ps.Sol. 9[17] 18[4] 4Macc. 7[19] 9[21] 13[17] 14[20] 15[28] 16[20,25] 17[6] 18[1,21,23] P.A. 3[16] 5[3,4,9,22] 6[11] Zad. 4[2,3] 20[3]; beloved of God, Azar. 12; burns idols, Jub. 12[12]; chose not his own will, Zad. 4[2]; chose the Lord for his God, and kept holy Hebrew language, Test. *App.* I 8[3,6]; circumcised on day he knew the Law, Zad. 20[3]; death of, Jub. 23[1–8]; delivered the commandment to Isaac and Jacob, Zad. 4[3]; dying commands of, Jub. 21 *n.* T.L. 9[12] Test. *App.* II. 16, 17; faithful in temptation, 1Macc. 2[52]; great exploits of, Jub. 11[19–23]; house of, Jub. 22[24]; judgement of, Jub. 41[28]; last words to, and blessing of, Jacob, Jub. 22[10–30]; learns Hebrew, Jub. 12[25–27]; loves Jacob more than Esau, Jub. 19[15–30]; = plant of righteous judgement, 1En. 93[5]; prayers of, Jub. 11[17] 12[13–21] 22[5–9]; recorded friend (of God), Zad. 4[2]; resisted the evil inclination, Zad. 4[2–3]; seed of, Ps. Sol. 9[17] 18[4]; Shield of, i.e. God, Sir. 51[12x]; sons of, 4Macc. 6[17,22] 18[23]; Spartans of stock of, 1Macc. 12[21]; tower of, Jub. 29[16,17,19] 36[20]; trials of, Jub. 17[17,18]—ten, 19[8] P.A. 5[4]; = white bull, 1En. 89[10]; words of, Jub. 25[5] 39[6]. *See* Abram.

Abraham, an elder, Arist. 49.

Abram, Terah's uncle, Jub. 11[14].

Abram = Abraham, Terah's son, Jub. 11[15,18–20,23,24] 12[1,9,12,15,16] 13[1,11,13–16,19,21,23–25,28,29] 14[1,12,13,18,20–24] 15[1,3,7]; name changed to Abraham, 15[7].

Absalom. *See* Jonathan.

— *See* Mattathias.

— envoy of Maccabaeans, 2Macc. 11[17] ? cf. 1Macc. 13[11].

'Absolution' pronounced by priest, Sir. 50[21]*n.*

Abstinence from wine and flesh, T.Jud. 15[4] T.Iss. 7[3].

Abtalion, P.A. 1[10,11].

Abu Samik, the executioner, Ah. 4[9] 5[8–10] 7[24,25] (Arab.). *See* Ibn Samik, Nabusemakh, &c.

Abubus. *See* Ptolemy, son of A.

Abusmaq, the executioner, Ah. 4[6,9,11,12] 5[8,9,10] 7[7] (Arm.). *See* Nabusemakh, Nabušumiškun.

Abydos, Sib. 5[86].

Abyrus, river, 3Bar. 4[7].

Abyss, the, Sir. 24[5]*n.* 2En. 28[3] 2Bar. 59[5].

— or depths, dried by the look of God, 4Ez. 8[23]*n.*

Abyss, in 1En.—21[7]; of complete condemnation, 1En. 54[5]; of fire, 1En. 10[13] 18[11] 21[7] 54[5] 90[23–26]; of the earth, 1En. 88[3]; a great, = place of destruction for the earth, 1 En. 83[4,7]; a narrow, deep, horrible, and dark, 88[1]; in the midst of the earth, 90[26], cf. 26[1]; place of punishment, *see* Gehenna.

Abysses, 1En. 77[3] T.L. 3[9]; of the earth, 1En. 89[7]; of the ocean, 60[7]; of the sea, 60[9]. *See also* Chasm, Deep, Depth, Ravine, Valley.

Accaba, 1Esd. 5[30].

Accepting person, Sir. 4[27].

Accos. *See* Eupolemus.

Accursed, the, 1En. 22[11] 27[2]. *See* Valley.

Accusation, false, Sir. 26[5].

Achar, 4Ez. 7[107].

Achbor, Jub. 38[22,23].

Acheron, 1En. 17[6]*n.* Sib. 5[485].

Acherusian lake, Apoc. Mos. 37[3].

Achilles, Sib. 3[427].

Achior, leader of Ammonites, Judith 5[5,22] 6[1,2,5,10,13,16,20] 11[9] 14[5,6,10].

Achipha, 1Esd. 5[31].

Achish, king of Persia, Ah. 3[7] (Arab.). *See* Akhi, Shah.

†Achor, T.Jud. 3[3,4(β)].

Achuzan, 2En. 64[2] 68[5].

Acting presumptuously. *See* Presumptuously.

Acub, 1Esd. 5[31].

Acud, 1Esd. 5[30].

Ada, Reuben's wife, Jub. 34[20].

Adaeus, Arist. 47.

Adam, Tob. 8[6] Sir. 33[10] Wisd. 7[1] 10[1] Jub. 2[23] 3[1–3,6,8,9,15,21,25,27,30,32] 4[7,10,29] (death) 16[8] 19[24,27] 22[13] A. & E. 2[2] 3[1–3] 4[2] 5[1] 6[1] 7[1,2] 8[1] 9[2] 10[3] 12[1,2] 13[1,2] 14[3] 17[1,3] 18[1] 19[3] 20[1,3] 21[2] 22[1,2,4,5] 23[2,3] 24[1,2] 25[1] 30[1,4] 31[2] 32[1] 35[1,3] 36[1] 40[1,2] 41[3] 42[2,5] 43[1] 44[1] 45[1,2] 46[2] 48[1,4,5,6] 49[1] S.A. & E. 28[1,2] 32[1,2] 33[1,3] 34[2–4] 35[1,2] 36[1,3,4] 37[1] 39[1] 40[1] Apoc. Mos. 1[1,2] 2[1,2,4] 3[2,3] 4[1,2] 5[1,4] 6[3] 7[1] 8[1] 9[1–3] 13[2,3] 15[3] 21[1,3] 22[2] 23[1,4] 24[1] 27[2,4] 28[1–3] 29[2,4,5] 31[1,3] 32[4] 33[3] 34[2] 35[4] 36[1] 37[2,3] 39[1] 1En. 32[6] 37[1] 85[3–7] Sib. 3[24] 5[228–246]*n.* 2En. 30[10–13] 31[1,3,6] 33[10] 41[1] 58[1–3] 2Bar. § 10, 4[3] 17[2] 18[2] 23[4] 48[42] 54[15,19] 56[5] 3Bar. 4[8,16] 9[7] 4Ez. 3[10,21,26] 4[30] 6[54,56] 7[11,70,116,118]; = angel, a second, 2En. 30[11]*n.*; animals subjected to, 2En. 58[3]; buried by angels, A. & E. 48[4–6]; created alone, Wisd. 10[1]*n.*, of earth, Sir. 33[10]; creation of, 2En. 30[10–12]; fall of, Jub. 3[21] Sib. 5[228–246]*n.*; four letters of, 2En. 30[13]*n.* Sib. 3[24]; God came to earth for his sake at creation, 2En. 58[1,2,3]; handwriting of, 33[10]; in Eden, 31[1] —five and a half hours in Paradise, 32[1]; lord on earth, 31[3]; named from the four quarters of the world, 30[13]*n.*; pre-eminence of, Sir. 49[16]*n.*; Satan's designs against, 2En. 31[6]; source of death, physical, 2Bar. 23[4]*n.*; premature, 54[15]*n.* 56[6]; spiritual, 48[42]*n.*; transgression of, brought death, physical and psychical declension, spiritual evil, 2Bar. § 10, 4Ez. § 10 (1).

Adam of own soul, each is, 2Bar. 54[19].

Adam, Apocalypse of. *See* Adam, Testament of.

Adam, Second, the, doctrine of, Sir. 49[18]*n.*

Adam, Testament or Apocalypse of, A. & E. § 4.

Adam and Eve, in place of punishment, 2En. 41[1]; penance of, A. & E. 1[1]–11[3].

Adam and Eve, Books of, account, § 1; author, a Jew of Diaspora, § 7; bibliography, § 10; composite text, § 6; date of original text, § 5, of versions, § 5[a]; influence on later literature, § 8; MSS., § 3; relation of to 2Enoch, 2En. § 4; theology of Apoc. Mosis, A. & E. § 9; titles, § 2; Versions, ancient, § 4.

Adam and Eve, Conflict of, A. & E. §§ 4, 8; Life of, Slavonic, A. & E, § 4[2°].

Adam, city, Jub. 13[23].

Adar, month, 1Esd. 7[5] 1Macc. 7[43,49]; twelfth month, 2Macc. 15[36]; Add. Esth. B[6] E[20] F[10].

Adar-Sheni, intercalary month, 1Macc. 9[3]*n.*

Adasa, 1Macc. 7[40,45].

Adataneses, city, Jub. 7[15,17].

Adath, son of Barad, Jub. 38[19,20].

Adath, Jub. 38[23].

Addi, 1Esd. 9[31].

†Addition, a feast, Jub. 32[27,29].

Addo, i.e. Iddo, 1Esd. 6[1].

Addus, 1Esd. 5[34].

Adiaphotos = Cain, Apoc. Mos. 1[3].

Adibaa, Jub. 34[20].

Adida, city, 1Macc. 12[38] 13[13].

Adin, 1Esd. 8[32].

Adinu, 1Esd. 5[14].

Adnarel, 1En. 82[14].

Adoil, 2En. 25[1,2] (A) Idoil (B).

Adonikam, 1Esd. 5[14] 8[39].

Adora, 1Macc. 13[20]. *See* Aduram.

Adoran the Aramaean, Jub. 38[3]. *See* Aduram.

Adu, 2Bar. 5[5].

Aduel, Tob. 1[1].

Adullam, own, 2Macc. 12[38] T.Jud. 8[2].
Adullamite, Jub. 41[14].
Adultery, Sir. 23[23]; danger of, 9[9]; death penalty for, Sus. 22; procedure in case of, 32, 34 *n.*
Aduram, place = Adora, Jub. 38[8].
Aduram, of Aram, Jub. 37[9]. *See* Adoran.
Adversity, Sir. 12[8] 20[9] 40[24]; advantageous, 20[9].
Advocate for Israel = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11[17].
Aedias, 1Esd. 9[27].
Aeneas, descendants of, Sib. 3[412].
Aeon, the mighty, a Stoic conception, Sib. 3[92].
Aesop, Ah. §§ 2, 3. *See* vol. II, 780 sqq.
Aesora, Judith 4[4].
Aetolia, Sib. 3[435].
Aferag = Phrygia (?), Jub. 8[27].
Afflicted, the, Sir. 4[3,4,8].
Affliction, day of, Sir. 3[15] 6[10]; time of, 2[11] 22[23]. *See* Day.
Afra = Africa, Jub. 8[15].
Agagite, Add. Esth. A[17]*n.*
Agar, sons of, 1Bar. 3[23].
Agathocles section of Polybius' history, 3Macc. § 5, 1[25–33].
Age, coming, 4Ez 7[47] 8[1,52], delight to few but torment to many, 7[47], hope of, in divine compassion ultimately, 7[132–140], not yet awake, 7[31], solution of all difficulties, 4[22–32]*n.*, symbolized by Jacob, 6[8]; consummated, 1En. 16[1], *see* Consummation; first, 4Ez. 6[7]; passing, 6[20]; present, 7[112] 8[1,2], hastening to its end, 4[26], hopeless, 4[27], symbolized by Esau, 6[9]; world-age, divided into twelve parts, 14[11].
Aged, the, Sir. 8[6]*n.*[9] 25[6] 32 (G 35)[3], cf. 6[34]; advice to learn from, 8[9]; respect for, 8[5]; wisdom of, 25[3–6].
Ages, two, 4Ez. 7[50].
Aggaba, 1Esd. 5[30].
Aggaeus, i.e. Haggai, 1Esd. 6[1] 7[3].
Agia, 1Esd. 5[34].
Agrippa, farm of, 3Bar. *Prol.* 2 *n.*
Aguaron = Gomorrha, Mart. Is. 2[16]*n.* *Read* Samaria.
Ahab, Mart. Is. 2[12,13,15].
Ahaziah, son of Ahab, Mart. Is. 2[13–15].
Aḥiḳar, Tob. 1[21,22] 2[10] 11[18] 14[10] § 8 iii; dependence of Tobit upon, § 8 iii; parallels of, with Sirach, Sir. § 7 (*b*); references to in Tobit, originality of, Tob. § 9.
Aḥiḳar, story of, account of, Ah. § 1; antiquity of, § 2; materials for critical determination of text, § 4; (*a*) Aramaic papyrus, Story of Sudhana Avadana; (*b–g*) Versions, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, Slavonic, Syriac; quotations and references, § 3; (*a*) Democritus; (*b*) Tobit parallels; (*c*) Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs; (*d*) O.T.; (*e*) N.T.; (*f*) Koran.
Ahitob, 1Esd. 8[2].
Ahitophel, P.A. 6[3].
Ahitub, Judith 8[1].
Ahuzzath, Jub. 24[26].
Ai, Jub. 13[5,15].
Air, Satanail's place in, 2En. 29[5].
Akabia ben Mahalalel, P.A. 3[1].
Akae, 1En. 69[15].
Akatan, 1Esd. 8[38].
Akhi, king of Persia and Elam, Ah. 3[7] (Syr.). *See* Achish, Shah.
Akiba, Rabbi, 1Bar. § 9 ii P.A. 3[18–20].
Akkos, 1Esd. 5[38].
Akrabbatine, 1Macc. 5[3].
Akrabbim, †forest of, Jub. 29[14].
Alagar Zagar = Salmanassar, Mart. Is. 3[2].
Alcimus, 1Macc. 7[5,9,12,20,21,23,25] 9[1,54–57]; desires to be high priest, 7[5]*n.*; gets high-priesthood, 7[5–9] 2Macc. 14[3,13,26]; dies, 1Macc. 9[56]; pulls down wall of sanctuary's inner court, 9[54].
Alema, 1Macc. 5[26].
Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Herod, Zad. §§ 1, 6, 12. *See* Messiah.
Alexander Balas, Sib. 3[388–400]*n.*; 'a side-shoot', 3[397]; Alexander Epiphanes, i.e. Balas, 1 Macc. 10[1]*n.*[4,15,18,23,47,48,49,51,59,68,88] 11[1,2,8,9,12,14,15,16,17,39]; killed, 11[17].
Alexander the Great, 1Macc. 1[1,7] 6[2] 1En. 89[59]*n.* 90[1]*n.* Sib. 4[87–96] 5[4–7]; divides his empire, 1 Macc. 1[6].
Alexander Jannaeus, 1En. 38[5]*n.* 103[14,15]*n.* T.L. 14[5]*n.*; dispute of, with Pharisees, Sus. § 7.
Alexandra, 1En. § 7.
Alexandria, 3Macc. 3[1] Arist. 22, 109, 173 Sib. 5[88]; Jewish community at, Arist. 308, 310; Jews at, rulers of, of Sadduccean type, Wisd. 1[1]*n.* *See* Temple.
Alexandrian citizenship, 3Macc. 2[30] 3[21].
Alexandrine Canon included Sirach, Sir. § 8; doctrine absent from Add. Esth. § 7; ideas in 2 Enoch § 3; literature, 3Macc. § 7; theology, 4Ez. 7[102–115]*n.*; views of immortality, Wisd. § 9 4Macc. § 9. *See* Immortality.
All Flesh. *See* Flesh.
All-king, i.e. God, Sir. 50[15].
Allar, 1Esd. 5[36].
Allegorizing tendency, Arist. 150*n.*; in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9.
Allon, 1Esd. 5[34].
Alms, Tob. § 10 B (2), 1[3,16] 2[14] 4[7]*sq.*,[16] 12[9]*sq.* 14[10] Sir. § 4, 3[30] 4[4] 7[10]*n.* 12[7] 29[8] P.A. 1[2] Zad. 18[1–5].
Almsgiving, atones for sin, Sir. 3[30] Tob. 12[8], *see* Atonement; a duty, Sir. 4[4]; = bestowal of kindnesses, P.A. 1[2]; = righteousness, Sir. 7[10]*n.*; to evil not meritorious, 12[7]. *See* Giving, Pharisees, Poor.
Alphabet, Jewish, Arist. 11, cf. 3, 30. *See* Characters.
Alphias, 3Bar. 4[7].
Altar rebuilt, 1Esd. 5[48]; of burnt offering, polluted, 1Macc. 1[54]; pulled down, 4[45,46]; new built, 4[47]. *See* Altar of sacrifice.
Altar of incense, 2Bar. 6[7]; preserved and hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 2[5].
— of sacrifice, new, and fresh fire, for rededicated Temple, 2Macc. 10[3].
Amada = Imlah, Mart. Is. 2[12]*n.*
Amalek, T.S. 6[3].
Amana, mountains of, Jub. 8[21] 9[4].
†Amanisakir. *See* Maanisakir.
Amarias, 1Esd. 8[2].
Amaseqa, Jub. 38[20].
Ambram, T.L. 12[2,4]. *See* Amram.
Ambri, children of, 1Macc. 9[36]*n.*[37].
Amen, liturgical use of, P.Man. 15 *n.* Tob. 8[8] Judith 13[20].
Amilabes = Abel, Apoc. Mos. 1[3] 2[2].
Amman, Ass. Mos. 1[4].
Ammidioi, 1Esd. 5[20].
Ammon, Judith 1[12] 5[2,5] 6[5] 7[17,18] Jub. 38[6]; children of, 1Macc. 5[6] Jub. 29[10] 37[10].
Ammon. *See* Zeus.
Ammonite(s), 2Macc. 4[26] 5[7] Judith 14[5]; = 'foxes' in 1En. 89[42,55].
Amnon, P.A. 5[19].
Amorite kings, defeat of, Jub. 34[2–9] T.Jud. 3–7.
Amorites, Judith 5[15] Jub. 14[18] 29[11] 34[2,5] T.Jud. 7[2] 12[2] Ass. Mos. 11[16].
Amos, Tob. 2[6].
Amram, Jub. 46[10] 47[9] Test. *App.* II 74–76, *see* Ambram; stays in Palestine, Jub. 46[10].
Amraphel, Jub. 13[22].
Amulets, 2Macc. 12[40].
Anael, Tob. 1[21].
Anan, 1Esd. 5[30].
Ananel, 1En. 6[7].
Ananias, son of Bebai, 1Esd. 9[29].
Ananias, son of Emmer, 1Esd. 9[21].
Ananias, 1Esd. 9[43].
Ananias, 1Esd. 9[48].
Ananias, Tob. 5[13(12),14(13)].
Ananias, Judith 8[1].
Ananias, an elder, Arist. 48.
Ananias, Mart. Is. 2[9].
Ananias, Azar. 66 4Macc. 13[9] 16[21] 18[12]. *See* Children, Three.
Anathema, 1En. 95[4].
Anathoth, 1Esd. 5[18]. *See* John of A.
Andreas, Arist. 12, 18, 40, 43, 123, 173.
Andronicus, deputy of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 4[31]; murderer of Onias, 4[34]; death, 4[38].
Andronicus, governor at Gerizim, 2Macc. 5[23].
Aner, Jub. 13[29].
Angel, Tob. 5[4,17,22] 6[4]*sqq.* 12[15], *see* Raphael; brings seven tablets from heaven in Levi's vision, Jub. 32[21]; destroying, Wisd. 18[25]; fiery, smites congregation, 4Macc. 7[11]; good, to save Israel, prayer for, answered, 2Macc. 11[6], cf. 10[29,30] 15[23] 4Macc. 4[10]; of Abraham, T. Jos. 6[7]; of death, 2Bar. 21[23]*n.*; of God, A. & E. 31[1] 36[2] Apoc. Mos. 31[3] T.R. 3[15] 5[3] T.S. 2[8] T.L. 2[6] T.Jud. 10[3] 15[6] 21[5] T.Iss. 2[1] T.D. 5[4]; of God, with Israel, Ep. Jer. 7; of God, once referred to in Add. Esth. D[13]; of humanity, Apoc. Mos. 32[3]; of the Lord cast fire on false witnesses, Sus. § 9, 60–62, brings Habakkuk miraculously to feed Daniel, Bel 36–39; of Mastema, Zad. 20[2], cf. Jub. 49[2]; of might, T.Jud. 3[10]; of peace, T.D. 6[5] T.A. 6[6] T.B. 6[1], meets soul of righteous at death, T.B. 6[1]*n.*; of the powers, 3Bar. 1[8]*n.*; of the presence, the, Jub. § 15, 1[27,29]*n.* 2[1], cf. T.Jud. 25[2], 1En. 40[2] (probably Michael, Israel's guardian angel, 1En. 20[5] 2En. 22[6]); who intercedeth for Israel and the righteous, T.L. 5[6,7] T.D. 6[2]. *See* Archangels.
Angelic mediation, Tob. § 10.
Angelic patrons of nations (except Israel), Sir. 17[17]*n.* *See* Angels, guardian.
Angelology of Jubilees, parallels of, with N.T., Jub. § 15.
Angels, Sir. 16[7] (*see* Princes) 4Macc. 4[10]; anguish of, over fall of Zion, 2Bar. 67[2]; armies of, 2Bar. 48[10] 51[11]*n.* 59[10]; created on first day, Jub. 2[2] 2Bar. 21[6]*n.*; Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophannim, created from fire on second, 2 En. 29[1,3]*n.*; fall of, Sir. 16[7] 1 En. 6[1–6]*n.* 15[3] 69[4,5] 86[1,3] 106[13] 2En. 18[3,7] 2Bar. 56[11–13]*n.*, *see* Demonology; fallen, ask Enoch to intercede, 2En. 7[1–5]; food of, Wisd. 16[20] A. & E. 4[2]; frighten Apollonius, 4Macc. 4[10]; guardian, Jub. 35[17] A. & E. 33[1]; guardian, of the nations, seventy, Test. *App.* I. 8[4–6]; help Eve, A. & E. 21[1]; = hosts of heaven, P.Man. 15; intercession of, for Adam, A. & E. 9[3] Apoc. Mos. 35[2]; mediation of, Tob. § 10 3Bar. § 10, 2—three classes of mediating angels, § 10, 2; only reference to in 3Macc., 6[18]*n.*; orders of, ten, 2En. 20[1,3]*n.*; powers of, A. & E. 48[5]; symbolized by shepherds. 1En. 89[59–90[25]], stars, 86[1,3] 88[1], white men, 87[2], cf. 90[21,22]; titles of—children or sons of heaven; children of (the) heaven, 1En. 6[2] 14[3]; elect and holy children . . . from the high heaven, 39[1]; sons of heaven, 13[8]; holy ones (or 'the holy'). 9[3] 12[2] 14[23] 39[5] 47[2] 57[2] 60[4] 61[8,10,12] 65[12] 69[13] 71[8] 81[5] 106[19]; holy ones of heaven, 9[3], cf. 57[2], 61[12]; holy angels, 20[1–8] 21[5,9] 22[3] 24[6] 27[2] 32[5] 71[8] 93[2]; host of heaven, host of the heavens, powers of the heavens, *see* Heaven, Heavens; sons of God, 1En. 61[10] 104[6], cf. 1[9] 60[1] 69[4,5], of the God of heaven, 106[5]; holy sons of God, 71[1]; spiritual ones of the heaven, 1En. 15[7]; spirits of the heaven,

15[10]—of the glory of the presence, T.L. 18[5], *see* Angels of the presence; of God, Sir. 1[22] *crit. note*, marry daughters of men, Jub. 5[1], punishment of them and their children, 5[5–9], final judgement, 5[10–16]; of the moon, 3Bar. 9[5]; of natural phenomena, Jub. 2[2] 4Ez. 8[21]*n.*, do not observe Sabbath, Jub. 2[18]; of the presence, Jub. § 15 1[27], (one writes history for Moses), who went before the camp of Israel, 1[29], spoke to Moses, 2[1], observe Sabbath, 2[18], *see* 31[14] T.L. 3[5(β),7]: of punishment, 1En. 40[7]*n.* 53[3] 56[1] 62[11] 63[1] 2En. 10[3]*n.*; of sanctification, Jub. 2[2,18], observe Sabbath, 2[18]; of the spirit of the clouds and darkness, 2[2]; of the spirits of cold and heat, creatures in the heavens, 2[2]; of the spirit of fire, of the voices, of thunder and lightning, of the winds, of winter and the seasons, 2[2]; of sun, 2En. 11[4,5] 3Bar. 6[13] 8[4]; vision of, 3Macc. 6[18].

Angels. *See* Gabriel, Michael, Phamael, Phanuel, Raguel, Raphael, Remiel, Sammael, Saraqael, Sarasael, Uriel, Zotiel, Powers, Spirits, Virtues.

Anger, T.D. 2[1]–4[4]. *See* Wrath.

Anguish. *See* Day.

Animal worship, Wisd. 12[24] 15[18].

Animals, treatment of, *see* Man, Strangling; in delivery on Sabbath, 13[22]; fallen into pit on Sabbath, 13[23]; kindness to, T.Z. 5[1]; under man's dominion, 2En. 58[3]; will not perish till great judgement, when they will accuse their oppressors, 58[5]*n.*

Anna, Tob. 1[20] 2[1,11] 10[4] 11[5] 14[12]

Annas, 1Esd. 9[32].

Annis, 1Esd. 5[16].

Anniversary of martyrdoms, 4Macc. 1[10] 14[9].

Annus, 1Esd. 9[48].

Annuus, 1Esd. 8[48].

[Anointed one, holy (= Aaron?), Zad. 8[2].]

Anointed One = Messiah. *See* Christ, Messiah.

Anoniram, T.Jud. 9[3].

Anos, 1Esd. 9[34].

Anthropology of 2 Enoch, 2En. § 6.

Antichrist, Test. § 16, T.D. 5[6]*n.* *See* Beliar, Dan.

Antigone, city, Sib. 3[347].

Antigonos of Socho, P.A. 1[3].

Antigonus, 1En. 100[2]*n.*

Antigonus Gonatas, naval victory over, Arist. § 1, 180.

Antilibanus, Judith 1[7].

Antioch, 1Macc. 3[37]*n.* 4[35] 6[63] 10[68] 11[44,56] Sib. 3[344] 4[140]; citizenship of, 2Macc. 4[9]*n.*

Antiochenes, 2Macc. 4[9].

Antiochis, mistress of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 4[30].

Antiochus III, the Great, 1Macc. 1[10] 8[6] 3Macc. 1[1]; victories of, Sir. 10[8]*n.*

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 1Macc. 1[10,16,20] 3[27] 6[1,16,55] 2Macc. 1[14]*n.* 2[20] 4[7,21,37] 5[1,5,17,21] 9[1]–10[13] Azar. 9*n.* 1En. 46[6]*n.* 100[7]*n.* Sib. 3[388–400]*n.* 4Macc. § 1, 4[15,21] 5[1,4,5,16] 10[17] 17[23] 18[5]; attacks Egypt a second time, 2Macc. 5[1]; conquers Egypt, 1Macc. 1[16–19]; death of, 1Macc. 6[1–17] 2Macc. 9[28] 10[9]; defeated at Persepolis, 2Macc. 9[1,2]; desecrates Temple, 1Macc. 1[21–23] 2Macc. 5[15,21]; disease, loathsome of, 2Macc. 9[5–18]; largesses of, 1Macc. 3[30]*n.*; letter to Jews, 2Macc. 9[19–27]; not the foreign conqueror of Ps.Sol. § 5 (*see* Pompey); persecution of, = a second visitation, Ass. Mos. 8[1] 9[7]; promise to restore sacred vessels, 2Macc. 9[16], and to become a Jew, 9[17]; repentance of, 2Macc. 9[12–18]; = a sinful shoot, 1Macc. 1[10], cf. Sir. 40[15]; supplication of, 2Macc. 9[25–27].

Antiochus V, Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 3[33] 6[15,17,55] 7[2] 2Macc. 2[20] 9[25,29] 10[10,13] 11[23,28] 13[1,3,4] 14[2]; accession, 1Macc. 6[1–17] 2Macc. 9[25]; death, 14[2].

Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas, 1Macc. 11[39,54,57] 12[39] 13[31]; killed 13[31]*n.* (date?).

Antiochus VII, Sidetes, son of Demetrius I, 1Macc. 15[1]*n.*[2,10,11,13,25] Bel § 5.

Antiochus. *See* Numenius.

Antipater, son of Jason, 1Macc. 12[16] 14[22].

Anti-Semitism, 3Macc. §§ 5, 6.

Anxieties of poverty and riches, Sir. 31[1–4].

Apame, 1Esd. 4[29].

Aphaerema, i.e. Ephraim or Ephron, 1Macc. 11[34]*n.*

Apherra, 1Esd. 5[34].

Aphphus. *See* Jonathan.

Aphrodite, Sib. 3[122].

Aphrodite, the planet, 2En. 30[3]*n.*

Apocalypse of Moses, older than Vita Adae et Evae, A. & E. §§ 6, 7, 9.

Apocalypse of Paul, Sir. 4[10]*n.*

Apocalypse of Peter, Sir. 4[10]*n.* 1En. 10(*c*).

Apocalyptic, a Party at one time among Rabbis favourable to, 4Ez. 14*n.* *See* Pharisaism, Reveal, Revelations.

Apocalyptists, begin survey with creation, 4Ez. 3[4]*n.*; calculations of, 4[36–37]; imply predestination, 4[36–37]*n.*

Apocryph. *See* Jannes and Jambres.

Apocrypha, original connotation of, a secret revelation, Jub. 1[25]*n.* 4Ez. 12[37]*n.* 14[6], cf. 1En. 107[3].

Apollonius, 'a chief collector of tribute' (= son of Menestheus?), 1Macc. 1[29]*n.* 3[10,12]; killed, 3[12].

Apollonius, general of Demetrius II, 1Macc. 10[69,74,75,77,79].

Apollonius of Tarsus, 2Macc. 3[5,7]; governor of Syria, 4Macc. 4[2,4,8,10,11,13,14].

Apollonius, son of Gennaeus, 2Macc. 12[2].

Apollonius, son of Menestheus, 2Macc. 4[4,21]; Mysian commander, 5[24]; massacres Jews, 5[24].

Apollophanes, 2Macc. 10[37].

Apostasy, 1Macc. 1[52] 2[15] 7[24] 9[58] Wisd. 2[12] 1En. 91[7] Zad. 8[2] 9[36].

Apostate deeds, 1En. 93[9]; generation, 9[39]; nation, Sir. 16[6].

Apostates, 3Macc. 2[31] 3[23] 7[10] Azar. 9, 2Bar. 41[3]*n.*

Apostolical Constitutions, Sir. §8; contain P. Man., P. Man. §3.

Apparitions, 2Macc. § 3, 3[24]*sq.* 5[2]*sq.* 11[8] 15[11]*sq.*

Appearances often deceitful, Sir. 20[9–17].

Appendices to Testament of Twelve Patriarchs. *See* Levi, Naphtali.

Appendix to Sirach, Sir. 51[1–30]; a Prayer, 51[1–12]; a Poem, 51[13–30]; a Thanksgiving, 51[12] i–xvi.

Appetites, 4Macc. 1[35] 3[2].

Apples of Sodom, Wisd. 10[7].

Aquarius, Sib. 5[527].

Aquilo, A. & E. 32[2].

Ara, city (of Chaldees), Jub. 11[3]. *See* Ur.

Arabia, 1Macc. 11[16] Judith 2[25] Arist. 119.

Arabian Nights, Ah. § 1.

Arabian(s), 1Macc. 5[39] 11[17,39] 12[31] Sib. 3[517].

Arabs, Jub. 20[13]; defeat of, 2Macc. 12[10–12].

Aradus, 1Macc. 15[23].

Arakiba, 1En. 67.

Aram, Jub. 7[18] 9[5] 34[20] 37[6,9] 41[1].

Aramaean, Jub. 38[3].

Aramaic original of 1En. 6–36, 1En. §§ 1, 9.

Aramaic version of Tobit, Tob. § 4*a*.

Araqiel, 1En. 8[3].

Arara, land of, Jub. 9[5].

Ararat, Tob. 1[21] Jub. 5[28] 7[1] 8[21] 10[15,19].

Aravat, 2En. 20[3].

Aravoth, the tenth (? seventh) heaven, 2En. 22[1]*n.*

Arbatta, place, 1Macc. 5[23].

Arbela, 1Macc. 9[2]. *See also* Rabael, Robel.

Arbelite, P.A. 1[6,7]. *See* Nittai.

Arbonai, river, Judith 2[24].

Archangel, A. & E. 25[2] Apoc. Mos. 3[2] 22[1] 38[1].

Archangels, 1En. 20, 40, 2En. 19[3] 20[1] 21[3] 22[11]; as intercessors on behalf of mankind, T.L. 3[5(*a*)]*n.* *See* Angels, Intercession, Mediation.

Archas, 2En. 26[1,2] (A. 'Aruchas' B).

Ard, Jub. 44[25].

Ardat, field of, 4Ez. 9[26–28]*n.* 12[49–51]*n.* 13[57]*n.* 14[37]*n.*

Areios, King of Sparta, 1Macc. 12[7]*n.*[20].

Areli, Jub. 44[20].

Ares, 1Esd. 5[10].

Ares, Sib. 3[437] 5[334]; the planet, 2En. 30[3].

†Aresa, Jub. 34[4,7] (= Asser, Tob. 1[2]) (= Hazor, 1Macc. 11[67]).

Aretan, T.Jud. 5[1].

Aretas, Arabian prince, 2Macc. 5[8].

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, 1Macc. 15[22].

Aries, Sib. 5[521].

Arioch, king of Elymaeans, plain of, Judith 1[6].

Arioch, king of Sellasar, Jub. 13[22].

Aristeas, Arist. 19, 40, 43.

Aristeas, Letter of, author, a Jew of Alexandria with Pharisaic tendencies, § 4; character, § 1; contents and purpose, § 2; date, § 3; editions, § 8; influence on later literature, § 9; MSS., § 7; relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 4; sources, Arist. § 5; theology and ethical teaching, § 6.

Aristobulus I, 1En. 38[5]*n.* 100[2]*n.*

Aristobulus II, Ps. Sol. § 6. *See* Alexander.

Aristobulus, King Ptolemy's teacher, 2Macc. 1[10].

Ariukh. *See* Orioch.

Ark, the, in the Deluge, 4Macc. 15[31] Wisd. 14[5].

Ark, the, of covenant, preserved and hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 2[5], *see* 2Bar. 6[7]*n.*; spoiled, 4Ez. 10[22]*n.*

Armaros, 1En. 6[7] 8[3] 69[2].

Armen, 1En. 69[2]

Armenia, Sib. 4[114].

Armies ordained for day of judgement, T.L. 3[3].

Arodi, Jub. 44[20].

Arom, 1Esd. 5[16].

Arpachshad, Jub. 7[18] 8[1] 9[4,13] 10[35].

Arphaxad, Judith § 6, 1[2,5,13,15]. *See* Arpachshad.

Arsaces, king of Persia, 1Macc. 14[2]*n.*[3] 15[22].

Arsamos, Arist. 49.

Arsamos, Arist. 50.

Arsinoe, 3Macc. 1[1,4].

Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Arist. 41.

Arsiphurith, 1Esd. 5[16].

Artaqifa, 1En. 69[2].

Artaxerxes, 1Esd. 2[16,17,30] 7[4] 8[1,6,8,9,19,28]; decree of, § 1 8[8–24].

Artaxerxes Ochus, Judith § 1.

Artaxerxes = Xerxes I, Add. Esth. A[1,13] B[1] E[1]; letter of, directing destruction of Jews, B[1–7]; decree of, revoking previous edict, E[1–24].

Artemis, Sib. 5[293].

Artisan inferior to Scribe, Sir. 38[24–30]. *See* Craftsman.

Aruchas. *See* Archas.

Arzareth, 4Ez. 13[45]*n.*

Asadias, 1Bar. 1[1].

Asael, 1En. 6[7].

Asam, Jub. 38[18,19].

Asana, 1Esd. 5[31].

Asaph, sons of, 1Esd. 1[15] 5[27,59].

Asara, 1Esd. 5[31].

Asbasareth, i.e. Esarhaddon, 1Esd. 5[69].

Asbeel, 1En. 69[5].

Ascalon, Judith 2[28]. *See* Askalon.

Ascension, Tob. 12[20]*sq.*; of Baruch, 2Bar. 46[7]; of Isaiah, *see* Isaiah, Martyrdom of; of

Raphael, compared with Christ's, Tob. $12^{6-22}n$.
Asceticism, as preparation for visions, Mart. Is. $2^{11}n$. 4Ez. 5^{14-19}. *See* Chastity, Eating herbs, Fasting.
Aseas, 1Esd. 9^{32}.
Asebebias, 1Esd. 8^{47}.
Asebias, 1Esd. 8^{48}.
Asenath, Jub. 34^{20} 44^{24} T.Jos. $20^{3(a)}$.
Aser. *See* Arcsa.
Asfael, 1En. 82^{10}.
Ashbel, Jub. 44^{25}.
Asher, Jub. 28^{21} 33^{22} 34^{20} 38^{6} $44^{19,20}$ T.R. 1^{4} T.Jud. 25^{2} T.A. $1^{1,2}$.
Ashdod, Arist. 117. *See* Azotus.
Ashtaroth, Zad. 7^{5}.
Ashtaroth, city, Jub. 29^{10}.
Asia, 1Macc. 8^{6} $11^{13}n$. 12^{39} 13^{31} 2Macc. 3^{3} Sib. $3^{168,342,350,351,353,354,367,381,388,391,450,599,611}$ $4^{1,71,76,79,145,148}$ $5^{99,118,287,292,443,449,461,465}$ 4Macc. 3^{20}.
Asibias, 1Esd. 9^{26}.
Asiel, Tob. 1^{1}.
Asipha, 1Esd. 5^{29}.
Asitho. *See* Asteho.
Askalon, 1Macc. 10^{86} 11^{60} 12^{33} Judith 2^{28} Arist. 115.
Asmodeus, Tob. $3^{8,17}$
Asmonean, 1Macc. $2^{1}n$.
Asom, 1Esd. 9^{33}.
Asonja, 1En. 78^{2}.
Asores = Assyrians, Ah. 4^{2} (Arm.).
Asorestan = Assyria, Ah. 4^{12} &c. (Arm.).
Asphar, pool, 1Macc. 9^{33}.
Aspharasus, 1Esd. 5^{8}.
Aspis, mountain, i. c. Sirion or Hermon, T.L. $6^{1}n$.
Ass, wild = Ishmael, 1En. 89^{11}.
Assamias, 1Esd. 8^{54}.
Assaphioth, 1Esd. 5^{33}.
Assaracus, Sib. 5^{8}.
Assemblies of Jacob, Sir. 24^{23}.
Assembly, the, Sir. 1^{30} 4^{7} 7^{7} 15^{5} 21^{17} 23^{24} 41^{18} 42^{11} Zad. 9^{29}(B); of the elders, Sir. 6^{34} 7^{14}; in the gate, Sir. 7^{7} 42^{11}; of the Most High, 24^{2}; of the people, . . . of Israel, Ps.Sol. $10^{7,8}$ 17^{48}; of the wicked, Sir. 16^{6} 21^{9}; precedence in, Sir. 38^{33}.
Asser = Hazor, Tob. 1^{2}. *See* Aresa.
Asses, = a species of giants, 1En. 86^{4}; wild = Midianites, 1En. $89^{11,13,16}$.
Asshur, Judith 2^{14} 5^{1} $7^{17,20,21}$ 8^{13} 13^{15} $14^{2,3,12,19}$ 15^{6} Jub. 7^{18} $9^{3,6}$ $10^{26,35}$; land of, 8^{21} 9^{3}; mountains of, 8^{21} $9^{5,6}$.
†Asshur, Jub. 13^{1}.
Associate = *haber*, P.A. $1^{6}n$. $4^{15,23}$. *See* Friend.
Associating, danger of, with rich, Sir. 13^{2-8}; with rulers, 13^{9-13}; with one's opposites, 13^{15-20}; with women, *see* Women.
Associating with wise, Sir. 9^{14}; with ungodly, 8^{14-19} 11^{9} 12^{13} 13^{17}.
Assumption of Moses, 2Macc. § 6; relation to 2Bar., Ass. Mos. $3^{10-13}n$. *See* Moses, Assumption of.
Assyria, Tob. 1^{10} $14^{4,15}$ Sir. 48^{21} Jub. 46^{6} Mart.Is. 3^{2}; in Aḥiḳar *passim*, usually as 'Assyria and Nineveh', cf. Tobit.
Assyrian, Sib. $3^{160,303,809}$.
Assyrian court, 4Macc. 13^{9}.
Assyrians, 1Esd. 5^{69} 3Macc. 6^{5} Tob. $1^{2,3}$ 14^{4} Judith $1^{1,7,11}$ $2^{1,4}$ 4^{1} 8^{9} 10^{11} 1En. $89^{55,66}$ T.N. 5^{8} Sib. $3^{207,268}$ 4^{49} 5^{336} 4Ez. 13^{40}; = tigers in 1En. $89^{55,66}$.
Astad, 1Esd. 5^{13}.
Astath, 1Esd. 8^{38}.
Asteho, T.Jos. 7^{5}.
Astrology, Sib. $3^{227-228}$ 4Macc. $14^{8}n$.
Astronomy, Wisd. 7^{18} P.A. 3^{23}.
Astyages, Bel 1.
Astypalaea, Sib. 3^{345}.
Asur, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
Asudi, Jub. 44^{28}.
Atar, 1Esd. 5^{28}.
Atel, Jub. 8^{22}.
Ater, 1Esd. 5^{15}.
Atergatis, temple of, 2Macc. 12^{26}.
Ateta, 1Esd. 5^{28}.
Athanasius, Sir. § 8.
Athenagoras, 1En. § $10(c)$.
Athenian, 2Macc. $6^{18,24}$.
Athenobius, 1Macc. $15^{28,32}$.
Athens, Jews to be equal to citizens of, 2Macc. 9^{15}.
Athletic contest, the martyrdom of the seven brothers compared to, 4Macc. § 7.
Athur = Assyria, Ah. *passim* (Syr.). *See* Nineveh.
Atipha, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Atonement, Sir. $3^{3}n$. $5^{5}n$.; almsgiving atones for sin, $3^{30}n$.; by fasting, for sins of ignorance, Ps. Sol. 3^{9}; false doctrine of, warning against, Sir. 7^{8-10}; to man, 20^{28} (gifts do not atone to God, they do to man); impossible for unforgiving, 28^{5}; made by martyrs, 4Macc. 6^{28} 9^{24} 12^{18} $17^{20}sq$.; man makes by honouring his father, Sir. $3^{3,14}$; no, Jub. 33^{17}; through suffering, sickness, and death, Sir. $18^{20}n$.
Atonement, Day of, Jub. 5^{17-18}; instituted on tidings of Joseph's loss, Jub. $34^{18,19}$.
Attalus, king of Pergamos, 1Macc. $15^{22}n$.
Attharates, i.e. the Tirshatha, 1Esd. 9^{49}.
Atthariias, i.e. the Tirshatha, 1Esd. 5^{40}. *See* Attharates.
Attus, 1Esd. 8^{29}.
Auaran. *See* Eleazar.
Augia, 1Esd. 5^{38}.
Augustine, Sir. § 8.
Aulis, Sib. 3^{488}.
Auranus, 2Macc. $4^{40}n$.
Ausonians, Sib. 5^{27}.
Auteas, 1Esd. 9^{48}.
Avaran. *See* Eleazar.
Avith, city, Jub. 38^{19}.
Awan, Jub. $4^{1,9}$.
Axis, Sib. 5^{207}.
Azael, 1Esd. 9^{14}.
Azaelus, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Azai, ben, P.A. $4^{2,3}$.
Azaraias, 1Esd. 8^{1}.
Azariah, Prayer of, and Song of Three Children: account, § 1; bibliography, § 9; composition, § 6; date, § 6; influence on later literature, § 7; MSS., § 3; original language, Hebrew, § 5; theology, § 8; title, § 2; versions, § 4.
Azariah, the writer of Prayer of Azariah, Azar. § 6.
Azariah, Azar. 2, 26, 66. *See* Hananiah.
Azarias, 1Esd. 9^{48}.
Azarias, 1Esd. 9^{43}.
Azarias, a Maccabean leader, 1Macc. $5^{18,56,60}$.
Azarias, Tob. 5^{13} $6^{7,14}$ $7^{1,10}$ 9^{2}.
Azarias = Azariah, 4Macc. 13^{9} 16^{21} 18^{12}. *See* Children, Three.
Azaru, 1Esd. 5^{16}.
Azazel, 1En. $6^{6}n$. $8^{1,2}$ 8^{3} (G.) 9^{6} $10^{4,8}$ 13^{1} 54^{5} 55^{4} 69^{2} $86^{1}n$. $88^{1}n$.; all sin ascribed to, 10^{8}; bound in desert of Dudael, 10^{4}; hosts of, judged, 54^{5} 55^{4}.
†Azazel, 1En. 69^{2}.
Azetas, 1Esd. 5^{14}.
Azotus, city, 1Macc. 4^{15} 5^{68} $10^{77,78,83,84}$ 11^{4} 14^{34} 16^{10} Judith 2^{28}; burned by Jonathan, 1Macc. 10^{84}. *See* Ashdod.
†Azotus, mount, 1Macc. 9^{15}.
Azrial, Jub. 4^{27}.
Azuchan. *See* Uchan.
Azura, Jub. $4^{8,11}$.
Azurad, Jub. 8^{7}.

Baal, Mart. Is. 2^{12}.
Baalsamus, 1Esd. 9^{43}.
Baana, 1Esd. 5^{8}.
Babel, Wisd. 10^{5}; Jub. 8^{21} 10^{25}; confusion of tongues at, Jub. 10^{18-27}; builders of, in second heaven, 3Bar. 3^{5-8}. *See* Overthrow.
Babi, 1Esd. 8^{37}.
Babylon, 1Esd. $1^{40,41,45,54,56}$ 2^{15} $4^{44,57,61}$ 5^{7} $6^{15,16,17,21,23,26}$ $8^{3,6,28}$; 1Macc. 6^{4}; Tob. 14^{4}; 1Bar. $1^{2,4,9,11,12}$ $2^{22,24}$; Ep. Jer. 1, 2, 3, 4; Sus. 1, 5; Bel 2, 23, 28, 34, 35, 36; Add. Esth. A^{3}: Jub. 10^{26} 20^{12}; Sib. $3^{104,160,301,303,307,384,809}$ 4^{93} $5^{6,23,143,159,434}$; 2Bar. 8^{5} 10^{2} $77^{12,17,19}$ 79^{1}; 4Ez. $3^{1,2,31}$; Zad. 1^{5}; captivity of Jews in, for seventy generations, Ep. Jer. § 2; idolatry of, Ep. Jer. § 1; name of, intruded into text of Susanna, Sus. § 6; = Rome, Sib. $5^{143}n$. 2Bar. 11^{1}.
Babylonia, 1Esd. 4^{53} 6^{18} 8^{13} 2Macc. 8^{20} 3Macc. 6^{6}.
Babylonian Sibyl, Sib. $3^{162-294}n$.
Babylonians, Ep. Jer. 1, 2 Bel 3, 23; = lions in 1En. 89^{55-66}.
Bacchides, 1Macc. $7^{8,12,19,20}$ $9^{1,12,14,25,26,29,32,34,43,47,49,57,58,63,68}$ 10^{12} 2Macc. 8^{30}; and Alcimus sent against Jews, 1Macc. 7^{8-20}.
Bacchurus, 1Esd. 9^{24}.
Bacchus, worship of, 3Macc. $2^{29}n$.
Bactra, Sib. 4^{95}.
Baean, children of, 1Macc. $5^{4}n$.
Baelunan, Jub. $38^{22,23}$.
Bag-Bag, ben, P.A. 5^{25}.
Bago, 1Esd. 8^{40}.
Bagoas, Judith $12^{11,13,15}$ $13^{1,3}$ 14^{14} Add.Esth. $A^{17}n$.
Bagoi, 1Esd. 5^{14}.
Baiterus, 1Esd. 5^{17}.
Balaam, P.A. $5^{9,22}$.
Balak, son of Beor, Jub. $38^{16,17}$.
Balamon, Judith 8^{3}.
Balchira, Mart. Is. $5^{2,3,5,8,12}$. *See* Belchira.
Baliayn, one of the king's sons who question Aḥiḳar, Ah. 2^{101} (Arm.). *See* Houday.
Balnuus, 1Esd. 9^{31}.
Baltasar, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, 1Bar. § 4 $1^{11}n$. 12.
Ban, Zad. 10^{1}. *See* Devote.
Ban, 1Esd. 5^{37}.
Banaias, son of Nooma, 1Esd. 9^{35}.
Baneas, an elder, Arist. 50.
Bani, 1Esd. 5^{13}.
Banias, 1Esd. 8^{36}.
Bannas, 1Esd. 5^{26}.
Banneas, 1Esd. 9^{26}.
Bannus, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Banquet. *See* Messianic.
Banquet, behaviour at, Sir. 32 $(35)^{1-13}$; hall, P.A. 4^{21}; master, rules for, Sir. 32^{1-3}; symbol of world to come, P.A. 3^{20}.
Bar Cocheba, revolt of, 1Bar. § 9 ii.
Barad, Jub. 38^{19}.
Baraka, Jub. 4^{16}.
Barakiel, Jub. 4^{15}.
Barakiil, Jub. 4^{28}.
Baraqel, 1En. 69^{2}.
Baraqijal, 1En. 6^{7} 8^{3}.
Barca, Sib. 5^{187}.
Barchus, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Baris, Sib. 4^{99}.
Barnabas, Epistle of, relation of to 2Enoch, 2En. § 4.
Barodis, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Barrenness, Wisd. 3^{13}.
Barsaba, T.Jud. 8^{2}.
Bartacus, 1Esd. 4^{29}.
Baruch, 1Bar. $1^{1,3}$ 2Bar. *passim* 3Bar. *Prol.* ^{1,2} $1^{1,7}$ $4^{1,9,16}$, 5^{1} $7^{2,6}$ 8^{4} $9^{2,6}$ 10^{5} Zad. 9^{28}, *see* Pseudepigrapha; to be preserved till consummation, 2 Bar. 13^{3} 25^{1} 76^{2}; to die natural death, 44^{2} 78^{5} 84^{1}; various books of, 2Bar. § 2; relation of 2Baruch to 3Bar., 3Bar. § 4; of Rest of Words of Baruch (= 4Bar.), 3Bar. §§ 4, 8.
Baruch, 1 Book of, account, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 12; composite character, § 3; contents, § 2; critical investigation, § 4; date, § 7; documents—A & B, Hebrew original, § 5; C. Greek original (Hebrew, *Gen. Ed.*), § 6; their redaction, § 8; influence on Christian and Jewish literature, § 10; MSS., § 9; theology, § 11; versions, § 9.
Baruch, 2 Book of, account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; books of Baruch, various, § 2; different elements in 2Bar., § 7; lost epistle to two and a half tribes, § 8; MSS., Syriac, § 3; relation to 4Ezra, § 9; to N.T., § 11; theology, § 10; Version, Syriac, date of, § 4; translated from Greek, Greek from Hebrew, §§ 5, 6.
Baruch, 3 Book of, account, short, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 11; composite nature

of text, § 6; Christian redactor, § 8; date, § 9; MSS., § 3; relation to other Baruch literature, § 4; to other apocalyptic literature, § 5; theology, § 10; title, § 2.
Basaloth, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Bascama, place, 1Macc. 13^{23}.
Baseas, Arist. 47.
Bashan, Sir. 47^{3} Jub. 8^{21}.
Bassai, 1Esd. 5^{16}
Basthai, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
Batarel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Bath-qôl, the, 2Bar. $22^{1}n$. P.A. 6^{2}; to John Hyrcanus, T.L. 18^{6} T.Jud. 24^{2}.
Bathing, law of, Zad. $12^{1,2}$.
Bathshua, T.Jud. $8^{2(\beta)}$ $10^{6(\beta)}$ $13^{3(\beta)}$ $16^{4(\beta)}$ $17^{1(\beta)}$. *See* Betasuel.
Bealoth, Jub. 13^{10}.
Beasts, wild = Gentiles, 1En. 85–90*n*.
Beautiful, three things, Sir. 25^{1}; wisdom of aged, 25^{3-6}.
Beauty, God the author of, Wisd. 13^{3}.
Bebai, 1Esd. 8^{37}.
Bebai, sons of, 1Esd. 5^{13} 9^{29}.
Bebai, city, Judith 15^{4}.
Becher, Jub. 44^{25}.
Bectileth, Judith 2^{21}.
Bedsuel, Jub. 41^{7}. *See* Betasuel.
Beelesath, T.Jud. 3^{7}.
Beelsarus, 1Esd. 5^{8}.
Beeltethmus, a Samaritan, 1Esd. $2^{16,25}$.
Beersheba, Jub. 17^{9} 18^{17} 22^{2}. *See* Well of the Oath.
Beggar, his life no life, Sir. 40^{28-30}.
Beginning, the, meaning of in Sirach, Sir. $1^{14}n$.
Behaviour. *See* Banquet, Table.
Behemoth and Leviathan, 1En. $60^{7,8,24}$ 2Bar. $29^{4}n$. 4Ez. $6^{49,51}$; reserved for Messianic banquet, 4Ez. 6^{52}.
Bel, Ep. Jer. 41 Bel 3–4, 6, 8–11, 14, 18, 21, 22, 28; the Assyrian god, Ah. 6^{16} (Syr.) Ah. $6^{16,23}$ (Arab.). *See* Belshim.
Bel and the Dragon, account, short, § 1; author, § 5; contents, § 2; date, § 5; integrity, § 6; MSS., § 3; original language, § 4; place of origin Alexandria, § 5; theology, § 7; title, § 1; versions, § 3.
Bela, Jub. 44^{25},
Belachira, Mart. Is. 2^{5}.
Belchira, Mart. Is. $2^{12}n$. $3^{1,6,12}$ 5^{4}. *See* Balchira.
Belemus, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2^{16}.
Belial, destruction through hand of, Zad. 9^{12}; let loose against Israel, 6^{9}; three nets of, 6^{10}; raised Jochanneh (against Moses), 7^{19}; spirits of, man ruled by, 14^{6}. *See* Beliar.
Beliar, Jub. 1^{20} 15^{33} Mart. Is. $1^{8,9}$ 2^{4} 3^{11} T.R. $2^{2(\beta)}$ $4^{7,11}$ 6^{3} T.S. 5^{3} T.L. 3^{3} 18^{12} 19^{1} T. Jud. 25^{3} T.Iss. 6^{1} 7^{7} T.Z. 9^{8} $^{(bdg)}$ T.D. 1^{7} 4^{7} $5^{1,10,11}$ T.N. 2^{6} 3^{1} T.A. 1^{8} 3^{2} 6^{4} T.Jos. 7^{4} 20^{2} T.B. $3^{3,4,8}$ $6^{1,7}$ $7^{1,2}$ Sib. $3^{63,73}$, *see* Belial; angel of lawlessness, ruler of this world, Mart. Is. 2^{4}; chief of evil spirits, Mart. Is. 1^{8}; coming and destruction of, Sib. § 6 3^{63-92} (? = Antichrist, ? Simon Magus) $3^{63}n.^{67}n.$; has no power over the pure, T.R. 4^{11}; men to be delivered from, T.Z. $9^{8(bdg)}$, cf. T.D. $5^{10,11}$; to be bound by Messiah, T.L. 18^{12}; to be cast into the fire, T.Jud. 25^{3}; sons of, Jub. 15^{33}; spirit(s) of, T.L. 3^{3} T.Jud. 25^{3} T.Iss. 7^{7} T.D. 1^{7}; spirit of, rules, accuses, ensnares, Jub. 1^{20}; will of, T.N. 3^{1}; works of, T.L. 19^{1} T.N. 2^{6}.
Beliar, servant of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 7^{8} (Arm.). *See* Nebuhal.
Belmain, Judith 4^{4} 7^{3}.
Beloved of the Lord, the, Mart. Is. $1^{7}n.^{13}$.
Belshazzar. *See* Baltasar.
Belshim, a god appealed to by Aḥiḳar, Ah. $1^{4}6^{16}$ (Arm.).
Belt, the constellation, Sib. 5^{522}.
Ben Sira, Sir. 51^{30}; his right to give instruction, Sir. 33^{16-18} ($36^{16a}35^{25-27}$); how he acquired Wisdom, 51^{13-30}.
Benase, 1En. 78^{2}.
Benedicite, the, Azar. § 1, 35–65.
Benefactor, title of, Add. Esth. $E^{2,13}n$.
Benevolence, danger of indiscriminate, Sir. 12^{1-7}.
Benjamin, 1Esd. 2^{8} 5^{66} 9^{5} Add. Esth. A^{1} Jub. $32^{3,33}$ 33^{22} $34^{3,20}$ 38^{8} $42^{4,9,10,21,23}$ $43^{4,7,16}$ $44^{23,25}$ Mart. Is. $3^{6,11}$ T.Jud. $25^{1,2}$ T.B. $1^{1,6}$ $2^{7(A)}$ $12^{2(\beta)}$ Test. *App.* I. $3^{9,11,12}$; sees Joseph in vision, T.B. 10^{1}; as a ravening wolf, T.B. 11^{1}.
Benjamite, 2Macc. 3^{4}.
Benuzardan, Nadan's younger brother, Ah. 3^{6} (Arab.).
Beon, Jub. 29^{10} (1Macc. $5^{4,5}$). *See* Baean.
Beor, Jub. 38^{16}.
Berachel, son of = Jacob, Test. *App.* I 4^{8}.
Berea, a place, 1Macc. 9^{4}.
Beriah, Jub. 44^{21}.
Berkael, 1En. 82^{17}.
Beroea, custom of execution at, 2Macc. $13^{4,5}$.
Beroth, i.e. Beeroth, 1Esd. 5^{19}.
Betane, Judith 1^{9}.
Betasuel, wife of Judah, Jub. 34^{20}, cf. Bathshua, Bedsuel.
Betenos, Jub. 4^{28}.
Beth ha-Midrasch, (Jellinek) book quoted, T.Jud. 3–7 *n*.
Bethha-Midrash, i.e. house of instruction, Sir. $51^{23}n.^{29}n.$ *See* Yeshibah.
Bethasmoth, 1Esd. 5^{18}.
Bethbasi, 1Macc. $9^{62}n.^{64}$.
Bethdagon, idol's temple at Azotus, 1Macc. $10^{83}n$.
Bethel, 1Macc. 9^{60} Tob. 2^{6} Jub. $13^{5,15}$ $27^{19,26}$ $31^{1,3,30}$ $32^{1,9}$ 44^{2} 45^{4} T.L. 7^{4} $9^{2,3}$ Test. *App.* II 10.
Bethhoron, 1Macc. $3^{16,24}$ 7^{39} 9^{50} Judith 4^{4} Jub. 34^{4}; battle at, 1Macc. $3^{16,24}$.
Bethlehem = Ephrath, Jub. 32^{34} Mart. Is. $2^{7,8,12}$ 3^{1} T.R. 3^{13}.
Bethlomon, 1Esd. 5^{17}.
Bethshan, 1Macc. $5^{52}n.$ 12^{40}; = Scythopolis, Jub. $29^{14}n$. 2Macc. 12^{29}.
Bethsura, 1Macc. $4^{29,61}$ $6^{7,26,31,49,50}$ 9^{52} 10^{14} 11^{65} $14^{7,33}$ 2Macc. $13^{19,22}$; (*or* Bethsuron), siege of, 2Macc. $11^{6}n$.
Bethuel, Jub. 19^{10} $27^{10,12}$ Test. *App.* II 62.
Bethulia, Judith, §6 $4^{6}n.$ $6^{10,11}$ $7^{1,3,6,13,20}$ $8^{3,11}$ 10^{6} 11^{9} 12^{7} 13^{10} $15^{3,6}$ $16^{21,23}$.
Bethzacharias, 1Macc. 6^{33}.
Betolion, 1Esd. 5^{21}.
Betomesthaim, Judith 4^{6} 15^{4}.
Bezeth, 1Macc. 7^{19}.
Bilhah, Jub. $28^{9,17,18,19}$ $33^{2,3,8,22}$ $34^{15,16}$ 44^{27} T.R. $3^{11,13}$ T.Jud. 13^{3} T.N. $1^{6,9,12}$ T.G. 1^{6} T.Jos. $20^{3(\beta)}$ T.B. 1^{3} Test. *App.* I. 1^{1}.
Biqa, 1En. 69^{13}.
Birthday, king's, 2Macc. 6^{7}.
Bithynians, Sib. 5^{124}.
Blasphemy, 1En. $91^{7,11}$ 94^{9} 96^{7} Zad. 7^{12} 14^{8}.
Blessed, ten types of men who are, Sir. 25^{7-11}.
Blessing, 1En. $10^{16,18}$ 41^{8} $45^{4,5}$ $59^{1,2,3}$ $76^{4,13}$.
Blessing of the Lord, Sir. $50^{20}n$.
Blind of eye better than blind of heart, Ah. 2^{48} (Syr. A).
Blindness, Tob. 2^{10} 3^{17} 5^{10} 6^{9} 14^{2}.
Blood, 1En. $9^{1,9}$ 15^{4} 100^{1}; of flesh, 15^{4}; righteous, $47^{2,4}$; sinners, 100^{3}; drink, 15^{4}; eating of forbidden, Jub. $6^{7,11-13}$ 7^{28-33} 11^{2} 1En. 98^{11} [Zad. 4^{6}], to Isaac by Abraham, Jub. 21^{7}; shedding of, a sin, Jub. 6^{7-13} 7^{28-33} 11^{2} 1En. 9^{1} 99^{6} (of Gentiles, Zad. 14^{7}); proper use of in sacrifice, Jub. $6^{11,14}$.
Boar, black wild = Esau, 1En. 89^{12}.
Boars, wild = Edomites, 1En. $89^{12}n.^{42-49,66}$; = Samaritans, 89^{72} $90^{13}n$.
Boccas, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Body, the, an encumbrance, Wisd. 9^{15}; no resurrection of in 2Enoch, 2En. § 3 50^{2} 65^{6}; to be restored by the earth, 2Bar. $42^{8}n.$; resurrection of, 2Bar. 49^{2-51}; resurrection of, not believed in by Alexandrian Jews, 4Macc. § 9. *See* Resurrection.
Bones flourish, Sir. $49^{10}n$.
Book, deeds written in, P.A. 2^{1} $3^{3,20}$.
Book, the = Scriptures, Arist. 316.
Book, the holy = Scriptures, read by Eleazar before battle, 2Macc. 8^{23}.
Book of discipline of children of men, Jub. 36^{10}; of the Division of the Seasons (= Book of Jubilees), Zad. 20^{1}; of the †Hagu†, Zad. $11^{2}n$. 15^{5} 17^{5}; of the histories of the kings of Judaea, 1Esd. 1^{33}; of the kings of Israel and Judah. 1Esd. 1^{33}; of life, 1En. 108^{3} Jub. 36^{10}, cf. Books of the living; of the memorial of life, Test. *App.* II 59; of remembrance, Zad. 9^{43}; of the seventy shepherds, 1En. 89^{68-77} $90^{17,20}$; of unrighteousness, 81^{4}, cf. $98^{7,8}$ 104^{7}; of the words of righteousness, 14^{1}; of zeal and wrath, disquiet and expulsion, 39^{1}.
Book, sealed, 1En. $89^{70,71}$. *See* Books, opened.
Books, the holy, 1En. 103^{2} 108^{3}. *See* Tablets, heavenly, and cf. 108^{7}.
Books of deeds of righteous and wicked, opened, 4Ez. 6^{20} 1En. $47^{3}n.$; of Enoch's revelations, to be transmitted to generations of world, 2En. $33^{9,10}$, *see* Apocrypha, Revelations; of fathers, Abraham learns Hebrew from, Jub. 12^{27}; of heathen writers, 1En. 104^{10}; of Jacob and his fathers given to Levi, Jub. $45^{16}n.$; of the Law, Zad. 9^{6}; of the living, 1En. $47^{3}n$, cf. 104^{1} and Book of life; of the Prophets, Zad. 9^{7}; recording sins, opened, 1En. 90^{20} 2Bar. 24^{1} 4Ez. 6^{20}.
Borrowing. *See* Lending.
Boser, Jub. 38^{17}.
Bosor, place, 1Macc. $5^{26,36}$.
Bosora, i.e. Bozrah, 1Macc. $5^{26,28}$.
Botany, Wisd. 7^{20} Jub. 10^{12-14} 1En. 7^{1} 8^{3}.
Boudan, Nadan's brother in Ah. 3^{5} (Arm.).
Branding, 3Macc. 2^{29}.
Brazen serpent, Wisd. 16^{6}.
Bread of dead, Tob. 4^{17}.
Breastplate of High Priest, Wisd. 18^{24}.
Breastplate of understanding, T.L. 8^{2}.
Britains, Sib. 5^{200}.
Brother = Jew, Tob. § 9.
Brotherly love, Tob. 4^{13}.
†Bugaean, Add. Esth. $A^{17}n.$ (*read* Agagite).
Builders of the wall (= Pharisees), Zad. 7^{1} $9^{21,26}$.
Bull, symbolically used, 1En. 85^{3-9} 86^{3} $89^{1,9-12}$; white = Messiah, 90^{37}.
Bundle of life, Sir. $6^{16}n$.
Burial, 1Macc. 2^{70} 13^{25} Tob. $1^{17}sq.$ $4^{3}sq.$ 6^{15} $12^{12}sq.$ A. & E. 48^{4-7} Apoc. Mos. 40^{1}–43^{1}.
Burnt-offering alone to be offered on Sabbath, Zad. 13^{27}; to be sent by the clean only, 14^{1}.
†Busasejal, 1En. 69^{2}.
Byzantium, Sib. 3^{437}.

Caeserin, Tob. 11^{1}.
Cain, Wisd. 10^{3} Jub. $4^{1,2,4,7,9,31}$ A. & E. 21^{3} 22^{3-5} $23^{1,2}$ Apoc. Mos. 1^{3} 2^{2} $3^{1,2}$ 4^{2} 40^{4} 1En. 22^{7} 85^{3-5} T.B. $7^{3,5}$ 4Macc. 18^{11}; death, by a stone, Jub. § 15 4^{31}; spiritual death of Cain on Abel's murder, Wisd. $10^{3}n.$; vengeance on, sevenfold, T.B. $7^{3,4}$.
Cainan, 1En. 37^{1} 2En. 33^{10}.
Calamolalus, 1Esd. 5^{22}.
Caleb, 1Macc. 2^{56} Sir. $46^{7,9}$ 2Bar. 59^{1}.
Calebites, 1Esd. § $5(c)(\zeta)$.

Calendar, Jewish, Jub. § 15, $6^{29-30,32}$ 15^{1} *notes*.
Calf, golden, Tob. 1^{5}.
Caligula, 4Macc. § 1.
Calitas, 1Esd. 9^{48}. *See also* Colius.
Callisthenes, 2Macc. 8^{33}.
Camarina, in Greece, Sib. 3^{736}.
Camarina = Ur, Sib. 3^{218}.
Camels = a class of giants, 1En. 86^{4}.
Camp, Censor of the, Zad. $16^{1,6,8}$ $17^{6,8}$ 18^{2}; children of the, Zad. 16^{6}; cut off from (*see* Excommunication), Zad. 9^{49}; eat and drink in, on Sabbath, 13^{9}; enter into the, 15^{6}.
Campanians, Sib. 3^{475}.
Camps, dwellers of, Zad. 17^{1}; settle in, 9^{1} 16^{9}.
Canaan, 1Macc. 9^{37} Judith $5^{3,9,10}$ 1Bar. 3^{22} Sus. 56 Jub. $7^{10-12,13}$ 9^{1} 10^{29} 22^{21} 29^{2} $46^{9,11}$ T.S. 6^{3} T.L. 12^{5} T.Jud. $10^{2,6}$ 11^{3} T.Z. 5^{5} T.Jos. 12^{2} $13^{1,8}$ 15^{2} T.B. $12^{3(\beta),4(\beta)}$: daughter(s) of, Jub. 20^{4} $25^{1,4,5}$ $27^{8,10}$ 41^{2}; king of, $46^{9,11}$; land of, Judith $5^{9,10}$ Jub. 10^{34} $12^{15,28}$ 13^{1} 15^{10} 29^{2} 34^{4} 39^{1} $42^{4,9,13}$ 43^{4} $44^{4,34}$ 45^{15} $46^{3,6,7,13}$ 47^{1} 49^{18} 50^{4} Test. *App.* II 78; seed of, Sus. 56 Jub. 20^{4} 25^{9} T.S. 6^{3}; son of Ham, 7^{13}.
Canaanite, Judith 5^{16} Jub. 34^{20} Mart. Is. 2^{5}.
Canaanite marriages forbidden, Jub. 20^{4} $25^{1-3,5}$.
Canaanites, 1Esd. 8^{69} Wisd. 12^{3} Jub. $14^{7,18}$ 30^{25} T.L. 7^{1} T.Jud. 3^{1} 7^{10} 11^{1}. *See* Amorites.
Canaanitish war, T.B. $12^{3(\beta)}$.
Cancer, constellation, Sib. 5^{524}.
Canon, Hebrew, threefold division implied in Sirach, Sir. *Prologue* $1n$.
Canon, no fixed idea of, in Sirach, Sir. $24^{33}n$.
Capharsalama, 1Macc. 7^{31}.
Caphira, i.e. Chephirah, 1Esd. 5^{19}.
Caphtorim = Philistines, Jub. 24^{30}.
Cappadocians, T.S. 6^{3} Sib. 3^{517}.
Capricorn, Sib. $5^{207,518,519}$.
Captain, chief, T.Jos. 2^{1} $16^{2(\beta)}$.
Captivity of Israel due to forsaking God's ordinances, festivals, Sabbaths, holy place, Jub. 1^{10}. *See* Israel.
Carabasion, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Carchemish, war at, 1Esd. 1^{25}.
Cardinal virtues, Wisd. 8^{7}.
Caria, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Carians, Sib. $3^{170,209,472}$ $4^{90,149}$ 5^{288}.
Carmel, Judith, 1^{8}.
Carmi, Jub. 44^{12}.
Carnaim, 1Macc. $5^{26,43,44}$ 2Macc. $12^{21}n.^{26}$.
Carthage, Sib. 3^{484} 4^{106}.
Casphor, 1Macc. $5^{26,36}$.
Caspin, siege of, 2Macc. 12^{13-16}.
Catena on Pentateuch, an old, quoted, Ass. Mos. § $2n^{1}$.
Cathua, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Cattle, duty to, Sir. 7^{22}.
Cebren, Sib. 3^{343}.
Cedron, valley of, 2Bar. 5^{5} 21^{1} 31^{2} *See* Kedron.
Celtic mountaineer = Trajan, Sib. 5^{43}.
Celts. *See* Qelt.
Cendebaeus, 1Macc. $15^{38,40}$ $16^{1,4,8}$.
Censor, Zad. $10^{10}n.$, *see* Camp; duties of, 16^{1-12} 17^{6-8}; of the many, 19^{8}; to command, 19^{12}; to examine, 19^{10}; to instruct priest in law of leprosy, 15^{7}; to receive alms, 18^{2}; to receive accusations, 10^{10-13} 17^{8}.
Chabrias, Arist. 48.
Chabris, son of Gothoniel, Judith 6^{15} 8^{11} 10^{6}.
Chabu, Arist. 50.
Chadiasiai, 1Esd. 5^{20}.
Chaereas, brother of Timotheus, 2Macc. $10^{32,37}$.
Chalcedon, Sib. 3^{434}.
Chaldaean astrology, Sib. 3^{227}.
Chaldaeans. 1Esd. 1^{52} 4^{45} 6^{15} Judith $5^{6,7}$ 1Bar. 1^{2} Ep. Jer. 40 Azar. 25.
Chaldees, Jub. $9^{4,5}$ $11^{3,7,9,21}$ Sib. 3^{218}; army of, 2Bar. 8^{4}; race of, Sib. 5^{440}.
Chalkydri, 2En. $12^{1}n.$ 15^{1}.
Chalphi. *See* Judas, son of.
Chambers in heaven, Sir. $48^{12}n.$; of souls of righteous, 4Ez. $4^{35}n.7^{95}$—in intermediate state, not before birth, $4^{41}n.$, cf. habitations of spirits (or 'winds') $5^{37}n.$; of sun and moon, 1En. 41^{5}; of winds, hail, mist, and clouds, 41^{4}; of winds, 60^{12}; cf. '†places of rest†' of thunder, 60^{14}.
Chanukka, feast of, 2Macc. § 1 § 4 Judith § 8*a*, 16^{25} 4Macc. § 8. *See* Dedication.
Chanuneus, 1Esd. 8^{48}.
Chaos, 1En. 18^{12} 20^{5} $21^{1,2}$ 108^{3}.
Chaphenatha, 1Macc. 12^{37}.
Charaathalan, 1Esd. 5^{36}.
Characters, new = new Hebrew script, square or 'Assyrian characters', 4Ez. $14^{42}n.$
Charax, 2Macc. 12^{17}. *See* Tubieni.
Charea, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Chariot of God, Sir. $49^{8}n.$
Charity. *See* Alms.
Charme, 1Esd. 5^{25}.
Charmis, son of Melchiel, Judith 6^{15} 8^{11} 10^{6}.
Chaseba, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
Chasid policy,—passive resistance, Ass. Mos. $9n.$; alliance with Maccabees temporary, $9n.$
Chasidim, 1Macc. $2^{42}n.$ Sir. § 3iii 1En. § 1 Test. §§ 1, 16 Ass. Mos. 9^{1} Zad. $1^{7}n.$; a company of, support Mattathias, 1Macc. 2^{39-48} $2^{42}n.$; warlike, $3^{43,44}$ 2Macc. 14^{6}; peaceful. 1Macc. 7^{12-14}; = saints, $7^{17}n.$; welcome Alcimus, 7^{13}; existed as a party before the Maccabaean rising, 1En. $90^{6-17}n.$; symbolized by 'lambs' in 90^{6-9}. *See* Hasidaeans.
Chasm of the abyss of the valley, 1En. $56^{3,4}$.
Chasms of the earth levelled up, 1En. 89^{7}. *See* Abyss, Ravine, Valley.
Chastening for sin, Ps. Sol. 10^{1-3} 13^{5-9} 16^{11}; endurance of, Ps. Sol. 10^{2} 14^{1} $16^{13,15}$; of Israel, 2Bar. 1^{5}, as son, Ps.Sol. 18^{4}; of Jewish nation, through martyrs, 2Macc. 7^{33-38}.
Chastisement, great, 1En. $91^{5,7}$; day of, 102^{5}; visions of, 13^{8}.
Chastity, T.Jos. $4^{1,2}$ 6^{7} $9^{2,3}$ $10^{2,3}$; an aid to prayer, 4Ez. $6^{32}n.$
Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Jub. 13^{22}.
Chelod, son of, Judith 1^{6}.
Chellians, Judith 2^{23}.
Chellus, Judith 1^{9}.
Chermion, 2En. 57^{2}.
Cherubim, Sir. $49^{8}n.$ Azar. 32 Apoc. Mos. 19^{2} 22^{3} 32^{2} 38^{3} 1En. $14^{11,18}$ 20^{7} 61^{10} 71^{7} Sib. 3^{1} 2En. $12^{1}n.$ 19^{6} 20^{1} 21^{1} 22^{2} 29^{3}(B). *See* Angels, Chalkydri.
Chian, Sib. 3^{422}.
Childbirth, Tob. 4^{4}.
Children of the camp, Zad. 16^{6}; of the covenant = Jews, Ps. Sol. 17^{17}; of destitute, 1En. 99^{5}; of earth = men, 12^{4} 15^{3} 86^{6} 105^{1}; = sinners, 100^{6} 102^{3}; of fornication, 10^{9}; of heaven = watchers, 6^{2} 14^{3}; = righteous, $101^{1}n.$; of men, $6^{1,2}$ $10^{7,21}$ 12^{1} $15^{4,12}$ $22^{3,5}$ 39^{1} 40^{9} 42^{2} 64^{2} 69^{6-14} Sir. 17^{30} Judith 8^{12} Zad. 9^{52}; of people (= Israel), 10^{2}; of the pit (= uncircumcised), 8^{12} 16^{7}; of righteousness, 1En. 91^{3} 93^{2}; unlawfully begotten, Wisd. 4^{6}; of uprightness, 1En. 105^{2}; of Watchers, 10^{9-12} 12^{6}, cf. 14^{6} Zad. 3^{5}; of the world, 9^{54}. *See* Sons.
Children, curse of sinful. Sir. 16^{1-5} 22^{3-6}; duty to, 7^{23-25}; elect and holy = watchers, 1En. 39^{1}; training of, Sir. 30^{1-13}. *See* Daughters.
Children, Israel will be God's, Jub. 1^{24}. *See* Father.
Children, the Three, 1Macc. 2^{59} 3Macc. 6^{6} Azar. 28, 66, 4Macc. 13^{9} 16^{21}.
Chislev, month, 1Macc. 1^{54} $4^{52,59}$; month, 2Macc, $1^{9,18}$ 10^{5}.
Chittim = the islands and coastlands of Greece, 1Macc. $1^{1}n.$ 8^{5}. *See* Kittim.
Chiun your images (= the books of the Prophets), Zad. $9^{5,7}$.
Choba, Judith 4^{4}.
Chobai, Judith $15^{4,5}$.
Choice of guardian angels and intercessors given to nations, Test. *App.* I 9^{1-5}.
Choice, moral, 2Bar. $19^{1,2}$.
Choir, martyrs as a, 4Macc. 8^{4} 13^{8} 14^{7}.
Chola, Judith 15^{4}.
Chorbe, 1Esd. 5^{12}.
[Christ, A. & E. $42^{2,5}$.]
Christ, or Anointed One, title of Messiah, 1En. § 11 48^{10} 52^{4}. *See* Anointed.
Christian additions to Martyrdom of Isaiah, Mart. Is. 1^{7}; to Testaments, Test. § 13; doctrine of Return of Christ to judge the world, denied in, 4Ez. 5^{56}–$6^{6}n$, cf. 7^{33-44}; influence in Syriac version of Sirach, Sir. § 5i; interpolations, A. & E. $29^{2,7}$ 42^{2-5}; interpolation concerning vine, 3Bar. 4^{9-15} 13^{4} 15^{4}; redactor of 3Baruch, 3Bar. § 8.
Chronicles. *See* Book.
Chronicles of the Kings, 1Esd. 1^{42}.
Chronology, Jub. 46^{6-9} T.G. 8^{5} Ass. Mos. $1^{2,3}n.$ *See* Seleucid era.
Chrysostom, Sir. § 8, 4Macc. § 8.
Chusi, Judith 7^{18}.
Cibyra, Sib. 5^{317}.
Cilicia, 1Macc. 11^{14} 2Macc. 4^{36} Judith $1^{7,12}$ $2^{21,25}$ 4Macc. 4^{2}.
Circe, Sib. 3^{814}.
Circumcision, Jub. § 15, $15^{14,26,29}$ 16^{14}; by force, 1Macc. 2^{46}; enjoined on Abraham's sons, Jub. 20^{3}; forbidden, 1Macc. 1^{48}; punished, 1Macc. 1^{60} 2Macc. $6^{10,11}$ 4Macc. 4^{25}; severer and later rules concerning, Jub. $15^{14}n.$; token of an eternal covenant, 15^{9-11}. *See* Uncircumcision.
Cisterns at Jerusalem, Arist. 89.
Citadel at Jerusalem, Arist. $100n.$ 100–104.
Cities of the plain, Wisd. 10^{6}.
Citizenship, offered to Jews, 3Macc. 2^{30} 3^{21}. *See* Alexandria, Antioch, Athens.
City = Jerusalem, 4Ez. $3^{24,25}$ 10^{46} = New Jerusalem, 8^{52} $10^{27,42,44,54}$; Holy = Jerusalem, Sir. 24^{11} 36^{11} 49^{6} Azar. 5 Ps.Sol. 8^{4} Zad. 9^{46}; of the sanctuary, 14^{4}.
Clean, *see* Heart; and unclean, Zad. 8^{14} 15^{1}; meats, *see* Forbidden.
Cleanse Israel, God will, Jub. 1^{23}.
Cleansed, from sin, by confession, Ps. Sol. 9^{12}; by God's chastening, 10^{1} 18^{6}; in water, Zad. 12^{1}; through repentance, 10^{16}.
Clement of Alexandria, Sir. § 8.
Cleopatra, married to Alexander Balas, 1Macc. $10^{57,58}$; given to Demetrius II, 11^{12}.
Cleopatra, Add. Esth. $F^{11}n.$
Cloud, pillar of, Wisd. 19^{7}; with black and white waters, vision of, 2Bar. 53.
Clouds, angel or spirit of. *See* Angels.
Cnidus, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Cock, heavenly, 3Bar. 6^{15}.
Cocytus, 1En. $17^{6}n.$
Coelesyria, 1Esd. 2^{17}, $n^{24,27}$ 4^{48} 6^{29} 7^{1} 8^{67} 1Macc. $10^{69}n.$ 2Macc. $3^{5,8}$ 4^{4} 8^{8} 10^{11} 3Macc. 3^{15}. *See also* Phoenicia.
Cohabitation, instrument of, Tob. 7^{13}.
Cohortatio ad Graecos, relation of to Aristeas's Letter, Arist. § 9.
Cold and heat, angel or spirit of. *See* Angel.
Colius, called Calitas, 1Esd. 9^{23}.
Colophon, Sib. 3^{343}.
Commandment, Sir. $15^{15}n.$
Commandments, the two great, Test. § 16.
Community, of Israel, Zad. 14^{8};

four orders of Zadokite, 17^{1-5}. *See* Congregation.
Companions of Messiah. *See* Messiah.
Competitors in games, martyrs like, 4Macc. 11^{20} 15^{29} 17^{12}*sq.*
Confess before God, Zad. $9^{50(B)}$; to priest, 10^{8}.
Confessio Esdrae, two texts of, 4Ez. 8^{20-40}*n.*
Confession, brings cleansing from sin, Ps.Sol. 9^{12}*n.*; of exiles in 'Babylon', 1Bar. $1^{15-3^{18}}$; of Israel's sins, Azar. 1–15 Add. Esth. C^{17}; of sin, Jub. 1^{22} P.Man. 8–13; and forgiveness, for sick, Sir. 7 ^{35}*n.*; = turning from sins, Sir. 4^{26}*n.* *See* Repentance.
Conflict of Adam and Eve. *See* Adam and Eve.
Congregation (= Israel or synagogue, P.A. 2^{2}*n.*); the, P.A. $2^{2,5}$ 4^{7} Zad. $1^{8,17}$*n.* 4^{7} $9^{9,22}$ 11^{1-3} 16^{6}; come into the, 14^{6}; enter the, 9^{30} 17^{7}; his (censor's), $16^{3,4}$; judges of, 11^{1}; of the elect and holy, 1En. 62^{8}; of the righteous, 38^{1}; of the Righteous and Elect One, 53^{6}; of men of perfection of holiness, Zad. 9^{30}; of treacherous men, Zad. 1^{8}; prince of all the, 9^{9}; trumpets of, 14^{3}; the, smitten by the fiery angel, 4Macc. 7^{11}. *See* Community.
Conscience, T.R. 4^{3}*n.* T.Jud. 20^{5}; = the higher self, Wisd. 17^{11}*n.*
Consciousness, man's, of his perishing nature, contrasted with brutes' ignorance, 4Ez. 7^{62-72}; man's, of law, condemns him, 7^{72}; of right and wrong in all men, 2Bar. 48^{40}*n.*
Consummation, 1En. 10^{12} 16^{1}, *see* Day and cf. 19^{1} Zad. $6^{5,7}$; = final judgement, 2Bar. 30^{3}*n.* 76^{2}, *see* End; = time of kingdom, Ass. Mos. 1^{18} 2Bar. 27^{15} 29^{8}; of the age, 2Bar. 69^{4} 83^{7}; of all things, 83^{22}; of God's judgement, 82^{2}; of the times, T.R. 6^{8}*n.*
Contentment, advantage of, Sir. 29^{21-23}.
Corinth, Sib. 3^{487} 4^{105} 5^{214}.
Corruption, the present world the sphere of, 2Bar. 21^{19}*n.* 40^{3}.
Cos, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Council of nation, later developed into Sanhedrin, 1Macc. 12^{6}*n.*; of the pious, Ps. Sol. 4^{1}. *See* Synagogues.
Counsellor, God needs no, Sir. 42^{21} 2En. 30^{4}.
Counsellors, true and false, Sir. 37^{7-15}.
Counterparts, all things have, T.A. $5^{1,2}$.
Covenant, Ps. Sol. 9^{18}; children of = Jews, Ps. Sol. 17^{17}; eternal, Ps. Sol. 10^{5}; the holy, repudiated, 1Macc. 1^{15}; in Zad.—$1^{4,12,15}$ 2^{1} 4^{9} 6^{6} 7^{12} $8^{3,21}$; and mercy, 8^{21}(B); of the forefathers, 1^{4} 9^{25}. cf. 6^{6}; of God, 4^{10} 7^{12} 8^{21} 9^{41} $16^{7,12}$, cf. God established with the forefathers, 6^{6}; God remembered, 8^{3}; of Israel, 5^{1}, cf. that Moses established with Israel, $19^{8,13}$; of repentance, 9^{15} (B); curses of, 1^{12} $19^{1,4}$; oath of, $19^{6,8}$; ordinances of, 11^{2}, *see* Ordinances; members of, for ever, 4^{3}; rules for, § 10 iv.; statutes of, 7^{12} 9^{51}; vengeance of, 1^{12} 9^{11}; enter into, 2^{1} 4^{9} 8^{11} $9^{12,15}$(B) $9^{28,49}$ 10^{2} 16^{7} 19^{6}; reject, 9^{37}; stand fast, 8^{21} 16^{12}; transgress, 1^{15} 20^{8}; new, drawn up in the land of Damascus, §§ 1, 8, 10, 8^{15} $9^{28,37}$; those who were faithless to, to be destroyed by Messiah, 9^{10-20}; to be judged, 9^{26-27}; excommunicated, 9^{28-39}. *See* Faithful.
Craftiness, how different from wisdom, Sir. 19^{20-30}.
Craftsman, indispensable but not fit for highest office, Sir. 38^{31-34}. *See* Artisan.
Crates, viceroy of Cyprus, 2Macc. 4^{29}.
Created, definite number of the, 2Bar. 23^{4-5}*n.*
Creation, P.A. 5^{1} 6^{12} Zad. 7^{2} 16^{1}; all corrupted, Jub. 5^{2-3}; apocalyptists begin survey with, 4Ez. 3^{4}*n.*; ex nihilo, 2Bar. 21^{4}*n.*; fashioned anew at Exodus, Wisd. 19^{6}; God and Wisdom in, Wisd. § 9; hymn in praise of, Sir. 39^{12-35}; new (when heavens and earth renewed), Jub. 1^{29} 1En. $45^{4,5}$*n.* $51^{4,5}$ 72^{1} $91^{15,16}$ 2Bar. 32^{6}*n.* 44^{12} 57^{2} 4Ez. 5^{45} 7^{75}; out of (pre-existing) matter, Wisd. 11^{17}; teaching of 2Enoch on, 2En. § 6; transformed, 2Bar. 32^{6} 51 52^{2}, *see* Transformation; twenty-two acts of, Jub. 2^{1-16}; wisdom as seen in, Sir. 16^{24-30}, cf. $42^{15-43^{25}}$; works of, 4Ez. 6^{38-59}. *See* Nature, Seven Days, World.
Creatures in heavens, spirits of. *See* Angels.
Cretan, Sib. 3^{140}.
Crete, 1Macc. 10^{67} Sib. 3^{504} 5^{450}.
Crobuzi, Sib. 3^{474}.
Cronos, Sib. $3^{110,121,127,129,131,148,150,152,157,200,201,383}$.
Croton, Sib. 4^{82}.
Crown, P.A. 1^{13} $4^{7,17}$ 6^{5}; of righteousness, Arist. 280 T.L. 8^{2}.
Crowns of glory, T.B. 4^{1}.
Cud, chewing the, symbolizes memory, Arist. 153.
Cup of Inspiration. *See* Inspiration.
Curse, power of a, Sir. 4^{5}*n.*
Curses of God's covenant, Zad. 1^{12} $19^{1,4}$.
Cush, Jub. 7^{13} 9^{1} 10^{30}.
Cutha, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Cyagra, Sib. 3^{344}.
Cyamon, Judith 7^{3}.
Cycle, metonic, 2En. $16^{5,8}$*n.*, cf. 1En. 74^{13}.
Cymaeans, Sib. 5^{314}.
Cyme, Sib. 5^{308}.
Cyprus, 1Macc. 15^{23} 2Macc. 4^{29} 10^{13} 12^{2} Sib. 3^{457} $4^{129,143}$ $5^{450,454}$.
Cyrene, 1Macc. 15^{23} Sib. 5^{198}.
Cyrnos, Sib. 3^{477}.
Cyrrhus, Sib. 4^{142}.
Cyrus, 1Esd. $2^{1,2,3,10,11}$ $4^{44,57}$ $5^{55,71,73}$ $6^{17,18,22,24}$ 7^{4} Bel 1 1En. 89^{59}*n.* Sib. 3^{286}; decree of, permitting Temple to be rebuilt, 1Esd. § 1, § 6(*a*) 2^{1-7}.
Cyzicus, Sib. $3^{436,442}$ 4^{99}.

Dacians, Sib. 3^{513}.
Dacubi, 1Esd. 5^{28}.
Daisan, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
Dakis, Arist. 47.
Dalan, 1Esd. 5^{37}.
Damascus, Judith $1^{7,12}$ 2^{27} 15^{5} Zad. §§ 1, 8, 10, *see* Covenant, Migration, North, Penitents; not permanent headquarters of Zadokites, § 10iii; beyond, Zad. 9^{5}; land of, $8^{6,15}$ $9^{28,37}$; the Star came to, 9^{8}.
Dammasek, Jub. 14^{2}.
Dan, Tob. 1^{5} Jub. 28^{18} 33^{22} 34^{20} 38^{6} 44^{27-29} T.R. 6^{7} T.Jud. $7^{2(\beta),6}$ 25^{2} T.Z. $2^{1(\alpha)}$ 3^{2} $4^{2(\alpha),7,13}$ T.D. 1^{2} 7^{3} T.A. 7^{6} Test. *App.* II 3; and Antichrist, T.D. 5^{6}*n.*
Dan, city, Jub. 13^{23}.
Dan, land of, 1En. 13^{7}; waters of, 13^{7}.
Danaba, Jub. 38^{16}.
Danel, Jub. 4^{20}.
Danel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Daniel, 1Macc. 2^{60} 3Macc. 6^{7} Sus. § 1, § 2, 45, 48, 51, 52, 55, 59, 61, 64 Bel 2, 4, 5, 7, 9–12, 14, 16, 17–19, 21, 22, 24–27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37–42 4Ez. 12^{11} 4Macc. $16^{3,21}$ 18^{13}; semi-angelic figure still in time of Alexander Jannaeus, Sus. § 6 Bel. §§ 1, 2; son of Abal, a priest, Bel 2 (LXX).
Daniel, Arist. 49.
Daniel, Additions to. *See* Azariah, Prayer of; Bel and the Dragon; Susanna.
Danjal, 1En. 69^{2}.
Daphne, sanctuary near Antioch, 2Macc. 4^{33}.
Dardanus, sons of, Sib. 3^{509}.
Darius. King, 1Esd. 2^{30} $3^{1,3,5,7,9}$ 4^{47} $5^{2,6}$ $6^{1,6,7,8,23,34}$ $7^{1,4,5}$. *See* Temple, Zerubbabel, Sources of 1Esdras.
Darius, Codomannus, king of the Persians and Medes, 1Macc. 1^{1}.
Darkening the mind, T.R. 3^{8} T.L. 14^{4} T.D. 2^{4} T.G. 6^{2}. *See* Light.
Darkness, curse of sinners, as light the blessing of righteous, 1En. 41^{8}*n.* $10^{4,5}$ $11^{6,7}$ 41^{8} 46^{6} 58^{6} 60^{19} 62^{10} $63^{6,11}$ 74^{3} 77^{3} $89^{4,8}$ 92^{5} 94^{9} 102^{7} 103^{8} 104^{8} $108^{11,14}$.
Darkness, plague of, Wisd. 17^{2}.
Date in *Prologue* of Sirach, Sir. § 6ii(*b*).
Dathaeus, Arist. 50.
Dathan and Abiram, Sir. 45^{18} 4Macc. 2^{17}.
Dathema, a stronghold, 1Macc. 5^{9}.
Daughters, care of, Sir. 42^{9-14}, cf. 7^{24-25} 26^{10-12}.
David, 1Esd. $1^{3,5,15}$ $5^{5,60}$ $8^{29,49}$ Tob. 1^{4} Sir. 45^{25} $47^{1,2,22}$ 48^{15} 49^{4} $51^{12 \text{ v } 111}$ 2Bar. 61^{1} 4Ez. 3^{23} 7^{108} (10^{46}) 12^{32} Ps. Sol. $17^{5,8,23}$ 4Macc. 3^{6}*sq.* 18^{15} P.A. 5^{19} 6^{3}; = a lamb, raised to being a ram, 1En. 89^{45-46}; books of, 2Macc. 2^{13}; city of, made into a citadel (by Apollonius), 1Macc. 1^{33} 2^{31} 7^{32} 13^{36}; deeds of, 1Macc. 2^{57} 4^{30}; glorified, Zad. 7^{7}; Psalmist, 4Macc. 18^{15}; read not in the sealed Book of the Law, Zad. 7^{5}; son of = Messiah, Ps.Sol. 17^{23}; thirst of, 4Macc. $3^{6,7,15}$.
Davidic line, animus against, Zad. § 12, cf. Judah; Messiah, expected in Ps.Sol. § 7, 17^{23}*n.* Sir. § 3iii, 51^{12}. Contrast Sir. 36, 44–48.
Day of affliction, 1En. $48^{8,10}$ 50^{2}; of consummation, 1En. 10^{12} 16^{1}; of cursing and chastisement, 102^{5}; of darkness, 94^{9}; of death of giants, 16^{1}; of decision = of judgement, Wisd. 3^{18}; of destruction, 1En. 16^{1} 98^{10}; of judgement, $22^{4,13}$ 97^{3} 100^{4}, great, 54^{6}; of judgement and consummation, 10^{12}; of the great judgement, 10^{6} 19^{1} 94^{9} 98^{10} 99^{15} 104^{5}; of great shame, 98^{10}; of judgement, the great, 22^{11} 84^{4}, *see* Judgement; of judgement, 4Ez. $7^{38,39,102,104,105,113}$ 12^{34}, no prayer or atonement on, 4Ez. $7^{104-105}$, souls of righteous guarded in chambers till, *see* Intermediate state; of slaughter, 1En. 16^{1} 94^{9}; of unceasing bloodshed, 99^{6}; of suffering and tribulation, 45^{2} 63^{8}; of tribulation, 1^{1} 96^{2}; and pain, 55^{3}; unrighteousness, 97^{1}; of wrath, Sir. 5^{8}.
De montibus Sina et Sion, cited under 2En. 30^{13}.
Dead, the, Tob. 5^{10}, *see* Sacrifice, Sheol; burial of, Tob. § 6 § 8ii § 10B(4); duty to, Sir. 7^{33}; Fable of the Grateful, Tob. § 8ii; guarded, 2Bar. 23^{4}*n.* 4Ez. $7^{95,121}$, *see* Chambers; mourning for, Sir. 38^{16-23}; pollution by, Zad. 14^{16}; prayers for, 2Macc. 12^{44}; respect for, Sir. 8^{7}; sacrifices for, 2Macc. $12^{43,45}$; sacrifices of the, P.A. 3^{5}*n.*; sacrifices to, Jub. 22^{17} Tob. 4^{17}*n.*; sin offerings for, 2Macc. 12^{43}.
Death, Tob. 4^{10} 12^{9} *sq.* (*see* Sheol) 1En. $94^{2,3}$ 98^{16} 102^{10} 4Ez. 8^{53}; abolished, for righteous, 2En. 65^{10} 4Ez. 8^{53}, *see* Hades; came through Eve, 2En. 30^{18}*n.*; certain, Sir. 14^{17}; day of, P.A. $2^{5,14}$ 3^{1} 4^{29}; due to the devil, Wisd. 2^{24}; to sin, 2En. 30^{16}*n.*; to sin or rather to sinful unrighteous knowledge, 1En. 69^{11}; = eternal rest, Sir. 30^{17}*n.*; = long sleep (for the righteous), 1En. 100^{5}; physical and spiritual, Wisd. § 9; pronounce no man happy before, Sir. 11^{28}; traced to Adam, 2Bar. 23^{4}, *see* Adam; views on, two, Sir. § 1, 41^{1-4}. *See* End.
Deborah, Tob. 1^{8}.
Deborah, Jub. 31^{30} 32^{30}.

INDEX

Deceit, 1En. 91^{8} 93^{4} 94^{6} 104^{10}. *See* Spirits.
Dedication, Feast of, 1Macc. 4^{52}*sq.n.* 2Macc. 1^{9}*n.*; instituted, 2Macc. 10^{1-8}.
Deep, the, = subterranean waters, Sir. 1^{3}*n.* 16^{18}; or abyss, God's look dries up, 4Ez. 8^{23}; mouth of, 1En. 17^{8}, *see* Abyss, Depth; shut up and sealed by Name of God, P. Man. 4.
Deification of kings, 2Macc. 11^{23} Wisd. 14^{17}.
Deliberation, clear. 4Macc. 1^{15}*n.*
Delos, 1Macc. 15^{23} Sib. 3^{363} 4^{92}.
Deluge, Jub. 5^{19-32} 1En. 10^{2} 54^{7-10} 65^{1} 89^{3-5} 91^{5} 106^{15} 2Bar. 56^{15} 4Macc. 15^{31}; foretold to Noah, 1En. 65^{1}; held in check, 1En. 66^{2}.
Demeter, Sib. 3^{123}.
Demetrius I, Soter, son of Seleucus. 1Macc. $7^{1,4}$ 8^{31} 9^{1} $10^{2,3,15,22,25,48-50,52}$ 2Macc. $14^{1,4,5,11,26}$ Sib. $3^{388-400}$*n.*; accession, 1Macc. 7^{1-20}; death, 10^{50}*n.*; privileges alleged to be granted to Jews by, 1Macc. § 7ii (*b*) 10^{25-45}—Jerusalem to be holy and free; feast days to be observed; immunity and release for Jews during feasts; Jews to have own laws; taxation largely remitted; Temple to receive large gifts.
Demetrius II. Nicator. 1Macc. 10^{67}*n.*^{69} $11^{9,12,30,32,38-42,52,55,63}$ $12^{24,34}$ $13^{34,35}$ $14^{1-3,38}$ 15^{22} 2Macc. 1^{7}; king, 1Macc. 11^{19}.
Demetrius of Phalerum, Arist. § 1 9*n.*, 11, 28, 29, 301, 308, 309, 312, 317.
Democritus, Greek proverbial philosopher, Ah. § 2; references by, to Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 3*a*.
Demon, Tob. 3^{17} $6^{8,14}$ 8^{3}.
Demonology of 1Enoch, 1En. § 11 (*d*); fallen watchers, 6 $69^{2,3}$ 86 $106^{13,14}$; demons proper, $15^{8,9,11}$ 16^{1} 19 69^{12} 99^{7}; of Jubilees reappears largely in N.T., Jub. § 15; demons attack men and rule over them, Jub. § 15, $10^{3,6}$; corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked, 10^{8}; subject to prince Mastema or Satan, 10^{8}; sacrificed to, as gods, 22^{17}; their activities cease on the judgement of Mastema, 10^{8}, or setting up of Messianic Kingdom, when Satan is no longer able to hurt mankind, 23^{29}.
Demons, *see* Demonology, Spirits; children sacrificed to, Jub. 1^{11}; destroy without incurring judgement until consummation, 16^{1}; = evil spirits, *see* Angels of punishment, Satans; impure spirits, 99^{7}; lead astray Noah's sons, Jub. $10^{1,2}$; men sacrifice to, as gods, 1En. 19^{1} 99^{7}; restrained on Noah's prayer, Jub. $10^{9,13}$; sacrificing to, 1Bar. 4^{7}; = spirits of the giants, 1En. $15^{8,9,11}$ 16^{1}; to punish men, 3Bar. 16^{3}.
Demophon, 2Macc. 12^{2}.
Deny. *See* Name.
Depth, 1En. 60^{11}; uttermost, 17^{3}; depths made fast, 69^{19}. *See* Abyss, Deep.
Desert, demons of, 4Macc. 18^{8}*n.*
Desire. *See* Will.
Desolation. *See* Abomination.
Destiny, Wisd. 19^{4}; of righteous, § 9.
Destroyer = Demetrius I, Sib. 3^{396}; = destroying angel, Wisd. 18^{25}.
Destruction, Sir. 20^{25} Ps.Sol. 9^{9} 16^{5}; (or pit), eternal, Ps.Sol. 2^{35}; for ever, 3^{13}; Sheol, darkness and, 14^{9}; mark of, *see* Mark.
Deuteronomy, Ass. Mos. 1^{5}.
Devil, Wisd. 2^{24}; A. & E. 10^{2} $11^{1,2}$ 12^{1} 13^{1} 17^{2} 33^{2} S.A. & E. 33^{1} 34^{1-4} 35^{1} 38^{1} 39^{1} Apoc. Mos. 15^{3} $16^{1,2,5}$ 17^{4} 21^{3}; envy of, for Adam, Wisd. 2^{24} 2En. 31^{3} 3Bar. 4^{8}, *see* Death; fall of, A. & E. $12^{1-17^{3}}$.
Devils, 4Macc. 18^{8}*n.*
Devote; Zad. 20^{12}. *See* Ban.
Diadem of priesthood, T.L. 8^{10}.
Diaspora, Add. Esth. § 1; addressed in 1Bar. 3^{9}–4^{4}, 1Bar. § 4, § 7; duty of, to Law and Temple, Tob. § 7, *see* Dispersion; gathering of, 1Bar. 5^{5}.
Didache, cites Sirach, Sir. § 8; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7 (*a*).
Didactic sections in Tobit, Tob. § 9.
Didascalia, Sir. § 8; contains P.Man., §§ 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
Dinah, Jub. 28^{23} $30^{2,3,4,12,24}$ 33^{22} $34^{15,16}$ 44^{18}; ravishing and avenging of, Judith 9^{2} T.L. 2^{2} 5^{3} 6^{8}.
Dinah, daughter of Barakiel, Jub. 4^{15}.
Dione, Sib. 3^{123}.
Dionysia, festival of, 2Macc. 6^{7}.
Dionysus, 2Macc. 6^{7}, 14^{33}; and Hades, Wisd. 1^{16}*n.*; feast of, 3Macc. § 6; worship of, 3Macc. 2^{29}.
Dioscurus, month, 2Macc. 11^{21}*n.*
Dis, Arist. 15.
Discernment attained by experience, Sir. $36^{18-20(23-25)}$.
Discretion, Tob. 4^{14}.
Dispensation from heaven to assist Jacob's deceit, Jub. 26^{18}.
Dispersed of Israel, gathering together of, Ps.Sol. 8^{34} 11^{3} 17^{19}*n.*^{28,50}; by Messiah, 17^{28}. *See* Ten Tribes.
Dispersion, the return from, 2Bar. 77^{6} 78^{7}*n.*; restoration of, Sir. 48^{10}. *See* Diaspora.
Disputes with evil men, danger of, Sir. 8^{14-19}. *See* Quarrels.
Divinations, vanity of, Sir. 34 $(31)^{1-8}$.
Divinities, heathen. *See* Gods.
Division of earth among Noah's sons, Jub. $8^{10,11}$ Sib. 3^{114}*n.*
Divorce forbidden in Zad. §§ 2, $9^{4^{0}}$ 13. *See* 7^{1}*n.*
Djemchid, king, and the Devas, Persian story of, Mart.Is. § 8.
Dodona, Sib. 3^{144}.
Dog, Tob. § 9, 6^{2} 11^{5}.
Dog-star, the, Sib. 5^{526}.
Dogs = Philistines, 1En. 89^{42-49}.
Dok, a stronghold, 1Macc. 16^{15}*n.*
Dominion. *See* Power.
Domitian, 4Ez. 11^{24}*n.*
Dor, 1Macc. $15^{11,13,25}$.
Dorotheus, Arist. 182, 183, 186.
Dorylaeum, Sib. 3^{406}*n.*
Dosa ben Harchinas, P.A. 3^{15}.
Dositheans. *See* Zadokite Party.
Dositheus, Maccabaean leader, 2Macc. $12^{19,24}$.
Dositheus, man of Tubieni, 2Macc. 12^{35}.
Dositheus, priest, Add. Esth. F^{11}.
Dositheus, son of Drimylus, 3Macc. § 5, 1^{3}.
Dositheus, an elder, Arist. 50.
Dosthai ben Jannai, P.A. 3^{11}.
Dotaea = Dothan, Judith 3^{9}. *See* Dothaim.
Dothaim = Dothan, Judith 4^{6} $7^{3,18}$ 8^{3}. *See* Dotaea.
Dothan, Jub. 29^{14} 34^{10} T.S. 2^{9}.
Double-faced men, T.A. 3^{2} 4^{1-4}, guilty of double sin, T.A. 6^{2}; — heart, Sir. 1^{28} 1En. 91^{4}; — tongued, Sir. 5^{14} 6^{1}.
Doxologies, Enochic, 1En. 22^{14} 25^{7} 27^{5} 36^{4} 39^{9-13} 48^{10} 81^{3} 83^{11} 84 90^{40}.
Doxology, Tob. 13^{18} Sir. 51^{30}; (Thine is the glory), P. Man. 15*n.*
Drachma, Tob. 5^{15}.
Dragon, Bel. § 2, 23 *sqq.*
Dragon, the, constellation, Sib. 5^{522}.
Dragon, the = Pompey, Ps. Sol. 2^{29}*n.*
Dragons, 2Bar. 10^{8}*n.*; = Kings of the Gentiles, Zad. $9^{19,20}$; vision of, Add. Esth. $A.^{5-11}$.
Dream of Mordecai. *See* Mordecai.
Dream-Visions, of Enoch, 1En. 83–90; first, 83^{2}; second, 85^{1}; of Ezra, 4Ez. 10^{59}.
Dreams and divinations, vanity of, Sir. 34 $(31)^{1-8}$.
Dress, importance of, Sir. 11^{4}*n.* 19^{30}.
Drimylus, 3Macc. 1^{3}.
Drunkards, sin and doom of, 3Bar. $4^{16,17}$.
Drunkenness, Tob. 4^{15}; evils of, T.Jud. 16; warnings against, T.Jud. 14.
Dudael, 1En. 10^{4}.
Dues remitted by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10^{22-30}.
Duidain, 1En. 60^{8}.
Dumb, brutes struck, when Adam was driven from Eden, Jub. 3^{28}*n.*
Duty, filial, Sir. 3^{1-16}; of reproving a friend, 19^{13-17}; of wealthy, 14^{3-19}; to cattle, 7^{22}; to children, 7^{23-25}; to dead, 7^{33}; to friend, 7^{18} 22^{19-26}, *see* Friend; to God and His ministers, 7^{29-31}; to mourners, 7^{34}; to parents, $7^{27,28}$; to poor, $7^{32,33}$; to servant and slave, 7^{20-21}; to sick, 7^{35}, *see* Visiting; to wife, $7^{19,26}$.
Dwell on the earth, those that, 1En. 37^{5}*n.*; in good sense, 37^{2} $40^{6,7}$ 48^{5} (in genuine passages); in interpolations of parables, 37–71—in bad sense. 54^{9} 55^{1} 60^{5} $65^{6,12}$ 66^{1} 67^{8}; merely geographical, 43^{4} 46^{7} 53^{1} 54^{6} 55^{2} 67^{7} $69^{1,7}$ 70^{1}. *See* Inhabitants.
Dwelling-place, of the Elect One, 1En. 39^{7}; of God (= temple), 1Esd. 1^{50}; of the holy, 1En. 39^{4}*n.*^{7,8} 71^{16}. *See* Abodes, Chambers, Mansions.
Dystrus, Tob. 2^{12}.

Eagle, 4Ez. 11 14^{17}; = fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel, 4Ez. 10^{60} 12^{35}*n.*; = Rome, Israel to overcome, Ass. Mos. 10^{8}; -vision, 4Ez. 10^{60}–12^{35}; interpretation of, 4Ez. 12^{3-39}.
Eagles = Greeks or Macedonians, 1En. 90^{2-16}.
Eagles' Dale, Ah. $3^{9,14,15}$ (Syr.). *See* Nisrin, plain of.
Earth, ends of, *see* Ends; middle of = Jerusalem, 1En. 26^{1}; midst of, abyss in = Gehenna, 1En. 90^{26}; pillars of, 1En. 57^{2}; cleansed, 1En. $10^{20,22}$; healed, 1En. 10^{7}; shall rejoice, 1En. 51^{3}; renewed, Jub. 1^{29}, *see* Creation, Heavens; elect shall inherit, 1En. 5^{7}, walk thereon, 51^{5}; righteous shall dwell upon, 51^{5}; transformed by God, 45^{5}.
Earth-born, Test. *App.* I 1^{1} 4Ez. 4^{6}.
East, help from, i.e. Jews of Babylon, 1Bar. 4^{36} 5^{5}.
Eating and drinking, *see* Table; herbs, 4Ez. 9^{23-25}*n.*
Eber, Jub. 8^{7} Test. *App.* I 8^{6}.
Ebionism, half-way between Christianity and Judaism, 3Bar. § 8.
Ebla, 1En. 78^{2}.
Eblaen, T.L. 6^{9}.
Ecbatana, 1Esd. 6^{23} 2Macc. 9^{3} Tob. 3^{7} 5^{6} 6^{10} 7^{1} 14^{12}*sq.* Judith $1^{2,14}$.
Ecclesiastes, relation of Wisdom to, Wisd. § 8.
Ecclesiasticus. *See* Sirach.
Eddinus, a singer, 1Esd. 1^{15}.
Eden, garden of, Jub. $3^{9,12,15,26,29,32,35}$ $4^{23,25}$ $8^{16,19,23}$ T.Jud. 25^{2} T.D. 5^{12} 2En. 31^{1} P.A. $5^{22,24}$; land of, Jub. 4^{24} 8^{16}, is holy of holies, 8^{10}. *See* Garden, Paradise.
Eden of blessing, Sir. 40^{27}.
Eder, T.R. 3^{13}.
Edna, Tob. $7^{2,3,8}$ 10^{12}.
Edna, daughter of Azrial, Jub. 4^{27}.
Edna, wife of Enoch, 1En. 85^{3}, cf. 83^{2}. *See* Edni.
Edna, Terah's wife, Jub. 11^{14}.
Edni, wife of Enoch, daughter of Danel, Jub. 4^{20}. *See* Edna.
Edom = Esau, Jub. 24^{6} $38^{8,14}$.
Edom, land, Jub. 36^{19} 37^{10} $38^{15,16,24}$; to sin a complete sin unto death and be rooted out. Jub. 26^{34}; subdued, T.Jud. 9^{7-8}.
Edomites, 1Esd. 4^{45} 8^{69}; = semi-Edomite population among the

Jews of the Return, 1Esd. § 5 (*c*); breach with Edomites, § 5 (*f*): = wild boars in 1En. $89^{12}n.$ $^{42-72}$ $90^{13}n.$; ? = kites, 90^{11}.
Edos, 1Esd. 9^{35}.
Effulgence, Wisd. $7^{26}n.$
Egla, Jub. 34^{20}.
Ego, the, Wisd. $8^{20}n.$
Egypt, 1Esd. $1^{25,26,35,37,38}$ 1Macc. 2^{53} 3^{32} $10^{51,57}$ $11^{1,13,59}$ 2Macc. $1^{1,10}$ 4^{21} $5^{1,8,12}$ 9^{29} 3Macc. 2^{25} 3^{12} 7^{1} Judith $1^{9,10,12}$ 6^{5} Sir. *Prologue* 15, 1Bar. $1^{19,20}$ Add.Esth. C^{9} F^{11} Jub. 1^{1} 9^{4} $1C^{33}$ $13^{11,12,16}$ 17^{13} $24^{8,9}$ 32^{23} $34^{9,11}$ 38^{13} $39^{2,14}$ $40^{1,3,4,6,8,9,12}$ $42^{2,4,9,13,14,20}$ 43^{19} $44^{2,5,6,8,10,18,20,24,29,31,33}$ $45^{6,8,9,12-14}$ $46^{1,3,5-11,12,14,16}$ 47^{2} $48^{1,2,4,6,7,12,14,19}$ $49^{2,5,6,23}$ Arist. 4, 6, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23, 35 T.R. 7^{2} T.S. 4^{3} $9^{2(\beta)}$ T.L. 11^{8} 12^{5} T.Jud. 9^{8} $12^{11,12}$ T.Z. 3^{6} 6^{3} 8^{4} T.D. 5^{8} T.Jos. $11^{4,5}$ 17^{4} $20^{5,6(c)}$ T.B. 2^{1} 10^{1} $12^{1(\beta),3(\beta),4}$ Test. *App.* I 1^{10} II $72-73$, 80 Sib. $3^{46,161,193,208,249,255,314,348,608,614}$ 4^{72} $5^{3,57,60,73,112,179,279,458,460,488,489,501,505,507}$ Ass.Mos. 3^{11} 4Ez. 9^{29} $14^{3,29}$ Ps.Sol. 2^{30} 4Macc. 4^{22} Zad. 4^{5}; conversion of, Sib. $5^{484-503}$; exodus from, 1En. 89^{21-27}; Jewish garrisons in, *see* Jewish; Jews in, Arist. 12, 310; King of, *see* Pharaoh; plagues of, 1En. 89^{20} Wisd. 16–19; river of, Judith 1^{9} Jub. 10^{29} 14^{18}; subdued by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 1^{16-20} temple to God built in(Onias'), Sib. $5^{501-503}$, destroyed, 5^{507}; Tobit written in, Tob. § 7; upper parts of, Tob. 8^{3}.
Egyptian, Jub. 17^{2} 34^{20} $39^{3,4,11}$ Sib. 3^{159} 5^{338} T.Jos. $4^{5(\beta)}$ $5^{1(\beta)}$ $7^{2(\beta)}$ $8^{1(\beta)}$; maid, Jub. $14^{22,23}$; priests, Arist. 140; sea, Jub. 8^{14}; woman, T.R. 4^{9} T.Jos. 3^{6} $4^{3(\beta)}$ $8^{1(\beta),5}$ 16^{5}.
Egyptians, 1Esd. 8^{69} Judith 5^{12} Jub. 1^{21} $42^{3,13}$ 45^{10} $46^{2,6}$ $47^{10,11}$ $48^{3,9,12,13,16-18}$ Arist. 11, 36, 138 T.S. 8^{2-4} Sib. 3^{597} Ass. Mos. 6^{6}; and Canaanites, war between, Jub. $46^{6-9}n.$; chastened lightly first for reformation, then severely for punishment, Wisd. $12^{1}n.$; punishment of fits sin, Jub. § 15, 48^{14}; = wolves in 1En. $89^{13-27,55}$.
Ehi, Jub. 44^{25}.
Ekrebel, Judith 7^{18}.
Ekron, 1Macc. 10^{89}.
El El wa Abirer, Jub. $40^{7}n.$
Ela, 1Esd. 9^{27}.
Ela, mountains of, Jub. 9^{2}.
Elam, Jub. 7^{18} $8^{1,21}$ 9^{2} 10^{35} 13^{22} Ah. 3^{7} (Syr.). *See* Persia.
Elam, a returning exile, 1Esd. 5^{12} 8^{33}.
Elamites, T.N. $5^{8(\beta)}$.
Elasa, a place, 1Macc. 9^{5}.
Elda, land of, Jub. 3^{32}.
Elder, Sir. 6^{34} $8^{6,19}$ 25^{4} 32^{3}. *See* Aged.
Elders, the, P.A. 1^{1}; the rulers of the stars, 2En. 4^{1}; who served Ashtaroth, Zad. 7^{5}.
Eleazar, son of Levi, 1Esd. 8^{2}; and Joshua, Zad. 7^{5}.
Eleazar, 1Esd. 8^{63}.
Eleazar, 1Esd. 9^{19}.
Eleazar, 1Esd. 9^{26}.
Eleazar, a scribe, 2Macc. 6^{18} (martyred, 6^{18-31}) 3Macc. 6^{1} 4Macc. 1^{8} $5^{4,14}$ $6^{1,5}n.^{14,16}$ $7^{1,5,12}$ 9^{5} 10^{15} 17^{13}; = Taxo, Ass.Mos. $9^{1}n.$; Eleazar, not Judas, the true hero in Ass.Mos. § 1.
Eleazar, an elder, Arist. 50.
Eleazar, 1Macc. 8^{17}.
Eleazar, the High Priest of the Jews, Arist. 1, 33, 35, 41, 50, 83, 96, 112, 123, 125, 172, 173, 320.
Eleazar, oldest of Jewish priests, present, Arist. 184.
Eleazar Avaran, a Maccabee, 1Macc. 2^{5} 6^{43}; death, 6^{43}; play on name 'God's Help', 2Macc. 8^{23}.
Eleazar ben Arach, P.A. $2^{10-13,18}$.
Eleazar ben Azariah, P.A. $3^{21,22}$.
Eleazar ben Judah, P.A. 3^{9}.
Eleazar ben Shammua, P.A. 4^{15}.
Eleazar ha-Kappar, P.A. $4^{28,29}$.
Eleazar Hisma, P.A. 3^{23}.
Eleazar the Modiite, P.A. 3^{16}.
Eleazar. *See* Jeshua, son of Eleazar; Phinehas, son of Eleazar.
Elect, blessings of covenant for, 1En. 60^{6}; dwell in garden of life, 61^{12}, with elect, 61^{4}; God will protect, 1^{8}; in light of eternal life, 58^{3}; inherit the earth, 1En. 5^{7}; light, grace, and peace shall be to, 5^{7a}; live and never again sin, 5^{8}; mansions of, 41^{2}; Son of Man revealed to, 62^{7}; stand before Son of Man, 62^{8}; tree of life, fruit for, 25^{6}; wisdom bestowed on, 5^{8}; walk on renewed earth, 1En. 51^{5}; of Israel, Zad. 6^{2}, share in Messianic Kingdom, Jub. 1^{29}; titles and attributes of: Elect, 1En. $1^{3,8}$ 5^{7} 25^{5} 40^{5} 41^{2} 48^{1} 51^{5} 56^{8} 58^{1-3} $61^{4,12}$ $62^{7,8}$ 93^{2}; Elect ones, His, 1En. 56^{6} $62^{11,12}$; Mine, $45^{3,5}$ 48^{9}; The Elect One (title of Messiah peculiar to part of parables, $40^{5}n.$) 1En. $40^{5}n.$ $49^{2,4}$ $51^{3,5}$ $52^{6,9}$ 53^{6} $61^{5,8,10}$ 62^{1}; of righteousness and faith, 39^{6}; Mine Elect One, $45^{3,4}$ 55^{4}; and holy, 62^{8}; and righteous, 1^{1} 60^{8}; of the world, 93^{1}; who hang upon the Lord of Spirits, 40^{5}, *see* Holy, Righteous; *see too* Messiah; (of children of Watchers) and beloved ones, $56^{3,4}$; (of Watchers) and holy children, 39^{1}; works, (of righteous), 38^{2}.
Election, the Divine, Zad. 2^{6}. *See* Foreknowledge, Predestination.
Elements, four primal, 4Ez. $4^{10}n.$ $8^{8}n.$; interchanged (metabolism), Wisd. § 9, 19^{18}; worshipped, 13^{2}.
Elephants = a class of giants, 1En. 86^{4}; in war, 1Macc. $3^{34}n.$ $6^{34}n.$ 2Macc. 11^{4} $13^{2}n.$ 15^{20} 3Macc. 5^{1} &c.
Eleutherus, river, 1Macc. $11^{7}n.$ 12^{30}.
Elew, city, Jub. 34^{11}.
Eliab, Judith 8^{1}.
Eliadas, 1Esd. 9^{28}.
Eliali, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Eliaonias, 1Esd. 8^{31}.
Eliasib, 1Esd. 9^{1}.
Eliasibus, 1Esd. 9^{24}.
Eliasimus, 1Esd. 9^{28}.
Eliasis, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Eliezer, Jub. 14^{2}.
Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, P.A. 2^{10-14}.
Eliezer ben Jacob, P.A. 4^{13}.
Elihu, Judith 8^{1}.
Elijah, 1Macc. 2^{58} Sir. 48^{1-12} Mart. Is. 2^{11} 1En. $89^{52}n.$ 93^{8} 2Bar. 77^{24} 4Ez. 7^{109}.
Elijah, greatness of, in Jewish legend, Sir. $48^{11}n.$; to turn fathers' heart to children and to restore the tribes of Israel, 48^{10}.
Elim, Jub. 50^{1}.
Elionas, 1Esd. 9^{22}.
Elionas, 1Esd. 9^{32}.
Eliphalat, 1Esd. 8^{39}.
Eliphalat, 1Esd. 9^{33}.
Elisha, Sir. 48^{12-16} Zad. 9^{28}(A).
Elisha, an elder, Arist. 47.
Elisha, an elder, Arist. 48.
Elisha, an elder, Arist. 50.
Elisha ben Abuiah, P.A. 4^{25}.
Eljo, Jub. 7^{22}.
Elkiah, Judith 8^{1}.
Elnathan, 1Esd. 8^{44}.
Elomeel, 1En. 82^{14}.
Elon, Jub. 44^{17}.
Elul, month, 1Macc. 14^{27}.
Elymaeans. *See* Arioch.
Elymais, 1Macc. $6^{1}n.$ 2Macc. $1^{13,14}$ Tob. 2^{10}.
Emadabun, 1Esd. 5^{58}.
Ematheis, 1Esd. 9^{29}.
Emmaus, 1Macc. $3^{40,57}$ 4^{3} 9^{50}.
Emmer, 1Esd. 9^{21}.
Emmeruth, 1Esd. 5^{24}.
Emzara, Jub. 4^{33}.
Enaim, T.Jud. 12^{1}.
Enasibus, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Enchantments, 1En. 7^{1} 8^{3}, cf. 65^{6}.
End, 4Ez. $6^{6,7,15}$ $7^{33,112}$ $12^{32,34}$, *see* Consummation; of all generations, 1En. 10^{15}; description of, 4Ez. $6^{13-20,23-24}$; = destruction of world, 1En. 10^{2} 65^{6}, first, 93^{4}; *'eqeb*, Sir. 16^{3}; latter, of men manifests their character, T.A. 6^{4-7} Sir. 3^{26}; man known by latter end, 11^{28}; remember last end, 7^{36}; of the age, 4Ez. $12^{34}n.$; of the days, 4Ez. 13^{32} Zad. § 10. iv, 6^{2} 8^{10} (*see* Times); sons of Zadok hold office in, 6^{2}, Teacher of Righteousness to arise in, 8^{10}; of heaven and earth, 1En. 18^{14}, *see* Ends; of heavens, 1En. 39^{3}; of man = death, is evil, Sir. 18^{12}; of the righteous, 1En. 102^{10}; of time, 2En. 33^{11}; of ungodly contrasted with honoured name of righteous, Sir. 41^{5-13}; signs of the, Sib. $3^{796-808}$ 4Ez. 4^{51}–5^{13} 6^{11-28} 8^{63}–9^{12}; to come through God alone, $6^{6}n.$; visions of, vouchsafed to Abraham, 4Ez. 3^{14}.
Endemias, Arist. 49.
Ends, of all, 1En. 19^{3}; of earth, 1En. 1^{5} 18^{5} 23^{1} $33^{1,2}$ 34^{1} 35^{1} 36^{1} 65^{2} 76^{1} 106^{8}; of heaven, 36^{2} 54^{9} 57^{2} $60^{11,20}$ 71^{4} 93^{12}; of the seasons, 4Ez. 14^{5}.
Endurance, Sir. $2^{14}n.$ *See* Chastening.
Eneneus, 1Esd. 5^{8}.
Ennatan, 1Esd. 8^{44}.
Enoch, Sir. 44^{16} $49^{14,16}$ Wisd. 4^{10} Jub. $4^{16,22}$ $7^{38,39}$ 10^{17} $19^{24,27}$ 21^{10} 1En. $1^{1,2}$ $12^{1,3}$ 13^{1} 14^{24} 15^{1} 19^{3} $21^{5,9}$ 25^{1} 37^{1} 39^{2} 60^{1} $65^{2,5,9}$ 66^{3} 67^{4} 68^{1} 69^{29} 80^{1} 81^{1} 85^{2} 91^{3} 92^{1} $93^{1,2,3}$ $106^{7,13}$ 107^{3} 108^{1} T.S. 5^{4} T.L. $10^{5}n.$ $14^{1(\beta)}$ $16^{1(\beta)}$ T.Jud. $18^{1(\beta)}$ T.Z. $3^{4(\beta)}$ T.D. 5^{6} T.N. 4^{1} T.B. 9^{1} 10^{6}.
Enoch, 1 Book of, account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; canonicity, § 3; different elements in, and their dates, §§ 6, 7; influence on (*a*) Jewish, (*b*) N.T., (*c*) Patristic literature, § 10, on N.T. doctrine, § 11; MSS., Ethiopic, § 4; original language of 6–36 Aramaic, of 1–5, 37–104 Hebrew, § 9; poetical element in, § 8; title, § 2; Versions, Ancient—Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, § 5; Sections—I, 1–36; II, 37–71; III, 72–82; IV, 83–90; V, 91–104; additional fragments, 105–8; appendix, 108.
Enoch, Hebrew Book of, 2En. §§ 1, 4.
Enoch, 2 Book of, account, short, § 1; authorship, § 5; bibliography, § 8; date, § 5; language, § 3; place of writing, § 3; relation to Jewish and Christian literature, § 4; value for religious thought, § 7; Versions, two Slavonic, § 2; views on creation, anthropology, and ethics, § 6; 2 Book of cites Sirach, Sir. § 7 (*b*); relation of 3Baruch to, 3Bar. § 5.
Enoch, admonition of, to his children, 2En. 39^{1}–51^{5} 54–63^{4} 65^{1}–66^{8}; ascent of, into heavens, 2En. 3^{1}–21^{6} 68^{1}; conducted to Garden of Eden, Jub. 4^{23}; early removal from the world, a blessing, Wisd. 4^{10}, figure of, in apocalyptic, Sir. $44^{16}n.$; foretold the future, Jub. 4^{19}; functions of, transferred to Moses, 2Bar. $13^{3}n.$ $59^{5-11}n.$; heavenly scribe, Jub. 4^{23}; knows wisdom, Jub. 4^{17}; led by Michael before the Lord's face, 2En. 22^{1}; lives on earth thirty days to give instruction, 2En. $36^{1,2}$; miracle of knowledge (*or* an example of repentance) to all generations, Sir. $44^{16}n.$; recounted weeks of jubilees and Sabbaths of years, Jub. 4^{18}; the scribe, 1En. 12^{3}, of God's works, 2En. 23^{1-4} 68^{2}, of men's deeds, 2En. $40^{13}n.$ 53^{2} 64^{5}; scribe of righteousness, 1En. 12^{4} 15^{1}; testified to sons of men, Jub. 4^{18}, to Watchers, Jub. 4^{22}; translation of, in a vision, 1En. $14^{8,9}$, in sleep, 1En. $13^{7,10}$ 14^{2}, in reality, 1En. 39^{3} 52^{1} (cf. 'hidden', 12^{1}), final ('name raised aloft'), 70^{1} 2En. 67^{2} 68^{3}, in

spirit, 1En. $71^{1,5,6}$; was with angels of God six jubilees of years, Jub. 4^{21}; words of, Jub. 21^{10} 1En. § 2; writes signs of heaven, Jub. 4^{17}.
Enoch, Cain's son, Jub. 4^{9}.
Enoch, Reuben's son, Jub. 38^{8} 44^{12}.
Enos, Jub. $4^{11,13}$ 19^{24} 1En. 37^{1} 2En. 33^{10}.
Envy, warning against, T.S. 3^{1} 6^{2} T.G. $7^{1,2,7}$; cure of, T.S. $3^{4,6}$ 4^{7} T.G. 5^{8}; evils of, T.S. 3^{2-3} 4^{8-9}; not to, another's prosperity, T.G. 7^{1-2}. *See* Eye.
Ephesus, Sib. $3^{343,459}$ $5^{293,296}$.
Ephraim, Judith 6^{2} Sir. $47^{21,23}$ Zad. 9^{3}; departed from Judah, $9^{3}[9^{4}]$ 16^{11}.
Ephrath = Bethlehem, Jub. 32^{34} T.R. 3^{13}.
Ephron, city, taken by Judas M., 1Macc. 5^{46}; siege of, 2Macc. 12^{27} *sq*.
Ephron the Hittite, Jub. 36^{2}.
Epicurean, P.A. 2^{18}; tenets, Wisd. $2^{1}n$.
Epicureanism, Sir. § 1.
Epiphanius, relation of his account of LXX Translation to Aristeas's Letter, Arist. § 9(B).
Epiphany of God, 3Macc. $5^{8,51}$. *See* Theophanies.
Epiphi(s), month, 3Macc. 6^{38}.
Epistle to Two and a Half Tribes. *See* Tribes.
Epitaph suggested for martyrs, 4Macc. 17^{9}.
Er, Jub. $41^{1,3}$ 44^{34} T.Jud. $1c^{1,2}$.
Erae, 1En. 78^{2}.
Erasmus, 4Macc. § 8.
Eretria, Arist. 201.
Eri, Jub. 44^{20}.
Eridanus, Sib. 5^{318}.
Ermis. *See* Hermes.
Ermon, 2En. 18^{4}. *See* Hermon.
Ermon = Heroonpolis, Jub. 46^{6}.
'Erub, Pharisaic principle of, Zad. § 9^{40}.
Erythraean Sea, 1En. 32^{2}.
Erythraean Sibyl, Sib. § 6, 3^{97-294}.
Esarhaddon, Tob. $1^{21,22}$ 2^{1}. *See* Sarhadum, Asbasareth.
Esau, Jub. 15^{30} $19^{12-16,19,31}$ $24^{3,4,6,7}$ 25^{1} $26^{1,3-5,8,11,16,18,19,25,27,29,31-33,35}$ $27^{1,2,8}$ $29^{13,17,18}$ 31^{1} $35^{9,13,17,18,25-27}$ $36^{1,14,18,19}$ $37^{1,15,17,18}$ 38^{2} T.Jud. 9^{1-4} T.G. 7^{4} T.B. 10^{10} 4Ez. 3^{16} $6^{8,9}$, *see* Edom; and Jacob to love one another, Jub. 35^{20-24} 36^{3-4}; wars between, 37^{1}–38^{24}; = black wild boar, 1En. 89^{12}; children of, 1Macc. $5^{3,65}$ Judith $7^{8,18}$; slain by Jacob, Jub. 38^{2} T.Jud. 9^{3}; sons of, their sins foreseen by Isaac, Jub. 35^{13-16}; symbolizes present corrupt age, 4Ez. $6^{7-10}n$.
Esau (one of Nethinim), 1Esd. 5^{29}.
Eschatological pictures, Sib. $3^{489-808}$.
Eschatology of Tobit, Tob. § 10A(3), of Wisd. § 1, 1–6^{8}, of Zad. 9^{40}.
Eschlemias, Arist. 47.
Eschol, Jub. 13^{29}.
Esdrae, Confessio. *See* Confessio.
Esdraelon, plain of, Judith 1^{9} 3^{9} 4^{6} 7^{3}.
Esdras, i.e. Ezra, 1Esd. $8^{1,3,7,8,9,19,23,25,91,92,96}$ $9^{1,7,16,39,40,42,45,46,49}$; priest and reader of the law of the Lord, 1Esd. $8^{8,9,19}$.
Esdras, 1 Book of—sources, 1Esd. § 6: (*a*) Sheshbazzar—Cyrus Tradition, (*b*) Zerubbabel—Darius Tradition, (*c*) (*a*) and (*b*) combined, (*d*) Ezra story; title, 1Esd. § 2: (1) 1 Esdras, (2) 2 Esdras, (3) 3 Esdras, (4) 3 Paraleipomenon, (5) Tertius Neemiae; an independent version older than LXX of Canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, § 2; value of, 1Esd. § 7: (1) light on contemporary thought, (2) help to criticism of canonical books.
Esdris, 2Macc. $12^{36}n$.
Eserebias, 1Esd. 8^{54}.
Eshfagni, Aḥiḳar's wife, Ah. $4^{6,8}$ $6^{3,6}$ (Syr.). *See* Abestan.
Essenes, 1En. $108n$. Ass.Mos. § 8. *See* Zadokite Party.
Essenism, Sib. 4^{27} 4Ez. $14^{39}n$.
Esther, Add. Esth. C^{12} D^{9} E^{13} F^{4}; additions to: author, § 5, F^{11}; bibliography, § 8; character of, § 1; date of, § 4, F^{11}; influence on later literature, § 6; MSS., § 2; theology, § 7; versions, § 3; appearance before king, Add. Esth. D^{1-15}; Canonical, discrepancies between Add. Esth. and, Add. Esth. § 1; deliverance of Jews in time of, 2Bar. $68^{2,3}$; Fast of, 1Macc. $7^{49}n$.; mourning and fasting of, Add.Esth. C^{13}; prayer of, C^{12-30}.
Esyelus, ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1^{8}.
Eternal, destruction, 1En. 84^{5}; goodness and grace, 92^{3}; hope, Jub. 31^{32}; house = tomb, 36^{1}; judgement, 1En. 91^{15}, cf. 91^{9}; King, *see* God; land = Palestine, Sib. 5^{411}; law, 1En. 99^{2}; life, 10^{10} $15^{4,6}$ 37^{4} 40^{9} 58^{3}, cf. 5^{1}, *see* Life; in light of the Lord, Ps. Sol. 3^{16}; according to God, 4Macc. 15^{3}; for martyrs, 5^{37} 17^{18} 18^{23}, *see* Patriarchs; light, 1En. 92^{4}; place (= heaven), 12^{4}; plant, 93^{10}, *see* Plant; punishment, 2En. 10^{6} 4Macc. $9^{9,32}$ $10^{11,15}$ 11^{23} 12^{12} 13^{15} $18^{5,22}$ (fire and worms, Judith 16^{17}); rest = death, Sir. 30^{17}; sanctuary, not at Bethel, Jub. 32^{22}; seed, 1En. 84^{6}; sleep, Jub. 36^{18}; uprightness, 1En. 92^{4}.
Eternity, life of, Zad. 5^{6} [years of, 2^{8}].
Ethical teaching of 2Enoch, 2En. § 6.
Ethiopia, Judith 1^{10} Add. Esth. B^{1} E^{1} Sib. 3^{320}.
Ethiopian, Sib, 5^{194}.
Ethiopians, Arist. 13 Sib. $3^{160,208,516}$ $5^{206,213,505}$; = hyenas in 1En. 89^{55}.
Etna, Sib. 4^{81}.
Euergetes II, Physcon, Sir. § 6 ii (*b*).
Euergetes, king of Egypt, Sir., *Prologue* 15.
Euhemerism, Arist. § 6.
Eumenes II of Pergamos, 1Macc. 8^{8}.
Euna, T.N. 1^{11}.
Eunuch, Wisd. 3^{14}.
Eupator. *See* Antiochus V.
Euphrates, 1Esd. $1^{25,27}$ 1Macc. $3^{32,37}$· Judith 1^{6} 2^{24} Sir. 24^{26}; = the River, Sir. 39^{22} 44^{21} Jub. $9^{4,5}$ 1En. $77^{6}n$. Sib. $4^{61,120,139}$ $5^{115,437}$, 2Bar. 77^{22} 78^{1}.
Eupolemus, son of John, son of Accos, 1Macc. 8^{17}; envoy to Romans, 2Macc. 4^{11}.
Europe, Sib. $3^{346,368,382,450}$ 4^{1}.
Europus, river, Sib. 3^{145}.
Eusebius, Sir. § 8.
Eve, Tob. 8^{6} Jub. 3^{33} 4^{10} A. & E. 2^{2} $3^{2,3}$ 4^{2} 5^{1} 6^{1} 7^{1} 9^{1} $10^{1,3}$ 11^{1} 18^{1} 20^{1-3} $21^{1,2}$ $22^{1,3,4}$ 24^{1} $35^{2,3}$ 36^{1} $37^{2,3}$ $38^{1,2}$ 43^{3} 44^{5} 46^{1} 49^{1} $5c^{3}$ S.A. & E. 28^{2} $35^{1,2}$ 38^{2} 40^{1} Apoc. Mos. 1^{1-3} 2^{1} 3^{3} $4^{1,2}$ $9^{2,3}$ $10^{1,2}$ 11^{1} 13^{1} $14^{1,2}$ 15^{1} 17^{2} 31^{1} $32^{1,3,4}$ 33^{1} 34^{1} 36^{2} $42^{3,4}$ 43^{1} 2En. 30^{18} 4Macc. $18^{7,8}$; created and brought to Adam, Jub. 3^{4-14}, *see* Adam; history of, 1En. 85^{3-7}; led astray by a Satan, 1En. 69^{6}; originated sin and death, Sir. 25^{24}; seduced by Satan, 2En. 31^{6}, *see* Adam; sins, Jub. 3^{17-29}.
Eve, Gospel of, A. & E. § 5^{a}.
Eves of Sabbaths, observed, Judith 8^{6}.
Evil, 1En. 10^{16} $15^{8,9}$ 16^{3} 69^{29} 94^{5} 99^{11} 101^{1} 103^{9} 108^{2}; germ, 4Ez. 3^{22}; heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3^{21}; of descendants, $3^{20}n.^{26}$; in heaven, 2En. $10^{1-6}n$.; principle, P.A. 2^{15} $4^{1,29}n$.; seed, grain of, 4Ez. 4^{30}; thought innate in man, 7^{92}, *see* Inclination, Yetzer; spirits and idols, Jub. $22^{17}n$.; spirits flee from good men, T.Iss. 7^{7} T.D. 5^{1} T.B. 5^{2}, *see* Beliar; to be overcome with good, T.Jos. 18^{2} T.B.4^{3}; to perish, Sir. 40^{10-17}; worst forms of, Sir. 25^{13-15}; of wicked woman, 25^{16-26}.
Evils of men, P.Man. $7n$.
Exalted, abased, Sir. 11^{6}.
Example of the martyrs, effect of, 4Macc. 1^{11} 17^{23}*sq*.
Excommunication, Zad. 9^{28-38}; = 'exclude from the Purity', 10^{13}; = 'be watched seven years', 14^{6}.
Exile's prayer, Tob. 13^{1-18}.
Existent created from non-existent, 2En. 24^{2} 25^{1}.
Exodus, Jub. 1^{1} Ass. Mos. 1^{4}. *See* Egypt.
Explanation, of the Zadokite settlement, Zad. 18^{6}; of the judgements, Zad. 18^{7}. *See* Interpretation, Meaning, Midrash.
External soul. *See* Soul.
Eye, cause of sin, Sir. $31^{14}n$.; envious, Sir. 14^{8-10}; good, Sir. 14^{10}; lustful glance of, T.R. 5^{3} T.Iss. 7^{2} T.B. 6^{3}; singleness of, T.Iss. 3^{4}.
Ezbon, Jub. 44^{21}.
Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
Ezekias, 1Esd. 5^{15}.
Ezekias, son of Thocanus, 1Esd. 9^{14}.
Ezekias, 1Esd. 9^{43}.
Ezekiel, Sir. $49^{8,9}$ 4Macc. 18^{17} Zad. 5^{6} $9^{11(\beta)}$. *See* Faithful.
Ezekiel, an elder, Arist. 50.
Ezeqeel, 1En. 6^{7} 8^{3}.
Ezora, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Ezra, 1En. $89^{72}n$. 4Ez. [3^{1}] 6^{10} $7^{2,25}$ 8^{2} $14^{2,38,49}$, *see* Esdras; omitted from Sirach's list of worthies in Sir. 44–48, Sir. § 4.
— in 1 Esdras, companions of, 8^{28-40}; reading of Law by, § 1 9^{37-55}, *see* 1Esdras, sources of; return of, §§ 1, 4, 6, 8^{1}; work of, 8^{1}–9^{46}.
— in 4Ezra, assumption of, to be with God's Son, till times be ended, 4Ez. $14n$. 14^{9}; five companions of, 4Ez. 14^{24}; = scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever, 4Ez. $14^{50}n$.; translation of, to Messiah, 4Ez. $14n$.; writings of, twenty-four published books, = O.T. 4Ez. $14^{45}n$.; seventy secret = Apocrypha, 4Ez. $14^{46}n$. $14n$.
Ezra, 4 Book of, abbreviations employed, § 12; account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; composite nature of text, § 6; date, § 8, $14^{48}n$.; Eschatology, § 10; Greek text of, lost, § 4; Hebrew original, § 5; relation of to 1Enoch, 1En. § 10(*a*); to 2Baruch—each the work of a rival school, using similar sources, 4Ez. § 9 2Bar. § 1; to N.T.—no direct dependence, but resemblances in thought and diction, § 11; sources, §§ 1, 7, 8; Salathiel-Apocalypse; Eagle Vision; Son of Man Vision; Ezra Legend; Ezra Apocalypse (signs); text, Hebrew original, § 5, composite character of, § 6; theology of, § 10; title, § 2; versions, Arabic (two), Armenian, Ethiopic, Syriac, Latin, § 3, Greek lost, § 4.
Ezra-Apocalypse. *See* Ezra, 4 Book of.
Ezril, 1Esd. 9^{34}.

Face, of Elect One, 1En. 61^{9} 62^{2}; of God, 14^{21} 52^{9} 53^{2} 63^{9} 84^{6} $89^{22,26,30}$ 103^{4}, cf. Appearance 89^{30}; Presence, 84^{3} 90^{34}.
Faces of Angels, 1En. 51^{4} 71^{1}.
Factions. *See* Jewish.
Faith, 1En. $39^{6}n$. 43^{4} 58^{5} $61^{4,11}$ 2Bar. $54^{21}n$. Zad. $9^{37,47,54}$; = religious faith, 4Macc. 15^{24} 17^{2}; and works combined as complementary, 4Ez. $9^{7,8}$ 13^{23}; = faithfulness to law, 5^{1} $6^{5,28}$ $7^{34,77}n$.; Elect One of, 39^{6}; heritage of, 58^{5}; measures given to, 61^{4}; spirit of, 61^{11}. *See* Messiah, Works.
Faithful, 1En. 46^{8}; confess sins, are forgiven and blessed, Zad. 9^{50-54}; God confirms covenant

with, through fresh revelations, Zad. 5^{1-3}; through Ezekiel, 5^{6-7}.
Faithfulness to God, Sir. 2^{1-3}.
Faithless, delivered to the sword, Zad. $9^{4,10}$ woes against, Sir. 2^{12-14}.
Fall, teaching concerning, 3Bar. §10, 3.
Fara, Jub. 8^{27}.
Fast, the, Zad. 8^{15}.
Fasting, Tob. § 10B T.R. 1^{10} T.S. 3^{4} T.Jud. 15^{4} 19^{2}. T.Iss. 7^{3} T.Jos. 3^{4}, *see* Prayer; and adultery, T.A. 2^{8} 4^{3}; and chastity, T.Jos. 9^{2}; and prayer and obedience bring answers to petitions, Ah. 2^{49} (Arm.); atonement by, *see* Atonement; forbidden on Sabbath, Zad. 13^{13}.
Fasts, 2Bar. $5^{7}n.$ $9^{2}n.$; of seven days, 4Ez. 3^{1} *Intro. n.* 5^{13}; four fasts followed by revelation in 4Ez. 5^{20} 6^{35} $9^{26,27}$ 12^{51}.
Fates, the three, Sib. $3^{215,230,245}$.
Father, God will be, of Israel, Jub. $1^{24}n$, *see* Children (cf. P.A. 3^{19} Wisd. 18^{13}; of righteous individual, Sir. 23^{1}, cf. Wisd. 2^{16}); in heaven, P.A. 5^{23}. *See* God, titles of.
Fatherhood of God, Sir. § 9i.
Fathers of old, praise of, Sir. 44^{1-15}; of Enoch and Noah, 44^{16-18}; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, 44^{19-23}; Moses, 44^{23}–45^{1-5}; Aaron, 45^{6-22}; Phinehas, 45^{23-26}; Joshua and Caleb, 46^{1-10} Judges, the, $46^{11,12}$; Samuel, 46^{13-20}; David, 47^{1-11}; Solomon, 47^{12-22}; Elijah, 48^{1-12}; Elisha, 48^{12-16}; Hezekiah and Isaiah, 48^{17-25}; Josiah, 49^{1-3}; Jeremiah, 49^{7}; Ezekiel, Job, and Twelve Prophets, Sir. 49^{8-10}; Zerubbabel, Joshua son of Josedech, and Nehemiah, 49^{11-13}; Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enoch, and Adam, 49^{14-16}.
Fear, defined, Wisd. 17^{12}; of God, Arist. 159, 189 T.B. $3^{3,4}$, *see* Love to God, Wisdom; of the Lord, greatest good of all, Sir. 40^{18-27}; is life, 50^{29}; is true wisdom, 1^{11-20} 21^{11}; the Lord, those who, are blessed, 2^{7-11}, characteristics of, 2^{15-13}, none greater than, 10^{24}; of sin, P.A. 2^{6} 3^{12}.
Feast, a, ordained by Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. 13^{62}, *see* Tabernacles; of Tabernacles, Jub. § 15, 16^{29}; of Weeks, Jub. § 15, 6^{17}.
Feasts, Zad. 8^{15}; profane the, 14^{6}; and covenant, despising of, P.A. 3^{16}, *see* Minim; and eves kept by Judith, *see* Pharisaic teaching; the four great, Jub. $6^{23,24}$.
Fence for Torah, P.A. 1^{1}; for words, 6^{6}; for separation, wisdom, 3^{18}.
Festivals, and Sabbaths recognized by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10^{34}; to be kept, 2Bar. 84^{8}; commemorative, of Jews, Add. Esth. $E^{21,22}$; of God's covenant, Jub. $1^{10,14}$; God's glorious, Zad. 5^{2}; Maccabaean, bond of union between Jews of Palestine and Egypt, 2Macc. § 3; institution of, 3Macc. 6^{36} 7^{19}, cf. 2Macc. § 3 *and see* Feast; true order of, Jub. 6^{34}.
Fewness of saved, 4Ez. 7^{45-74} 8^{3} 9^{13-22}.
Fig-tree, unfruitful, parable of, parallel idea to, in Ah. 8^{35} (Syr.).
Filial duty and its reward, Sir. 3^{1-16}.
Fire, 1En. 10^{6} $14^{12,17,19,22}$ $17^{1,5}$ 21^{7} 39^{7} 54^{1} 71^{2-6} 72^{4} $90^{24,26}$ 91^{9} 100^{9} 108^{3}; Angel or Spirit of, *see* Angel; abyss of, 1En. 10^{13} &c., *see* Abyss, Gehenna; columns of, 1En. 18^{11} 21^{7} 90^{24}; flames of, 71^{1} 72^{7} 103^{8} $108^{4,5}$; furnace of, 98^{3}; mountain range of, 24^{1}; pillar of, Wisd. 18^{3}; river of, 1En. 17^{5}; streams of, 14^{19} 17^{5} 67^{7} $71^{2,6}$; eternal, for drunkards, 3Bar. 4^{16}; ever-burning, 1En. 67^{13}; grievous, 102^{1}; of West, 17^{4} 23^{2}; and worms for ever, Judith 16^{17}; and the worm, Sir. $7^{17}n.$; Beliar cast into, T.Jud. 25^{3}; the final abode of the wicked, 2Bar. $44^{15}n.$ $48^{39,43}$ $59^{2}n.$; of the altar, hidden till Nehemiah came, 2Macc. 1^{18-36}; Jeremiah, prophet, bids the captivity take some of fire, 2^{1}; snow and ice, T.L. 3^{2}; ungodly punished in, Sib. 4^{43} 2En. 10^{1-6} 4Macc. 9^{9} 12^{12}.
Firmament, 1En. $18^{2,12}$.
Firstborn, death of, Wisd. 18^{10}.
First-fruits, feast of, celebrated by Abraham, Jub. $15^{1,2}$; by Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob, Jub. 22^{1}: by Jacob before going to Egypt, Jub. 44^{4}; and tithes, Judith 11^{13}.
Five possessions of God, P.A. 6^{11}.
Flavian Emperors, 4Ez. $11^{1}n.$ $12^{3-39}n.$
Flesh, 1En. 1^{9} 7^{5} 14^{21} 15^{8} 16^{1} 17^{8} 61^{12} 84^{6} 106^{17} 108^{11} Zad. 3^{6}, *see* Inclination; and blood, Sir. $14^{18}n.$ 17^{31} 1En. 15^{4}; of man, $84^{4,5}$; of righteousness, 84^{8}.
Flint, use of, 2Macc. 10^{3}.
Flood, the, 3Macc. 2^{4} Sir. 44^{17} Wisd. 10^{4} Jub. 5^{19-32} 23^{9} 4Ez. 3^{10}.
Fool = guileless, is without sins, Sir. 19^{23}.
Foolish, wisdom harsh to, Sir. 6^{20-22}; warning against associating with, 8^{4}; how differs from wise, $21^{12-17,18-28}$; futility of, 20^{14-17} 22^{7-18} $33(36)^{5,6}$; speech of, 20^{20} 27^{11-13}.
Forbidden meats, 4Macc. 1^{33} $5^{3,14}sq.$ 13^{2}. *See* Clean.
Forced service, P.A. 3^{17}.
Forehead. *See* Mark.
Foreknowledge of God, 4Ez. 7^{132} Zad. 2^{6}. *See* Election.
Foresight, need of, in men, Sir. 18^{19-26}.
Forethought, need of, Sir. $32(35)^{18-24}$ $33(36)^{4}$.
Forgetfulness, P.A. 3^{11}.
Forgive, Zad. 5^{5}. *See* Pardon.
Forgiveness, P.Man. 7 1En. 5^{6} 12^{5} $13^{4,6}$; count not upon, Sir. 5^{5}, *see* Atonement, Confession; duty of, Sir. 27^{30-28}; of God, 16^{11} 17^{29} $18^{11-14,20}n.$; for the repentant, Zad. 2^{3}, *see* Pardon; of God, a reason for forgiveness of man, Ah. 8^{34} (Syr.) 8^{24} (Arm.); of thy neighbour, Sir. $28^{2}n.$; essential, includes restoration to communion, in Test. and N.T., Test. § 11, § 13, T.G. 6^{3-7}; God's, of man, T.G. 7^{5}.
Fornication. Zad. 3^{2} 6^{11} 7^{1} 9^{15}, cf. 8^{18} T.R. 1^{6} 6^{4} T.S. 5^{3}; danger of, Sir. 9^{6} 19^{2}; evils of, T.R. 4^{6-7} T.S. $5^{3,4}$ T.Jud. 14^{2} 15^{1-2} 18^{2-6}; in taking two wives, Zad. 7^{1}, *see* Polygamy; punishment of fire for, Jub. 20^{4}; warnings against, T.R. 5^{5} 6^{1}.
Forty days of instruction, 2Bar. 76^{4}, cf. 4Ez. 14^{23}.
Foundations of the Covenant. *See* Ordinances.
Fountain, figurative, of life, 1En. 96^{6}; of the righteous and holy, 65^{12}; of righteousness, 48^{1}; of wisdom, 48^{1}.
— literal, beneath the earth, 1En. 54^{7}; opened, 89^{3}; produces lead and tin, 65^{8}. *See* Spring.
Four types of men, P.A. 5^{13-18}.
Foxes = Ammonites in 1 En. $89^{42,55}$.
Free-will, Sir. 15^{11-20} 20^{21-23} 2Bar. § 10, 15^{5-8} 19^{1-2} P.A. 3^{19}; and fate, 2Bar. 54^{15-19}; co-ordinated with foreknowledge of God, P.A. $3^{19}n.$; doctrine of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9 iv; in 2 Bar. § 10 $18^{2}n.$ $54^{15}n.$; implied, Zad. §§ 9^{40} 13, 3^{1} $4^{2,10}$, *see* Will; man's, 2En. $30^{15}n.$ Ps. Sol. 9^{7}.
Freedom offered to informers, 3Macc. 3^{28}.
Friend, *chaber*, Sir. $6^{10}n.$; (court title). 1Macc. 2^{18} $10^{16,19,20,60,65}$ $11^{26,57}$ 12^{43} 13^{36} 14^{38} 15^{28} 2Macc. 7^{24} 8^{9} 10^{13} 14^{11} Add. Esth. $E^{5}n.$ Arist. $45n.$; bosom friend, 9^{29}; chief friends, 1Macc. 10^{65} 11^{27}; duty to, Sir. 7^{18} 9^{10} 22^{19-26}; of God, used of Abraham, Jub. 19^{9}. *See* Abraham, Isaac.
Friends of God, Wisd. $7^{27}n.$
Friendship, true and false, Sir. 6^{5-17} 12^{8}; rules as to making, 9^{10-16} 11^{29-34} 12^{9}–13^{1}; how dissolved, 22^{19-26}; good and bad, 37^{1-6}.
Fruit, laws about, Jub. $7^{36,37}$.
[Furnace, the man who is melted in the, Zad. 9^{31}.]
Future life, Wisd. 3^{1}; belief in a blessed, Zad. §§ 9^{30} 13, $5^{6}n.$; conception of, developing in Sirach, Sir. $7^{17}n.$; idea of, absent in, $11^{28}n.$ $17^{27,28}$; life continues in name, 39^{9} 41^{11-13}, *see* Spirit; no reference to in Add. Esth. § 7; of righteous, inconsistent views of in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9. *See* Life.
Future punishment, Sir. 5^{8} $7^{17}n.$ 11^{26} 28^{1}; eternal, Judith 16^{17}: for ungodly, decay, Sir. 7^{17} (later 'fire and worm', $7^{17}n.$). *See* Eternal punishment.

Gaas or Gaash, Jub. $34^{4,7}$ T. Jud. 7^{1}.
Gabadaeans, Arabians, 1Macc. 12^{31}.
Gabael, Tob. $1^{1,14}$ $4^{1,20}$ 5^{6} $9^{2,5}$ 10^{2}.
Gabatha, eunuch, Add. Esth. A^{12}.
Gabbe, 1Esd. 5^{20}.
Gabri, Tob. 1^{14} 4^{20}.
Gabriel, Apoc. Mos. 40^{1} 1En. 9^{1} 10^{9} 20^{7} 40^{9} 54^{6}, *see* Angels, Archangels; sent to Enoch, 2En. $21^{3,5}$; seated on left of God, 2En. 24^{1}.
Gad, Jub. 28^{20} 33^{22} 38^{5} $44^{19,20}$ T.R. 1^{4} T.Jud. 5^{2} $7^{2(a)}$ 9^{6} 25^{2} T.Iss. 5^{8} T.Z. 2^{1} 3^{2} 4^{2} T.G. 1^{1} T.A. 7^{6}; exploits of, T.G. 1^{3}.
Gaddis. *See* John.
Gadir, Jub. $8^{23,26}$ 9^{12}.
Gadreel, a Satan, 1En. 69^{6}.
Gaia, Sib. $3^{111,122}$.
Gaidad, 2En. $1^{10}n.$ 57^{2}.
Gains, unrighteous, Sir. 5^{8}, cf. 1En. 63^{10}.
Gait shows the man, Sir. 19^{30}.
Galatians, 1Macc. 8^{2} Sib. $3^{485,509,599}$ 5^{340}; battle of, in Babylonia, 2Macc. $8^{20}n.$
Galilee, 1Macc. $5^{14,15,17,20,21,23,55}$ 10^{30} 11^{63} $12^{47,49}$ Tob. 1^{5} Judith 1^{9} 15^{5}; of Gentiles, 1Macc. 5^{15}; upper, Tob. 1^{2}.
Gall, Tob. 6^{5}; the, T.N. 2^{8}.
Gamael, 1Esd. 8^{29}.
Gamaliel I, P.A. 1^{16}.
Gamaliel III, P.A. 2^{2}.
Garden (i.e. Eden), Jub. 8^{22} 1En. 61^{12}; of Eden, 2En. 8^{6}. $31^{1,3}$, *see* Eden; of Righteousness, 1En. 32^{3} 77^{3}; of the Righteous, 1En. 60^{23}; where the elect and righteous dwell, 1En. 60^{8} 61^{12}, cf. 65^{2} 70^{3} 89^{52}. *See* also Paradise.
Garment of truth, T.L. 8^{2}.
Garments, Tob. 4^{16}; cleansing of, Zad. 13^{12}; law of, Jub. 3^{30-31}; of God's glory, 2En. 22^{8}, cf. 1En. 62^{15}; of life, 62^{16}, cf. 108^{12}; white, 71^{1}.
Gas, name, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Gathering of Israel, 4Ez. $13^{12}n.$ $^{40-48}$. *See* Dispersed.
Gauls, Sib. 5^{200}.
Gaza, 1Macc. $11^{61,62}$ Sib. 3^{345} Arist. 115, 117.
Gazara, near Azotus, 1Macc. 7^{45} 9^{52} $13^{43,53}$ $14^{7,34}$ $15^{28,35}$ $16^{1,19,21}$; a stronghold (= Gezer or Jazer ?), 2Macc. $10^{32}n.$
Gazera, 1Esd. 5^{31} 1Macc. 4^{15}. *See* Gazara.
Geba, Judith 3^{10}.
Gebal, T.L. 6^{1}.
Gedaliah, 2Bar. $5^{5}n.$ 44^{1}.
Geddur, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Gehazi, Zad. 9^{28}.
Gehenna, Ass. Mos. 10^{10} 2Bar. 59^{10} P.A. 1^{5} $5^{22,24}$; furnace of, 4Ez. 7^{36}; in view of righteous in heaven, Ass. Mos. $10^{10}n.$; inherit, P.A. 1^{5}; (1) place of

corporal and spiritual punishment in the presence of the righteous (*a*) for ever, 1En. $27^{2,3}$ $90^{26,27}$,(*b*) for a time only, 1En. 48^{9} $62^{12,13}$, i. e. in 37–70 (Parables); (2)place of spiritual punishment only, 1En. 98^{3}, cf. 103^{8}, i. e. in 91–104 (Section V). *See also* Abyss, Fire, Punishment, Sheol, Valley.

Gel, 3Bar. *Prol.* 2.

Gemarias of Mount †Joel, Mart. Is. 2^{15}.

Genizah fragments of Sirach, Sir. § 3(*a*).

Gennaeus. *See* Apollonius.

Gennesar, waters of, 1Macc. $11^{67}n.$

Gentile nations, seventy, Jub. 44^{34} Test. *App.* I 8^{5}.

Gentiles. 1Esd. 8^{69} 1Macc. $1^{13,14,15}$ $2^{40,44,48,68}$ $3^{10,45,48,52,58}$ $4^{7,11,14,26,45,54,58,60}$ $5^{1,9,10,19,21,22,38,43,57,63}$ $6^{18,53}$ 7^{23} 11^{38} 12^{53} 13^{6} 14^{36} Tob. 13^{3} 2Macc. $14^{3,38}$ Judith 8^{22} Jub. $1^{9,13,15,19}$ 3^{31} 6^{35} 15^{34} 16^{17} $23^{23,24}$ 24^{28} $30^{11,13,14}$ 31^{18} 44^{34} T.S. 7^{2} T.L. 4^{4} 8^{14} 9^{10} 10^{4} $14^{1,3(a),4,6}$ 15^{1} 16^{5} 18^{9} T.Jud. 22^{2} $23^{2,5}$ 24^{6} T.Iss. 6^{2} T.Z. $9^{6,8(bdg)}$ T.D. $5^{5,8}$ $6^{7,9}$ T.N. 3^{3} 4^{1} $8^{3,4,6}$ T.A. 7^{3} T.Jos. 19^{11} T.B. 3^{8} $9^{2,4}$ $10^{5,9,10}$ Ass. Mos. 4^{9} 8^{3} 10^{7} 4Macc. 4^{11} 18^{5}; boasting of, 2Bar. 5^{1} 7^{1} $67^{2,6-7}n.$ 80^{3}; bread of, Tob. $1^{10,11}$; conversion of, 1En. 50^{2-5} $90^{30}n.$ 91^{14}; customs of, 1Macc. 1^{13}; destiny of, 2Bar. $72^{4-6}n.$; feasts of, Jub. 6^{35}; hope for, no, in final judgement, Jub. § 15; intermarriage forbidden, = fornication or giving to Moloch, Jub. $30^{7}n.$; Israel will walk after, Jub. 1^{9}, be scattered amongst, 1^{13}, will turn to God from amongst, 1^{15}, God will gather from, 1^{15}; kings of, Zad. 9^{20}; no clean animal or bird to be sold to, Zad. 14^{9}: no Israelite to be sold to, 14^{11}; no man to rest near, on Sabbath, 13^{24}; ordinances of, Zad. 10^{1}; to be saved, T.L. 4^{4} (8^{14}?) 18^{9} T. Jud. 22^{2} 24^{6} T.Z. $9^{8(bdg)}$ T.D. 6^{7} [T.N. $8^{3,4}$] T.A. 7^{3} [T.Jos. 19^{11} T.B. 3^{8}] 9^{2} [9^{4}] $10^{5,10}$ [$11^{2,3}$]: shedding blood of, Zad. 14^{7}; the Son of Man, the light of, 1En.48^{4}, spirits placed in authority over,to lead astray, Jub. 15^{31} (contrast Israel); = wild beasts, 1En. 85–90*n.*

Geometry, P.A. 3^{23}.

Gera, Jub. 44^{25}.

Gerar, 2Macc. $13^{24}n.$ Jub. 16^{10} $24^{8,12,17,19}$

Gericus, 3Bar. 4^{7}.

Gerizim, 2Macc. 5^{23} 6^{2}.

Gersam, T.L. 11^{2} 12^{1}.

Gershon, Jub. 44^{14} Test. *App.*II 63, 74. *See* Gersam.

Gerson, 1Esd. 8^{29}.

Giants, 3Macc. $2^{4}n.$ 36 *sqq.* Judith 16^{7} Sir. $16^{7}n.$ Wisd. 14^{6} 1Bar. 3^{26}, Jub. 5^{1} 7^{22}, *see* Eljo: 1 En. $7^{2,4}$ 9^{9} $15^{8,11}$ 16^{1}. cf. 86^{4} 88^{2}; judgement of the, Jub. 20^{5}.

Gidaijal, 1En. 82^{20}.

Gideon, Judith 8^{1}.

Gifts blind the eyes of wise, Sir. 20^{29}.

Gihon, Sir. 24^{27} (? = Nile $24^{27}n.$) Jub. $8^{15,22,23}$.

Gilead, 1Macc. $5^{9,17,20,25,27,36,45,55}$ 13^{22} Judith 1^{8} 15^{5} Jub. $29^{4,5,7,9,12}$, *see* Witness, heap of; Mart. Is. 2^{14}.

Gilgal, 1Macc. $9^{2}n.$

Gilgamesh epic, quoted, Sir. § 1.

Girdle, T.L. 8^{7} T.Jud. 12^{4} 15^{3}.

Girgashites, Judith 5^{16} Jub. 14^{18}.

Giving, right spirit in, Sir. 18^{15-18}; to evil, to be avoided, 12^{3-7}. *See* Almsgiving.

Glaphyra, Zad. § 6 ii.(*c*)*n.*

Glory, garments of. *See* Garments: of God, Tob. 3^{16} Zad. 8^{7}, 9^{49}; of the Great One, 1En. 104^{1}; of the Lord. Tob. $12^{12,15}$; of man. Zad. 5^{6}; the Great, 1En. 14^{20}, 102^{3} T.L. 3^{4}. *See* God, titles of.

Gnostic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(*c*).

Gnostos, father of Sibyl, Sib. 3^{815}.

God, acknowledged by heathen, Wisd. 12^{27}; all things in hand of, Sir. 11^{14-28}; alone brings in End, 4Ez. 5^{56}–6^{6} *n.*, judges, $7^{33,37,38}$; and His ministers, duty to, Sir. 7^{29-31}; author of beauty, Wisd. 13^{3}; cause of sin, Sir. $15^{11}n.$; covenant of, Zad. 4^{9} 7^{12} 8^{21} 9^{41} $16^{7,12}$; doctrine of, Sir. §9 i—one, Creator, eternal, holy, God of Israel, of world, Father; Father of Israel, loves them, Jub. $1^{24,25}$; scatters them among Gentiles, Jub. 1^{13}; gathers from amongst, 1^{15}; will descend and dwell with them for ever, $1^{17,26}$, will appear to eyes of all, 1^{28}; Father of all children of Jacob, Jub. 1^{28}; first coming of, to earth, 2En. 58^{1}, second, $32^{1}n.$; friends of, Zad. 4^{3}, *see* Friend; giver of souls, 4Macc. 13^{13} 18^{23}; glory of, Zad. 9^{49}, *see* Glory of God; greatness of, Sir. 16^{17-23} 18^{1-14}; help of, *see* Eleazar; Himself as Judge, Sib. § 8; holy spirit of, Wisd. 9^{17}; knowledge of, is immortality, 15^{3}; love of, 11^{24} Zad. 9^{25}, to His creatures transcends man's, 4Ez. $5^{33}n.$ 8^{47}; mercy of, Sir. 18^{11-14}; name of, not mentioned in 1 Macc., *see* § 5; rules the world, Sir. 10^{4}, the individual, 10^{5}; search for, Wisd. 13^{6}; praise of, as Nature's Lord, Sir. 42^{15}–43^{33}, His might, 43^{1-26}; transcendence of, in Tobit, § 10; will dwell with men, 1En. 25^{3} 77^{1} 1En.91–104; wrath of, Ass. Mos. 10^{3} Zad. 1^{17} 4^{7} $9^{22,40-4}$ 11^{4}, *see* Wrath; of peace, T.D. 5^{2}; of the righteous, P.Man. 8.

God, names and titles of:

Adversary, the, P.A. 4^{29}; All might and all power, who has, 3Macc. 6^{12}; All-King, Sir. 50^{15}; All-seeing God, 2Macc. 9^{5}; and Saviour, Add. Esth. D^{3}; All-surveying God, E^{4}, *see* Beholds; All-powerful Lord, 2Macc. $3^{22,30}$; and merciful God, A. & E. 27^{1}; All-wise God, the, 4Macc. 1^{12}; Almighty, 1Esd. 9^{46} 2Macc. 5^{20} 7^{38} $8^{11,24}$ $15^{8,32}$ 3Macc. $2^{2,8}$ 6^{18} Sib. Frag. 1^{8} 3Bar. 1^{3}; Almighty God, 2Macc. 7^{35} 8^{18} 3Macc. 6^{2} Arist. 18, 19, 45, 139, 168, 184 Sib. 3^{71}; living God of heaven, 3Macc. 6^{28}; Lord, 5^{7} Judith 15^{10} 16^{6}; Alone exists from age to age, Sib. Frag. 1^{16}; Arrays Himself against a king, 2Macc. 1^{11}; Artificer, the, Wisd. 13^{1}; Author of all good things, Arist. 205.

Beauty, first Author of, Wisd. 13^{3}; Beginnings of the ages serve, whose word, 2Bar. 54^{3}; Beholds all things, who, 2Macc. 12^{22} 3Macc. 2^{21}, *see* All-seeing; Beholds the depths, Azar. 32; Benefactor of the whole world, Arist. 210, cf. 281; Blessed for ever, He who is, 1En. 77^{1}; Blessed Heavenly One, Sib. 3^{1}; Bountiful, 4Ez. 7^{136}; Breathed into man a vital spirit, that, Wisd. 15^{11}; Brought you (Israel) up, that, 1Bar. 4^{8}; Brought us (Israel) up out of Egypt, who, 2Bar. $75^{7,8}$; Brought these plagues upon you (Israel), that, 1Bar. $4^{18,27,29}$; Buildeth His city and His sanctuary, Sir. 51^{12vii}.

Called thee (Jerusalem) by name, that, 1Bar. 4^{30}; Called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, that has, 2Bar. 21^{4}; Careth for all, Wisd. 12^{13}; Causes the rain and dew to descend, who, Jub. 12^{4}; Causes the drops of rain to rain by number on the earth, who, 2Bar. 21^{8}; Chambers are in the air, whose, 4Ez.8^{20}; Champion (of Jews), 2Macc. 8^{36}, *see* Fighteth; Cherubim, that sits upon, Azar. 32, who has, as throne, Sib. 3^{1}; Chief of all, $5^{277,499}$; Chose sons of Zadok for the priesthood, that, Sir. 51^{12ix}; Chose Zion, that, 51^{12xiii}; Commanded the air by Thy nod, that has, 2Bar. 21^{5}; Commandment is strong and enactment terrible, whose, 4Ez. 8^{23}; Compassionate, 7^{132}; Created, who, 2Bar. 10^{19}; all things, 3Macc. 2^{3}; everything by His word, Jub. 12^{4}; heaven and earth, the God who, Bel 5; and all things, who, Jub. 7^{36} 36^{7} 2En. 66 *Preface*; me, 2Bar. 54^{9}; us (Israel) 78^{3}; the world out of formless matter, Wisd. 11^{17}; the world was, who said and, Test. *App.* I 9^{5}; Creator. Sir. 3^{16} Jub. 7^{20} 10^{8} 16^{26} 22^{6} 1En. 81^{5} 94^{10} Test. *App.* I 8^{6} $10^{2,8,9}$ Sib. 3^{704} Ass. Mos. 10^{10} 2En. 10^{6} 51^{4} 2Bar. 14^{15} 44^{4} 48^{46} 4Ez. 5^{44} P.A. 4^{29}; Creator of all things. 2Macc. 1^{24} Sir. 24^{8} Jub. $2^{31,32}$ 11^{17} 17^{3} $22^{4,27}$ 45^{5} 2En. 51^{4}(B) 4Macc. 11^{5}; of all created things, Ah. 1^{5} (Arab.); of great Temple, Sib. 5^{433}; of heavens and earth, 3^{786} Ah. 1^{5} (Arab.); of waters, Judith 9^{12}; of world, 2Macc. 7^{23} 13^{14} 4Macc. 5^{25}; who has planted His sweet Spirit in us all, Sib. Frag. 1^{5}.

Deep, who hast shut up, and sealed it, P.Man, 4; Deliverer of Israel, 3Macc. 7^{23}; our, Ps.Sol. 17^{3}, *see* Saviour of Israel; Delivered them (Israel, Lord who, Wisd. 19^{9}; Delivereth them that trust in Him, Sir. 51^{8}; Delivereth out of every evil, that, Wisd. 16^{8}; Depths come as the heights, to whom the, 2Bar. 54^{3}; Discerner, the, P.A. 4^{29}; Divine, the (II, page 781, c. xxvi. 1); Does everything upon the earth, who, Jub. 12^{4}; Does everything easily by a nod, 2Bar. 54^{2}; Dread, whom all things, P.Man. 5.

Educated us, He who, 2Bar. 78^{3}; Eternal, the, 3Macc. 6^{12} Sib. Frag. 3^{17} Sib. $3^{15,101,301,328,594,601,616,631,672,676,679,708,711,721,733,758,766}$; and supreme God, A. & E. 28^{1}; Creator, Sib. 3^{10}; Father of all men, 3^{604}.; God, Sir. 36^{17} Jub. 12^{29} 13^{8} 1En. 1^{4} Sib. $3^{56,742}$ Ass. Mos. 10^{7} 2En. 1^{8}; Immortal God, Sib. 5^{66}; King. Apoc. Mos. 29^{4} 1En. $25^{3,5,7}$ 27^{3} Sib. 3^{717}; Lord, 1En. 58^{4} 2En. $1^{8(\beta)}$; Ruler, 64^{3}; Saviour, of Israel, 3Macc. 7^{16}; who created heaven and earth, Sib. 3^{35}; Ever, God whose Being is for, 5^{174}: Everlasting, the, 1Bar. $4^{10,14,20,22,24,35}$ 5^{2} Sib. 5^{360}; your Saviour, 1Bar. 4^{22}; God, Tob. 14^{7} 1Bar. 4^{8} Sus. 42; King, Tob. $13^{6,10}$; Lord, 13^{13}; Exalted One, the, 4Ez. 4^{34}; Existence, the One, Sib. Frag. 1^{35}; Exists from age to age, who alone, 1^{16}. *See* God who is, God whose Being is for ever, One who is.

Fashioner, the, of men, 4Ez. 7^{94}; Faithfulness standeth eternal, whose, 8^{23}; Father. 3Macc. 5^{7} 6^{8} Sir. 23^{1} Wisd. 2^{16} 14^{3} Jub. $1^{24,25}$ T.L. 18^{6} Sib. $5^{360,500}$; as a, 3Macc.7^{6}; Holy, the, T.Jud. 24^{2}; invisible. Apoc. Mos. 35^{3}; of all, 35^{2} 37^{4} Sib. 3^{550} 5^{328}; of all the children of Jacob, Jub. 1^{28}; of all holy, among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2^{21}; of all within whom is the breath of God, the Great, Sib. 5^{406}; of light, the, Apoc. Mos. 36^{3}; our, Tob. 13^{4} Sib. 3^{726}; my, Sir. 51^{10}; which is in heaven, P.A. 5^{23}; who alone is excellent, Sib. 5^{284}; who is from everlasting, Sib. 5^{498}; Fighteth for our nation, He who ever, 2Macc. 14^{34}, *see* Champion; Firmament, Thou that hast fixed, by thy

word, 2Bar. 21^{4}; Forgiving, 4Ez.7^{139}; Formed him (Moses), He who, 2Bar. 17^{4}; man by . . . wisdom, Wisd. 9^{2}; man in womb, who, Test. *App.* I 9^{5}; them (works), Wisd. 13^{4}; Formeth all, He that, Sir. $51^{12\text{lv}}$. *See* Creator.

Gathereth the outcasts of Israel, He that, Sir. $51^{12\text{ v}}$; Glorious, greatly, 3Macc. 6^{18}; Glorious One, 6^{13}: Glory, great, the, 1En. 14^{20} 102^{3} T.L. 3^{4}; Glory is inconceivable, whose, 4Ez. 8^{21}: Glory of God. the, Tob. 3^{16} $12^{12,15}$ 3Bar. 4^{16} 7^{2} 11^{2}: God (my, thy, &c.), Tob. 11^{18} $13^{4,7}$ Judith $8^{9,12,18,19,21}$ 6^{3} 7^{28} 9^{4} $11^{10,11,13,23}$ $13^{11,17}$ $16^{2,13}$ Jub. 1^{17} 7^{34} 10^{5} $12^{19,20,21,24}$ $13^{8,16}$ 15^{10} 19^{28} 22^{9} 27^{27} $33^{11,13}$ 41^{25} Arist. 42 Apoc. Mos. 35^{3} T.S. 2^{8} T.Jos. 1^{6} $8^{5(a)}$ 2En. 67^{3} (B) Ps.Sol. 5^{6} 6^{7} 8^{36} 9^{16} 15^{15} $17^{3,4,15,30,42}$ $18^{8,11}$ (II, page 779, line 23 from bottom): my and thy God, Jub. 21^{25}; God, a, to thee and to thy seed, 22^{15}; Almighty, 15^{4} 27^{11} 2En. *Prol.*; and King, Add. Esth. C^{8}; Himself, Sib. $4^{181,183}$ 5^{352}; our Father, 3^{726}: God Most High. 1Esd. 9^{46} Sir. 24^{23} 39^{6} $47^{5,8}$ 48^{20} Jub. 12^{19} 22^{11} [T.Jud. 24^{4}] P.A. 6^{11} Ah. 6^{15} (Arab.); of Abraham. Add.Esth. C^{8} Jub. $24^{22,23}$ 31^{25} 35^{14} Ass.Mos. 3^{9}; and of Isaac, Jub.29^{4} 31^{31} 44^{5} 45^{3}; and Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, P.Man. 1; of afflicted. Judith 9^{11}; of ages, Jub. 25^{15} 1En. 9^{4}; of all, Sir. 36^{1} 45^{23} 50^{22} Jub. $22^{10,27}$ 30^{19} $31^{13,32}$ Apoc.Mos. 32^{2} 42^{8}; of all power and might, Judith 9^{14}; all rule, Apoc.Mos. 42^{5}; of Daniel, Bel 41; of . . . father, Judith 9^{12} Mart.Is. 2^{2} T.Jos. 6^{6}; of father Isaac, Jub. 44^{1}; of . . . fathers, 1Esd. 1^{50} 4^{60} $8^{25,58}$ 9^{8} 3Macc. 7^{16} Tob. 8^{5} Judith 10^{8} Wisd. 9^{1} P.Man. 1 Azar. 3, 29 Jub. 31^{31} 44^{5} T.R. 4^{10} T.S. 2^{8} T.Jud. 19^{3} T.D. $1^{9(a)}$ T.G. 2^{5} T.Jos. 1^{4} 6^{7} Test. *App.* I 1^{10} 8^{3} Ass. Mos. 9^{6} 4Macc. 12^{18} P.A. 5^{24}; of gods, Azar. 68 Jub. 8^{20} 23^{1} 1En. 9^{4}; of glory, 1En. 25^{7}: of heaven, 3Macc. 7^{6} Tob. 7^{12} 8^{15} Judith 5^{8} 11^{17} Jub. 12^{4} 20^{7} 22^{19} 1En. 106^{5} T.R. 1^{6} 6^{9} Sib. $3^{174,286}$ 4^{135} 5^{76} Ass.Mos. 2^{4} Ah. 6^{16} (Syr.) Ah. 6^{26} (Arab.); and earth, T.Iss. 7^{7}, *see* Almighty living God of heaven; of Hebrews, T.Jos. 12^{3}; of hosts, 1Esd. 9^{46}; of inheritance of Israel, Judith 9^{12}; of Isaac, Jub. 27^{22} 29^{4} Ass.Mos. 3^{9}, *see* God of Abraham; of Israel, 1Esd. 1^{48} $2^{48,67}$ 6^{1} $7^{4,9,15}$ $8^{3,65,72}$ 9^{39} 2Macc. 9^{5} Tob. 13^{18} Judith 4^{12} 6^{21} 10^{1} 14^{10} 1Bar. 2^{11} 3^{1} Jub. 1^{28} T.Jos. 2^{2} Ps.Sol. 4^{1} 9^{16}; of Jacob, Ass.Mos. 3^{9} Ps.Sol. 15^{1}; of Jacob our father, T.D. 1^{9} (β AS^{1}); of justice, Sir. 35^{12}; of my life, 23^{1}; of my salvation, 51^{1}; of peace, T.D. 5^{2}; of praises, Sir. $51^{12\text{li}}$; of requital, 35^{11}; of righteous, P.Man. 8; of righteousness, Jub. 25^{21} T.Jud. 22^{2}; judging Israel with chastening, Ps.Sol. 8^{32}; of Sabaoth, 2En. 52^{1}; of spirits of all flesh, Jub. 10^{3}; of the whole world, 1En. 84^{2}; of them that repent, P.Man. 13; of truth, 1Esd. 4^{40}; the Creator, Ah. 1^{1} (Arab.); the Father, Apoc. Mos. 43^{5} Sib. 5^{360}: the Great King, $3^{499,616}$; the High and the Mighty, Ah. *Aeth. Frag.* 1; the just judge, A. & E. 29^{10}; the Lord, 3^{2} 13^{2} 14^{2} 16^{1} 33^{1}; the merciful, 2Macc. 11^{9}; their King, A. & E. 29^{8}; who bestows on all kings glory &c., Arist. 224; ever is, Sib. 3^{33}; fulfils all your desires, Arist. 283; gave them (Israel) their law, 15; has endowed you with these qualities, 290; is, 4Macc. 5^{24}; made us (Adam and Eve), A. & E. 4^{3}; makes you care for these things, Arist. 282; maintains your kingdom, 15; overlooks you, Sib. Frag. 1^{3}; who oversees all things, 3^{42}; rules and preserves us, Arist. 157; whom they knew, Judith 5^{8}; Godhead, the, T.L. 3^{7} (A^{a}); Good, 4Ez. 7^{138}; Governest all creation, who, 3Macc. 6^{2}; whole world, 2^{3}; Grace, that showest, upon the earth, Ah. 4^{18} (Syr.); Gracious, 4Ez. 7^{133}; Gracious One, 8^{32}; Great Eternal God, Sib. 3^{698} 5^{500}; Great Father, 3^{296} 5^{406}; Great God, the, 3Macc. $7^{2,22}$ Arist. 05 Sib.$3^{162,297,556,557,702,773,776}$ 4^{163}; Great Holy One, the, 1En. 97^{6}; Great Lord, the, 81^{3}; Great One, the, 14^{2} $103^{1,4}$ 104^{1}; Great Sovereign, the, 2Macc. 5^{20}; of the world, 12^{15}; Guards all, who, Sib. 3^{33}.

Hater of insolence, 3Macc.6^{9}; Hateth iniquity, that, Judith 5^{17}; He (Him), 1Macc. 2^{61}; He above, Sib. 3^{760}, cf. Lord above us; He that hath kept me alive, Ah. 8^{40} (Syr.); He that is, Wisd. 13^{1}, *see* Exists; Head of days, One who had a, 1En. 46^{1}; Head of days, the. 46^{2} 47^{3} 48^{2} 55^{1} 60^{2} $71^{10,12,13,14}$: Heaven, 1Macc. $2^{21,37}$ $3^{18,19,60}$ $4^{24,55}$ 16^{3} 2Macc. 2^{18} 3Macc. 6^{33} (Tob. 9^{6}) Sus. 9, 35 (θ) Jub. 26^{18} (30^{1}?) (T.B. 3^{8}) Ass.Mos. 3^{8} P.A. $1^{3,11}$ $2^{2,18}$ $4^{5,14,15}$ 5^{20}; Heaven, abode is the, whose, Sib. Frag. 1^{11}; dwelling is in, whose, Sib. $3^{11,807}$; dwells in, God who, 5^{298}; Heaven, dwells in, who, 2Macc. 3^{39}; is in, God which, Tob. 5^{17}; Heaven, that has made firm the height of the, by the spirit, 2Bar. 21^{4}; Heavenly and true God, the, Sib. Frag. 1^{10}; God, the, Sib. 4^{61} 3Bar. 11^{9}; King, T.B. 10^{7} (A); One, the, Ass.Mos. 10^{3}; Sovereign, 2Macc. 15^{23}; Heavens, whose are the highest, 4Ez. 8^{20}; Helper of the oppressed, Judith 9^{11}; Highest, the, A. & E., 15^{3}; Holdeth all things together, that which, Wisd. 1^{7}; Holy among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2^{2}; and faithful, Jub. 21^{4}; and Righteous One, A. & E. 27^{1}; God, 3Macc. 6^{1} 7^{10} Sib. 3^{477}; (and) Great One, 1En. 1^{3} 10^{1} 14^{1} 25^{3} 84^{1} 92^{2} 98^{6} 104^{9}; Holy King, 3Macc. 2^{13}; Holy Lord, 2Macc. 14^{36} [Apoc. Mos. 43^{5}]; One, Sir. 4^{13} 23^{9} 39^{35} 43^{10} 1Bar. $4^{22,35}$ 5^{5} Apoc. Mos. 33^{5} Sib. 3^{688}; of Israel, Sir. 50^{17} 1En. 1^{2} 37^{2} 93^{11} T.D. 5^{13} Sib. 3^{709} P.A. $3^{1,4}$ 4^{29} 5^{6} $6^{11,12}$; One of the holy ones, T.L. 3^{4} (A^{a}); Honoured One, the, 1En. 103^{1}, *see* Name; Hope and refuge of the poor, Ps.Sol. 15^{2}; Hope, in whom ye (Israel), 2Bar. 77^{7}; Hosts stand trembling, before whom, 4Ez. 8^{21}.

Immortal, the, Sib. Frag. 1^{11} Sib. 5^{110}; and eternal, 5^{277}; Father of gods and of all men, 3^{278}; God, $3^{276,283,600,628,693}$ $5^{298,360,490,497}$; loud-thundering God of heaven, 5^{76}; One, 3^{582}; Incorruptible Creator, Sib. Frag. 3^{17}; Incorruptible, the, 4Ez. 3^{11}; Indignation melteth the mountains, whose, 4Ez. 8^{23}; Ineffable, Sib. 3^{11}; Inspired into man an active soul, He that, Wisd. 15^{11}, *see* Spirit; Invisible God, the, Sib. 5^{427} 2En. 67^{3}; Invisible yet seeing all Himself, Sib. Frag. 1^{8}.

Jael, Apoc. Mos. 29^{4} 33^{5}; Jealousy, an ear of, Wisd. 1^{10}; Judge, the, 2Bar. 5^{3} 48^{39} P.A. 4^{29}; holy, Jub. 10^{32}; Judge, righteous, 2Macc. 12^{5} Sir. 35^{17}; a righteous, Ps.Sol. 2^{18}; the sovereign righteous, Sib. 3^{704}; Just and righteous, Ah. 4^{18} (Syr.); Justice. Wisd. 1^{8} 11^{20} 14^{31} 4Macc. 8^{15}: divine, Sib. 3^{260} 4Macc. 12^{12}; lover of, Arist. 209.

Keepeth Israel, He that, Sir. $51^{12\text{ lii}}$; King, 51^{1} 1En. 84^{2}; great, 1En. 84^{5} 91^{13} Ps.Sol. 2^{36}; of ages, 1En. 12^{3}; of all, Tob. 10^{13}; of every creature, Judith 9^{12}; glory for ever, 1En. 81^{3}; of gods, Add.Esth. C^{23}; of great power, 3Macc. 6^{2}; of heaven, 1Esd. $4^{46,58}$ Tob. $13^{7,11,16}$ T.B. 10^{7}($c\beta$ S^{1}); of heavens, 3Macc. 2^{4}; of kings, 2Macc. 13^{4} 3Macc. 5^{35} 1En. 9^{4} 84^{2}, cf. 63^{4}; of kings of kings, Sir. $51^{12\text{xlv}}$ P.A. 4^{29}; of world, 2Macc. 7^{9}; on Mount Zion for all eternity, Jub. 1^{28}; on the lofty throne, Ass.Mos. 4^{2}; our, Add. Esth. C^{14} Sib. Frag. 3^{42} Sib. $5^{352,499}$; Ps.Sol. $5^{21}17^{1}$; that rulest over all, Add.Esth. C^{2}; Knew that thou wast wronged, Ah. 5^{14} (Arab.); (?) Know, One whom the many do not, 4Ez. 5^{7}; Knows all, who, Sib. Frag. 1^{4} 1Bar.3^{32}; all things before they come into being, who, Sus. 35^{a}, 42; the consummation of the times before they come, who, 2Bar. 21^{8}; the secrets, Sus. 42; what is hidden, God who, Ah. 6^{29} (Arab.).

Lawgiver, 4Macc. 5^{25}; Life, all, is from before His face, Jub. 12^{4}; Life, all things are endowed with, through whom, Arist. 16; Life and deathless endless light, He who is, Sib. Frag. 3^{34}; Life and Spirit, Lord of, 2Macc. 14^{46}; Life for them (men), He who prepared, 4Ez. 8^{60}: Life, living, the, A. & E. 28^{2}: Light, everlasting, Wisd. 7^{26}; of righteousness, T.Z. 9^{8}; of the Universe, the, Apoc.Mos. 36^{3}; the True, A. & E. 28^{2}; Liveth for ever, God that, Tob. 13^{1}: He that, Sir. 18^{1} 1En. 5^{1} $106^{3,11}$ (*Lat. Frag.*); Living God, Bel 5, 25, Add.Esth. E^{16} Jub. 1^{25} 21^{4} Sib. 3^{763}, *see* Almighty living God; Lord, 2Macc. 7^{32} 15^{4}; One, the, Ah. 1^{1} (Arab.); Lofty One, who has no respect of persons, 2Bar. 13^{8}; Longsuffering, 4Ez. 7^{134}.

Lord, Almighty, Judith 4^{13} 8^{13} 16^{17} 1Bar. $3^{1,4}$ P.Man. 1, in heaven, P.Man. 1; above us, 4Ez. 8^{6}; and Creator of the Universe, Arist. 15; Creator, Jub. 10^{8} S. A. & E. 30^{2}; my Creator, 28^{2}; for evermore, Jub. 8^{20}; Lord God, 1Esd. 8^{92} 2Macc. 1^{24} 7^{6} 3Macc. 5^{35} Tob. 14^{15} Judith 7^{29} 8^{35} 9^{2} 13^{18} Bel 39, 41 Jub. 2^{1} 6^{10} 9^{15} 12^{25} 19^{29} 25^{12} A. & E. 2^{2} 6^{2} 9^{2} 14^{1} 15^{2} 20^{2} 22^{2} 28^{1} 30^{2} 34^{1} 30^{1} 40^{2} 46^{3} T.S. 2^{13} 6^{5} T.L. 8^{10} 9^{14} 2En. $22^{4,8}$(B) 42^{14}(B) 43^{1}(B) 44^{1} (B) 45^{3}(B) $58^{1,2}$(B) 64^{1}(B) 3Bar. $1^{3,5,7}$ $4^{7,8}$ 4Ez. 8^{45} Ps. Sol. 5^{1}: God Most High, 1Esd. 9^{46}; of Abraham, Add. Esth. C^{30} Jub. 36^{6}, and the God of Isaac, 27^{22}; of all power, Judith 13^{4}; of . . . father, 9^{2}; of . . . fathers, Jub. 49^{6}; of heaven, Judith 6^{19}; and earth. T.B. 3^{1}; of Israel, Judith 12^{9} 13^{7} Add.Esth. C^{14} Jub. 45^{3} Ps.Sol. 16^{3}; of Shem, Jub. 8^{18}; sole and glorious over the whole world, Azar. 22; who forsakes not those who love him, Bel 38; Lord Himself, the, Ps.Sol. $17^{38,51}$; Lord, Lord, Jub. 14^{2}: Lord . . . God. 1Esd. 1^{4} 5^{70} $8^{14,15,27,79}$ Tob. $4^{19,21}$ Judith 4^{2} $7^{19,29}$ $8^{14,16,25}$ 1Bar. $1^{10,13,15,18,19,21,22}$ $2^{5,6,12,15,19,27,30}$ $3^{6,8}$ Sus. 35 Bel 25 Jub. $1^{18,19}$ 3^{5} 4^{6} 6^{13} 7^{5} $10^{3,7,22}$ 13^{15} 15^{26} 19^{28} 26^{15} $33^{18,20}$ 45^{4} $48^{14,17}$ $50^{7,9,11}$

A. & E. 17[1] 29[5] 35[2] T.S. 6[5] T.L. 13[1] T.Z. 10[5] T.N. 4[3] Test. *App.* I 8[3] Ps.Sol. 4[28] 6[3] P.A. 3[19] 5[24] Ah. 1[4] (Syr. A); Lord Most High, P.Man. 7 1En. 98[11] Test. *App.* II 51, 58 2Bar. 6[6]; Lord (my, thy, his, &c.), 1Esd. 2[5] 8[46,47,50,52,53] Tob. 8[4] 13[4] Judith 5[21] 16[2,12] Add. Esth. C[14] A. & E. 27[1] 49[3] 1En. 22[14] 84[6]; LORD my Lord, 2Bar. 3[1]*n.* 14[8,16] 16[1] 23[1] 38[1] 48[45] 4Ez. 3[4] 5[23,38] 7[17,58] 12[7] 13[51] (of angel? 4Ez. 4[38] 6[11]); Lord of ages, 1En. 9[1]; of all, Ass.Mos. 4[2]; of all the ages, Jub. 31[13]; of all reputation, Arist. 269; of . . . fathers, 1Esd. 4[62] Judith 7[28]; of glory. 1En. 22[14] 25[3] 27[3,5] 36[4] 40[3] 63[2] 75[3] 83[8]; of heaven, Tob. 7[11,17] 1En. 106[11] Test. *App.* II 13 Sib.Frag. 1[35] Ass.Mos. 4[4]; and earth, Tob. 10[13] Judith 9[12]; of hosts, Apoc.Mos. 38[3] [43[5]] P.A. 6[8,11]; of Israel, 1Esd. 2[3,5] 5[71] 6[15] 8[13,89]; of judgement, 1En. 83[11]; of kings, 63[2,4]; of light, 2En. 18[3]; of lords, 1En. 9[4] Ass.Mos. 9[6]; of majesty, 1En. 12[3]; of mercy, 2Macc. 8[29]; of mighty, 1En. 63[2]; of rich, 63[2]; of righteousness, Tob. 13[6] Jub. 25[15] 1En. 22[14] 90[40] 106[3]: Lord of sheep, 89[16,22,26,29,33,36,42,45,50,51,52,54,57,70,71,75,76] 90[14–20,29,33]; Lord of Spirits, 37[2]*n.*[4] 38[2,4,6] 39[2,7,8,9,12] 40[1,2,4,5,6,7,10] 41[2,6,7] 43[4] 45[1,2] 46[3,6,7,8] 47[1,2,4] 48[2,3,5,7,10] 49[2,4] 50[2,3,5] 51[3] 52[5,9] 53[6] 54[5,7] 55[3,4] 57[3] 58[4,6] 59[1,2] 60[6,8,24,25] 61[3,5,8,9,11,13] 62[2,10,12,14,16] 63[1,2,7,12] 65[9,11] 66[2] 67[8,9] 68[4] 69[24,29] 70[1] 71[2,17]; of universe, Arist. 195; of whole creation of the world, 1En. 84[2]; of wisdom, 63[2]; of world, Jub. 25[23] 1En. 81[10] Ass.Mos. 1[11]; our Saviour, Ps.Sol. 8[39]; over all dominion, Add.Esth. C[23]; Ruler of Sabaoth, 2En. 21[1]; that dwells eternally, 4Ez. 8[20]; that dwells in Jerusalem, 1Esd. 2[5]; that brought thee (Abraham) out of Ur of Chaldees, Jub. 14[7], cf. 22[27]; that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things, Arist. 155; the eternal God, Sus. 35[a]: the God of gods, Bel 7; the Great King, Tob. 13[15]; the Most High God, Jub. 21[20]; which made heaven and earth, 1Esd. 6[13]; who created the heaven and the earth, Jub. 32[18]; who hath holy knowledge, 2Macc. 6[30]; whose name has not been sent into this world, Mart.Is. 1[7]; Look drieth up the depths, whose, 4Ez. 8[23]; Looks on all, who, Sib.Frag. 1[4]; Loved us (Israel) from of old and never hated us, who, 2Bar. 78[3]; Lover of souls, Wisd. 11[26].

Made, who, 2Bar. 10[19]; all things, Jub. 31[29]; all things by . . . word, Wisd. 9[1]; (all) from the beginning, Sib.Frag. 3[16]; earth, 2Bar. 21[4]; heaven and earth, P.Man. 1[2] Sib.Frag. 3[3–5], ct. 2En. 2[2]; Israel, 1Bar. 4[7] 2Bar. 60[2]; them (men) 4Ez. 8[60]; them (stars), 1Bar. 3[34]; us, 2Bar. 79[2]; Maker, man's, Sir. 10[12] 32[13] 46[13] 47[8] Wisd. 16[24] Apoc.Mos. 31[4] 32[4] 2Bar. 82[2] P.A. 4[29]; nature's first, Wisd. 13[5]; Maketh a horn to sprout for the house of David, He that, Sir. 51[12vIII]; Master, Tob. 3[14] Azar. 13 Apoc.Mos. 19[2] 23[2] 42[5]; Merciful, Sir. 50[19]; One, Ah. 4[17] (Arab.); God, 3Macc. 5[7] Tob. 3[12] 1Bar. 3[1]; Lord, 2Macc. 13[12]; Mercy, who keeps, Wisd. 9[1]; who shows, Ah. 5[14] (Arab.); Mighty, Sib. 3[735]; God, the, 3[91,97,194,246,274,284,306,489,549,565,575,584,632,656,657,665,671,687,740,781,784,818] 4[6,25] 5[186] 2Bar. 6[8] 7[1] 13[2,4]; Heavenly God, 3[19]; King, 3[56,560,808]; One, the, Sir. 35[18] 2Bar. 21[3] 25[4] 32[1,6] 34[1] 44[6] 46[1,4] 47[1] 48[1,38] 49[1] 54[1,11] 55[6] 56[3] 59[3] 61[6] 6[3,5,6,8,10] 64[3,4] 65[1] 66[1,5,6] 67[2] 70[2] 77[11,26] 81[4] 82[5] 84[1,6,7,10] 85[2,3] 4Ez. 6[32] 9[46] 10[24] 11[43] 12[47] 13[23]; in dominion, the, 1En. 103[1]; of Israel, T.S. 6[5]; of Jacob, Sir. 51[12xII]; works for salvation of Israel, who has, 3Macc. 6[13]; Most exalted of all, Sib. Frag. 3[3], *see* Exalted; Most High, 2Macc. 3[31] 3Macc. 6[2] Tob. 1[13] 4[11] Sir. 6[37] 9[15] 17[26] 19[17] 23[18,23] 24[2,3] 28[7] 34[6,19] 35[6] 39[1,5] 41[4] 42[2] 44[2,20] 49[4] 50[7,14,15,16,17] Wisd. 5[15] 6[3] Add.Esth. E[16] Jub. 16[18] 22[27] 1En. 9[3] 10[1] 46[7] 60[1,22] 62[7] 77[1] 94[8] 97[2] 98[7,11] 99[3,10] 100[4] 101[1,6,9] T.S. 2[5] 6[7] T.L. 3[10] 4[1,2] 5[1,7] 8[15] [16[3]] 18[7] T.Iss. 2[5] T.G. 3[1] T.A. 2[6] 5[4] 7[3] T.Jos. 1[4] 3[10] 9[3] 10[3] T.B. 4[5] 9[2] (*cβ*S[1]) Test. *App.* I 10[1] Sib. Frag. 1[4] Sib. 3[519,574,580] Ass. Mos. 10[7] 2Bar. 17[1] 24[2] 25[1] 54[9,17] 56[1] 64[5,8] 67[3,7] 69[2] 70[7] 71[3] 76[1] 77[4,21] 80[1,3] 81[2,4] 82[2,6] 83[1] 85[8,12] 4Ez. 3[3] 4[2,11,34] 5[4,22,34] 6[32,37] 7[19,23,33,37,42,50,70,74,77,78,79,81,83,87,88,89,102,122,132] 8[1,48,56,59] 9[2,4,5,25,28,44] 10[24,38,49,52,54,57,58,59] 11[38,43,44] 12[4,6,23,30,32,36,39,47] 13[13,23,26,29,44,47,56,57] 14[42,45,50]; Most High God, 1Esd. 6[31] 8[19,21] 3Macc. 1[9,16] 3[11] 4[16] 5[25] 7[9] Judith 13[18] Sir. 7[9] 41[8] 46[5,6] Jub. 7[36] 13[16,29] 16[27] 20[9] 21[20,22,23,25] 22[6,13,19,23,27] 25[3,11,21] 27[15] 32[1] 36[15] 39[6] Test. *App.* II 13, 30 Sib. 3[719] Ass.Mos. 6[1] Ah. 1[1,5] 3[7] 4[17] 5[15] 6[2,7,10] 7[19] (*all* Arab.), *see* God Most High; Most High Lord, 1Esd. 2[3]; Most Mighty, Add.Esth. E[16]; Moulded (man), that, Wisd. 15[11].

Name, the, P.A. 4[5] 5[11]; (?) called upon us (Israel), 4Ez. 10[22]; glorious and honoured, &c., which created heavens and earth and all things, Jub. 36[7]; His, 2Bar. 67[3] P.A. 3[3]; holy, the, Jub. 25[12]; My, 2Bar. 5[2]; of Heaven, P.A. 1[11] 2[2,16] 4[5] 5[20]; of Him that made them, 4Ez. 8[60]; of his God, Ps.Sol. 6[7]; of the Lord, Test. *App.* I 9[4] Ps.Sol. 6[2]; Thy, 7[5]; Thy Great, 2Bar. 5[1]; Nourishes all, who, Sib.Frag. 1[5]; Nothing is too hard, Thou for whom, 2Bar. 54[2].

One, Sib.Frag. 3[3] 2Bar. 48[24]; Almighty God, the, Arist. 139; God, Arist. 132 Sib.Frag. 1[7,32] Sib. 3[571] 4[30] 5[284]; Sovereign God, 3[11]; that judgeth alone, P.A. 4[10]; who is and was . . . and shall be, Sib. 3[16]; Only Ruler, 3Macc. 2[2]. *See* Sole.

Possessor of heaven and earth, P.A. 6[11]; Power, divine, the, Arist. 236, 252 Ah. 1[1] (Syr. A) excellent in, Sib.Frag. 1[7]; Infinite, Mighty, A. & E. 28[2]; (supreme), the, Wisd. 1[3]; some, 4Macc. 5[13]; Pours forth upon men gladness, who, Sib. Frag. 3[35]; Praise of all His pious ones, Sir. 51[12xv]; Prepared the earth, that, 1Bar. 3[32]; Prince of the world, Sib. Frag. 1[15]; Promised, on our behalf . . . that He will never forget or forsake us, who always, 2Bar. 78[7]; Protector of all, 3Macc. 6[9]; of the forlorn, Judith 9[11]; Providence, Wisd. 14[3] Arist. 201 Sib. 5[227]; divine, 4Macc. 17[22]; divine and allwise, 13[19]; eternal, the, Wisd. 17[2]; God's, Sib. 5[323]; just, that watched over our fathers, 4Macc. 9[24].

Reason, Source of, Ah. 1[1] (Arab.); Receives not gifts, who, Jub. 33[18]; Redeemer of Israel, Sir. 51[12v]; Redeemed them (Israel), the Lord who, Ps.Sol. 9[1]; Redeemeth and saveth Israel, One who, 1Macc. 4[11], *see* Saviour of Israel; Redeemeth from all evil, Sir. 51[8]; Reigns for ever, who, Sib. 3[593]; Respects not persons, who, Jub. 33[18] Ps.Sol. 2[18], cf. P.A. 4[29]; Revealest to those who fear Thee what is prepared for them, 2Bar. 54[4]; Rich in mercy, 3Macc. 6[9]; Righteous beyond all, Jub. 21[4]; Righteous Ruler, 3Macc. 3[3]; Rock of Isaac, Sir. 51[12 xi]; Ruler and Lord of the universe, Arist. 16; Ruler of all, 3Macc. 5[28] 6[39], cf. Sib.Frag. 1[17], *see* King, Only Ruler, Righteous Ruler; of all creation, 3Macc. 2[7]; of all power, 5[7,51] 7[9]; Rules for ever, who, 1En. 22[14] (E); over all, Add.Esth. E[18,21]; over the world, 1En. 22[14] (G[5]); the world, Ass.Mos. 4[2]; with great thought the hosts which stand before Thee, 2Bar. 21[6].

Saved all His people, who, 2Macc. 2[17]; thee (Aḥikar), Ah. 5[14] (Arab.); Saves them that hope in Him, who, Sus. 60; Saviour of all, Wisd. 16[7]; of Israel, 1Macc. 4[30] 3Macc. 6[32], eternal, 7[16]; of them that are without hope, Judith 9[11]; Sea, who has bound the, by the word, P.Man. 3; See, One whom none can, from earth, Sib. 4[10]; Seen those things which are to be, Thou that hast, 2Bar. 21[5]; Seeth all, who, 2Macc. 7[35], *see* All-seeing; Self-sprung, Sib.Frag. 1[17] Sib. 3[12]; Sends forth the light, that, 1Bar. 3[33]; rain, winds, famines, &c., Sib.Frag. 1[32–34]; Sent it (the word), who, 2Bar. 56[4]; me (Baruch), who, 84[7]; Shechinah, P.A. 3[8], *see* Shechinah; Shield of Abraham, Sir. 51[12 x]; Sky, dwelling in the, Sib.Frag. 3[17]; whose dwelling is in the, Sib. 3[81]; Sole Potentate, 3[718]; Souls, God who gave us our, 4Macc. 13[13]; Souls, Sustainer of, Sib. 5[506]; Sovereign, 2Macc. 12[28]; Sole, Sib.Frag. 1[7]; Sovereign in heaven, 2Macc. 15[3,4]; Sovereign Lord, 5[17] 6[14] 15[22,29] Wisd. 11[26] 13[3,9]; of all, Wisd. 6[7] 8[3]; of all creation, 3Macc. 2[2], *see* Ruler; of earth, Sib.Frag. 1[35]; of spirits, 2Macc. 3[24]; of the world, sole, Sib. 5[186]; Sovereignty over all flesh, who has, Bel 5; Spirit and soul, who placed in man, Test. *App.* I 9[5]; Strength of my life, Sir. 51[1]; Supreme God, 2Macc. 3[36] Arist. 19, 37.

Teacher, Sir. 51[17]; Throne is beyond imagination, whose, 4Ez. 8[21]; Thunder, delight is in the, whose, 5[62], cf. 5[76]; Sender of, 5[433]; Thunders from on high, He who, Sib. 3[1] 5[302]; True, the, 5[499]; and eternal God, Sib.Frag. 1[20]; and everlasting God, 3[46]; God, the, 3Macc. 6[18] Wisd. 12[27] Arist. 140, Sib. 5[495] 2En. 66[2]; Truth, lover of the, Arist. 206.

Unbegotten, Sib.Frag. 1[7,17]; Upholder of the weak, Judith 9[11]; Unseen yet seeing all Himself alone, Sib. 3[12], *see* Invisible.

Watcher of all from heaven, Sib. 5[352]; Wisdom, guideth, that, Wisd. 7[15]; Who hath made . . . perfect in, Ah. 7[4] (Arab.); Wise, Sib. 5[360]; Wise, correcteth, One that, Wisd. 7[15]; Witness, the, P.A. 4[29]; Witnesses all, who, Sib.Frag. 1[4]; Wonders, doer of, 3Macc. 6[32]; worker of, 2Macc. 15[21]; Word is sure and behest constant, 4Ez. 8[22]; World-Ruler, the, Sib. 3[19]; Worship, whom ye (Israel), 2Bar. 77[7].

Godless, 1En. 1[1] 5[7] 16[1] 38[8] 81[9] 91[14] 94[11] 98[15] 99[8,10].

Godlessness, 1En. 10[20] 104[9].

Godly man is wise, Sir. 21[11, 18–28]; receives discipline, and is blessed, 32(35)[14–17].

Gods of heathen, dead, Sib. Frag. 1[22] 3[545]*sqq.*; impossibility of, Frag. 2[1–3] Frag. 3[1–32]; = demons, *see* Demonology; strange, Israel turns to, Jub. 1[8].

See Ashtaroth, Bel, Belshim, Dis, Zeus.
Gog, Jub. 8[25]; and Magog, land of = Ethiopia, Sib. 3[319, 512].
Gold, lay up, Tob. 12[9]; proved in fire, Sir. 2[5] Wisd. 3[6].
'Golden Rule,' Tob. 4[15].
Goliath, Sir. 47[4].
Gomer, Jub. 7[19] 9[8].
Gomorrah, Jub. 16[5] 20[6] Mart. Is. 3[10]. *See* Aguaron.
Good man, the, T.B. 4[2–5].
Goodness abides for ever, Sir. 40[12,17].
Gorgias, 1Macc. 3[38] 4[1,5,18] 5[69] 2Macc. 8[9] 10[14] 12[32,35,37]; Judas' victory over, 1Macc. 4[1–25].
Gortyna, 1Macc. 15[23].
Goshen, land of, Judith 1[10]; land of, Jub. 44[9] 45[1,2,6].
Gotholias, 1Esd. 8[33].
Government, attitude to, P.A. 1[10] 2[3].
Grace alone accounts for election and salvation of Israel, Ass. Mos. § 9.
Graeco-Egyptians = 'vultures' and 'kites' in 1En. 90[2]. Cf. 90[11,13]*n.*
Grape-gatherer, Ben-Sira claims to be only a, Sir. § 1, 33[16–18].
Grateful dead. *See* Dead.
Grave, Tob. 8[10,18].
Greece, 1Macc. 8[9] Sib. 3[813] 4[96]. *See* Hellas.
Greek, 2Macc. 13[2] Sib. 3[193]; cities compel Jews to hellenize, 2Macc.6[9], cf. 11[3]; fashions, 4[13]; influences in Tobit, 2[12] 5[15]; kingdom, i.e. the Seleucid era, 1Macc. 1[10]*n.*; language, Arist. 38; speculation condemned, Sir. 3[24]*n.*; text of Ecclesiasticus, divergence in order from Old Latin version, Sir. § 4, 30–36; ways of life, 2Macc. 4[10] 6[9]. *See* Hellenizing.
Greeks, 1Macc. 6[2] 8[18] 2Macc. 4[36] 11[3] Arist. 121, 137 Sib. 3[171,202,520,536,553,609] 5[264] 4Macc. 18[20]; favour Jews, 3Macc. 3[8]; or Macedonians = 'eagles' in 1En. 90[2–16].
Greetings in letters, 3Macc. 3[13]*n.* 7[1].
Gregory Nazianzen praises Maccabaean martyrs, 4Macc. § 8.
Grigori (i.e. 'the Watchers'), 2En. 18[1,3,7,9].
Grosseteste, Test. § 1.
Guardian angels, A. & E. 33[1], *see* Virtues; belief in, Jub. 35[17]; of Esau, Jub. 35[17]; of Jacob, 35[17]. *See* Angelic patrons.
Guardians of the gates of hell, 2En. 42[1].
Guilt, incur, Zad. § 4, 4[9] 16[2].
Guilt-offering, Zad. 10[9].
Guilty, against the soul, P.A. 3[6,10,11]; held, Zad. 10[7] 19[5].
Guni, Jub. 44[30].
Gymnasium built in Jerusalem, 1Macc. 1[14] 2Macc. 4[9,12].

Habakkuk, prophecy of, Bel 1(G), 33–37, 39; Mart. Is. 2[9].
Habitations of souls, 4Ez. 7[80, 85,101,121].
Hades, 2Macc. 6[23] Sir. 17[27] 21[10] 28[21] Wisd. 1[14] 16[13] Azar. 66 Add. Esth. B[7] (i.e. Sheol), T.R. 4[6] T.L. 4[1] T.B. 9[5] Sib. Frag. 1[22] 3[393,458] 5[178] 3Bar. 4[4,6] 5[3] 4Ez. 4[7,8] 8[63]; abolished for righteous, 4Ez. 8[53], cf. 2Bar. 21[3], *see* Death; deities in, Sib. Frag. 1[22]; gates of, Wisd. 16[13]; god of death, Wisd. 1[16]*n.*; perish in, Sir. 17[27]*n.*; pit of, Sir. 21[10], *see* Pit, Sheol; relation to Dragon, 3Bar. 4[3]*n.*
Haemus, mountains, Sib. 3[474].
Hagar, Jub. 14[22,23] 17[2,8,11,17] 19[11].
Haggai. *See* Aggaeus.
Haggi, Jub. 44[20].
Hagiographa, Sir. *Prologue* 1*n.*; once quoted in Zad. § 8.
†Hagu. *See* Book, References.
Haiqar, Arabic name of Aḥiḳar, *passim*.
Halacha, earlier than those in the Mishnah, enunciated in Jubilees, Jub. § 15; none in Pirkē Aboth, P.A. § 2, 2, *see* Rule; severer in Zad. than in Talmud, Zad. § 6. *See* 7[11]*n.* 13[23]*n.*
Ḥalachoth of Zadokites based on Prophets, Zad. § 9[4].
Halaphta ben Dosa, P.A. 3[8].
Halicarnassus, 1Macc. 15[23].
Hallel, the, Wisd. 18[9].
Ham, Jub. 4[33] 7[8,13] 8[10,22,24,30] 9[1,13] 10[28,30] 22[21] T.S. 6[4]; lot of, Jub. 8[22]. *See* Canaan.
Hamadathus, Add. Esth. A[17] E[10,17].
Haman, Add. Esth. A[17] B[3,6] C[5,28] E[10,17] F[4].
Hamath, 1Macc. 12[24] Jub. 10[33] 13[2].
Hamor, Jub. 30[2] T.L. 2[2] 5[4] 6[3,4].
Hamselim, father of the king of Persia and Elam, Ah. 3[7] (Syr.). *See* Achish, Akhi.
Hananel, 1En. 69[2].
Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, 1Macc. 2[59]. *See* Three Children.
Hananiel, Tob. 1[1,8].
Hanina, deputy of the priests, P.A. 3[2].
Hanina ben Dosa, P.A. 3[12–14].
Hanina ben Hachinai, P.A. 3[6].
Hanina ben Teradion, P.A. 3[3].
Hanukka. *See* Chanukka.
Haran, brother of Abraham, Jub. 12[10,14,30] 13[1]: land of, 12[15, 28] 13[1] 27[3,19] 35[10,12] (44[1] *read* Hebron) T.L. 2[1] T.Iss. 1[5].
Hares symbolize double livers, T.A. 2[9].
Harvest of evil, 4Ez. 4[28,29,30]; of good will be greater, 4Ez. 4[29–31].
Hasidaeans led by Judas Maccabaeus, 2Macc. 14[6]. *See* Chasidim.
Hasmonaean monarchy attacked, Ps. Sol. § 6, 17[7,8]*n.*
Hastening of times, 2Bar. 20[1] 83[1].
Hateful, three things, Sir. 25[2].
Hatred, cure of, T.G. 5[3,4]; evils of, 3[2–5][4] 6[2].
Hazor, T.Jud. 3[1] 4[3]; plain of, 1Macc. 11[67]*n.* *See* Aresa.
Head, and not tail, Israel to be, Jub. 1[16] 1En. 103[11].
Head of days. *See* God.
Healing, 1En. 95[4]; of body, 67[3]; of earth, 10[7].
Health, good, a blessing, Sir. 30[14–20].
Heap. *See* Sea, Witness.
Heart, 1En. 14[2] 47[4] 48[4] 68[3] 93[6] 94[5] 95[1] 96[4] 98[7] 99[8,16] 104[9]; T.N. 2[6,8]; clean, Jub. 1[21]; double, 1En. 91[4]; perfect, Zad. 1[7]; place idols upon, 9[34]; stubbornness of, 3[4] 4[5,10] 9[18, 27,34]; uprightness of, 9[23]; way of God's, 1[7].
Heathen, conversion of, Tob. § 10 A (3), 13[7–18] 14[4–6]; Conversion of, 2Bar. 72[4–6] 4Ez. 13[13] Ps. Sol. 17[32]; lost because they openly spurn Law, 4Ez. 7[24]; marriages, Tob. § 9, Wisd. 1[1]*n.*, detested, Add. Esth. C[27]; none saved, 4Ez. 13[38]*n.*; wives put away, 1Esd. 9[9–36]. *See* Orgies, Uncleanness.
Heaven, 1En. 6[2] 14[3,11] 18[3] 21[2,3] 33[2] 45[4] 47[3] 55[2] 57[2] 61[6,12] 69[16] 78[17] 79[1] 80[1,2] 83[3,11] 86[1,3] 93[12,14] 101[1,8] 104[2,6] 108[5,10] T.R. 1[6] 5[7] 6[9] T.S. 6[4] T.L. 2[6–9] 3[1–9] 5[1] 13[5] 14[3] 18[3–6] T.Jud. 21[3,4] 24[2] 25[2] T.Iss. 7[7] T.Jos. 12[3] 19[6(A)] T.B. 3[1,8] 9[5] 10[7]; children of = angels, 6[2] 14[3]; = righteous, 101[1]; end of, 18[14], *see* Ends; first, 91[16], *contrast* New; five men from, appear to help Judas in battle, 2Macc. 10[29,30], cf. 11[6]; = God, P.A. 1[3,11] 4[14,15], cf. name of, 2[2,16] 4[5] 5[20]; high, 12[4] 39[1]; high, holy, and eternal, 15[3]; host of, 104[6], *see* Host; new, 1En. 91[16], *see* Creation; of heavens, 1[4] 60[1] 71[5]; old Semitic conception of, 2En. 10[1]*n.*; second, contains fallen Watchers *ib.*, builders of Babel, 3Bar. 3[5–8]; sins prevent looking up to, P.Man. 9; third, Paradise in, Apoc. Mos. 40[2]. *See* Angels, God, Prophecy, Sacrifices, Sea, Temple.
Heavenly archetypes of things on earth, Wisd. 9[8]*n.*; bodies, observe their order, Sir. 16[27–28], cf. 1En. 2[1], Ep. Jer. 60 Ps. Sol. 18[12–14]; dispensation, to assist Jacob's deceit, Jub. 26[18]; hosts, ten orders of, 2En. 20[3]*n.*; Jerusalem, vision of, 4Ez. 9[26–10[59], ? = great mountain (or rock), 13[6,7,35], belongs to eternal order, available for righteous after Final Judgement, 8[52], *see* Sion, revealed as a builded city, 10[27,42,44]; ordinance to slay Shechemites, Jub. 30[5]: pattern of Holy City, 4Ez. 10[49]. *See* Luminaries, Tablets, Vision.
Heavens, 1En. 1[2] 18[10] 39[3] 41[1] 42[1] 47[2] 61[10] 71[1,8] 84[4] 91[16] 98[6]; and earth renewed, Jub. 1[29], *see* Creation; host of, 1En. 61[10]; opened, T.L. 18[6] T.Jud. 24[2]; plurality of, implied, 4Ez. 3[19]*n.*; powers of, 1En. 91[16], *see* Angels; seven, belief in, in Test. XII Patr., 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, 3 Baruch, Chagigah 12, 3Bar. § 10; seven, 2En. 3–21; first, 3–6; second, 7; third, 8–10; fourth, 11–17; fifth, 18; sixth, 19; seventh, 20, 21; (eighth to tenth, 21[1–22[1];) seven, T.L. 2[7–3[8] (βAβ); three, 2[7–3[8] (αAα).
Hebrew, Abraham learns, Jub. 12[26,27]; characters, Arist. 30, *see* Jewish; language, holy, Test. *App.* I 8[6]; Testament of Naphtali, *see* Naphtali; Text of Zadokite Frag., Zad. § 4; tongue, Arist. 38 4Macc. 12[7] 16[15] Jub. 43[15]; the tongue of the creation, learnt by Abraham, *see* Abraham, Books of the fathers; translation from, difficulties of, Sir. *Prologue* 11*n.* *See Introds. to Books*.
Hebrew(s), 2Macc. 7[31] 11[13] 15[37] Judith 10[12] 12[11] 14[18] Jub. 39[10] 47[7] T.Jos. 12[2] 13[3] Sib. 3[69] 5[161,258] 4Macc. 4[11] 5[2,4] 8[2] 9[6,18] 17[9].
Hebron, 1Macc. 5[65] Jub. 13[10, 12,21] 14[10] 16[10] 19[1,2,5] 22[3] 24[1] 29[19] 36[20] 37[15] 45[14] 46[10] (*see* Haran) T.R. 7[2] T.S. 8[2] T.L. 9[5] 19[5] T.Jud. 2[6] 4[3]*n.* 26[3,4] T.Iss. 7[8] T.Z. 10[7] T.N. 9[1] T.G. 1[5] 8[5] T.A. 8[1,2] T.Jos. 20[6(C)] T.B. 12[1(β),3] 2Bar. 47[1]; as a seat of prophetic inspiration, 2Bar. 47[1] 4Ez. 9[26–28]*n.*
Hebron, son of Kohath, T.L. 12[2] Test. *App.* II 74.
Hecataeus of Abdera, relation of Aristeas's Letter to, Arist. § 5, 31*n.*
Hector, Sib. 3[427].
Heel, 1En. 82[20].
Hegemonides, 2Macc. 13[24].
He-He, ben, P.A. 5[26,27].
Helemmelek, 1En. 82[13,16]
Helen and Paris, Sib. 3[413]*n.*
Heliodorus, 2Macc. 3[7,8,13,22,25, 26,31–33,35,37,40] 4[1] 5[18].
Heliopolis, priest of, Jub. 40[10] 44[24] T.Jos. 18[3].
Helkias, i.e. Hilkiah, a ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1[8].
Helkias, 1Esd. 8[1].
Helkias, ancestor of Baruch, 1Bar. 1[1].
Helkias, father of high priest Joakim, 1Bar. 1[7].
Helkias, Sus. 2, 7, 29, 63.
Hell, 1En. 51[1]*n.* Sib. 4[186]; and destruction, Ah. 8[38] (Arab.); or Hades, 2En. 40[13]*n.* 41[1] 42[1]; the very lowest, 40[12]*n.* *See* Abyss, Gehenna, Sheol.
Hellas, Sib. 3[510,537,545,564,598,639, 732,810] 4[70,83] 5[137]. *See* Greece.
Hellenic tracts in Sirach, Sir. § 1.
Hellenism, pioneer of evils to mankind, Sib. 3[553].
Hellenization of Jews enforced, 2Macc. 6[1–31] 3Macc. 2[28]*n.* Ass. Mos. 8[3–5], cf. 1Macc. 1[10–15, 41–53]; given up, 2Macc. 11[23–26]; under Jason, 4Macc. 4[18–20].
Hellenizing, details of in 1Macc.

—gymnasium built, 1[14]; uncircumcision, 1[15]; circumcision forbidden, 1[60,61]; covenant repudiated, 1[15]; sacrificing to idols, 1[43]; sacrificing swine, &c., 1[47]; unclean things eaten; profaning Sabbaths and feasts, 1[43,45]; Law—books burned, 1[56], practices forbidden, 1[49,57]; abomination of desolation set up, 1[54]; influences, Zad. 9[10-20]; priesthood attacked, §§ 9[30]10i.
Hellespont, Sib. 4[70] 5[336].
Hera, Sib. 3[136] 5[140].
Heracles, Sib. 5[87]; festival of at Tyre (high priest Jason sends money for sacrifice to), 2Macc. 4[19].
Heraclitus' views, Wisd. 1[16]*n.* 2[2]*n.*
Hereditary taint of character, Wisd. 3[12] 4[3-6]*n.*
Heredity, 4Macc. 15[4]*n.*
Hermes, Sib. 5[87,356]; the planet, 2En. 30[3]*n.*
Hermon, man, 3Macc. 5[1] &c.
Hermon, mountain, Jub. 29[10] 1En. 6[6]*n.* 13[7]; where the angels who fell descended, 2En. 18[4] (Ermon), cf. 1En. 6[2-6]. *See* Aspis.
Herod, 1En. 67[8]*n.* Ass. Mos. § 7; = an insolent king, Ass. Mos. 6[2]; =? Man of lies, Zad. § 6ii(*b*); sons of, § 6, *see* Alexander; successors of, Ass. Mos. 6[7]*n.*; suppresses priesthood and Sadducees, Ass. Mos. 6[2]*n.*
Heshbon, Judith 5[15].
Hestia, Sib. 3[123].
Heth, children of, Jub. 19[4,5] 27[8]. *See* Hittite.
Hexaemeron, fragment of an, 2Bar. 29[4]*n.*
Hexapla. *See* Origen.
Hezaqa, Jub. 34[20].
Hezekiah, king of Judah, 2Macc. 15[22] Sir. 48[17,22] 49[4] 2Bar. 63[1,3,5] Mart. Is. 1[1,7,10,12,13] 2[1,3] 3[3,4,5] (In 2[12] read Zedekiah) 4Ez. 7[110]; Testament of, Mart. Is. §§ 1, 5.
Hezron, Jub. 44[12].
Hierapolis, Sib. 3[345] 5[318].
Hiereel, 1Esd. 9[21].
Hieremoth, 1Esd. 9[27].
Hieremoth, 1Esd. 9[30].
Hiermas, 1Esd. 9[26].
Hieronymus, 2Macc. 12[2].
High, the Most. *See* God, titles of.
High places, Jub. 1[11].
High priest, Sir. 49[15]-50[24] 1Bar. 1[7]*n.* Arist. 1, 11, 32, 35, 41, 121; political power of, Sir. 45[24]*n.*; succession, hereditary 45[25]*n.*
High-priesthood, hereditary, conferred on Simon Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 14[41]; confirmed by Demetrius II, 14[38].
High priests, Maccabaean, adopt title of Melchizedek, 'priest of the Most High God', Jub. 32[1]*n.* T.L. 8[14] Ass. Mos. 6[1].
Hilkiah. *See* Helkias.
Hillel, line of, P.A. § 1.
Hilujaseph, 1En. 82[17].
Hinnom, valley of, 1En. 26[4,5]. *See* Gehenna.
Hippodrome at Alexandria, 3Macc. 4[11] &c.
Hippodrome, the, T.Jos. 20[3(β)].
Histories. *See* Book.
History, earlier and later. *See* Moses.
Hittite, Jub. 36[2]. *See* Heth.
Hittites, 1Esd. 8[69] T.S. 6[3].
Hivite, Jub. 30[2].
Hivites, Jub. 14[18].
Holiness, counsel of, Zad. 9[48]; perfection of, *see* Perfection.
Hollow places (= Sheol), 1En. 22[2,3,5].
Holofernes, Judith § 6 2[4,14] 3[5] 4[1] 5[1,22,24] 6[1,10,17] 7[1,6,16,26] 10[17,18,20,21] 11[1,20,22] 12[3,5,6,7,10,13,15,16,17,20] 13[2,6,9,15] 14[3,6,11,13,19] 15[11] 16[19]; slain by Judith, 13[9].
Holy, 1En. 1[9] 9[3] 12[2] 38[5] 39[1,4,5] 41[2] 43[4] 45[1] 47[2,4] 48[1,9] 50[1] 51[2] 57[2] 58[3,5] 60[4] 61[8,10,12] 62[8] 65[12] 103[2] 106[19]; and common, Zad. 15[1]; and profane, 8[14]; Holy City = Jerusalem, Sir. 24[11] 36[13] Ps. Sol. 8[4], *see* City; Land protects those who dwell in it, 2Bar. 29[2]*n.*, sanctified by God—the scene of Messianic salvation, 4Ez. 9[8]*n.* 12[34] 13[48,49] 2Bar. 29[2] 40[2]; One, Sir. 4[14]*n.* 23[9] 43[10] 47[8] 48[20] 1Bar. 4[22] 5[5]—blessed be He, P.A. 4[29] 5[6] 6[11,12], *see* God, titles of; one = Jacob, Azar. 12; ones of God = angels, Sir. 42[16] T.L. 3[3] Ps. Sol. 17[49]; = angels of sanctification, Jub. 31[14]; of the Lord = Israel, Jub. 33[12] T.S. 6[2]; Place (= Jerusalem or Temple?), Jub. 1[10] Sib. 3[308], *see* Sanctuary; Spirit, Mart. Is. 5[14]; of God bestowed on man, to be returned as pure as when received, Test. *App.* I 10[9], *see* Spirit; things (= tithes), Zad. 8[16], *see* Anointed One, City, Name, Sabbath, Spirit; *in* 1*En.*: used of angels, *see* Angels; Watchers, 1En. 15[4,9]; of God: Holy, holy, holy, 1En. 39[12], Lord, 91[7], name (of God), 9[4] 108[12], One, *see* God; of heaven: heaven, 1En. 15[3], eternal place, 1En. 12[4]; of men: and elect, 1En. 50[1], righteous and elect, 1En. 38[4]; of Temple: holy place, 1En. 25[5]. (Contrast 'holy eternal place' = 'heaven'.)
Homer, borrowed from Sibyl, Sib. 3[419]*n.*[419-431].
Honour, 1En. 50[1] 103[6] 108[11,12]; to whom due, Sir. 10[19-25]; paid to wisdom, not wealth, 10[30]-11[1].
Hoof, divided, symbol of discrimination, Arist. 150.
Horeb, Sir. 48[7].
Horites, Jub. 37[10] 38[8].
Horn, the great = Judas Maccabaeus, 1En. 90[9]*n.*
Host (array) of heaven, P.Man. 2*n.*; = angels, P.Man. 15*n.*; of the heavens, 1En. 61[10] 104[6], cf. 1[9] 60[1]. *See* Angels.
Hosts of Azazel punished, 1En. 54[5] 55[4]; of God = angels, Sir. 24[2] 42[16]; of heaven, 17[32].
Houday, one of the king's sons who question Ahikar, Ah. 2[101] (Arm.). *See* Baliayn.
Hours, 1En. 89[72]*n.*, cf. 'periods', 1En. 90[1]; 'times', 90[5]. *See* Times.
House, build a sure, in Israel, Zad. 5[5]; of God = universe, 1Bar. 3[24,25]; of instruction, Sir. 51[23]*n.*; of Israel, the two houses of, Zad. 9[4]; of the Law = school or college, Zad. § 10 ii. 9[35,38]; = Temple: of the Eternal, Sib. 3[328]; of the Great God, 3[772,776], *see* Temple; for the Great King, 1En. 91[13], Lord of the Sheep, 1En. 89[36,40]; of dominion, 1En. 93[8]; glory and dominion. 93[7]; of the sheep, 1En. 89[50-56] 90[26]; a new, 1En. 90[29]; of worship = Temple or synagogue, Zad. § 4, 14[2].
Hrotitz, Armenian month, Ah. 3[9,12] (Arm.). *See* Ab, Nisan.
Human flesh eaten, Wisd. 12[5].
Humble, Ps. Sol. 5[14].
Humility, P.A. 4[3,4,12] 5[22]; need of, Sir. 3[17-25]; exhortation to, 7[4-7].
Huppim, Jub. 44[25].
Hushim, Jub. 44[28,29].
Hydaspes, Judith 1[6].
Hyenas = Ethiopians or (?) Syrians, 1En. 89[55]*n.*
Hymn in praise of Creation, Sir. 39[12-35].
Hypocrite, Sir. 1[29] 32(35)[15]*n.* *See* Double-heart.
Hyrcanus, John, 1En. 38[5]*n.* 103[14,15]*n.*; king, establisher of new priesthood, and prophet, T.R. 6[8,12]*n.* T.L. 8[14-15] *notes*; new priesthood of, T.L. 18[2]*sqq.*, *see* Bath-qol, Messianic; regarded as Messiah in T.Lev. 18. *See* T.R. 6 T.L. 8.
Hyrcanus II, Zad. § 6ii(*c*).
Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, 2Macc. 3[11]*n.*

Iadinus, 1Esd. 9[48].
Iapetus, Sib. 3[110].
Iassus, Sib. 3[342].
Iberians, Sib. 5[116].
Ibn Samik, executioner, Ah. 4[4] (Arab). *See* Abu Samik, Nabusemakh, &c.
Idleness, Tob. 4[13].
Idoil. *See* Adoil.
Idol, command to offer to, Ah. 2[70] (Syr.); Bel, Ah. 6[16] (Arab.).
Idol temple, Bel 10*n.*
Idolatry, 3Macc. 4[16] 6[11] Wisd. 13-15; attacked, Arist. § 6, 134-7; commanded by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1[43]; denounced, Wisd. § 1 Bel 5 Sib. Frags. 1, 3; by Abraham, Jub. 12[1-8] 21[1-6] 22[17-22]; by Isaac, 36[5]; of Babylon, denounced in Ep. Jer. § 1; of Israel, Jub. 1[11]; punished eternally, 2En. 10[6]; rise of, Jub. 11[4-7]; vanity of, Ep. Jer. 4-73.
Idols, Zad. 9[34].
Iduel, 1Esd. 8[43]
Idumaea, 1Macc. 4[15,61] 5[3] 6[31]
Idumaeans, Arist. 107 2Macc. 10[15,17].
Ieddias, 1Esd. 9[26].
Ignorance, 4Macc. 1[5]*n.*; and sin, 2En. 30[16]; an evil in itself, 30[16]*n.*
Ijaka, Jub. 44[28].
Ijasaka, Benjamin's wife, Jub. 34[20].
Ijaska, Jub. 11[9].
Ijona, Jub. 34[20].
Ijusasael, 1En. 82[14].
Iliadun, 1Esd. 5[58].
Ilium, Sib. 3[423,432].
Images, 1En. 65[6] 99[7], *see* Chiun; molten, Zad. 9[48]. *See* Idolatry.
Imagination, evil, Zad. 3[2]. *See* Inclination, Yetzer.
Imalkue the Arabian, 1Macc. 11[39]*n.*
[Immanuel. *See* Jesus Christ.]
Immortality, Wisd. 3[4] 4[1] 15[3]; denial of, 2[2]; of animals, 2En. 58[5]*n.*; of soul, Alexandrian Jews' doctrine of, 4Macc. § 9—righteous enter bliss at death, 10[15] 13[17] 16[13] 17[4,18] 18[23]; wicked enter on eternal torture, 9[9,32] 10[11,15] 12[19] 13[15] 18[5,22]; subjective, Wisd. 3[15]*n.* *See* Eternal, Future Life, Intermediate State, Treasures.
Imnah, Jub. 44[21].
Impurity, wickedness of, Sir. 23[16-27].
Imputed Righteousness. *See* Merits, Righteousness.
Incense, Tob. 6[17] 8[2] Sir. 24[15]*n.*
Incest, Zad. 7[9-11] 9[17]; laws concerning, Jub. 33[10-20]; punished by burning, 41[25,26,28].
Inclination, the, T.Jud. 18 T.N. 2[5] T.G. 5[3] T.A. 3[2] T.Jos. 2[6] T.B. 6[1,4]; of flesh and blood, Sir. 17[31], *see* Tendency, Yetzer; the evil, to be shunned, Zad. 3[1-2]; Watchers, all flesh, and Noah's sons fell through it, 3[3-4][1]; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob walked not after, 4[2-3]; but sons of Jacob did, 4[4-10].
Inclinations, the two, good and evil, T.A. 1[3]*n.* 1[5-9]. *See* Yetzer.
Independence, advantage of, Sir. 29[24-28]; not to be surrendered, 33[19-23] (30[28-32]).
India, 1Macc. 8[8] Add. Esth. B[1] E[1] Jub. 8[21] 9[2,3].
Indian, 1Macc. 6[38].
Indians, Sib. 5[195,206].
Individual responsibility. *See* Soul.
Indocolpitae, T.Jos. 11[2].
Indus, 1En. 77[7]*n.*
Infanticide, Wisd. 12[6]; condemned, Sib. 3[765].
Informers, reward of, 3Macc. 3[28].
Inhabitants of the earth, Zad. 11[4] 2Bar. 25[1]*n.* *See* Dwell.
Inscription relating to sun and stars, discovered by Kainam, Jub. 8[8].
Insincerity hateful, Sir. 27[22-24].
Inspiratio = disembodied soul. *See* Souls.
Inspiration, cup of, 4Ez. 14[39]; intensifies natural faculties, 14[40].
Intercession by departed, Onias and Jeremiah, 2Macc. 15[12-16];

by departed saints for the living denied, 2En. 53[1]*n.*; by Moses, for Israel, Ass. Mos. 12[6]*n.*; no, on Day of Judgement, 4Ez. 7[102–115]; of fathers, prophets, or righteous, 2Bar. 85[12]. *See* Angels, Archangels, Prayer.

Intercourse, danger of, with evil men, Sir. 9[11–13] 11[29–33] 12[13–13][1]; with strangers, 11[34], *see* Associating; unnatural, Sib. 3[185,596] 4[34] 5[156], Israel guilty of, Ps.Sol. 2[15] 8[10].

Intermediate agencies, not employed in bringing in the End, 4Ez. 5[56–6]*n.*; not allowed between departing soul and God, 7[102–115]*n.* *See* Mediation, Transcendence.

Intermediate place, of happiness, 2Bar. 21[23]*n.* 59[10]*n.*; of torment, 30[5] 36[11] 52[1,2]*n.* *See* Chambers, Immortality, Paradise.

Intermediate state, of righteous, souls in peace and joy, guarded in chambers, 4Ez. 7[88–99] 8[39]*n.*; of wicked, souls in torment await Judgement, 4Ez. 7[81–87].

Interpretation, Zad. 2[10] 6[5] 8[16]. *See* Law, Meaning, Messiah, Midrash.

Involuntary birth and death, 2Bar. 14[10] 48[15] 4Ez. 8[5].

Ioanit stations of light, 2En. 20[1]*n.*(A). *See* Ostanim.

Ionians, Sib. 5[288].

Iram, T. Jud. 8[1].

Isaac, 2Macc. 1[2] Tob. 4[12] Judith 8[26] Sir. 44[22] 51[12xi] Azar. 12 Jub. 1[7] 6[19] 15[19,21] 16[3,13,16,17] 17[1,4,6,16] 18[2,3,5,6,8] 19[10,12,15,19,31] 20[1,11] 21[1] 22[1,2,3,5] 23[4,5,7] 24[1,14,15,19,20,25,27,28] 26[1,3,5,14,16–18,21,25,27–29,31–33] 27[8,9,12,14,18,22] 28[25] 29[4,15,17,18] 31[3–5,8,9,22,25–27,31,32] 32[22,23,31] 33[1,21–23] 34[3] 35[9,13] 36[1,15,18] 37[1] 40[12] 44[5] 45[3]; death of, 40[12]; T.R. 3[13] T.L. 9[1,6] 15[4] 18[6,14] 19[5] T. Jud. 17[5(dA)] 25[1] T.D. 7[2] T.N. 5[2] T.A. 7[7] T.B. 1[2] 10[4,6] Test. *App.* I 10[2] II 11, 12, Ass. Mos. 3[9] 4Ez. 3[16] 4Macc. 7[14,19] 13[12,17] 16[20,25] 18[11]; and Jacob, recorded as friends of God, members of the covenant for ever, Zad. 4[3]; sacrifice of, Wisd. 10[5] 4Macc. 13[2] 16[20] 18[11]; = 'a white bull', 1En. 89[11].

Isaac, an elder, Arist. 48.

Isaac, an elder, Arist. 49.

Isaelus, Arist. 50.

Isaiah, Sir. 48[20,22] Mart. Is. 1[2,6,7,11,13] 2[7,10] 3[1,6,8,12] 5[2–4,7–9,11,14] 4Macc. 18[13] Zad. § 8, 6[9] 8[8] 9[2] A. Contrast 9[2](B), which quotes Zechariah.

Isaiah, Martyrdom of: account, short, § 1; authorship, § 7; bibliography, § 9; date, § 6; extent, § 5; in Jewish and Christian literature, § 8; oriental influences in, § 8; original language, Hebrew, § 7; title, § 2; versions, § 3: their relations, § 4.

Isaiah, Vision of, Mart. Is. §§ 1, 5.

Isdael, 1Esd. 5[32].

Ishbak, Jub. 19[11].

Ishmael, Jub. 14[24] 15[18,20,23,30] 17[2,4,17] 20[1,11,12] 22[1,3,4] 23[6,7] 29[18]; children of, Judith 2[23]; = wild ass in 1En. 89[11].

Ishmael ben Elisha, P.A. 3[17].

Ishmael ben Johanan ben Berokah, P.A. 4[6].

Ishmael ben Jose, P.A. 4[9,10].

Ishmaelites, Jub. 20[13] 34[11] T.S. 2[9] T.Z. 2[8] 4[3(a)] T.G. 2[3] T. Jos. 10[6] 11[2] 13[3,7] 15[1] 16[2] T.B. 2[3].

Ishvah, Jub. 44[21].

Ishvi, Jub. 44[21].

Isis, Sib. 5[53,484].

Islands, the Seven Great, 1En. 77[3].

Isles = Gentiles, Sib. 3[710].

Ismael, 1Esd. 9[22].

Ismaerus, 1Esd. 9[34].

Israel, ancestor of Judith, Judith 8[1].

Israel = Jacob, 1Esd. 8[47] Jub. 32[17] 34[16] 42[15,17] 44[1,8,9,12] 45[1,3,6,13,14] T.L. 14[2] Test. *App.* I 10[10].

Israel = people, 1Esd. 1[3,20,21,24,32,33,48] 2[3] 5[37,41,46,48,60,61,71] 6[1,14,15] 7[4,8,9,15] 8[3,7,13,59,65,69,72,89,92,96,97,37,39] 1Macc. 1[11,20,25,30,36,43,62,64] 2[15,42,46,55,70] 3[1,8,10,35] 4[11,25,26,30,31] 5[3,45,59,63] 6[18,21] 7[5,22,26,27] 8[18] 9[20,21,23,27,51,73] 10[46,61] 11[23,41] 12[52] 13[41,42,51] 14[11,26] 16[2] 2Macc. 1[25,26] 4[48] 9[5] Tob. 1[4,5,8] 5[5] 14[4,5,7] Judith 4[9,11,12,15] 6[2,17,21] 8[1,34] 9[12,14] 12[8] 13[7,11,14] 14[4,5,10] 15[4,9,10,12,13] 16[1,8,24] Sir. *Prologue* 2, 1[17] 24[8] 36[12] 44[23] 45[5,11] 46[1] 47[2,11,23] 48[10] 50[13] 51[12iii,v] 1Bar. 2[1,11,26,35] 3[1,4,9,10,24,37] 4[4,5] 5[7,9] Add. Esth. C[2,6,11,14,16] [6,10] Jub. 1[29] 3[14] 15[27,30,32] 16[29,30] 18[19] 23[23] 30[5–10,13,14,16–18] 31[15,19] 33[14,18] 41[17] (45[3]) 48[5,7,8,13,14] 49[6] 50[5,9–11] Mart.Is. 2[6,10,12] 3[7] T.R. 1[10] 6[8,11] T.S. 6[2,5] 7[2] T.L. 2[10] 4[3] 5[2,6,7] 6[3(β)] 7[3] 8[16] 10[2,3] 14[3,6(β)] 17[5] 18[9]*n.* T.Jud. 12[8] 17[5] 21[5] 22[1,2] 25[1,5] [T.Iss. 5[8]] T.Z. 4[12] 9[5] T.D. 1[9] 5[4,13] 6[2,4–7] 7[3] T.N. 5[8] 7[18] 1–3 T.G. 2[5] 8[1] T.A. 7[3] T. Jos. 1[2] 2[2(β–ad)] 18[4] 19[11] 20[5,6(c)] T.B. 10[8,10,11] 11[2(β)] 12[3(β)] Test. *App.* II. 67, 72 Ass. Mos. 3[8] 10[8] 4Ez. 3[19] 4[23] 5[17,35] 7[11,107] 8[16] 9[30] 12[46] 14[28] Ps. Sol. 2[24] 4[1] 5[21] 7[8] 8[32,34,40] 9[1,2,16,19] 10[8] 11[2,7,8,9] 14[3] 16[3] 17[5,23,47,50,51] 18[1,4,6] 4Macc. 17[22] (cf. 15[29]) Zad. 1[3–10] 5[1,5,7] 6[1–10] 8[1–6] 9[4,7,8,23–29,40–49] 11[2] 14[8] 15[1,3] 17[3] 19[8,13] 20[1]. *See* Jacob.

Israel, a holy people and a blameless seed, Wisd. 10[15]*n.*; assemblies of, Ps. Sol. 10[8]; chastened as firstborn, only-begotten son, Ps. Sol. 18[4]; children of, 1Esd. 1[5,19] 5[47] 7[6,10,13] 8[5] 1Macc. 3[15,41] 1Bar. 2[28] Judith 4[1,8] 5[23] 6[10] 7[1,4,6,10,17,19] 10[8] 15[3,5,7,8] 16[25] Sir. 45[16,17,22,23] 51[12xvi] Jub. 1[1] 2[26,27,29,33] 5[17] 6[11,13,19,20,22,32,34] 15[29,34] 28[7] 30[11,21] 33[13] 34[18] 38[15] 41[26] 44[34] 46[1,2,5,9,12,13] 47[1,10,11] 48[14–16,18,19] 49[8,10,13–15,18,22] 50[13]; cities of, Zad. 15[1]; congregation of, Jub. 49[16]; covenant with whole of, Zad. 19[3]; daughter(s) of, Sus. 48, 57 Jub. 30[5]; dispersed of Ps. Sol. 8[34] 9[2]; elect of, Jub. 1[29]; glorious history of, Wisd. 11[2–19]; God forgave, Zad. 5[4–6]; God the sole ruler of, Jub. 15[32]: contrast Gentiles; God's Firstborn, Sir. 36[12] Jub. 2[20] 4Ez. 6[58] Ps.Sol. 18[4], own people, Ass.Mos. 1[12], portion, therefore under His direct rule, Sir. 17[17]*n.*, servant, Ps. Sol. 12[7]; history of, in Test. xii Patr.: to be redeemed, T.D. 6[6]; restored to own land, T.Z. 9[8] T.A. 7[7]; cast away a second time, T.L. 15 T.Jud. 22[2] T.Z. 9[9] T.N. 4[5] T.G. 8[2], and again restored, T.L. 16[5] T.Jud. 23[5] T.N. 4[5] T.A. 7[4–7]; all in Palestine under John Hyrcanus, T.R. 6[8]*n.*; captivity among Gentiles, T.L. 15[1] T.Jud. 23[3] T.Z. 9[6] T.D. 5[8]; dispersed among Gentiles, T.L. 10[4] 16[5] T.Iss. 6[2] T.A. 7[2,6] T.Jos. 19[2]; go after abominations of Gentiles, T.D. 5[5] T.N. 4[1] T.G. 8[2]; scorn of Gentiles, T.L. 10[4] 14[1]; rebellion of, foreseen, Jub. 1[7], does not frustrate God's love, or nullify His covenant, 1[5]; turn to strange gods, 1[8]; walk after the Gentiles, and their uncleanness, 1[9], *see* Captivity; house of, Ps. Sol. 9[19] 10[8]; Jerusalem and Moses predestined for, Ass. Mos. 1[14,17,18]; parties within, i. the righteous, poor, humble, god-fearing, &c., Ps.Sol. § 5; ii. the men-pleasers, profane, sinners, transgressors, unrighteous, § 5 *notes*; prayer for, Sir. 36[1–17] (33[1–13a] 36[16b–22]); righteous compared with heathen, Ps.Sol. 1[2] 2[37–40]; sceptre shall rise out of, Zad. 9[8]; seed of, Jub. 30[9] Ps.Sol. 7[8], solidarity of, in merit before God, Sir. 47[12]*n.*; sons of, Sus. 48; titles: a nation of righteous men, Add. Esth. A[6]; an evilly disposed people, B[4]; children of God, Sib. 5[202]; chosen people, Add. Esth. E[21]; God's firstborn, only-begotten, beloved, Sir. 36[12] Jub. 2[20] 4Ez. 6[58] Ps.Sol. 18[4]; people whom God made, Sib. 5[502]; sons of the Great God, Sib. 3[702]; sons of the Most High, Add. Esth. E[16]; unique,—elect of God 4Ez. § 10, 5[23–27] 6[58] 8[16]; have covenant with God, 3[14]; Law given to, 3[19] 9[31]; Law accepted by, alone, 7[23,24,72]; love of God for, 5[31–40]; world created for sake of, 4Ez. 6[55]*n.*[59] 7[11] Ass.Mos. 1[12] 2Bar. 14[18] 15[7] 21[24].

Israel and Aaron. *See* Aaron, Messiah.

Israelites, 1Macc. 1[58] Sus. 7, 28 4Macc. 18[1] Zad. 20[10].

Issachar, Jub. 28[22] 33[22] 34[20] 38[7] 44[16] T. Jud. 25[1,2] T. Iss. 1[1,15]; single-hearted husbandman, T. Iss. 3–6*n.*

Issachar, son of Kohath, T.L. 12[2].

Issues, the two, of action, T.A. 1[3–2][8].

Istalcurus, 1Esd. 8[40].

Isthmus, Sib. 5[216].

Italian, Sib. 3[353] 4[103,141].

Italians, Sib. 3[354].

Italy, 3[464,470] 4[104,116,119,130] 5[138,160,342,448]. *See* Latin, Rome.

Ithamar, 1Esd. 8[29].

Iv, Jub. 44[30,31].

Izhar, Test. *App.* II 74.

Jabbok, Jub. 29[13].

Jabish, 2Bar. 5[5].

Jachin, Jub. 44[13].

Jacob, 2Macc. 1[2] Tob. 4[12] Judith 8[26] Sir. 23[12] 24[8,23] 36[11a] 45[5] 46[10,14] 47[22] 49[10] 51[12xii] Wisd. 10[10] 1Bar. 2[34] 3[37] 4[3] Sus. 62 Jub. 1[7,28] 2[20,23] 6[19] 19[12–16,17,19,21,23,26,27,31] 22[4,5,10,11,16,19,20,23,26,28] 23[1–4] 24[3–8] 25[1,4,12,14] 26[5,7,10–13,15,17,18,25,30,35] 27[1,4,6–9,12,13,18,19,22,25–27] 28[2–6,8,9,11,13–16,17,19,20,22,23,25,26,28–30] 29[2,4–7,12,13,18,20] 30[1,3,6,12,17,24] 31[1,2,4–6,8,15,19,23,26,27,30,31] 32[2,3,9,16,17,20,21,25,31,34] 33[1,7–9,15,21–23] 34[1,3,4,12,18] 35[1,2,7–10,12,13,15–17,20,22,23,25,27] 36[1,14,18,20,23] 37[1,2,12–16,24] 38[1,2,9,12,14] 39[1,2,6] 42[4,10] 44[2,5,18,19,23,27,33] 45[2,3,5,15] 46[1,2] T.R. 1[6] T.S. 1[2,7] 6[2] T.L. 7[1] 9[1] &c. Test. *App.* 1[1] 2[7] 3[2,13] 4[2,4,5,7,9,13] 6[2] 10[2] II 1–9 Ass.Mos. 3[9] 4Ez. 3[16,19,32] 5[35] 6[8,9] 8[16] 9[30] 12[46] Ps. Sol. 7[9] 15[1] 4Macc. 2[19] 7[19] 13[17] 16[25] Zad. 4[3,4] 6[10] 9[41], *see* Isaac, Israel; a star out of, Zad. 9[8]; = 'a white sheep' in 1En. 89[12]; death of, Jub. 45[15]; descendants, number of, Jub. 44[12–33]*n.*; house of, 1Macc. 1[28]; i.e. people of Israel, 1Macc. 3[7,45] 5[2]; seed of, 2Bar. 17[4] 31[3]; sons of, Jub. 30[6,12,23,26] 31[9,15,16,18,21,22] 33[22,23] 34[12,20] 38[9,10,13] 42[4] 44[11,18] 46[9]; symbolizes future age of incorruption, 4Ez. 6[7–10]*n.*

Jacob, an elder, Arist. 48.

Jacob, an elder, Arist. 49.

Jacob, Rabbi, P.A. 3[10] 4[21,22].

Jacubus, 1Esd. 9[48].

Jaddus, 1Esd. 5[38].

Jahleel, Jub. 44[17].

Jahziel, Jub. 44[30].

Jairus, 1Esd. 5[31].

Jairus, Add. Esth. A[1].

Jambri. *See* Ambri.

James, Epistle of Saint, relation of to Sirach, Sir. § 7(*a*).

Jamin, Jub. 44[13].

Jamnia, 1Macc. 4[15] 5[58] 10[69] 15[40] 2Macc. 12[8,32,40]; idols of, 12[40]; sea of, T.N. 6[1]. *See* Jemnaan.

Jannaeus. *See* Alexander.

Jannai, P.A. 4[19].

'Jannes and Jambres,' quoted, Zad. § 8. *See* Jochanneh.

Japheth, Jub. 4[33] 7[9,12,15] 8[5,10,12,25,29] 9[7] 10[35]; lot of, 8[25].

Japheth, borders of, Judith 2[25].

Jared, Jub. 4[15,16] 1En. 6[6] 37[1] 106[13] 2En. 33[10].

Jarimoth, 1Esd. 9[28].

Jasaelus, 1Esd. 9[30].

Jashar, Book of, quoted, T. Jud. 3–9 *notes*.

Jason, son of Eleazar, 1Macc. 8[17].

Jason, 2Macc. 1[7] 4[8,10,13,18,22–24,26]

$5^{5,6}$; brother of Onias, supplants him in priesthood, $4^{8}n.$; attacks Jerusalem, 1^{7} $5^{5,6}$; high priest, 4Macc. $4^{16,17,18}$; builds gymnasium, 4^{18}.

Jason of Cyrene, Maccabaean history of in five books, 2Macc. an abridgement of, 2Macc. § 1 2^{23}.

Jason, an elder, Arist. 49.

Jason, an elder, Arist. 49.

Jason. *See* Antipater.

Jasub, Jub. 44^{16}.

Jasubus, 1Esd. 9^{30}.

Javan, Jub. 7^{19} 9^{10} Test. *App.* I 9^{4}; kings of = asps, Zad. 9^{20}.

Jaxartes, 1En. $77^{7}n.$

Jazer, 1Macc. 5^{8}.

Jebusite, Judith 5^{16}.

Jebusites, 1Esd. 8^{69} Jub. 14^{18}.

Jechonias, king, Add. Esth. A^{3} 1Bar. $1^{3,9}$. *See* Jeconiah.

Jechonias, son of Jeelus, 1Esd. 8^{92}.

Jeconiah, king, 2Bar. $1^{1}n.$ *See* Jechonias.

Jeconias, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1^{9}.

Jeddu, 1Esd. 5^{24}.

Jedeus, 1Esd. 9^{30}.

Jeeli, 1Esd. 5^{33}.

Jeelus, 1Esd. 8^{92}.

Jehoahaz (Joachaz), king of Judah, 1Esd. 1^{34}.

Jehoiachin, king of Judah, 1Esd. 1^{43} (Joakim).

Jehoiakim (Joakim), king of Judah, 1Esd. $1^{37,38,39}$.

Jehoshaphat, valley of, 1En. 26^{3} $53^{1}n.$ *See* Valley.

Jemnaan = Jamnia, Judith 2^{28}. *See* Jamnia.

Jemuel, Jub. 44^{13}.

Jephunneh. *See* Caleb.

Jeqon, 1En. 69^{4}.

Jerahmeel, Chronicles of, Bel § 4; quoted, T.Jud. 3–9 *notes*.

Jerechu, 1Esd. 5^{23}.

Jeremiah, Sir. 49^{7} 2Bar. 2^{1} 5^{5} 9^{1} $10^{2,4}$ 33^{1} Zad. 9^{28}; accompanies captivity to Babylon in B^{2}, $10^{2}n.$ 33^{2}; does not accompany captivity in B^{1}, $10^{2}n.$ $77^{12}n.$; good works and prayers of, support Jerusalem, 2Bar. 2^{2}; hides ark, tabernacle, and altar of incense, 2Macc. 2^{1-12}; lover of brethren, prayeth fervently for people and holy city, $15^{14}sqq.$ *See* Jeremy.

Jeremiah, an elder, Arist. 50.

Jeremias, son of Baani, 1Esd. 9^{34}.

Jeremiel, i. e. Remiel, archangel, 4Ez. $4^{36}n.$

Jeremy, i. e. Jeremiah, 1Esd. 1^{28}, $32,47,57$ 2^{1} Ep. Jer. 1.

Jeremy, Epistle of, account, § 1; date, § 2; original language, Hebrew, § 3.

Jericho, 1Macc. 9^{50} $16^{11,14}$ 2Macc. 12^{15} Judith 4^{4} Sir. 24^{14}.

Jeroboam, Tob. 1^{5} 2Bar. 62^{1} P.A. 5^{21}; curse on, Sir. 47^{23}.

Jerome, Sir. § 8; condemns apocryphal books of Esdras, 1Esd. § 2.

Jerusalem, 1Esd. $1^{21,31,35,37,39,44,46,49,55}$ $2^{4,5,7,8,10,15,16,18,27}$ $4^{43,47,48,53,57,58,63}$ $5^{8,44,46,56,57}$ $6^{1,2,8,18,19,20,21,24,26,30,33}$ $8^{5,6,10,12,13,14,15,17,25,61,81,91}$ $9^{3,5,37}$ 1Macc. $1^{14,20,35,44}$ $2^{1,6,18,31}$ $3^{34,35,45}$ $6^{7,12,26,48}$ $7^{17,19,27,39,47}$ 8^{20} $9^{3,50,53}$ $10^{7,10,31,32,39,43,45,66,74,87}$ $11^{7,20,34,41,51,62,71}$ $12^{24,35}$ $13^{2,10,39,49}$ $14^{18,36,37}$ $15^{28,32}$ 16^{20} 2Macc. $1^{1,10}$ $3^{6,9,37}$ $4^{19,22,25}$ $5^{2,25}$ 6^{2} 8^{31} 9^{4} 10^{15} $11^{5,8}$ $12^{9,29,43}$ 14^{23} 15^{30} Tob. $1^{4,6,7}$ 5^{14} $13^{8}sq.$ $^{16}sq.$ $14^{4,5,7}$ (*see* New) Judith 1^{9} $4^{2,6,8}$ 5^{19} 10^{8} $11^{13,14,19}$ 13^{4} $15^{5,8,9,18}$ Sir. 24^{11} 36^{13} 47^{23} 1Bar. $1^{2,7,9,15}$ $2^{2,23}$ $4^{8,30}$ $5^{1,5}$ Add. Esth. A^{3} F^{11} Jub. $1^{28,29}$ Arist. 32, 35, 52 (cf. 'city'), 105 Mart. Is. 1^{9} $2^{4,7}$ $3^{1,3,4,6,10}$ 5^{8} T.L. $10^{3,5}$ T.Z. 9^{8} T.D. $5^{12,13}$ T.N. 5^{1} 3Bar. *Prol.* 2, 1^{3} 4Ez. $10^{20,48}$ Ps.Sol. $2^{3,13,14,20}$ $8^{4,17,19,21,23,26}$ $11^{2,3,8,9}$ $17^{16,17,24,33}$ 4Macc. $4^{3,22}$ 18^{5}; attacked by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1^{20}; by Apollonius, 1^{29}; centre of earth, Jub. 8^{19} 1En. 26^{1} Sib. 5^{250}; citadel of, 1Macc. 13^{48} 15^{28}; description of, Arist. 83–107; destruction of, a problem to the pious, 2Bar. and 4Ezra *passim*; earthly, removed for a time, 2Bar. $1^{4}n.$ 6^{9} 32^{1} 4Ez. 9^{38}–$10^{24}n.$, to be restored in B^{1}, 2Bar. $1^{4}n.$ $78^{7}n.$, not to be restored in B^{2}, $1^{4}n.$, symbolized by son of Disconsolate Woman, 4Ez. $10^{29-57}n.$; Fall of, in A.D. 70, problem in 4Ezra, § 10(3), due to sins of both Judah and Israel, 2Bar. $77^{10}n.$; heavenly, 2Bar. 4^{2-7}, called 'mother', $3^{1}n.$, = pattern of Zion, 59^{4}, shown to Abraham and Moses, $4^{4,5}$, *see* New; holy, to be, Jub. 1^{28}; invaded, 4Macc. 4^{5-23}; lament over desecration of, 1Macc. 2^{6-14}; New, Tob. 13^{7-18} 14^{5} T.D. 5^{12}; = a new house, 1En. 90^{29}; to be the Heavenly City, 4Ez. § 10, 7^{26} $10^{25}sqq.$; is builded for the righteous, 8^{52}; offerings at, after destruction of Temple, 1Bar. §§ 4, 8; Philopator's visit to, 3Macc. $1^{9}sq.$ $3^{16}sq.$ 5^{43}; predestined as the place of worship to God, Ass. Mos. $1^{17,18}$; sanctity of, 3Macc. 2^{9} 6^{5}; sanctity of, recognized by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10^{31}; sons of, Ps.Sol. 2^{3}; titles of = the city of my righteous, 1En. 56^{7}; the holy city, Ps.Sol. 8^{4}; = the holy place, 1En. $25^{5}n.$; = the house (of the sheep), $89^{50,51,56}$ 90^{26}; the uppermost, ? = the heavenly, Enoch's eternal inheritance, 2En. 55^{2}. *See* City, David, Solyma.

Jerusalemite, 2Macc. 14^{37}.

Jerusalemites, 2Macc. 4^{9} 8^{36}.

Jeshua Ben-Sira, the author of Sirach, Sir. § 6; a scribe and teacher of wisdom, had travelled, § 6i.

Jeshua, son of Eleazar, son of Sira, Sir. $50^{27}n.$, cf. 51^{30}. *See also* Simeon, son of Jeshua.

Jeshua (Jesus), son of Josedek, Sir. 49^{12}.

Jeshurun, i. e. Israel, Sir. $37^{25}n.$

Jesias, 1Esd. 8^{33}.

Jesias, Arist. 49.

Jesse, Sir. 45^{25}.

Jesus, grandson of Sira, Sir. *Prologue*. *See* Jeshua.

Jesus = Jeshua, son of Josedek, 1Esd. $5^{5,48,56,58,68,70}$ 6^{2} 9^{19}.

Jesus, 1Esd. 5^{8}.

Jesus, 1Esd. 5^{11}.

Jesus, 1Esd. 5^{24}.

Jesus, 1Esd. 5^{26}.

Jesus, a priest, 1Esd. 8^{63}.

Jesus, 1Esd. 9^{48}.

Jesus, father of Habakkuk, Bel 1.

Jesus, an elder, Arist. 48.

Jesus, an elder, Arist. 49.

[Jesus Christ . . . Immanuel, 3Bar. 4^{15}.]

Jetrel, 1En. 69^{2}.

Jew, 1Macc. 2^{23} 2Macc. 6^{6} 9^{16} Bel 28 Add. Esth. A^{2}.

Jewish additions to Testaments, Test. § 12; books, Arist. 28; captives, 4, 22, 33; characters, 3, 30, *see* Hebrew; community, 310; envoys, guests, 182, 183; factions, 4Macc. 4^{1}; garrisons in Egypt, 3Macc. $3^{21}n.$; high priest, Arist. 11; literature, 121, post-Biblical and pre-Christian, Zad. §4; marriages, Tob. 4^{12}; nation, 2Macc. 10^{8}; people, 2Macc. 5^{22}; population of Alexandria, Arist. 308; priests, 184; race, 6, 15; religion, 4 Macc. 5^{6}; residents, 12^{3}; slaves, 2Macc. 8^{11}; soldiers, 1Macc. 11^{47}; subjects, 2Macc. 11^{24}.

Jewry, i. e. Judaea, 1Esd. 1^{32} 4^{49} $5^{7,8,57,61}$ 8^{81} 9^{3} Bel 33.

Jews, 1Esd. 1^{21} $2^{18,23}$ $4^{49,50}$ $6^{1,5,8,27}$ 7^{2} 8^{10} 1Macc. 4^{1} $8^{20,23,24,27,29,31}$ $10^{23,25,33,34,36}$ $11^{30,33,47,49,50,51}$ $12^{3,6,21}$ 13^{36} $14^{20,33,34,36,37,40,41,47}$ $15^{1,17}$ 2Macc. $1^{1,7,10}$ 2^{21} $3^{30,32}$ $4^{11,35,36}$ $5^{24,25}$ $6^{1,8}$ $8^{10,35,36}$ $9^{4,7,15}$ $10^{12,14,15,24,30}$ $11^{2,15,16,17,30,34}$ $12^{1,4,8,17,28,30,34}$ $13^{9,18,21,23,25}$ $14^{5,6,14,15,37,39}$ $15^{2,12}$ Tob. 11^{18} Sus. 4 Add.Esth. $E^{15,19}$ F^{5} Arist. 1, 3, 11, 12, 22–24, 30, 35, 38, 53, 83, 182, 305 Sib. 4^{126} 5^{28}; Antiochus promises to make equal to citizens of Athens, 2Macc. $9^{15,18,19}$; apostate, 3Macc. 2^{31} 3^{23} 7^{10}; charges against, $3^{3}sq.$; Egyptian, persecution of, 2^{28} &c.; deliverance of, $6^{16}sq.$; embassy of, to Philopator, 1^{8}; fidelity of, to Ptolemies, $3^{3,21}$ 5^{31} $6^{25}sq.$ $7^{7}sq.$; numbers of, in Egypt, 4^{17}; of Joppa, massacred, 2Macc. $12^{1,4}$; of Jamnia, 12^{8}, *see* Tubieni, 12^{17}; political subjection of, Zad. § 6ii; prevent Philopator entering the Temple, 3Macc. $1^{11}sq.$

Jezebel, 2Bar. 62^{3}.

Jezelus, 1Esd. 8^{32}.

Jezer, Jub. 44^{30}.

Jezrielus, 1Esd. 9^{27}.

Joab, 1Esd. 5^{11}.

Joab, 1Esd. 8^{35}.

Joachaz, i. e. Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, 1Esd. 1^{34}. *See* Jehoahaz.

Joadanus, 1Esd. 9^{19}.

Joakim, i.e. Jehoiachin, 1Esd. 1^{43} 1Bar. 1^{3}.

Joakim, i.e. Jehoiakim, king, 1Esd. $1^{38,39}$.

Joakim, son of Zorobabel, 1Esd. 5^{5}.

Joakim, Sus. 1, 4, 7, 8, 28, 29, 63.

Joakim, high priest, 1Bar. 1^{7}.

Joakim the high priest, Judith § 6, $4^{6,8,14}$ 15^{8}.

Joannes, 1Esd. 8^{38}.

Joarib, sons of, 1Macc. 2^{1} 14^{29}.

Job, Sir. $49^{9}n.$

Jobab, son of Zara, Jub. $38^{17,18}$.

†Jobel, T.Jud. 6^{1}.

Jochanan, Sir. $50^{1}n.$

Jochanan ben Zaccai, 1Bar. §7. *See* Johanan.

Jochanneh and his brother, raised by Belial (to oppose Moses), Zad. 7^{19}. *See* Jannes.

Jochebed, Jub. 47^{8} T.L. 11^{8} 12^{4} Test. *App.* II 72, 75, 77.

Joda, 1Esd. 5^{58}.

Joel, archangel, S. A. & E. 31^{1} $32^{1,2}$ Apoc. Mos. 43^{5}.

†Joel, mount, Mart. Is. $2^{15}n.$

Joel, prophet, Mart. Is. 2^{9}.

Johanan ben Berokah, P.A. 4^{5}.

Johanan ben Zaccai, P.A. 2^{9-13}. *See* Jochanan.

Johanan the sandal-maker, P.A. 4^{14}.

John, surnamed Gaddis, a Maccabee, 1Macc. 2^{2} $9^{36,38}$.

John, father of Eupolemus, 2Macc. 4^{11}.

John Hyrcanus I, son of Simon, 1Macc. § 4, 13^{53} $16^{1,2,9,19,21,23}$; breach with Pharisees, Test. §§ 1, 10; escapes massacre, 1Macc. 16^{22}; a History of, mentioned by Sixtus Senensis, $16^{24}n.$; Messianic hymns to, Test. § 1. *See* Hyrcanus.

John, the Maccabee. *See* Joseph.

John, envoy, 2Macc. 11^{17}.

John, an elder, Arist. 47.

John, an elder, Arist. 49.

John, an elder, Arist. 50.

John of Anathoth, Mart. Is. 2^{5}.

Jokshan, Jub. 19^{11}.

Jomjael, 1En. 6^{7}.

Jonah, 3Macc. 6^{8}.

Jonas, 1Esd. 9^{1}.

Jonas, 1Esd. 9^{23}.

Jonathan, 1Esd. 8^{32}.

Jonathan, son of Azael, 1Esd. 9^{14}.

Jonathan, son of Saul, 1Macc. 4^{30} P.A. 5^{19}.

Jonathan, son of Absalom, 1Macc. 13^{11}.

Jonathan Maccabaeus, called Aphphus. 1Macc. 2^{5} $5^{17,24,55}$ $9^{19,28,31,33,37,43,58,60,62,65,70,73}$ $10^{3,7,9,10,15,18,21,29,46,59,62,66,69,74,76,79,80,84,86,87,88}$ $11^{5,6,7,20-23,28-30,37,41,42,44,53,57,60,62,63,67,69,71,74}$ $12^{1,3,5,6,24,27,28,30,36,40,44,49,52}$ $13^{14,15,23,25}$ $14^{16,18,30}$ (killed, 13^{23}) 2Macc. 8^{22} 1En. $90^{8}n.$; succeeds Judas as leader, 1Macc. 9^{23-31}; struggle of, with Bacchides, 9^{32-73}; has centre of government at Michmash, $9^{73}n.$; victory of, over Apollonius of Coelesyria, 10^{67-89}; secures favour of Demetrius II, 11^{20-37};

assists him against Tryphon, 11^{38-53}; makes friends with Antiochus VI, 11^{54-74}; renews alliance with Rome, allies himself with Sparta, defeats Demetrius's men, 1Macc. 12^{1-38}; captured by treachery, 12^{39-53}; buried at Modin, 13^{25-30}.

Jonathan, a high-priest, 2Macc. 1^{23}.

Jonathan, an elder, Arist. 48.

Jonathan, an elder, Arist. 49.

Jonathan, P.A. 4^{11}.

Jonathes, Arist. 50.

Joppa, 1Esd. 5^{55} 1Macc. $10^{75,76}$ 11^{6} 12^{34} 13^{11} $14^{5,34}$ $15^{28,35}$ 2Macc. 4^{22} $12^{3,4,7}$ Arist. 115 Sib. 5^{251}.

Joram, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1^{9}.

Jordan, 1Macc. $5^{24,52}$ $9^{34,42,43,45,48,49}$ Judith 1^{9} 5^{15} Sir. 24^{26} Jub. 10^{29} 16^{5} 29^{14} 50^{4} Arist. 116 A. & E. 6^{2} 7^{2} 8^{1} [42^{3}] S. A. & E. 36^{4} 39^{1} Ass. Mos. 1^{4}; = 'a stream of water', 1En. $89^{37}n$.

Joribus, 1Esd. 8^{44}.

Joribus, 1Esd. 9^{19}.

Josab, son of Isaiah, Mart. Is. $1^{2,6}$ 2^{9}.

Josabdus, 1Esd. 8^{63}.

Josaphias, 1Esd. 8^{36}.

Jose ben Halaphta, P.A. 4^{8}.

Jose ben Joezer, P.A. 1^{4}.

Jose ben Johanan, P.A. $1^{4,5}$.

Jose ben Judah, P.A. 4^{26}

Jose ben Kisma, P.A. 6^{10}.

Jose the Priest, P.A. $2^{10,12,13,16}$.

Josedek. *See* Jesus, Jeshua.

Joseph, patriarch, 1Macc. 2^{53}. Sir. 49^{15} Wisd. 10^{13} Jub. 28^{24} 29^{1} 33^{22} $34^{3,10,12,13,15,17,18,20}$ $39^{2-5,7,11-18}$ $40^{2,5,8-13}$ 41^{22} $42^{5,10,13,21,25}$ $43^{1,2,8-10,14,23,24}$ $44^{3,6,9,23,24,32}$ $45^{2,3,6-9,12,14}$ $46^{1,2,3,8,9}$ (death of, 46^{3}) 1En. $89^{13}n$. T.R. 1^{2} 4^{8} 6^{7} T.S. 1^{1} $2^{6,13,14}$ $4^{2,4,5}$ 5^{1} $8^{3,4}$ T.L. 12^{7} 13^{9} T.Jud. 12^{11} $25^{1,2,5(a)}$ T.Z. $1^{1,5,6}$ $2^{1,5,6,8}$ $3^{1,2(\beta)5,6}$ $4^{2,9,11}$ 5^{4} 8^{4} T.D. $1^{4,7,8}$ T.N. 1^{8} 5^{7} 6^{6} 7^{2-4} T.G. $1^{4,6,8,9}$ 3^{3} $5^{6,11}$ 6^{2} T.Jos. $1^{1,2}$ $20^{6(c)}$ T.B. 1^{4} 2^{1} $3^{1,3,6}$ 5^{5} 10^{1} Test. *App.* I $1^{8,10}$ 2^{7} $3^{1-4,7,9,11-13}$ 4^{13-15} 5^{2-5} $6^{4,8}$ 7^{4} II 82, 90 4Macc. 2^{2} 18^{11}; bias against, in Late Hebrew Test. of Naphtali, Test. *App.* I 1^{8} 4^{14} 5^{5} $6^{4,8}$ $7^{4,6}$; cause of bondage in Egypt, Test. *App.* I 1^{10}; death of, T.R. 1^{2} T.S. 1^{1} T.L. 12^{7}; example, held up as, or praised, T.R. 4^{8} T.S. $4^{4,6}$ 5^{1} T.L. 13^{9} T.Z. 8^{4} T.D. 1^{4} T.N. 1^{8} T.B. $3^{1,6-7}$ 5^{5}; rides on bull, and demands ten staves (= tribes) from Judah, Test. *App.* I 3^{1-8}; shuns shaming his brethren, T.Jos. 10^{6} 11^{2} 15^{3} 17^{1}; sons of, cause Israel to sin, Test. *App.* I 1^{10}; steers ship of Jacob and wrecks it, Test. *App.* I 5^{1-5}; suppresses truth to save eunuch, T.Jos. 16^{6}; three days and three nights in the pit, T.Z. $4^{4(\beta AS^{1})}$; virtue of, 4Macc. 2^{2} 18^{11}.

Joseph, son of Zacharias, a Maccabaean leader, 1Macc. $5^{18,56,60}$.

Joseph, i.e. John the Maccabee, 2Macc. $8^{22}n$. 10^{19}.

Joseph, son of Oziel, Judith 8^{1}.

Joseph, an elder, Arist. 47.

Joseph, an elder, Arist. 47.

Joseph, an elder, Arist. 49.

Joseph, an elder, Arist. 50.

Josephus, son of Ezora, 1Esd. 9^{34}.

Josephus, 1Macc. § 7iii(c); relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5; 4Maccabees attributed to, 4Macc. § 7.

Josephus, 'the Hebrew', 4Macc. § 8.

Joshua, Moses' successor, 1Macc. 2^{55} 2Macc. 12^{15} Sir. 46^{1} Ass. Mos. $1^{6,9}$ $10^{11,15}$ $11^{1,3}$ $12^{1,3,8}$ 2Bar. 59^{1} 4Ez. 7^{107} P.A. 1^{1} Zad. 7^{5}; and the Judges, the time of, 1En. $89^{39}n$.

Joshua, the high priest, 1En. $89^{72}n$.

Joshua ben Hananiah, P.A. $2^{10,12,13,15}$.

Joshua ben Levi, P.A. 6^{2}.

Joshua ben Perahiah, P.A. 1^{6}.

Josiah, king of Judah, 1Esd. $1^{1,7,18,21,22,23,24,25,28,32,33,34}$ Sir. $49^{1-3,4}$ 1Bar. 1^{9} 2Bar. 66^{1} 4Ez. 13^{40}; Passover of, 1Esd. 1^{1-22}.

Josias. *See* Josiah.

Joy, 1En. 10^{16} 47^{4} 51^{5} 69^{26} 103^{3} 104^{4}.

Jozabdus, 1Esd. 9^{23}.

Jozabdus, 1Esd. 9^{29}.

Josabdus, 1Esd. 9^{48}.

Jubilees, Book of, 1En. $7^{2,5}n$. $16^{1}n$. $98^{11}n$. Testaments, *Appendix* II *notes* Zad. §§ 6, 8, 12, $20^{1}n$.; abbreviations and symbols in, Jub. § 18; account, § 1; author and his object, § 2; bibliography, § 16; date, § 9; influence on N.T., § 15; MSS., § 3; relation of to 1Enoch, 1En. § 10(a); relation of to Massoretic text of Genesis, § 8; textual affinities, § 7; theology, § 16; title, § 2; versions, § 4, Eth. and Latin from Greek, § 5; Greek from Hebrew, § 6.

Jubilees, Jub. *Prologue*, 1^{14} and *passim*.

Jubilees, laws regarding, Jub. 50^{1-5}.

Judaea (*see also* Jewry), 1Esd. $1^{26,33,37,39,46}$ $2^{4,5,16}$ 4^{45} 5^{72} $6^{8,27,28}$ 8^{12} 1Macc. 3^{34} $4^{29,35}$ $5^{8,18,23,59}$ $6^{48,53}$ $7^{24,46}$ $9^{50,60,63}$ $10^{38,45}$ $11^{20,28,34}$ 12^{35} 13^{33} 14^{33} $15^{30,39,40}$ 16^{10} 2Macc. $1^{1,10}$ 5^{11} 8^{9} 10^{24} 11^{5} $13^{1,13}$ $14^{12,14}$ Tob. 1^{18} Judith 1^{12} 3^{9} $4^{1,3,7}$ 8^{21} 11^{19} Add. Esth. A^{3} Arist. 4, 12, 83, 107, 318 Mart. Is. 1^{9} Sib. $5^{263,329}$.

Judah, land of, 1Esd. $1^{33,35}$ Judith 14^{7} Sir. 48^{15} 49^{4}; Zad. $6^{1,7}$ 8^{6} 9^{3} [9^{4}] 9^{49}; animus against in Zad. Frag. § 12, cf. 9^{13}; Ephraim departed from, 9^{3} 16^{11}; house of, no more join, 6^{7}; land of, go forth out of, 6^{1} 8^{6}; princes of, 9^{13}; daughter of, Sus. 22, 56, 57 1Bar. $1^{3,8,9,15}$ $2^{1,23,26}$ Mart. Is. 1^{1} $2^{6,7}$ $3^{3,6,7,10,11}$ 5^{8}; 1Macc. 1^{29} $2^{6,18}$ $3^{8,39}$ $5^{45,53,68}$ $6^{5,12}$ $7^{10,22,49}$ $9^{1,57,72}$ $10^{30,33,37}$ $12^{4,46,52}$ $13^{1,12}$; son of Jacob, T.R. 1^{4} $6^{7,11}$ T.S. $2^{9,11}$ 5^{6} $7^{1,2}$ T.L. 2^{11} 8^{14} 9^{1} T.Jud. $1^{1,3}$ 13^{1} 17^{3} 18^{2} $26^{4(\beta)}$ T.Iss. 5^{7} T.Z. 4^{2} T.D. $5^{4,7,10}$ T.N. 5^{3-5} 6^{6} 8^{2} T.G. $1^{6,9}$ $2^{3(a)}$ 8^{1} T.Jos. $19^{8,11}$ T.B. $11^{2(c)}$ Test. *App.* I 1^{8} 2^{4} 3^{4-9} $4^{8,12}$ 5^{3-5} $6^{2,4}$ II 3 Jub. $28^{15,17}$ $31^{5,9,12,18,31}$ 33^{22} $34^{3,20}$ $38^{1,5}$ $41^{1-4,6-9,13,14,16,19,23,27,28}$ 42^{19} 43^{11} $44^{9,15,34}$; blessing of, Jub. 31^{18-20}; exploits of, T.Jud. 2–7; forgiven for sin of ignorance, Jub. 41^{25}; sins with Tamar, T.Jud. 12; to be king, T.S. 7^{2} T.Jud. 1^{6} 17^{5-6} 22^{3}.

Judah, tribe of, 1Esd. 2^{8} $5^{5,66}$ 9^{5} Sir. 42^{25}; Levi and, *see* Levi.

Judah ben Illai, P.A. 4^{16}.

Judah ben Tabbai, P.A. 1^{8}. Zad. § 9^{30}.

Judah ben Tema, P.A. $5^{23,34}$.

Judah the Holy. *See* Rabbi.

Judaism, 2Macc. 8^{1} 14^{38}; and apocalyptic, 1En. § 1.

Judas, 1Esd. 9^{23}.

Judas, 2Macc. 1^{10}.

Judas, an elder, Arist. 47.

Judas, an elder, Arist. 49.

Judas, an elder, Arist. 50.

Judas ben Tabbai. *See* Judah.

Judas, son of Chalphi, 1Macc. 11^{70}.

Judas Maccabaeus, 1Macc. $2^{4,66}$ $3^{1,10,12-14,16-18,25,26,42,55,58}$ $4^{3,5,6,8,11,16,19,21,23,29,35,36,41,59}$ $5^{3,10,16,17,19,24,27,31,38,40,42,44,45,48,49,53,55,62,63,65,68}$ $6^{19,32,42}$ $7^{6,10,23,25,28,29,30,31,35,40}$ $8^{1,17}$ $9^{5,7,10,12,14,16,18,19,22,23,26,28,29,31}$ 13^{9} 14^{18} 2Macc. 2^{19} 5^{27} $8^{1,12}$ $12^{5,11,12,14,15,21-23,26,36,38,39,42}$ $13^{1,10,12,20,23}$ $14^{1,6,10,11,13,14,17,18,24-26,30,33}$ $15^{1,6,15,17,26}$ 1En. $90^{9}n.^{10-12}$; Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 8^{20} 2Macc. $8^{5,16}$ $10^{1,16,18,21,25,29,33}$ $11^{6,7,15}$ $12^{19,20}$ 13^{24} $14^{27,30}$ $15^{7,21}$; campaigns of, 10^{9-38} 12^{1-45}; collects books, 2^{14}; death of, 1Macc. 9^{18}, result of, 9^{22}; regarded as Messiah in 1En. 83–90; revolt and early successes of, 2Macc. 8^{1-36}; song in praise of, 1Macc. 3^{1-9}; victories over Apollonius and Seron, 3^{10-26}, Gorgias, 4^{1-25}, Lysias, 4^{26-35}, Edomites and Ammonites, 5^{1-8}, in Gilead, 5^{9-68}.

Judas, son of Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. $16^{2,9,14}$.

Jude, Saint, Epistle of, Ass. Mos. §§ 2, 10 1En. § 10(b), 1^{9}.

Judge, judgement, P.A. $1^{1,6,8,18}$ 3^{20} $4^{9,10,29}$.

Judge, no, Zad. 9^{40}; the, 20^{12}.

Judgement, according to works, Sir. 16^{14}; at end of Messianic kingdom, before spiritual bliss of righteous, Jub. $23^{30}n$.; by sword at beginning of Messianic age, Wisd. $4^{18}n$.; conceptions of *in 1Enoch*: (1) First World Judgement:—over men = Deluge, 1En. 54^{7-10}; 'a great chastisement', 91^{5}; 'the first end', 93^{4}; earth and dwellers thereon destroyed, 10^{2} $10^{6,15}$;—over fallen angels and giants, $10^{4,5,12,15}$; (2) Judgement of the sword at the *beginning* of the Messianic kingdom when righteous destroy the wicked, 50^{2} 90^{19} 91^{12} 95^{7} 96^{1} 98^{12}; (3) Final World Judgement at the *beginning* of the Messianic kingdom;—over Azazel and his hosts, 54^{6} 55^{4};—over their elect and beloved children, 56^{3};—over the fallen stars, the seventy shepherds, and the blinded sheep, 90^{20-27}; 'the great day', 22^{11} 54^{6}; 'the great judgement', 10^{6} 16^{1} 19^{1} 22^{4}; 'the judgement that is for ever and ever', 10^{12c}; (4) Final World Judgement at the *close* of the Messianic kingdom:—'great judgement', 94^{9} 98^{10} 100^{4} 103^{8} 104^{5}; (2) and (3) are combined in 48^{8-10}; (2) and (4) are combined in $99^{9,15}$, *see also* Day, Messianic Kingdom, Punishment; conceptions of, *in 4Ez.*; according to works, 8^{33}; by God Himself, 7^{33}; day of, no intercession on, $7^{102-115}$; Final, 7^{33-44} 6^{18} 8^{38}; predestined by God, 7^{70}; sets in at once after death, 7^{75-101}, *see* Intermediate State; conceptions of, *in Jubilees:*—final, at close of Messianic kingdom, Jub. § 15, 23^{30}; embracing human and superhuman worlds, $5^{10,14}$; impartial, according to opportunities, 5^{15}; Lex talionis observed by God in this world, 4^{31} (Cain), 48^{14} (Egyptians); punishment to follow at once on transgression in some cases, 37^{17}; retribution, individual and national in this world and next, § 15; day of, Judith 16^{17}; Wisd. 3^{18} 4^{20} (by righteous, 3^{7}; by God Himself, 5^{17}) Jub. 22^{21} 23^{11} 36^{10} T.L. 3^{3} 3Bar. $1^{7}n$. Ps. Sol. 15^{13}; definite reckoning for, 2Bar. $27^{1-28^{2}}$ 2En. $32^{2-33^{2}}$ 67^{7-10}; eternal, 1En. 91^{15} 104^{5}, cf. 10^{12}; final, 2Bar. 48^{39} 59^{8} T.L. 4^{1} T.B. 10^{8-10}; great, 1En. 16^{1} 22^{4} 25^{4} 91^{15} 94^{9} 98^{10} 100^{4} 103^{8} 104^{5}; grievous, 91^{9}; of angels, 68^{2}; of fire, 91^{9}; of God, $1^{7,9}$ 14^{4} $22^{10,11,13}$ 45^{6} 47^{2} $5c^{4}$ $60^{6,25}$ $63^{8,12}$ 65^{10} 66^{1} $67^{10,12,13}$ $68^{2,3,5}$ $69^{1,27}$ 81^{4} 83^{11} 84^{4} $90^{24,31}$ 91^{7} $93^{3,5}$ $91^{14,15}$ $95^{2,3}$ 96^{8} $97^{3,5}$ $98^{8,10}$ 99^{15} 100^{10} $103^{6,8}$ 104^{3} 108^{13} 4Ez. $7^{44,70,73,115}$ 8^{18} 14^{35} Ps.Sol. $2^{16,18,36,37}$ 87^{38} 9^{10} $15^{13,14}$ Ah. 2^{91} Zad. 1^{2} $9^{12,36,48,51,52}$ 10^{12} A. & E. $29^{7,10}$, certain, Sir. $35^{17,18}$, denounced on Antiochus, 2Macc. 7^{35}, on Nicanor, 8^{11} 15^{28-35}, forms of, Sib. § 8; of Mighty God, 3^{687}; = assizes of the world, 4^{41}, follows on destruction of world, $4^{179-192}$; of secrets, 1En. 68^{2}; righteous, 27^{3} 60^{6} 61^{9} 91^{14}; true, 27^{3}. *See* Reckoning.

Judgements, two, one by water, and one by fire, A. & E. 49^{3}.

Judges, duty of, P.A. 1^{8}; of the earth = rulers of Jewish

community at Alexandria, Wisd. $1^{1}n.$ $6^{1}n.$; of the congregation, Zad. $11^{1,2}$, cf. $15^{4,5}$.
Judges, the, Sir. 46^{11}. *See* Joshua.
Judging, hasty, Sir. 11^{2-13}.
Judith, Book of, account of, short, § 1; author, a Pharisee, § 7; date of original and versions, *circa* 150 B.C., § 5; historical framework of text, § 6; integrity of text, § 6; later use of, § 8; MSS. of, § 3; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, of, § 4; Greek, Syriac, Vulgate, 'Chaldee', *see* Pharisaic teaching.
Judith, daughter of Merari, Judith $8^{1,4,9}$ 9^{1} $10^{10,23}$ 11^{5} $12^{4,14,16,18}$ $13^{2,3,4,11}$ $14^{1,7,8,14,17}$ $15^{8,11}$ $16^{1,2,7,19,20,21,25}$; a Simeonite, 9^{2}; (?) festival of, Judith $16^{25}n.$; prayer of, 9^{2-14}; slays Holofernes, 13^{9}; song of, 16^{2-17}.
Juel, son of Baani, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Juel, son of Nooma, 1Esd. 9^{35}.
Julian emperors, 4Ez. $11^{42}n.$ $12^{3-39}n.$
Julius Africanus, Sus. § 5, 54–59*n.* 1En. 10(*c*).
Justice, Wisd. 1^{8} 11^{20} 14^{31}.
Justification, by the Law, 2Bar. 51^{3} 67^{6} 75^{7}; by works and faith, 4Ez. 9^{7} 13^{23} Sir. $16^{14}n.$; doctrine of in 2Baruch and 4Ezra, 2Bar. $21^{9}n.$ *See* Faith.
Justify, various meanings of, 2Bar. $21^{9}n.$
JustinMartyr, 1En. $8^{8,9}n.$ $15^{8}n.$; quoted, 2Bar. $29^{3}n.$

Kaber, Jub. 11^{7}.
Kabratan, land of, Jub. 32^{32}.
Kadesh, Zad. 4^{6} Jub. 16^{10} Judith 1^{9}; -Barnea, 5^{14}.
Kadmiel, 1Esd. 5^{26}.
Kadmiel, 1Esd. 5^{58}.
Kadmonites, Jub. 14^{18}.
Kaftur, Jub. 8^{21}.
Kainam, Jub. 8^{1}.
Kamaturi, islands of, Jub. 9^{13}.
Karaites. *See* Zadokite Party.
Karaso, Jub. 8^{13}.
Kariathiarius, i.e. Kiriath-jearim, 1Esd. 5^{19}.
Karnaim, Jub. 29^{10}. *See* Carnaim.
Kasbeel, 1En. 69^{13}.
Kasdeja, 1En. 69^{12}.
Kedesh, in Galilee, 1Macc. $11^{63}n.^{73}$; Naphtali, Tob. 1^{2}.
Kedron, 1En. $26^{3}n.$ 1Macc. $12^{37}n.$ $15^{39,41}$ 16^{9}. *See* Cedron.
Keel, 1En. 82^{20}.
Kenan, Jub. 4^{13}.
Kenites, Jub. 14^{18}.
Kenizzites, Jub. 14^{18}.
Keras, 1Esd. 5^{29}.
Kesed, Jub. 8^{6} $11^{1,3}$.
Ketab, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Keturah, Jub. 19^{11} $20^{1,11,12}$ 23^{7}.
Keys of Kingdom of Heaven, 3Bar. 11^{2}.
Khikar, Armenian name for Aḥikar, Ah. *passim*.
Khons, Tractate of, Tob. §§ 7, 8.
Kilan, 1Esd. 5^{15}.
Kin. *See* Marriage.
King of king of kings, P.A. 3^{1}. *See* God, titles of.
King = the congregation, Zad. 9^{7}; no king, Zad. 9^{40}.
Kingly dignity depreciated, Zad. § 12.
Kingdom, kingship, P.A. $3^{2,7}$ 4^{17} 6^{6}; and priests, Israel to be, Jub. $16^{18}n.$; future, eternal, on this earth in Testaments, Test. § 16; of Heaven, 3Bar. 11^{2}; righteous to receive, Wisd. 5^{16}; theocratic, under Angel first, then under God alone, Ass. Mos. 10^{1-10}. *See* Messianic Kingdom.
Kings, Zad. 4^{8}; after Solomon, wickedness of, Sir. 47^{23-25}; and the mighty, 1En. 38^{5} 62^{1-9} 63^{1-12} $67^{8,12}$; of Gentiles = dragons, 9^{20}; of Javan = asps, 9^{20}; twelve = twelve Caesars, 4Ez. $12^{14}n.$; four, $12^{21}n.$
Kinsman, like 'father', 'friend', a title of honour, 1Macc. $11^{31}n.$
'Kinsmen', a court title at Philopator's court, 3Macc. $5^{39,44}$.
Kirama, 1Esd. 5^{20}.
Kirjath-Arba, Jub. 19^{1}.
Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, Zad. § 2.
Kiseus = Kish, Add. Esth. A^{1}.
Kites, = Egyptians under the Ptolemies, 1En. $90^{2}n.$; = (?) Edomites, 1En. $90^{13}n.$
Kittim, Jub. $24^{28,29}$ 37^{10}. *See* Chittim.
Knowledge, limit to human, Sir. $3^{21}n.^{-23}$ 4Ez. 4^{1-11}.
Kohath, Jub. 44^{14} T.L. $11^{3,6}$ 12^{2} Test. *App.* II 66, 74.
Kokabel, 1En. 8^{3} 69^{2}.
Kokabiel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Konae, Judith 4^{4}.
Koran, parallels in with Aḥikar, Ah. § 3 *f.*
Kozeba, T.Jud. 6^{1}.
Krasos, Sib. 3^{439}.
Kronos, the planet, 2En. $30^{3}n.$
Kruno. *See* Kronos.
Kuchavim, the ninth heaven, 2En. $21^{6}n.$
Kush, Test. *App.* I 9^{3}.

Laban, Jub. 19^{10} 25^{6} $27^{3,10,12}$ $28^{1-4,6,8,9,25,26,28,30}$ $29^{1,2,4,6,7,12}$ 31^{2} T.Jud. 9^{1} T.N. 1^{11} Test. *App.* II 62.
Labana, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Labourer inferior to scribe, Sir. 38^{24-30}.
Laccunus, 1Esd. 9^{31}.
Lacedaemonians, 2Macc. 5^{9}.
Ladder of Tyre. *See* Tyre.
Lagus. *See* Ptolemy.
Lamb = Samuel, David, 1En. 89^{45}.
Lambs = Chasids, 1En. $90^{6-17}n.$
Lamech, Jub. $4^{27,28}$ 7^{38} 1En. 10^{1} $106^{1,4,10,12,18}$ T.B. 7^{4}.
Lamp, Tob. 8^{13}; of Temple service extinguished, 4Ez. 10^{22}.
Land (= Palestine), blessed, 1En. 27^{1}; of His elect ones, 56^{6}; pleasant and glorious, 89^{40}; special sanctity of, 2Bar. $29^{2}n.$
Landmark, remove the, Zad. 1^{11} 8^{1} 9^{13}; of the Law, break down, Zad. 9^{49}.
Laodicea, on Lycus, Sib. 3^{471} 4^{107} 5^{290}.
Lapithae, Sib. 5^{133}.
Last, days, 4Ez. 13^{18}; time, 13^{20}; times, varying conceptions of in 4 Ezra, 4Ez. $8^{50}n.$: they who live at the, 4Ez. 8^{50} 14^{22}. *See* Times.
Lasthenes, 1Macc. $11^{31}n.^{32}$.
Latin, Sib. 3^{51} 5^{168}; Version, Old, of Sirach, variation of order from LXX, in chaps. 30–6, Sir. §§ 4, 5ii.
Latins, Sib. 3^{597}.
Latium, Sib. 3^{356} 5^{1}
Law, the, 1Macc. $1^{49,53,56,57}$ $2^{21,26,27,42,48,50,58,64,67,68}$ $3^{48,56}$ $4^{42,45,47,52}$ $10^{14,61}$ 11^{21} 13^{48} $14^{14,29}$ 2Macc. 13^{10} 4Macc. $1^{17,34}$ $2^{8,9,10,13,23}$ 3^{20} $4^{19,23,24}$ $5^{16-21,25,30,34}$ $6^{22,28}$ $7^{7,8,15}$ 8^{25} $9^{2-4,15}$ $11^{5,12,27}$ $13^{13,22,24}$ $15^{10,29}$ 16^{16} 17^{16} $18^{1,10}$ Sir. *Prologue* 9, 20, 11^{15} 15^{1} 19^{24} 24^{23} 26^{23} $32^{15,17,24}$ 33^{3} 34^{8} $39^{1,8}$ 41^{8} 42^{2} 45^{5} 49^{4} Sus. 3, 62 Jub. 30^{12} Arist. 171, 313 1En. 93^{6} 106^{14} 108^{1}, cf. 5^{4} 99^{14} T.L. 13^{3} 14^{4} $16^{2,3}$ T.N. 8^{7} T.A. 2^{6} 4Ez. $3^{19,20,22}$ $7^{17,20,72,81,94}$ $8^{29,56}$ $9^{11,31,32,36,37}$ $13^{38,54}$ $14^{21,22}$; and books of Law, attacked, 1Macc. $1^{49,53,56,57}$ defended, $2^{21,26,27,48,50,58,64,67,68}$ 3^{48} 13^{3}; and Messianic expectation two centres of Jewish thought, alternately one or other becomes more prominent, 2Bar. § 10, $15^{5}n.$; and Prophets, Sir. *Prologue* 1, 5, 13 Zad. §§ 8, 10, 13, *see* 9^{4-9}, read before battle, 2Macc. 15^{9}, cf. Book, holy; and Temple, duty of Diaspora to, Tob. § 7; books of, Arist. 30; devotion to the, 3Macc. 3^{4} 7^{11} Ass. Mos. 9^{6}; disobedience to, Wisd. 2^{12}; eternal, Sir. § 9ii 1En. 99^{2}, lamp of, 2Bar. 59^{2}, cf. 19^{3}; everlasting, no atonement for, Jub. 33^{17}; filled with, Sir. 2^{16}; for sinners, 1En. 93^{4}; he that taketh hold of, i.e. Scribe, Sir. $15^{1}n.$; holy, Sib. $3^{276,284}$; Israel will forget, Jub. 1^{14}; Israel's eternal and inalienable glory, 1Bar. § 7, 4^{1-3}; Jewish, to be universal, Wisd. 18^{4}; loyalty to, brings own reward, Sir. 33 $(36)^{1-3}$; not mentioned in Add. Esth. § 7; of eternal covenant, Ps.Sol. $10^{5}n.$; of God, T.R. 3^{8} T.L. $13^{2,3(\beta-d)}$ T.Jud. 18^{3} T.Iss. 5^{1} T.D. $6^{9,10(\beta)}$ T.N. 3^{2} T.G. 4^{7} T.A. 7^{5}; of the Lord, T.R. 6^{8} T.L. 9^{6} 13^{1} $19^{1,2}$ T.Jud. 26^{1} T.Z. 10^{2} T.D. 5^{1} T.N. 2^{6}. T.G. 3^{2} T.A. 6^{3} T.Jos. $4^{5(\beta)}$ 11^{1} T.B. 10^{3}; of the Most High, T.G. 3^{1}; of lawgiver, 4Ez. 7^{89}; of life, Sir. $17^{11}n.$ 4Ez. 14^{30}; of Lord, 1Esd. $1^{33,48}$ &c.; of luminaries, 1En. $72^{1,2}$; moon, 73^{1} 74^{1}; stars, 79^{1}; sun, 72^{35}; twelve portals, 76^{14}; of Moses, T.Z. 3^{4} (or scriptures) of our fathers = written covenants, 4Ez. 4^{23}; reading of, by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1, 9^{37-55}; renewed study of, and renewal of mankind, Jub. 23^{26-31}; retaliation, Jub. 4^{31}, *see* Lex talionis; seek, those who, persecuted, Jub. 1^{12}; son of, 2Bar. 46^{4}; supremacy of, Sir. § 9ii; teaching concerning, *in Aristeas*, Jewish, purpose and function of, Arist. § 2, 128–171; called Scripture. § 3; divine, 3, 313, holy, 5, of Jewish race, 15; oracles of God, 158, 177; reasonableness of, 128; sacred, 313; value of, § 6, *see* Lawgiver; teaching concerning, *in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, 2Bar. $15^{5}n.$ $38^{2}n.$; *in 2Baruch*: abideth, 77^{15}; accepted by man, 15^{5}; alone left to Israel, 85^{3}; a more excellent, given to Israel than to all peoples, 77^{3}; and Zion to be remembered, 84^{8}; exacts its rights, 48^{27}; glorified in proportion as Messianic and national hopes fail, $15^{5}n.$; importance of, in 2 Bar., esp. in B^{1}, but most in B^{2}, 2Bar. § 10; is light, $18^{1,2}$; is life, 38^{2}; Israel's unconditional possession, $85^{3}n.$; one, from One, 48^{24}; by one (Moses), $85^{14}n.$ rejected by Gentiles, $48^{40}n.$; will aid Israel, 48^{44}; will requite sinners on God's Day, 48^{47}; with Israel, 48^{22}; *in 4 Ezra*: = i, written scriptures of O.T., 4Ez. 14^{22}, burnt, 14^{21}; ii, oral, transmitted by Moses to the wise, $14^{26}n.$; brings terror by its condemnation, and drives to appeal to God's mercy and forgiveness, $7^{132-83,36}$; fidelity to = 'faith', *see* Faith; gift of God to Israel, 3^{19} $9^{31}sqq.$; imperishable, $9^{37}n.$; offered to all nations, accepted by Israel, $7^{23,24,72}$; refused by heathen, 7^{24}; Son of Man destroys enemies by, 13^{38}; teachers of = Scribes, 8^{29}; Ten Tribes restored on seeking again, $13^{41}sqq.$; unique, 5^{27}; weakness of, as redemptive power, § 10; teaching concerning, *in Jubilees*: a revelation in time of what was timeless and eternal, Jub. §§ 12, 15; the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth—this precluded any further revelation by prophecy—spiritual interpretation of, § 15; teaching concerning, *in Sirach*: eternal; identified with wisdom Sir. § 9ii; teaching concerning, *in Zad.*: Book of, hidden till Zadok arose, 7^{5}; custom of, 9^{1}; House of, $9^{35,38}$; interpretation of, 6^{5}, midrash, 9^{33}; order of, 9^{1}; study of, 8^{8} 9^{8}, true meaning of, 8^{12}; = well, 8^{6}; to be kept, 2Macc. 1^{4} 2^{3} 4^{17} $6^{1,23,28}$ $7^{23,30}$; unwritten, the, 2Bar. 57^{2}; wisdom identified with, Sir. § 1; witnesses to God's mercy, Ps.Sol. $10^{5}n.$
Lawgiver, *see* Leader, Star; = Moses, Arist. 131, 139, 148, 153.

Laws about fruit, Jub. 7^{37}.
Lawyers. *See* Scribes.
Leader, 1En. 82^{20}; of day and night, 75^{3}; of sheep, 89^{46}; of stars, 72^{3} 74^{2} 80^{1} $82^{10,11}$; of Zadokites, first = Star or Lawgiver; second = Teacher of Righteousness, Zad. § 10ii,iv.
Leah, Jub. $28^{3-5,9-14,16,17,20-22}$ 29^{2} $33^{1,22}$ $36^{21,22}$ T.S.2^{2} T.Jud. 1^{3} T.Iss. $1^{4,7,9,15}$ 2^{2}; death of, Jub. 36^{21}.
Leba Nasr = Salmanassar, Mart. Is. 2^{14}.
Lebanon, Sir. 39^{14} $50^{8,12}$ (*see* Libanus) Jub. 8^{21} 9^{4} $10^{29,33}$ 12^{15} 1En. 13^{9}.
Leisure needed for study, P.A. 2^{6}.
Lending and suretyship, Sir. 8^{12-13}; and borrowing, 29^{1-13}.
Length of days, 1En. 10^{9} 71^{17}, cf. 13^{6}. *See* Life.
Leo, Sib. $5^{516,523,525}$.
Leprosy, law of, Zad. 15^{7-8}.
Lesbos, Sib. $5^{121,316}$.
Lessau, village, 2Macc. 14^{16}.
Letters, in 1 Maccabees, 1Macc. § 7 : i. (*a*) from Jews in Gilead to Judas, 5^{10-13}; (*b*) from Jonathan to Spartans, 12^{6-18}; (*c*) from Areios of Sparta to Onias, 12^{20-23}; ii. (*a*) from Alexander Balas to Jonathan, 10^{18-20}; (*b*) from Demetrius I to Jewish nation, 10^{25-45}; (*c*) from Demetrius II to Jonathan, 11^{30-37}; (*d*) from Antiochus VI to Jonathan, 11^{57}; (*e*) from Demetrius II to Simon, 13^{36-40}; (*f*) Antiochus VII to Simon, 15^{2-9}; iii. (*a*) from Romans, 8^{23-32}; (*b*) from Spartans to Simon, 14^{20-22}; (*c*) from Lucius, Roman consul, to Euergetes II of Egypt, 15^{16-21}.
Letters of Philopator, 3 Macc. 3^{12}*sq.* 7^{1}*sq.*
Levi, 1Esd. 8^{47} Tob. 1^{7} Bel 1 Jub. $28^{14,17}$ $30^{4,18}$ $31^{5,9,12,13,16,31}$ $32^{1,3,8,9}$ 33^{22} $34^{3,20}$ 38^{6} 44^{14} 45^{16} T.R. $6^{5,7,8,10}$ T.S. 5^{4-6} $7^{1,2}$ T.L. 1^{1} $2^{1,6}$ 5^{2} 8^{11} 19^{4} T.Jud. 5^{2} 21^{1} $25^{1,2}$ T.Iss. 5^{7} T.D. $5^{4,6,7,10}$ T.N. 5^{3-5} $6^{6,8}$ 8^{2} T.G. 8^{1} T.Jos. 19^{11} T.B. $11^{2(c)}$ Test. *App.* I 2^{4} 3^{8-10} $4^{5,8,11,12}$ 5^{3} $6^{1,4}$ II 61, 83 Ass. Mos. 9^{1} 4Macc. 2^{19}; blamed for slaughter of Shechemites, 2^{19}; *in Jubilees*, Levi blessed by Isaac, given the primacy, Jub. 31^{13-17}; chosen for priesthood because of slaughter of Shechemites, Jub. 30^{18-23}; dream of, at Bethel, 32^{1}; chosen to priesthood as tenth son, $32^{2,3}$; receives books of Jacob, 45^{16}; receives tithes from Jacob, 32^{4-9}; vision of, sees future on seven tablets from heaven, 32^{21}; *in Test. XII Patr.* (in original Testaments) as high priest, T.R. $6^{8,10-12}$ T.S. 7^{2} T.L. 2^{10}; as king, T.R. 6^{7-12} T.L. 8^{14} 18^{3}; as lawgiver, T.R. 6^{8}; as prophet, T.L. 2^{10} 8^{15} T.B. 9^{2}; as son of God, T.L. 4^{2}; as warrior of God, T.R. 6^{12} T.S. 5^{5}; destroys Shechem, T.L. $5^{3,4}$ 6^{4}; ordained by God Himself, 2^{10}, to new priesthood, 8^{14} 18^{2}, with a new name, 8^{14}; pre-eminence above Judah, T.R. 6^{5-12}*n.* T.S. 5^{5} $7^{1,2}$ T.L. 8^{11-17} 18^{2}*sqq.* T.D. 5^{10}*n.* T.N. 5^{4} 8^{2}*n.* T.G. 8^{1} T.Jos. 19^{11}; Reuben, Simeon, Dan, will attack, T.R. 6^{5} T.S. $5^{4,5}$ T.D. 5^{4}; visions of, T.L. 2^{5}*sqq.* 8^{1}*sqq.*; shield given to, 5^{3} 6^{1}, *see* Priesthood, Maccabeans; (in first century B. C. additions to Testaments), T.L. 10^{14-16} T.D. 5^{6-7}; Messiah expected from, Zad. § 12, *see* Aaron, Messiah; priest and king—reflects Maccabean priest-kings, Test. § 10; recognized as priest by Jacob, Test. *App.* II 9; recognized as priest by Isaac, 13.
Levi, Testament of, original source of, Aramaic and Greek Fragments of, Test. *App.* II; Test. Levi quoted, Zad. 6^{10}.
Levi, tribe of, Sir. 45^{6} Bel 1; and Aaron, Zad. 11^{2}, *see* Aaron; and Judah, Naphtali bids his sons follow, Test. *App.* I 1^{8}; salvation to arise from, T.S. 7^{1} T.L. 2^{11} T.N. 8^{2} T.G. 8^{1} T.Jos. 19^{11}.
Levi, an elder, Arist. 48.
Leviathan, 1En. 60^{7} 2Bar. 29^{4}*n.* 4Ez. $6^{49,52}$; reserved for Messianic banquet, 6^{52}.
Levis, 1Esd. 9^{14}.
Levitas of Jabneh, P.A. 4^{4}.
Levite, Add. Esth. F^{11}.
Levites, 1Esd. $1^{3,7,9,10,14,16,21}$ 2^{8} 4^{55} $5^{26,46,58,59,63}$ $7^{6,8,10,12}$ $8^{5,10,22,42,49,59}$ $8^{60,63,69,96}$ $9^{23,37,48,49,53}$ Jub.30^{18} Zad.5^{7} 6^{1} 15^{6}; are they who joined the penitents (= priests), 6^{1}.
Levitical laws of purification, Jub. 3^{8-11}; priests = servers of the Holy One, Sir. 4^{14}*n.*
Lex talionis, *see* Judgement, Retribution in kind; exemplified in Cain, Jub. 4^{31}.
Liar to be destroyed, Sir. 20^{24-26}.
Libanus, 1Esd. 4^{48} 5^{55} Judith 1^{7} Sir. 24^{13} (*see* Lebanon) T.S. 6^{2}.
Libations on tombs, Ah. 2^{10} (Syr. A).
Libnai, Test. *App.* II 74.
Libya, Sib. $3^{208,323}$ 5^{197}.
Lies, man of (= Herod?), Zad. § 6, 9^{39}.
Life, book of memorial of, Test. *App.* II 59, *see* Book; bundle of, *see* Bundle of; = eternal life in heaven, 4Ez. $7^{129,137}$ 8^{13}*n.*, *see* Eternal; everlasting, 2 Macc. 7^{9}; everflowing, 7^{36}; future, *in* 1 *Enoch*, 1En. $5^{5,9}$ 14^{13} 22^{10} 38^{6} 48^{7} 56^{4} 58^{3} $61^{7,12}$ 62^{16} 67^{2} 96^{6} 98^{14} $103^{9,10}$ 108^{10}; elect, 94^{4}; eternal (= everlasting), $15^{4,6}$ 37^{4} 40^{9} 58^{3}; eternal (= 500 years), 10^{10}; long, 25^{6}; = a blessed immortality of the soul (not body) after death, Jub. 23^{31}; first found in Jubilees in last two centuries B.C.; next in 1En. 91–104, Jub. § 15; law of, *see* Law; lay up with the Lord, Ps. Sol. 9^{9}; of eternity (not in Sadducean sense), Zad. 5^{6}; of individual continued in children, Sir. 30^{4}*n.*; of world to come, P.A. 2^{8}, cf. portion in world to come, 3^{16}; perpetual, Ah. 4^{1} (Arab.); rope of, Sib. 3^{45}; pious inherit, Ps. Sol. 14^{7}; tree of, *see* Tree; trees of = pious, Ps. Sol. 14^{2}. *See* Garments.
Light, creation of, 4Ez. 6^{40}; generation of, 1En. 108^{11}; of endless world, 2Bar. 48^{50}; of Gentiles, 1En. 48^{4}; of the Law, Wisd. 18^{4}*n.* T.L. 14^{4}; of Righteousness, T.Z. 9^{8}.
Lightning, 1En. $14^{11,17}$ 17^{3} 41^{3} 43^{1-2} 44 $59^{1,3}$ 60^{13-15}; symbolizes the Messiah, 2Bar. 53^{8}*n.*
Lights, 1En. 59^{13}; feast of, 1 Macc. 4^{52}*n.*; of heaven, righteous shine as, 1En. 104^{2}; prince of (i.e. Uriel?), Zad. 7^{19}.
Like consorts with like, Sir. 13^{15-17}.
Like thee, those, 2Bar. 13^{5} 24^{2} = righteous surviving in last days, 13^{5}*n.* 4Ez. 4^{36} 8^{51}*n.*^{62} $14^{9,49}$.
Lilin, 2Bar. 10^{8}*n.*
Linen, wearing of, urged, Ah. 2^{102}.
Lion, which came out of wood, = Messiah whom God has reserved for the End, 4Ez. 10^{60}–12^{35}*n.*
Lions, = Babylonians, 1En. 89^{55} *n.*; den of, Bel 31.
Lists of sins, in 3Baruch, 3Bar. § 6; in Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs, T.R. 3^{3-6} T.Jud. 16^{1}; in Wisdom, 14^{25} sqq.
Live, 1En. 10^{17} 98^{10}; unto God, 4Macc. 7^{19}, cf. Divine life, 7^{7}. *See* Eternal life.
Liver, the, T.N. 2^{8}.
Living, 1En. 47^{3}, *see* Waters; creatures . . . beneath throne, 2Bar. 51^{11}.
Locros, Sib. 3^{433}.
Locusts, law of preparing as food, Zad. 14^{14}.
Loddeus. 1Esd. $8^{45,46}$.
Logos doctrine, Wisd. § 5, 9^{1} 16^{12} 18^{15}.
Lomna, Jub. 10^{18}.
Lomni, T.L. 12^{1}.
Longsuffering, T.D. 2^{1} 6^{8} T.G. 4^{7} T.Jos. 17^{2} 18^{3} 1En. 60^{5} 61^{13} P.A. 4^{1} $5^{2,3}$ $6^{1,6}$ Zad. 2^{3}.
Lord. *See* God.
Lord of the word = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11^{16}.
Lost. *See* Property.
Lot, Wisd. 10^{6} Jub. $12^{10,30}$ $13^{1,14,17,19,23}$ 16^{7} 17^{3}; wife of, Wisd. 10^{7}.
Lothasubus, 1Esd. 9^{44}.
Love, P.A. 3^{19} $5^{4,19}$ 6^{1}; God, Zad. 9^{45}; God, those that = Jewish people, Sir. 1^{10}; the Lord, $2^{15,16}$; of God for His creatures, 4Ez. 8^{46-62}*n.*; to man, Wisd. 11^{24}; to the brethren enjoined, T.R. 6^{9} T.S. 4^{7} T.G. $6^{1,3}$ 7^{7} T.Jos. 17^{2} T.B. $3^{3,4}$ Zad. 8^{17}; to God and one's neighbour, T.Iss. 5^{2} 7^{6} T.D. 5^{3}; to neighbour, T.B. $3^{3,4}$. *See* Fear of God.
Lowly exalted, Sir. $11^{5,12-13}$.
Lozon, 1Esd. 5^{33}.
Lubar, Jub. 5^{28} $7^{1,17}$ 10^{15}
Lucifer, Sib. $5^{516,527}$.
Lucius, consul, 1Macc. 15^{16}.
Lucus, Sib. 3^{472}.
Lud, Judith 2^{22} Jub. 7^{18} $9^{6,10,11}$.
Luminaries, 1En. 17^{3}; heavenly, 23^{4} $72^{1,2}$ 79^{6} 82^{7}; objects of worship, Wisd. 13^{2}; renewed for healing, peace, and blessing, Jub. 1^{29}; world of the, 1En. 20^{4}.
Luminary, the great, the sun, 1En. $72^{4,35,36}$; the smaller, the moon, 73^{1}.
Lunar year, Sir. 43^{6-8}*n.* Jub. 6^{36} 1En. 74; disturbs true order of feasts, Jub. 6^{36-38}.
Lust, sin of, Ah. 2^{5} (Syr. A).
Lustful passions, warning against, Sir. 6^{2-4}.
Luz = Bethel, Jub. $27^{19,26}$.
Lycia, 1Macc. 15^{23} Sib. $3^{433,439}$ $5^{126,129}$.
Lycian, Sib. 4^{109}.
Lycians, 3^{614} 5^{461}.
Lydda, 1Macc. 11^{34}*n.*
Lydia, 1Macc. 8^{8}.
Lydian, Sib. 3^{449}.
Lydians, Sib. $3^{170,515}$ $5^{288,292,340}$.
Lysias, 1Macc. $3^{32,38}$ $4^{26,34,35}$ $6^{6,17,55}$ 7^{2}; sent to war against Jews, in absence of Antiochus, 3^{27-37}; sends army into Judah under Ptolemy. Nicanor, and Gorgias, 3^{38-60}; defeated by Judas, 4^{26-35}; governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, 2Macc. 10^{11} $11^{1,12,13,15-17,23,35}$ $12^{1,27}$ $13^{2,4,26}$ 14^{2}; death of, 14^{2}; and Eupator make terms with Jews, 13^{1-26}.
Lying condemned, T.Iss. 7^{4} T.D. $2^{1,4}$ 4^{7} 5^{1} 6^{8}.
Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus the high priest, 2Macc. $4^{29,39,40,41}$.
Lysimachus, son of Ptolemacus, Add. Esth. F^{11}.

Maani, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
†Maanisakir (or Amanisakir) i. e. Camps of Shakir, Jub. $34^{4,7}$. *See* Makir.
Maaseas, 1Bar. 1^{1}.
Maasmas, 1Esd. 8^{43}.
Macalon, 1Esd. 5^{21}.
Maccabaean army, 2Macc. 10^{35}; family, Zad. §6; high priests not referred to in Ass. Mos. $5^{3,4}$, but in 6^{1}; kings, Jub. 31^{15}*n.*; denunciation of, Test. § 1; praise of, § 1; policy, change of after Judas' death, 1Macc. 9^{22}*n.*; priesthood to be called by new name, T.L. 8^{14}, *see* High priests, Levi; revolt, commencement of, 1Macc. 2^{15-28}; rising, censured by implication in Ass. Mos. 9^{1-7}; times, Azar. § 6; victories, Jub. 29^{9}*sqq.*; victories reflected in account of Jacob's wars, 34^{2-8}*n.* 37^{9-10}*n.*; wars, 24^{28-32}*n.*

Maccabaeans, at zenith of power, Test. § 1; and Pharisees, 4Macc. § 8; later, attacked, T.L. 10*n.* 14–16*n.* T. Jud. 21[6–23]; rise of, 1En. 90[6]*n.*

Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 5[34] &c. *See* Judas.

Maccabees, 1 Book of, author, a Sadducee, § 3; contents, § 2; date, § 4; Greek MSS., § 8; original language, Hebrew, §6; sources, § 7; (i) letters of Jewish origin; (ii) letters from Syrian kings to Jewish leaders; (iii) letters from rulers of foreign states, *see* Letters; style, § 5; theology, § 5; title, § 1; versions, Syriac and Latin, § 9. 2 Book of: authorship, § 5; bibliography, § 8; contents and characteristics, § 1; date, § 3; influence on later literature, § 6, MSS. § 2; text, integrity and composite nature of, § 4; theology, § 7; versions, § 2, Greek, Latin, and Syriac; discrepancies in, § 4; less primitive than 1Macc., 2Macc. § 1; letters in, do not belong to Jason source, § 4; parallelisms with 1Macc., 2Macc. § 1; relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 4, *see* Jason of Cyrene. 3 Book of: bibliography of, § 10; contents of, § 1; date and origin, § 4; historical basis of, § 5; integrity, § 6; MSS., § 3; relation of, to Aristeas's Letter, §4, Josephus, § 5, 2Maccabees, § 4, Philo, § 4, Polybius, § 5, Ptolemy of Megalopolis, § 5; style, § 7; theology, § 8; title, § 2; use of, by later writers, § 9; versions, § 3. 4 Book of: account, § 1; authorship, § 7; bibliography, §10; comparison with 2Macc., § 10 *app.*; date, § 5; influence, § 8; integrity, § 6; MSS., §§ 3–4; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, §§ 3–4.

Macedonia, Sib. 3[172,190,381]. 4[102] 5[338,373,461].

Macedonian, 1Macc. 6[2] Add. Esth. E[10].

Macedonians, Sib. 3[161,610] 4[88,95] Add. Esth. E[14]; battle at Babylon with Galatians, 2Macc. 8[20]. *See* Greeks.

Macron. *See* Ptolemy Macron.

Madai, Jub. 7[19] 8[5] 9[9] 10[35,36]. *See* Media.

Maeander, Sib. 4[149,151] 5[321].

Maedai, Jub. 8[21]

Maelus, 1Esd. 9[26].

Maeotic sea, Sib. 3[338].

Magdaladraef, Jub. 33[1].

Magian influences in Tobit, non-Zoroastrian, in Egyptian form, Tob. § 8v.

Magic art, Wisd. 17[7].

Magnesia, Sib. 3[347].

Magnesians, Sib. 3[349].

Magog, Jub. 7[19] 9[8]. *See* Gog.

Mahalalel, Jub. 4[14,15] 19[24] 1En. 37[1] 83[3,6]. *See* Mahaleleel.

Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael, Jub. 29[18].

Mahaleleel = Mahalalel, 2En. 33[10].

Mahli, Test. *App.* II 74.

Maiannas, 1Esd. 9[48].

Maitabith, Jub. 38[23].

Maka, Jub. 34[20].

Makamaron, king of Canaan, Jub. 46[6].

Maked, 1Macc. 5[26,36].

Maker. *See* God.

†Makir, T. Jud. 6[3]. *See* Maanisakir.

Makom = God, P.A. § 5. *See* Maqom.

Malchira, Mart. Is. 1[8]*n.* *See* Sammael.

Mallus, city, 2Macc. 4[30].

Maltanneus, 1Esd. 9[33].

Mamdai, 1Esd. 9[34].

Mammon, Sir. 31[8]*n.*; worship, perils of, 31(34)[5–11]. *See* Gains.

Mamnitanemus, 1Esd. 9[34].

Mamre, man, Jub. 13[29]; oak of, 14[10].

Mamre, i. e. Hebron, Jub. 19[5].

Mamuchus, 1Esd. 9[30].

Man, a danger to angels, and to own soul, 2Bar. 56[10]; = angelic being, later heavenly Messiah, 4Ez. 13[1–58]*n.*, *see* Son of Man, White men; creation of, Sir. 17[1]; from seven substances, 2En. 30[8]*n.*; with seven natures, 30[9]*n.*; with freewill and knowledge of good and evil, 30[15,16]*n.*; Creator of, is God, Test. *App.* I 10[5–9]; final abode of, prepared, 2En. 49[2] 58[5]; foolish by nature, Wisd. 13[1]; freewill of, Sir. 15[14]; God's gifts to, 17[1–14]; insignificance of, before God, 16[17–23] 18[1–14]; senses and powers of, Test. *App.* I 10[6]; Son of, *see* Son; taught good and evil, Sir. 17[7]; time in this world pre-ordained, 2En. 49[2]; to be judged for his treatment of animals, 58[5,6]*n.*; works ordained before his creation, 53[2]. *See* Predestination.

Man from the Sea = Messiah, vision of, 4Ez. 13[1–58].

Man of lies = Jannaeus or Herod, Zad. § 6.

Manasseas, 1Esd. 9[31].

Manasseh, Mart. Is. 1[1,7,9,11,12] 2[1,2,4,5] 3[1,11] 5[4,8,12] 2Bar. 64[1,6,7] 65[1]; idolatry, prayer and repentance of, P.Man. § 2; repentance of, unreal, and finally unavailing, 2Bar. 64[7–10] 65[1]. *See* Prayer of Manasses.

Manasses, husband of Judith, Judith 8[2] 10[3] 16[22–24].

Manasses, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9[33].

Mandrakes, T. Iss. 1[2,3,8] 2[2,4].

Manes, 1Esd. 9[21].

Mani, 1Esd. 9[30].

Manifestation of God. *See* Epiphany, Theophanies.

Mankind, lit. 'creatures', P.A. 1[12]*n.* 3[14] 4[1] 6[2]; woes of, Sir. 40[1–9].

Manlius, Titus, Roman ambassador, 2Macc. 11[34].

Manna, Wisd. 16[20] 3Bar. 6[11]; substance remained, but 'accidents' transformed, Wisd. 16[21]*n.*; to be restored again, Sib. Frag. 3[49]*n.* 3[746] 2Bar. 29[8].

Man-pleaser = Sadducee, Ps. Sol. 4[10,21]; lays waste houses, 4[13,23].

Mansions, 1En. 41[2]. *See* Dwelling-places.

Many created, few saved, 4Ez. 8[3]; lost, 7[47,51,61,132–86]2*n.*, *see* Fewness: to be saved, 2Bar. 21[11]*n.* *Contrast* 4Ezra.

Maqom (rendered by God), P.A. § 5, 2[17] 3[5,14] 6[1,6].

Mardocheus, 1Esd. 5[8].

Mardocheus = Mordecai, Add. Esth. A[1,11,12,15–17] C[1] E[13] F[1]. *See* Mordecai.

Mariamne, Zad. § 6ii(*c*).

Marioch, 2En. 33[11](B).

Marisa, 1Macc. 5[66]*n.* 2Macc. 12[35].

Mark, on forehead, Zad. 9[11(β)]—of sinners, of destruction, Ps. Sol. 15[10].

Market-place, Tob. 2[3].

Marmoth, 1Esd. 8[62].

Marriage, agnatic, Tob. §§6, 9; document, § 6; feast, Tob. 8[20] 9[2,5]*sq.* 10[7] 12[1](11[19]); no bar to vision, 1En. 83[2]*n.*; of daughters, a duty, Sir. 7[25]*n.*; of elder daughter first, a heavenly ordinance, Jub. 28[6]; restrictions—forbidden with near of kin, uncle or aunt, Zad. 7[9–11]; with niece, §§ 2, 9[40]. *See* 7[11]*n.*

Marriages, Jewish, Tob. 4[12]; inculcated as opposed to pagan, § 9, *see* Heathen; mixed absolutely prohibited, Jub. § 15, 20[4] 22[20] 25[1–10].

Marsians, Sib. 3[513].

Martyr stories of 2Macc., §§ 5, 6, 7.

Martyrdom of seven Sons and Mother. *See* Seven Sons.

Martyrs, Maccabean, 4Ez. 8[27] 2Macc. §§ 1, 6, 6[10]*sq.*[18]*sq.* 7[1]*sq.* 4Macc. 1[8] 5[1]*sq.* 8[3]. *See* Anniversary, Atonement, Competitors, Epitaph, Eternal life, Example, Mother, Painting.

Marvels and portents—signs of Messiah's coming, 2Bar. 29[6]*n.*

Marzifan, slave substituted for Aḥiḳar at the execution, Ah. 4[10] (Syr.). *See* Seniqar.

Maseq, son of, Jub. 14[2].

Masias, 1Esd. 5[34].

Massagetae, Sib. 5[117].

Massias, 1Esd. 9[22].

Mastema, Jub. 10[8] 11[5,11]; angel of, will depart from penitent, Zad. 20[2]; chief of demons, *see* Demonology; powers of, Jub. 49[2]; prince, 11[5,11] 17[16] 18[9,12] 48[2,9,12,15]; put to shame, 18[12]; seeks to slay Moses 48[1–3]; spirits of, 19[28]; suggests the sacrifice of Isaac, 17[16].

Mastick tree and holm tree, Sus. 54–59*n.*

Matanbuchus, Mart. Is. 2[4].

Matarat, Jub. 38[23].

Mathelas, 1Esd. 9[19].

Mathusal. *See* Methuselah.

Mattathias, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9[33].

Mattathias, 1Esd. 9[43]

Mattathias, 1Macc. 2[1,14,16,17,19,24,27,39,45,49]; the real leader of Maccabaean revolt, 2Macc. § 1.

Mattathias, son of Absalom, 1Macc. 11[70].

Mattathias, son of Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. 16[14].

Mattathias, envoy of Nicanor, 2Macc. 14[19].

Mattathias, an elder, Arist. 47.

Matter, formless, Wisd. 11[17]*n.*; creation out of, 11[17], *see* Creation; inherently evil (?), weighs down soul, § 9.

Matthanias, 1Esd. 9[27].

Matthanias, 1Esd. 9[31].

Matthia ben Harash, P.A. 4[20].

Mauk, sea of, Jub. 8[22,26].

Mazitias, 1Esd. 9[35]

Meaning, Zad. 8[12,15] 15[7].

Meat, sea, Jub. 8[12,27] 9[8].

Mebri, mountains, Jub. 9[2].

Mechembechus, Mart. Is. 5[3].

Medaba, city, 1Macc. 9[36].

Medan, Jub. 19[11].

Medes, Judith 1[2] 16[10] Mart. Is. 3[2] T.N. 5[8] Sib. 3[160] 4[54,62,63] 5[23,147,441].

Media, 1Esd. 3[1,14] 1Macc. 8[8] 14[1] Tob. 1[14,15] 3[7] 4[1,20] 5[2,4,5,6,7,10,11] 6[10] 14[4,12]*sq.*[15] Jub. 10[36]. *See* Madai, Persia.

Mediation of angels, Jub. 1[27]*n.* 3Bar. § 10, 2.

Mediator between God and man, T.D. 6[2], *see* Intercession; Moses as, Ass. Mos. 1[14]*n.*

Medicament, Tob. 2[10] 6[5] 11[12,13].

Medicines, a gift of God, Sir. 38[4].

Meedda, 1Esd. 5[32].

Mefusailom. *See* Methuselah.

Megiddo, battle of, 1Esd. 1[29].

Meir, Rabbi, P.A. 3[11] 4[12] 6[1].

Melca, Jub. 19[10].

Melcha, T.L. 11[1]. *See* Melka, wife of Levi.

Melchias, 1Esd. 9[26].

Melchias, 1Esd. 9[32].

Melchiās, 1Esd. 9[44].

Melchizedek, priesthood of, §15, 13[25]*n.*

Melejal, 1En. 82[13].

Melka, Jub. 8[5].

Melka, daughter of Kaber, Jub. 11[7].

Melka, wife of Levi, Jub. 34[20]. *See* Melcha, Milcah.

Melkejal, 1En. 82[15].

Memeroth, 1Esd. 8[2].

Memmins, Quintus, Roman ambassador, 2Macc. 11[34].

Memorial, 1En. 103[4], *see* Testimony; = name, 1Bar. 4[5]*n.*; of God in heart, Ps. Sol. 16[6]; stone, 4Macc. 17[8]*n.*

Memphian woman, T. Jos. 12[1] 14[1,5(β)] 16[1].

Memphis, Judith 1[10] T. Jos. 3[6] Sib. 5[16,17,60,63,180].

Men, children of, Sir. 17[30] Judith 8[12] &c.; of war, Zad. § 6, ii; white, = angels, 1En. 87[2].

Menedemus of Eretria, Arist. § 1, 201.

Menelaus, high priest. 2Macc. 4[23,24,27,29,32,34,39,43,45,46,50] 5[6,15,33] 11[29,32] 13[3,7] Ass. Mos. 5[3,4]*n.*; intrigues of, 2Macc. 4[23–50]; put to death at Beroea, 13[7].

Menestheus. *See* Apollonius.
Merari, Judith 8[1] 16[7].
Merari, Jub. 44[14] T.L. 11[7] 12[3] Test. *App.* II 69, 74.
Merchant, liable to sin, Sir. 26[29].
Mercy, 1En. 61[13]: and fraud, T.A. 2[5]; and perjury, 2[6]; enjoined, T.Z. 5[1,3] 7[2,3] 8[1], to both man and beast, 5[1]; no, 1En. 5[6] 50[5]; of God, P.Man. 6–7, 14; -seat, the, 2Bar. 6[7].
Merit, P.A. 1[6] 2[2] 6[6]; doctrine of, Sir. 3[3]*n.*[15]; of the fathers, Sir. 47[12]*n.* P.A. 2[2] 2Bar. 14[7]*n.* 84[10]; doctrine of, repudiated, 1Bar. 2[19]*n.*; of good works, even of dead, avails for nation, 2Bar. 14[7] 84[10].
Merits of righteous, 3Bar. 11[9] 12[5]; of no avail for sinners in Israel, 4Ez. 8[20–40]; presented by Michael to God, 3Bar. 14[2]; = treasures of faith, won by righteous, 4Ez. 6[5].
Meropea, Sib. 3[346].
Merran, 1Bar. 3[23].
Mesaloth, place, 1Macc. 9[2]*n.*
Mesech = Meshech, Test. *App.* I 9[4].
Meshech, Jub. 7[19] 9[12].
Mesopotamia, Judith 2[24] 5[7,8] 8[26] Jub. 9[5] 27[10,12,13] 29[12,18] 44[18] T.Jud. 9[1] 10[1].
Messenger of God, 1Esd. 1[50,51].
Messiah, coming of, signs of, Jub. 31[18–19]*n.* *In 2 Baruch*: 29[3] 30[1] 41[1]; and the Law, 15[5]*n.*; in A[1] has passive rôle, 29[3]*n.*; in A[2] and A[3] has active rôle, 29[3]*n.* 40[1]*n.* 72[4–6]*n.*; principate of, revealed, 39[7]*n.*; return of, to heaven, 30[1]; whence revealed, 29[3]*n.*; will summon all nations, and slay some and spare some, 72[2]. *In 1 Enoch*: doctrine of, § 11[(b)] 38[2]*n.* 46[2,3]*n.* 48[10]*n.* 90[37]*n.*; titles of, § 11; Anointed (God's), 52[4]; Elect One, 45[3,4] 49[2,4] 51[5,13] 52[6,9] 55[4] 61[5,8,10] 62[1]; of righteousness and faith, 39[6]; Righteous One, 38[2]; and Elect One, 53[6]: Son of Man, 46[2,3,4] 48[2] 62[5,7,9,14] 63[11] 69[26,27,29] 70[1] 71[14,17], *see* Son; Son, My (God's), 105[2]. *In 4 Ezra*: death of, in common with all men, 7[30]; earthly, 12[32]*n.*; gathers together peaceable multitude, 13[12]*n.*; God's Son, 7[28,29] 13[52] 14[9]*n.*; heavenly, 12[32]*n.*; heavenly pre-existence of, 7[26–30]*n.*; immortal companions of, 6[26]*n.* 7[28] 13[52] 14[49]; = Baruch, Elijah, Enoch, Ezra, Jeremiah, 6[26]*n.*; = Lion, 12[32]; = Man from the Sea, 13[25]; not meant by son of Disconsolate Woman, 10[29–57]*n.*; pre-existence of, in heaven, 12[32]*n.* 14[9]*n.* 2Bar. 30[1]; rule of 400 years, 7[28]. *In Jubilees*: no rôle of importance assigned to, 31[18]; expected from Judah, § 15, *see* Hyrcanus, Judas Maccabaeus, Simon. *In Ps. Sol.*: anointed of the Lord, 17[36]; conceived as in Psalm 2, 17[23–27]; gathers dispersed of Israel, 17[28–31]; judges tribes, 17[48]; pure from sin, 17[41]; purges Jerusalem, 17[32,34]; rules heathen, 17[33]; wise, 17[42]. *In Sib. Or.*: a holy prince, 3[49]; advent of, 3[652]*sqq.*; comes from heaven to assume kingdom, 5[414–433]; intervenes to save Jerusalem from Nero redivivus, 5[108]. *In Test. XII Patr.*: from Judah, Test. § 16 T.Jud. 24[5–6] T.L. 8[14(a)]; from Levi, Test. § 16, T.R. 6[7–12] T.L. 8[14] 18 T.Jud. 24[1–3] T.D. 5[10] T.Jos. 19[5–9]*n.*; delivers Beliar's captives, T.Z. 9[8] T.D. 5[11]; free from sin, T.Jud. 24[1]; opens Paradise to righteous, T.L. 18[10] T.D. 5[12]; walks in meekness and righteousness, T.Jud. 24[1]; wars against Beliar, T.L. 18[12] T.D. 5[10]; prerogatives and powers of, in Testaments, full summary of, Test. § 16; to be free from sin; a priest, T.L. 8; prophet, T.L. 8[15]; king, T.R. 6[11,12] T.L. 8[14]; to war against Israel's foes, T.R. 6[12]. *In Zad. Frag.*: 2[10]*n.*, *see* 1[7]*n.*; from Aaron and Israel, expectation of, §§ 6, 9[45] 12, 9[10(β)] 9[29(β)] 15[4] 18[8], so not of pure Levitic or priestly descent, but partly from Levi and partly from another tribe, i.e. the sons of Herod and Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, §§ 6ii(*c*), 12; hope of, abandoned in Ass. Mos., Zad. § 10v; militant Messiah expected, § 10v; = prince of all the congregation, Zad. 9[9]; = sceptre, 9[8,9]; through him God will make the 'remnant' know His Holy Spirit, 2[10]; to destroy faithless, 9[10–20]; true interpretation of name (Zadok?), 2[10]; will know punishment, Zad. 18[9]; will teach Remnant, 2[9,10].
Messianic banquet, Behemoth and Leviathan reserved for, 4Ez. 6[52]; bliss, 2Bar. 73[1]–74[4]; element absent *in 1 Baruch*, 1 Bar. § 11; hymns to John Hyrcanus, Test. § 1 T.L. 18[2–14] T.Jud. 24[1–6] T.D. 5[10–13]; kingdom,—*in Ass. Mos.* § 9; ushered in by day of repentance—to include Ten Tribes as well as Two—Israel finally exalted to heaven, § 9. *In 2 Baruch*: hope of with Messiah, A[1] A[2] A[3]; without Messiah in B[1]; no hope of either in B[2] B[3]. § 10; temporary, 2Bar. 73[1,2,7] 74[1]; at close Messiah returns to heaven, 30[1]; righteous rise to blessed life, 30[2] 54[15] 59[2]; unrighteous cast into fire, 54[14] 55[7] 59[2,10]. *In 1 Enoch*: 5[6–9] 10[16]–11[2] 27[4–6] 38[1]–39[8] 45[3–6] 46[4]–52[5] 53[6,7] 58, 61, 62, 69[26–29] 71[14–17] 90[38] 91[12–15]; doctrine of, 1En. § 11[(a)]; eternal, on earth, after final judgement, 1–36; temporary on earth, followed by final judgement, 91–104; eternal, on earth and in heaven, initiated by final judgement, 37–71. *In 4 Ezra*: ends in death of all for seven days, 4Ez. 7[29–31]; initiated by overthrow of Rome, 12[34]; initiated by revealing of Messiah and his immortal companions, 7[26–28]; lasts 400 years, 7[28]; no room for in 4Ez. 6[7–10]; placed in Palestine, 9[8]*n.* *In Jubilees*: immediately expected in Jub. §§ 1, 15, 1[29] 23[30,31]; limited to elect of Israel, 1[29]; ruled by a Levite, *see* Messiah; to be gradually realized on earth by an ethical and physical transformation, *see* Heaven, New. Then all sin and pain disappear. Men have long life—1,000 years, and after death, *spiritual* immortality; regarded as already set in, § 15, cf. 1En. 83–90; when set up, Satan no longer able to injure mankind, Jub. § 15, 23[29]; when at close, final judgement to be held, *see* Judgement. *In Sib. Or.*: § 8, 3[767–784] 5[414]; coming of, 3[46–62]; peace and plenty in, § 8, 5[260–285]; prophets take away sword in, 3[767–784]. *In Sirach*: hope of, Sir. 44[21] 45[25] 47[11,22] 48[10,24,25] 49[12] 50[24] 51[12 i–xvi]. *In Tobit*: on earth of pious, Tob. 14[7]. *In Wisdom*: view of, Wisd. § 9; saints rule in, Wisd. 3[8] 5[16],—teaching of O.T. absent from 2 Enoch, 2En. § 3; woes, 2Bar. 27[1]*n.* Jub. 23[11–25] 4Ez. § 10, 4[52] 5[13] 6[18–24]; and bliss, Sib. 3[489–808].
Metabedzaab, Jub. 38[23].
Methosalam, 2En. 56[1] &c. *See* Methuselah.
Methuselah, Jub. 4[20,27] 7[38] 1En. 76[14] 81[5] 82[1] 83[1,9] 85[2] 91[1,2] 106[1,4,8] 107[3] 2En. 1[1,10]; awaits return of Enoch, 38[1–3]; wishes to prepare food for Enoch, 56[1,2]; is bidden to summon his brethren, 57[1–3]; erects altar, 68[5].
Metonic cycle. *See* Cycle.
Micaiah the prophet, Mart. Is. 2[9]; son of Amada, 2[12,13,16].
Michael, A. & E. 13[2] 14[1,2] 15[2] 21[2] 22[2] 25[1] 28[3,4] 29[1] 41[1] 43[2] 45[1] 46[2] 48[1,4,6,7] 51[1] S. A. & E. 31[1] Apoc. Mos. 3[2] 13[2] 22[1] 37[4,6] 40[1] 43[1,2] 1En. 9[1] 10[11] 20[5] 24[6] 40[9] 54[6] 60[4,5] 67[12] 68[2,3,4] 69[14,15] 71[3,8,9,13] T.L. 5[6]*n.* T.D. 6[2] Test. *App.* I 8[4] 9[1,5] En. 22[6,8,9] 33[10] 3Bar. 11[2,4,6,7,8,9] 12[1,7,8] 13[2,3,5] 14[1,2] 15[1]; functions of, 3Bar. 11[2]*n.*; guardian of Israel, 'advocate of the Jews', Sir. 17[17]*n.*; holds keys of Kingdom of Heaven, 3Bar. 11[2]; leads Israel against foes, Ass. Mos. 10[2]: presents merits of righteous to God, 3Bar. 14[2]; receives prayers of men, 11[4]. *See* Angels, Archangels.
Michael, priest, 1Esd. 8[34].
Michmash, rival centre of government under Jonathan, 1Macc. 9[73]*n.*
Middle of earth = Jerusalem or Palestine, Test. *App.* I 8[1]. *See* Jerusalem, centre of earth.
Midian, Jub. 19[11] 38[19] 48[1]; children of, Judith 2[26].
Midianites, T.B. 10[10]; = asses, 1En. 89[13,16].
Midrash of the Law, Zad. 9[33].
Midrash Wajjissau, T.Jud. 3–9 *notes*.
Mighty, avoid quarrels with, Sir. 8[1]. *See* Rulers.
Migraim, Test. *App.* I 9[4].
Migration of the penitents (= Zadokites) from Judah to Damascus, Zad. 6[1] 8[6]; from Jerusalem, 9[46].
Milcah, wife of Levi, Test. *App.* II 62. *See* Melka.
Miletus, Sib. 5[325].
Milkiel, 1En. 89[13].
Millenarianism, 2Bar. 29[5].
Millennial day, Millennium, 2En. 33[1,2]*n.*
Minim = Christians, formula against, P.A. 3[16]*n.*
Miracle, Jews saved by, 3Macc. 2[21] 6[18].
Miriam, Jub. 47[4] 2Bar. 59[1].
Misael, 1Esd. 9[44].
Misael, Azar. 66. *See* Mishael.
Mishael, 4Macc. 13[9] 16[3,21] 18[12]. *See* Hananiah, Three Children.
Mishnah, the, P.A. § 1; origin and growth of, P.A. § 2.
Misur, Jub. 29[10].
Mithradates, treasurer of King Cyrus, 1Esd. 2[11].
Mithradates, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2[16].
Mitzvah, Sir. 8[9]*n.* *See also* Commandment.
Mizpeh in Gilead, 1Macc. 5[35].
Mizpeh, near Jerusalem, 1Macc. 3[46]
Mizraim, Jub. 7[13] 9[1] 10[30].
Moab, Judith 1[12] 5[2,22] 7[8] Jub. 37[6,10] 38[6]; field of, 38[19].
Moabites, 1Esd. 8[69].
Mochmur, Judith 7[18].
Modin, 1Macc. 2[1,15,23,70] 9[19] 13[25,30] 16[4] 2Macc. 13[14]; Maccabaean sepulchre at, 1Macc. § 4.
Moeth, 1Esd. 8[63].
Moloch, Jub. 30[10].
Momdis, 1Esd. 9[34].
Money, Tob. 4[1] 5[3,19]; love of, warnings against, T.Jud. 17[1] 18[2] 19[1,2].
Monotheism, Sib. Frag. 1[1–35]; Frag. 3[3–46] Sib. 3[11–16]. *See* God, titles of.
Month, 1En. 74[4,5]; first = Nisan (?), 1Macc. 9[3].
Months. *See* Ab, Adar, Dystrus, Epiphi, Pachon, Xanthicus, &c.
Mooli, 1Esd. 8[47] T.L. 12[3].
Moon, Sir. 43[6–8] 1En. 8[3] 41[5,7] 60[12] 69[20] 72[3] 72[37–74[17]] 75[3,6] 78[2–6] 80[1,4] 82[8] 83[11] 100[10]; course of the, 2En. 16[5–7] 3Bar. 9[1–8]; Feasts determined by, Sir. 43[7]; names of, 1En. 78[2]; punished, 3Bar. 9[7]; signs in, at last day, Ass. Mos. 10[5].
Moors, Sib. 3[516].
Moossias, 1Esd. 9[31].
Mordecai, day of, 2Macc. 15[36]; discovers eunuchs' plot, Add. Esth. A[12–17]; dream of, A[1–11], interpreted, F[1–8]; prayer of, C[1–10]. *See* Mardocheus.
Moses, 1Esd. 1[6,11] 5[49] 7[6,9] 8[3] 9[39]

2Macc. 1^{29} $2^{4,10,11}$ $7^{6,30}$ Tob. 1^{8} 6^{13} $7^{11,12sq.}$ Sir. 24^{23} 45^{1-5} $46^{1,7}$ Wisd. 10^{16} 1Bar. 1^{20} $2^{2,28}$ Jub. *Prologue*, $1^{1-4,19,22,27}$ 2^{1} 23^{32} 30^{11} $33^{13,18}$ 49^{22} Arist. 144 (*see* Lawgiver) Mart. Is. $3^{8,9}$ 1En. $89^{16-18,29-38}$ T.S. 9^{2} T.Z. 3^{4} Sib. 3^{253} Ass. Mos. $1^{1,4,5}$ 3^{11} $11^{1,2,4,14,17,19}$ $12^{1,2}$ 2Bar. 3^{9} 4^{5} 17^{4} 59^{1} $84^{2,5}$ 4Ez. $7^{106,129}$ 14^{3} 4Macc. 2^{17} 9^{2} 17^{19} 18^{18} P.A. 1^{1} Zad. 7^{19} 9^{23} 20^{7}; burial of, opposed by Satan, performed by Michael, Ass. Mos. § 2*n.*, twofold presentation of, after, § 2*n.*; 'Greatness of', relation of, to 2Enoch, 2En. § 4. *In Ass. Mos.*: intercessor for Israel in spiritual world, 12^{6}; mediator, 1^{14} 3^{12}; pre-existent, 1^{14}; unique relation of, to Judaism, § 9. *In 2 Bar.*: revelations made to Moses, 2Bar. 59^{4-11}; functions of Enoch transferred to, 2Bar. 59^{5-11}*n.* *In Jubilees*: receives tables of Law, and also a special revelation = Jubilees, on Mount Sinai, Jub. 1^{4}*sqq.*, and a revelation of Messianic bliss at the end of time, 1^{26}; regarded as taught by God the later as well as the earlier history, 1^{4}. *In Zad.*: and Aaron, 7^{19}; commandments of God through, 8^{2}; covenant that M. established with Israel, 19^{8}; delivered Israel, 7^{19}; Law of, $19^{2,9,11,14}$ 20^{2}; speak against M., 18^{10};—law of, 2Macc. 7^{30} Sus. 3, 62, &c.; other books of, Ass.Mos. § 3; song of, 2Macc. 7^{6} 4Macc. 18^{19}; Testament of, Ass.Mos. § 2.

Moses, Assumption of, account, §1; author, a Pharisaic Quietist, §8; bibliography, § 11; date, § 7; influence on N.T., § 10; not really Assumption, but Testament, of Moses, § 2; other books of Moses, § 3; theology, § 9; version, Latin from Greek, Greek from Hebrew, §§ 4, 5, 6; relation of, to 1Enoch, § 10(*a*).

Mosollamus, 1Esd. 8^{44}.

Mosollamus, 1Esd. 9^{14}.

Mother of the Maccabaean martyrs, 4Macc. 8^{3} 15^{14}*sq.*; speeches of, 12^{7} $16^{6,16}$ 18^{6}; death, 17^{1}.

Mount (Sinai), Jub. $1^{1,2,4}$; the, Jub. 4^{25}; of the East, Jub. 4^{26}; of the fathers, 4Macc. 4^{20}.

Mourners, duty to, Sir. 7^{34}.

Mourning for dead, Sir. 38^{16-23}.

Mouses, T.L. 12^{3}.

Mozarabic Psalter contains P. Man. § 13*n.* (text given).

Muak, Jub. 8^{6}.

Mualeleth, Jub. 4^{14}.

Muppim, Jub. 44^{25}.

Muratorian Fragment, Wisd. § 7; ? refers to Sirach, Sir. §8.

Murine, Sib. 3^{344}.

Mushai, Test. *App.* II 74.

Muzaloth, the eighth heaven, 2En. 21^{6}*n.*

Mycenae, Sib. 3^{347}.

Myndos, 1Macc. 15^{23}.

Myra in Lycia, Sib. 4^{109}.

Mysian commander, 2Macc. 5^{24}*n.*

Mysian(s), $3^{170,483,514}$.

Mysteries, Wisd. 2^{22} 6^{22} 14^{23} 1En. 7^{1} $8^{1,3}$ 16^{3} 106^{19}; syncretism of Greek philosophy and Hebrew religion among Alexandrian Jews, Wisd. 6^{22}*n.*

Mystery, 1En. 103^{2} 104^{10}; cult = secret sins, Wisd. 17^{3}*n.*

Naaman, son of Benjamin, Jub. 44^{25}.

Naathus, 1Esd. 9^{31}.

Nabarias, 1Esd. 9^{44}.

Nabataeans, 1Macc. 5^{25} 9^{35}.

Nabuchodonosor, i.e. Nebuchadnezzar, 1Esd. $1^{40,41,45,48}$. 2^{10} 5^{7} $6^{15,18,26}$ 1Bar. $1^{9,11,12}$ Ep. Jer. 2 Add.Esth. A^{3}. *In 1 Bar.* = Vespasian, 1Bar. § 7.

Nabusemakh, executioner, Ah. $4^{6,7\&c.}$ $5^{8,9,10}$ 7^{23} (Syr.).

Nabušumiškun, name of executioner in Papyrus of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 4^{1} *et passim* (II, p. 778).

Nadab, Tob. 11^{18} 14^{10}.

Nadabath, city, 1Macc. 9^{37}.

Nadan, adopted son of Aḥiḳar (Syr. and Arab.), Ah. 1^{6} *et passim.*

Nadin, adopted son of Aḥiḳar in Papyrus of Aḥiḳar, 1^{15} *et passim.*

Nahor, Jub. 11^{8} $12^{11,31}$ (II, p. 778) 19^{10}.

Nahum, prophet, Tob. 14^{4}.

Naidus, 1Esd. 9^{31}.

Name, called by the, Zad. 6^{2}; good name, P.A. 2^{8} 4^{17}; men, called by, Zad. $2^{9,10}$, numbered by their names, 17^{2}, recorded by, 17^{3}; of God, profaning of, Jub. 30^{16} P.A. 1^{11} 4^{5} 5^{11}, supernatural efficacy ascribed to, P.Man. § 8, 3; to profane, Zad. 19^{3}; to think upon, 9^{43}; to trust in, 9^{54}; of Heaven, P.A. $2^{2,16}$ $4^{5,14}$ 5^{20}; of the Lord, deny, 1En. 41^{2} 45^{2} 46^{7}; saved in, 48^{7}; swear by, 1Esd. 1^{48}; Holy, Sir. 50^{20}*n.* Wisd. 10^{20}; incommunicable, 14^{21}; of Messiah, Zad. 2^{10}; = person (of Enoch), 1En. 65^{12} $70^{1,2}$. *See* Righteous.

Names, 1En. 5^{6}; blotted out of book of life, 108^{3}; call by, 43^{1} 69^{21}; play on, T.S. 2^{2} T.L. 6^{1} $11^{2,5-6,7,8}$ T.Jud. 1^{3} T.Iss. 1^{15} 5^{8} T.Z. 1^{3} T.N. $1^{6,12}$ T.A. 1^{2} T.B. 1^{6}; written, 1En. 104^{1}.

Nanaea, temple of, 1Macc. 6^{2}*n.* 2Macc. 1^{13}*n.*^{14}.

Naphidim, sons of Watchers, Jub. 7^{22}.

Naphil, Jub. 7^{22}.

Naphisi, 1Esd. 5^{31}.

Naphtali, Tob. $1^{1,4}$ 7^{3} Jub. 28^{19} 33^{22} 38^{6} $44^{27,30}$ T.Jud. 25^{2} T.N. $1^{1,5,6}$ 9^{3} Test. *App.* I 1^{1} 10^{10}; Testament of, late Hebrew, *see* Appendix I to Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs.

Naphtha, Azar. 23. *See* Nephthai.

Narel, 1En. 82^{13}.

Nasi, 1Esd. 5^{32}.

Nathan, 1Esd. 8^{44}.

Nathan, Tob. 5^{14}.

Nathan, Sir. 47^{1}.

Nathan, adopted son of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 1^{6} *et passim* (Arm.).

Nathanael, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1^{9}.

Nathanael, 1Esd. 9^{22}.

Nathanael, Judith 8^{1}.

Nathanias, 1Esd. 9^{34}.

Natthaeus, Arist. 49.

Nations have angelic patrons, Sir. 17^{17}*n.*; three abhorred,—Seir, Philistia, and Sichem, Sir. $50^{25,26}$.

Natives, rank of (λαογραφία); 3Macc. 2^{28}*n.*

Natural phenomena, angels of, *see* Angels; obedience of, Ep. Jer. 61–63; personified under names of gods, Wisd. 13^{2}.

Nature, changes not, T.N. 3^{2}, cf. 1En. 2; God as Lord of, *see* Praise; on the side of the righteous, Wisd. 5^{17} 16^{17-24} (18^{24}) 19^{6}; worshipped, 13^{2}.

Nazarites, 1Macc. 3^{50}.

Nebaioth, Jub. 17^{14}.

Nebrod, Jub. 8^{7}.

Nebuchadnezzar, 1Esd. $1^{40,41,45,48}$ Tob. 14^{15} Judith § 6, $1^{1,5,7,11,12}$ $2^{1,4,19}$ $3^{2,8}$ 4^{1} $6^{3,4}$ $11^{1,4,7,23}$ 12^{13} 14^{18} 2Bar. 79^{1} 3Bar. 1^{1} Zad. 1^{5}; wild condition of, parallel to, in Ah. 5^{11}. *See also* Nabuchodonosor.

Nebuhal, servant of Aḥiḳar, Ah. 7^{27} (Arab.).

Nebuzardan, Nadan's younger brother, Ah. 3^{5} (Syr.). *See* Benuzardan, Boudan.

Neck, branding of, Ps.Sol. 2^{6}*n.*

Necromancy, Zad. 14^{5}.

Neelatamauk, city of Ham, Jub. $7^{14,17}$.

Negeb, the, Ps.Sol. 8^{2}.

Nehemiah, 1Esd. §§ 1, 4 iii., 5^{8} (*see* Nehemias) 2Macc. $1^{18,20,21,23,31,33,35}$ 2^{13} Sir. 49^{13} 1En. 89^{72}*n.*; memoirs of, 2Macc. 2^{13}; overshadowed by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1; praised, but no mention of Ezra, Sir. 49^{13}*n.*

Nehemiah, 1Esd. 5^{40}. *See* Attharias.

Nehemiah, an elder, Arist. 47.

Nehemias, 1Esd. 5^{8}. *See* Nehemiah.

Nehorai, P.A. 4^{18}.

Nehunia ben ha Kanah, P.A. 3^{7}.

Nekodan, 1Esd. 5^{37}.

Nemean flower, Sib. 5^{45}.

Nemesis, Sir. 27^{25-29}. *See* Reward.

Nephtalim, Tob. 1^{5}.

Nephthai or Nephthar = Naphtha, 2Macc. 1^{36}*n.*

†Neqael, 1En. 69^{2}.

Neriah, 1Bar. 1^{1} 2Bar. 1^{1} 78^{1}.

Nero, deeds and impieties of, Sib. $5^{28-34,137-152,203,218}$; redivivus, 3^{63}*n.* $4^{119-122,139}$ $5^{93-107,363-377}$, destroyed at gates of Jerusalem, 5^{108}.

Nestag, Jub. 119.

Net, Zad. $6^{7,10}$ 20^{11}; three nets of Belial, Zad. 6^{10}.

Netophas, 1Esd. 5^{18}.

New Covenant, Zad. 8^{15}. *See* Covenant.

New Creation, Wisd. 19^{6}. *See* Creation, Heaven, House.

New Jerusalem, Tob. 13^{7-18a}.

New Testament, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(*b*), § 11; parallels with Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 3 *e.*; relation of, to 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.

New world, 2Bar. 44^{12}.

Next of kin, Zad. 8^{18} 9^{17}.

Nicaea, Sib. 3^{343}.

Nicanor, 1Macc. 3^{38} 7^{26}*n.*^{31,32,33,39,43,44,47} 9^{1} 2Macc. $8^{9,10,12,14,23,24,34}$ 9^{3} $14^{12,14,15,17,18,23,26-28,30,37,39}$ $15^{1,6,26,28,30,32,33,35,37}$; son of Patroclus, 2Macc. 8^{9}; governor of Cyprus, 12^{2}; threatens Temple, 14^{33}; intrigues and threats of, 2Macc. 14^{1-46}; death of, 1Macc. 7^{43} 2Macc. 15^{28}.

Nicanor's day, 2Macc. § 1, 1Macc. 7^{49}*n.*

Nicanor, an Egyptian, Arist. 182.

Nicanor, = Seleucus N., 4Macc. 3^{20}.

Niiman, Jub. 34^{20}.

Nile, Sir. 24^{27} 39^{22} 47^{14} Arist. 116 Sib. 4^{74} $5^{56,92,484}$.

Nimrod the wicked, Test. *App.* I 9^{3}.

Nineveh, Tob. $1^{3,10,17,19,22}$ 2^{3} $11^{1,15sq.18}$ $14^{1,4,8,15}$ Judith $1^{1,16}$ 2^{21} Jub. 9^{3} Ah. 1^{1} $3^{8,9}$ &c. *See* Asorestan, Assyria, Athur.

Niphis, 1Esd. 5^{21}.

Nisan (month), 1Esd. 5^{6} Add. Esth. A^{1} (Nisa) Ah. $6^{13,14}$ (Syr.) $6^{22,26}$ (= April) &c. (Arab.).

Nisrin, a plain near Nineveh, Ah. $3^{8,9,11,14,15}$ (Arab.). *See* Eagles' Dale, Sis.

Nittai the Arbelite, P.A. $1^{6,7}$.

Noah, Tob. 4^{12} Sir. 44^{17} Wisd. 10^{4} Jub. $4^{28,33}$ $5^{5,19,21,22}$ $6^{2,10,15,18,24,27}$ $7^{1,8,10,16,19,20}$ $8^{4,8,9,11,18}$ 9^{14} $10^{1,2,10,12,13,15,32}$ 11^{2} 14^{20} $19^{24,27}$ 22^{13} 1En. 10^{2} $65^{1,2}$ 67^{1} 106^{13} 107^{3} T.B. 10^{6} Sib. 3^{824} 2En. 35^{1}*n.* 3Bar. 4^{15} 4Ez. 3^{11} 4Macc. 15^{31}; prays against demons, Jub. 10^{3-6}; sons of, Zad. 4^{1}; words of, Jub. 21^{10}.

Noah, book of, Test. *App.* II 57; Book of, = 1En. 6–11, 54^{7}–55^{2} 60, 65–69^{25} 106–107 1En. §§ 1, 6; date of fragments in 1 En. § 7.

Noam, Jub. 4^{13}.

Nobles of the people, Zad. $8^{5,9}$.

Noeba, 1Esd. 5^{31}.

Nooma, 1Esd. 9^{35}.

Note of hand, Tob. 5^{3}.

North, land of the = Damascus, Zad. 9^{4}.

Number, definite, of created, 2Bar. 23^{4-5}*n.*; of Kasbeel, 1En. 69^{13}; of mankind, 2Bar. 21^{10} $23^{4,5}$; of righteous, 1En. 47^{4} 4Ez. 4^{36}*n.*, cf. 2Bar. 21^{10} 48^{46}; of stars, 1En. 93^{14}; of those who pass away, cared for, 2Bar. 48^{6}; without number—angels, 1En. 71^{9}, cf. 71^{8}; days of holy, 58^{3}; fountain of righteous, 65^{12}; times, 108^{13}; weeks, 91^{17}.

Numbers used for names (number = value of initial letter of name), Sib. 5^{12} &c.

Numenius, son of Antiochus,

1Macc. § 7iii(*c*) 12^{16} $14^{22,24}$ 15^{15}.
Nun. *See* Joshua.

Oabdius, 1Esd. 9^{27}.
Oak, the, 2Bar. $6^{1}n.$ 77^{13}; where Ezra received inspiration, 4Ez. $14^{1}n.$
Oath, 1En. $69^{13-21,25}$ Zad. 9^{23} 10^{6} 19^{1}; binding, 20^{5}; of the covenant, $19^{6,8}$; of cursing, 10^{7}; of the woman, disallowing of, 20^{7}.
Oaths, false, Wisd. 14^{29}.
Obdia, 1Esd. 5^{38}.
Obedience to Law and Rabbis enforced, 2Bar. 46^{5}.
Obeth, 1Esd. 8^{32}.
Ocean, Sib. 3^{223} $5^{26,530}$; stream, 1En. $17^{5}n.$
Ochielus, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1^{9}.
Ocidelus, 1Esd. 9^{22}.
Ocina, Judith 2^{28}.
Odoarres. *See* Odomera.
Odomera, 1Macc. 9^{66}.
Offering, none offered for three thousand years in Sion, 4Ez. 10^{45}.
Offerings, Sir. 7^{31}. *See* Sacrifice.
Office, Zad. §4 [2^{8}] 6^{3} 9^{32}.
Officials, titles of, at Philopator's court, 3Macc. $5^{1,14}$ 6^{30} 7^{1}.
Ohad, Jub. 44^{13}.
Oil, given by Michael to angels with full baskets, 3Bar. 15^{2}; holy, T.L. 8^{4}; of fragrance, Apoc.Mos. 40^{2}; life, A. & E. 36^{2}; mercy, A. & E. 40^{1}; of mercy *or* of glory, 2En. $22^{8,9}$ 56^{2}.
Ointment, sweet, 2En. 22^{8}, cf. Apoc. Mos. 9^{3} 13^{1}.
Olamus, 1Esd. 9^{30}.
Old age, Wisd. 4^{8}. *See* Aged.
Old Testament, attitude of Zadokites to, Zad. §8; relation of Tobit to, Tob. §8 iv.
Olives, Mount of, T.N. 5^{1}.
Onan, T.Jud. 10^{4} Jub. $41^{4,5}$ 44^{34}.
Onias I, high priest, 1Macc. $12^{7}n.^{8,21}$. *See* Spartans.
Onias III, high priest, 2Macc. $3^{1,5,31,33,35}$ $4^{1,3,33,34,35,36,38}$ $15^{12,14}$; killed, 4^{35}; Judas sees in vision, 15^{12-14} 1En. $90^{8}n.$ 4Macc. $4^{1,13,15}$.
Onias IV, temple of, at Heliopolis, Sib. $5^{501}n.$
Onus, 1Esd. 5^{22}.
Onyx, Sir. $24^{15}n.$
Ophannim, 1En. 61^{10} 71^{7} 2En. $29^{3}(\beta)$.
Ophir, gold of, Sir. 7^{18} 2Bar. 10^{19}.
Opportunity, judgement according to. *See* Judgement.
Oppressed, cry of, God hears, Sir. 35^{12-20} (35^{14-26}). *See* Poor.
Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum, Mart.Is. §§5, 6, $1-2^{1}n.$; uses Testaments, T.Jud. 10^{1}.
Ora, Jub. 11^{1}.
Oracle of God, Arist. 97.
Oral. *See* Tradition.
Orders of Angels. *See* Angels.
Ordinances, Zad. 8^{21} 9^{1}; (or Foundations) of the covenant, 11^{2}; of the Gentiles, 10^{1}.
Orgies, heathen, Wisd. 12^{5} 14^{23}.
Origen, Sir. § 8 T.R. $2^{1}n.$ 1En. $10(c)$ $19^{3}n.$; Hexapla of, 1Esdras in, 1Esd. § 2.
Original sin, in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, 2Bar. $18^{2}n.$ $23^{4}n.$ $54^{15}n.$ 4Ez. 3^{20}. *See* Evil, Free-will, Inclination.
Orioch, an angel, 2En. 33^{11}(B).
Orion, Sib. $5^{520,524}$.
Orjares, 1En. 78^{1}.
Ornaments, wearing of, forbidden, T.R. 5^{5}, cf. 1En. 8^{1}.
Ornias, Arist. 47.
Orphans and widows, care of, Tob. 1^{8} Sir. 4^{10}, cf. Zad. 18^{5}.
Orthosia, 1Macc. 15^{37}.
Osaias, 1Esd. 8^{48}.
Ostanim, shining station of, 2En. 20^{1}(B). *See* Ioanit.
Othonias, 1Esd. 9^{28}.
Ouranos, Sib. 3^{111}.
Overcometh, he that, 4Ez. $7^{115,128}$, cf. 'Contest', 7^{127}.
Overthrow, i.e. Babel, Jub. 10^{26} 12^{25}.
Ox, son of Joseph, Judith 8^{1}.
Oxus, 1En. $77^{1}n.$
Oxyrhynchus Greek Fragment of 2 Baruch, given in 2Bar. 12^{1}–14^{3}.
Ozeel, T.L. 12^{2}.
Ozias, 1Esd. 5^{31}.
Ozias, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Ozias, son of Micah, a Simeonite, ruler of Bethulia, Judith $6^{15,16,21}$ $7^{23,30}$ $8^{9,11,28,35}$ 10^{6} 13^{18} 14^{6} 15^{4}.
Oziel, Judith 8^{1}.

Pachon, month, 3Macc. 6^{38}.
Painting, suggested by the martyrdoms, 4Macc. 17^{7}.
Palaea Historica of Vassiliev, Ass. Mos. § 2.
Palestine, description of, Arist. 107–120; = Eternal Land, Sib. 5^{41}. *See* Holy Land.
Pallu, Jub. 44^{12}.
Pamphylia, 1Macc. 15^{23}.
Pamphylians, Sib. $3^{169,209,515}$ $5^{340,460}$.
Pandonia, Sib. 3^{343}.
Paphos, Sib. 4^{128}.
Papyri, 3Macc. §§ 1, 4. Arist. $12n.$
Papyrus, Aramaic, of Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 4 (II p. 777*sq.*).
Parable, 1En. $1^{2,3}$ 38^{1} 43^{4} 45^{1} 57^{3} 58^{1} 60^{1} 68^{1} 69^{29}.
Parables, the, 1En. 37–71; first, 38^{1}; second, 45^{1}; third, 58^{1}; the Book of, 68^{1}.
Parables, Sir. $47^{17}n.$ Ah. 8^{1-41}; and proverbs, Sir. $39^{2,3}$; of N.T., parallels to in Aḥiḳar, *see* Fig-tree, Prodigal Son, Unfaithful Steward; of wicked servant and unfruitful fig-tree, relation of to Tobit and Ahikar, Tob. § 11 B i.
Paradise, A. & E. 1^{1} $3^{1,2}$ 4^{1} 9^{4} 10^{4} $25^{1,3}$ 28^{3} 31^{1} 32^{1} 36^{1} 37^{1} 40^{1} 48^{6} S.A. & E. 31^{2} 33^{3} Apoc. Mos. 1^{1} 6^{2} 9^{3} 13^{1} 15^{2} 16^{3} $17^{1,3,5}$ $22^{2,3}$ 26^{3} 27^{1} 28^{1} 29^{1-4} 37^{5} $40^{2,7}$ 42^{3} 1En. 20^{7} Sib. Frag. 3^{48} 2Bar. $4^{3,6}$ 59^{8} 4Ez. 3^{6} $4^{7,8}$ $7^{36,123}$ 8^{52}; the earthly, 2En. $8^{5}n.^{6}$(A) $8^{1,3,8}$(B); = Garden of Eden, earthly, created before world, 4Ez. $3^{6}n.$; heavenly, 2En. $8^{1-4,5}n.$ 42^{3} 65^{10} 4Ez. $4^{7,8}$ 7^{123} $8^{20}n.^{52}n.$; of delight, 7^{36}, *see* Refreshment; opened for the righteous, 8^{52}; its unfailing table, $9^{19}n.$; in third heaven, Apoc. Mos. 40^{2} 2En. 8^{1-4}; of the Lord = trees of life = His pious ones, Ps.Sol. 14^{2}; of righteousness, A. & E. 25^{3}; to be opened to righteous, T.L. 18^{10}; of vision, A. & E. 28^{3}.
Paran, wilderness of, Jub. 17^{12} 20^{12}.
Pardon (of God only), Zad. 2^{3} 5^{5} $6^{4,6}$ 9^{54} 18^{8}.
Parents and children, 4Macc. 13^{19} 14^{13} $15^{1}sq.$ 16^{6}; duty to, Sir. $7^{27,28}$.
Paronomasiae in 2 Baruch, 2Bar. § 6^{3}. *See* Names, play on.
Parthian land, Sib. 4^{124}.
Parthians, Sib. 5^{438}; and Medes, 1En. 56^{5}.
Party. *See* Pharisees, Sadducees, Zadokite Party.
Passions, 4Macc. $1^{3}sq.$; classified, $1^{20}n.$ $2^{15}sq.^{20}n.$
Passover, 1Esd. 1^{1-22} (*see* Josiah) Wisd. 18^{9}; regulations regarding, Jub. 49^{1-23}; wine drunk at, $49^{6}n.$; time of sacrifice, $49^{12}n.$
Patara, Sib. 3^{441} 4^{112}.
Path to future life, narrow and difficult, 4Ez. 7^{1-9}. *See* Ways.
Patheus, 1Esd. 9^{23}.
Paths, good, 1En. 91^{4}; of death, 94^{4}; peace, 94^{4}; righteousness, Jub. 1^{20} 1En. $91^{18,19}$ 92^{3} 94^{1} 99^{10} Zad. 1^{11}, *see* Ways; unrighteousness, 1En. 91^{19} 94^{1}; uprightness, 91^{14} 104^{13} 105^{2}; violence, $91^{18,19}$; wickedness, 94^{3}.
Patience, T.Jos. 2^{7} $10^{1,2}$.
Patriarchs, immortal life of, 4Macc. 7^{19} 13^{17} 16^{25} 18^{23}.
Patristic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § $10(c)$.
Patroclus. *See* Nicanor.
Pattern, heavenly. *See* Heavenly.
Paul, Saint, referred to (?), T.B. $11^{1,2}n.$; relation of, to Wisdom, Wisd. §§ 5, 8.
Paul, Apocalypse of, relation of to 3 Baruch, 3Bar. § 5; uses 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.
Peace, 1En. $5^{7,9}$ 10^{17} 11^{2} 58^{4} $71^{15,17}$ 92^{1} P.A. $1^{12,18}$ 3^{2}; no peace, 1En. 1^{8} 5^{4} 11^{2} 12^{6} 13^{1} 16^{4} 94^{6} $98^{11,15}$ 99^{13} 101^{3} 102^{3} 103^{8}.
Pedias, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Peleg, Jub. 8^{8} 10^{18}. *See* Phaleg.
†Peleg, house of, Zad. 9^{46}.
Peleus, Sib. 3^{427}.
Pella, Sib. 5^{4}.
Peneius, Sib. 3^{146} 5^{135}.
Penemue, 1En. 69^{8}.
Penitence, 1Bar. *passim*; a sacrifice, Azar. 16, 17.
Penitent, respect for, Sir. 8^{5}.
Penitents of Israel (= Zadokites), Zad. 6^{1} 8^{6} 9^{24}; all called princes, 8^{6}; leave Judah, 6^{1} 8^{6}; sojourn in Damascus, 8^{6}. *See* Repent.
Pentapolis = cities of plain, Sib. 5^{196}; = Cyrenaica, Wisd. 10^{6}.
Pentecost, feast of, 2Macc. 12^{32} Tob. 2^{1}. *See* Feast of Weeks.
Pentephri, T.Jos. 12^{1} $13^{1,3,4,5}$ 15^{6}.
Perez, Jub. 41^{21} 44^{15}.
Perfection of holiness, walk in, Zad. 8^{21}; men of, $9^{30,32,33}$.
Pergamus, Sib. 5^{119}.
Period, Zad. § 4, $1^{5}n.$ [2^{8}] $6^{3,5,7}$ 8^{1} [9^{40}] 9^{48}; of the destruction of the land, 8^{1}; of the visitation, $9^{10,11}$; of the wickedness (i. e. till Messiah arises), § 10 iv, $8^{9,12}$ 15^{4} 19^{7}; [of the wrath, 1^{5}].
Periods. *See* Hours.
Perizzite, Judith 5^{16}.
Perizzites, Jub. 14^{18} 30^{25} 1Esd. 8^{69}.
Perjury, Wisd. 14^{29}. *See* Oaths.
Persecution, of Jews by Antiochus, 4Macc. $4^{23}sq.$: of the righteous, Wisd. 2^{10}. *See* Antiochus Epiphanes.
Persepolis, city, 2Macc. 9^{2}.
Perseus, of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8^{5}.
Persia, 1Esd. $3^{1,9,14}$ 5^{6} 8^{80} 1Macc. 3^{31} $6^{1,5}$ (and Media 6^{56}) 14^{2} 2Macc. $1^{12,19}$ $9^{1,21}$ Judith 1^{7} Sib. 3^{449} Ah. 3^{7} (Arab., Syr.).
Persian, Add. Esth. E^{10} Bel 1 Arist. 13 Sib. $5^{93,113,247}$; rule, Arist. 119, 120.
Persians, 1Esd. 1^{57} $2^{1,2,3,11,16,30}$ $5^{55,71}$ 7^{4} 8^{1} 2Macc. 1^{33} Judith 16^{10} Add. Esth. $E^{14,23}$ Arist. 35 T.N. 5^{8} Sib. $3^{159,169,207,291}$ $4^{62,63,65,87}$ $5^{22,101,116,147,441}$ 4Macc. 18^{5}; and Medes, 1Macc. 1^{1} &c.
Pessimism, 4Ez. § 10, $3^{20}n.$ 4^{27} 7^{12} 9^{36}; of 2 Baruch B^{2} B^{3}, 2Bar. § 10.
Pestilence, Ps. Sol. $7^{4}n.$ 15^{8}.
Petasus, use of, 2Macc. 4^{12}.
Peter, Apocalypse of, 1En. $106^{10}n.$
Phaath Moab, 1Esd. 5^{11} 8^{31}.
Phacareth, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Phaisur, 1Esd. 9^{22}.
Phakorites, Jub. 14^{18}.
Phalaris, 3Macc. $5^{20,42}$.
Phaldeus, 1Esd. 9^{44}.
Phaleas, 1Esd. 5^{29}.
Phaleg = Peleg, Test. *App.* I 8^{3}.
Phalerum, Arist. 9.
Phalias, 1Esd. 9^{48}.
Phaltiel, captain of the people, 4Ez. 5^{16}.
†Phamael = Phanuel, angel, 3Bar. 2^{5}.
Phanuel (only in Parables), 1En. 40^{9} 54^{6} $71^{8,9,13}$, *see* Angels, Archangels: = Ramiel(?), 3Bar. $2^{5}n.$
Pharakim, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Pharaoh, 1Macc. 4^{9} 3Macc. 2^{6} 6^{4} Sir. 16^{15} Jub. $13^{13,15}$ 34^{11} $39^{2,14,17,18}$ $40^{1,3-6,8,9,11}$ 41^{22} $43^{19,21}$ $45^{6,8}$ 46^{14} $47^{2,5,9}$ $48^{4,9}$ 49^{2} T.Z. 3^{6} T.Jos. 2^{1} 8^{4} 13^{5}; daughter of, Jub. $47^{5,9}$; (= Neco) fights with Josiah at Megiddo, 1Esd. 1^{25}.
Pharathon, city, 1Macc. 9^{50}.
Phares, 1Esd. 5^{5}.
Pharida, 1Esd. 5^{33}.
Pharisaic affinities of, 2Macc. § 5; exclusiveness, 1En. 97^{4}

104[6]; insertions in Sirach, Sir. § 4; Quietist, early type of = Chasid, Ass. Mos. § 1; recension of Sirach, Sir. § 4; teaching of Judith, Judith § 9; —Law, strict observance, Sabbath and new moon and eves kept, fasting (8[5,6]), tithings, future life, § 9.

Pharisaism, Apocalyptic or spiritual side of, directed its studies to the Prophets, Zad. §§ 8, 9.

Pharisees, attacked in *Zad. Frag.* §§ 2, 9, 10, 12; as a party, § 5, *see* Zadokite Party; = builders of the wall, § 9[4o], *see* Wall; = they that remove the landmark, § 12, *see* Landmark; breach of with John Hyrcanus, Test. §§ 1, 10; = 'children of heaven', 1En. 101[1]; positive work of, Sir. § 4; referred to, 2Bar. 42[5]*n.*; religious and literary strife with the Sadducees or Hellenistic party, 1En. 98[15]*n.* 102[4]-104[13]; = righteous in Ps.Sol. § 5; struggle of against Jannaeus, Sus. § 7; varying relations with the Maccabees, *see* Chasidim; views of, are reflected in Test. § 11; watchwords of almsgiving, repentance and prayer, Sir. § 4 (I, p. 283).

Pharnak, Jub. 9[2].

(Pharos, Arist. 301.)

Phaselis, 1Macc. 15[23].

Phasiron, children of, 1Macc. 9[66].

Phassurus, 1Esd. 5[25].

Pherezites, 1Esd. 8[69]. *See* Perizzites.

Phicol, Jub. 24[26].

Philadelphus II, Arist. 115*n.*

Philip, bosom friend of Antiochus, 2Macc. 9[29]; chancellor in Antioch, 13[23] (? 1Macc. 6[55]); courtier ('Friend') of Antiochus, 1Macc. 6[14,55,63].

Philip the Macedonian, 1Macc. 1[1].

Philip V of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8[5].

Philip, a Phrygian, 2Macc. 5[22]; governor of Jerusalem, 6[1] 8[8].

Philip, Sib. 5[6].

Philistia, Jub. 37[6,10]; abhorred, Sir. 50[26].

Philistines, 1Macc. 3[24,41] 4[22,30] 5[66,68] Sir. 46[18] 47[7] Jub. 24[8,14,15,16,18,25,28] 38[7] (*see* Caphtorim) 4Macc. 3[7]; = dogs in, 1En. 89[42-49]; fierce hatred of, in Maccabaean wars, Jub. 24[28-32]*n.*; final rooting out, and punishment in Sheol of, 24[28-32].

Philo, and 3 Macc., 3Macc. § 4; quoted, Wisd. 19[18]*n.* 2Bar. 21[4]*n.*; relation of, to Letter of Aristeas, Arist. § 9; to Wisdom, Wisd. §§ 5, 7; views of, 2En. 23[5]*n.* 24[2]*n.* 30[8]*n.*

Philocrates, Arist. 1, 120, 171, 295, 322.

Philopator. *See* Ptolemy IV.

Philosophy, 4Macc. 1[1] 5[4]*sq.* 7[7,21].

Phineas, the zealous priest, 4Macc. 18[12]. *See* Phinehas, Phinees.

Phinees, i.e. Phinehas, 1Esd. 5[5] 8[2,28].

Phinees, a priest, 1Esd. 8[63].

Phinehas, son of Eleazar, Sir. 45[23] 50[24] 1Macc. 2[26,54]; obtained covenant of everlasting priesthood, Sir. 50[24] 1Macc. 2[54]. *See* Phineas.

Phinoe, 1Esd. 5[31].

Phoebus, Sib. 4[4] 5[324,326].

Phoenice, Sib. 5[125].

Phoenicia, 1Esd. 2[17,24,25,27] 4[48] 6[3,7,27,29] 7[1] 8[19,23,67] 2Macc. 3[5,8] 4[4,22] 8[8] 10[11] 3Macc. 3[15] Arist. 12, 22 Ass. Mos. 1[3] Sib. 5[456] 4Macc. 4[2]. *See* Coelesyria, Syria.

Phoenicians, Sib. 3[168,492,597].

Phoenix, belief in, 3Bar. 6[4]*n.*[10] 7[5].

Phoenixes, 2En. 12[1]*n.* 15[1] 19[6].

Phogor, Tob. 1[2].

Phoros, 1Esd. 5[9] 8[30] 9[26].

Phrurai, i.e. Purim (?), Add. Esth. F[11].

Phrygia, Sib. 3[140,401,407].

Phrygians, Sib. 3[169,205,514] 4[71] 5[130].

Phua, Jub. 44[16].

Phylarches, 2Macc. 8[32].

Physcon stories, 3Macc. § 5.

Physician, Sir. 10[10] 18[19]; ordained by God to be resorted to in sickness, Sir. 38[1-15].

Physicians, Tob. 2[10].

Pious, Ps.Sol. 3[10] 4[1,7,9] 8[28,40] 9[6] 10[7] 12[5,8] 13[9,11] 14[2,7] 15[9] 17[18].

Pirkē Aboth, account, short, P.A. § 1; bibliography, § 6; historical and critical account, § 2; influence on later literature, § 4; MSS., § 3; theology, § 5; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7(*b*).

Pisces, Sib. 5[523].

Pisidians, Sib. 5[340].

Pison, Sir. 24[25].

Pit, Ps.Sol. 16[1]*n.* (*see* Destruction) Sir. 4[10] 9[9] 48[6] 51[2], *see* Hades, Sheol; children of, *see* Children; snares of, Zad. 16[12]; of destruction, P.A. 5[22]; of Hades, Sir. 21[10]; of torment, 4Ez. 7[36]. *See* Gehenna.

Pitane, Sib. 5[120].

Pithom, Jub. 46[14]. *See also* Python.

Place. *See* High, Holy.

Place prepared for repose of each soul, 2En. 49[2]. *See* Chambers.

Planets, 2En. 27[3] 30[3]*n.*

Plant (= Israel or the righteous), of righteousness and truth, 1En. 10[15]*n.*; of righteousness, 93[5], = Israel, Jub. 16[26]*n.* 36[6]; of righteousness, the eternal, 1En. 93[10]; of righteous judgement, 93[5]; of uprightness, 93[2], = Israel, Jub. 1[16]; of the eternal seed, 1En. 84[6].

Planting of pious, rooted for ever, Ps.Sol. 14[3]; root of God's (= Zadokites), Zad. 1[5].

Platonism, influence of, in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9.

Pleiad, Sib. 5[522].

Pluto, Sib. 3[143].

Political problems, Arist. § 6, 5.

Pollute, one's holy spirit, Zad. 7[12], cf. 8[20]; sanctuary, 7[8] 9[48], cf. 6[11]; wealth, 8[12].

Pollution, of holy things, i.e. Temple, Ps.Sol. 1[8] 2[3] 8[13]; of the nations, 1Esd. 1[49]; of the sacrifices, T.L. 16[1]*n.*

Polybius, relation of 3 Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5.

Polygamy denounced, Zad. 7[1-4].

Pompey, Zad. § 6; invades Judaea, 1Bar. § 7; the foreign conqueror in Ps.Sol. § 5; alien, 1-7[9]; boasting of, 2[33-35]; comes from West, 17[14]; desecrates Temple, 2[2] 7[2]; enters Jerusalem in peace, 8[18-20]; lawless one, 17[13]; slain dishonourably in Egypt, 2[30]*sqq.*; the insolent one, 2[30]; = the dragon, 2[29].

Poor and oppressed, right conduct towards, Sir. 4[1-10]; anxieties of, 31 (34)[1-4]; cannot associate with rich, 13[18-20]; duty to, Sir. 7[32,33]; how treated by world, 13[21-23]; of the flock = they that give heed to God, Zad. 9[10](*β*); robbery of, Zad. 8[13], brings pestilence, P.A. 5[12]; strengthen hand of (almsgiving), Zad. 8[17] 18[3].

Portents in Nature, signs of the end, 4Ez. 5[4-9] 6[21,22].

Porters at temple-gates, 1Esd. 1[16].

Poseidon, Sib. 3[142] 5[157]. *See* Thunderer.

Posidonius, 2Macc. 14[19].

Potiphar, Jub. 34[11] 39[2] 40[10] 44[24].

Potter and clay, T.N. 2[2-4].

Power, angels of. *See* Angels.

Powers, of heaven, 1En. 82[8]; on earth, 61[10]; over water, 61[10].

Powers = angels, 3Bar. 1[8]*n.*; of the Lord, Azar. 39.

Praise of Fathers of old, *see* Fathers; of God, *see* God; of Simeon, high priest, son of Jochanan, Sir. 49[15b]-50[24]; of wisdom, Sir. 24[1-34], *see* Wisdom.

Pravuil, an archangel, 2En. 22[11,12](A) 23[2]. *See* Vretil.

Prayer, Tob. § 10 B (2) 3[16] 12[8] Sir. 51[1-12] Arist. 196-197 P.A. 2[17]; almsgiving and fasting, Tob. § 10 B(2); and fasting, T.Jos. 3[4] 4[8] 10[1,2] T.B. 1[4]; at dawn, Wisd. 16[28]; for deliverance, 3Macc. 5[6]*sq.* 6[1]*sq.*; for Israel, a, Sir. 36[1-17] (33[1-13a] 36[16b-22]); for sanctity of Temple, 3Macc. 2*sq.*; for sins, Sir. 21[1]; hours of, 2En. 51[4]; memorial of, Tob. 12[12]; need of, in all things, Sir. 37[15]; of Ezra, *see* Confessio Esdrae; of the poor, efficacy of, Sir. 35[14-17]; of righteous, 1En. 47[1,2,4] 97[3,5] 99[3] Zad. 14[1], heard by God, Ps. Sol. 6[8]; prominence of, *in Test. XII Patr.*; Jacob's, for Reuben, T.R. 1[7] 4[4]; Judah, T.Jud. 19[2]; Gad, T.G. 5[9]; Benjamin, T.B. 10[1]; ten eldest sons, T.B. 3[6]; Levi's, T.N. 6[8]; Rachel's, T.B. 1[4]; Simeon's, T.S. 2[13]; Simeon's mother's, T.S. 2[2]; Joseph's, T.Jos. 3[3] 6[7] 7[4] 8[1].

Prayer of Manasses, date of composition, § 6; description, § 1; history, literary, of, § 3; language, original, of, § 7; MSS., Latin, of, § 13*n.*; origin of, § 2; preservation, § 4; summary, § 13; text, § 12; theology, § 8; title, § 5; versions of, §§ 9, 10, 11, 13—English, § 13; Greek and Latin, § 9; other, § 11, Syriac, § 10.

Prayers, for dead, 2Macc. 12[42,43]*n.*; of Judith, Judith 9[2-14] 13[7]; of men, received by Michael, 3Bar. 11[4].

Precept, P.A. 2[1] 4[2,13]; reward of, P.A. 2[1,2,18,20] 3[4] 4[2].

Precepts, on right-doing, Sir. 4[20-28]; for everyday life, 4[29]-5[3], *see* Duty; for conduct, 7[11-17].

Predestination, Sir. 33 (36)[7-15] Ass. Mos. 1[13,14] 12[13] (*see* Pre-existence) 2En. 49[2] 50[1] (*see* Man, works of) Zad. §§ 9[4o] 13, 2[6,10], *see* Election; and Free-will in Judaism, 2Bar. 54[15,19]*n.*; *in 4 Ezra*, of duration of age and time of end, 4[33-43] 6[1-6]; of harvest of evil, 4[28-31]; of number of righteous, *see* Number; Judgement, 7[70].

Pre-existence, Wisd. 8[19]*n.*; heavenly, of Messiah, 4Ez. 13[26]*n.* 1En. 48[2], *see* Messiah; of Moses, Ass. Mos. 1[14]*n.*; of souls, 2En. 23[5]*n.*, *see* Souls.

Preferences, God's, in Man and Nature, Sir. 33[7-15]. *See* Predestination.

Pre-Maccabaean elements in 1 Enoch, 1En. § 1; high priests, Ass. Mos. 5[3,4]*n.*

Preparedness, need of, Sir. 18[19-26]. *See* Foresight, Forethought.

Presence, angels of, *see* Angels; presences, the four, 1En. 40[1-8], *see* Angels.

Present, enjoy the, Sir. 14[14-16]

Presumptuously, acting, Sir. 3[16].

Priam, Sib. 3[427].

Pride, ruinous in rulers, Sir. 10[6-18].

Priest, Zad. 15[5,7] 17[5]; confess to, 10[8]; duty to, Sir. 7[29-31]; of God, purity required in, Ah. 2[63] (Syr. A); of Most High God, title claimed by Maccabaean high priests, Jub. 32[1] Ass. Mos. 6[1].

Priesthood, above the kingdom, T.Jud. 21[3,4]; robes, staff, diadem, anointing, &c. of, T.L. 8[2-10]; rules of, Test. *App.* II 15-57—purity, 16-22, 53-55; wood for sacrifice, 23-25; sacrifice, method of, 25-47; salt, 26, 29, 37, 52. *See* Melchizedek.

Priests, Jewish, in Egypt, 3Macc. 6[1] 7[13].

Prince, Zad. 7[4]; no prince, 9[40]; of all the congregation = the sceptre, 9[9]; of lights, *see* Lights.

Princes = the penitents of Israel, Zad. 8[5]; digged a well, 8[5]; of Judah, 9[13]*n.*, *see* 8[6]; of old,

i. e. angels, who fell, Sir. 16^{7}. *See* Giants.
Prodigal Son, parable of, parallel phrasing in Ah. 8^{24} (Arm.).
Profane. *See* Holy, Name, Sabbath, Sanctnary.
Profane man, Ps.Sol. $4^{1}n$. *See* Pollution.
Property, lost, law as to, Zad. 10^{7-9}; of camp, 10^{7}.
Prophecy, Sir. $24^{33}n$.; of heaven, T.B. 3^{8}; of Moses in Deuteronomy, Ass. Mos. 1^{5}.
Prophesy a lie, Zad. 8^{2}.
Prophet, Zad. 5^{6} 6^{9} 9^{2}, *see* Ezekiel, Isaiah, Zechariah; expected, to decide on polluted altar, 1 Macc. 4^{46}; Messianic, T.B. 9^{2}; no longer any, implied in 1Macc. $9^{27}n$.; of God, the, = Moses, Ass.Mos. 11^{16}; of the Most High, i. e. John Hyrcanus, T.L. 8^{15}.
Prophets, 1En. 108^{6} P.A. 1^{1}; books of = Chiun your images, Zad. 9^{7}, ten times quoted in Zad. §§ 8, 9^{30}, 10, *see* Halachoth, Law and Prophets; Job among, Sir. $49^{9}n$.; made by Wisdom, Wisd. $7^{27}n$.; shall take away sword, be judges, Sib. 3^{781}; the Twelve, Sir. 49^{10}. *See* Law and Prophets.
Prophets, works of, pulled down, 1Macc. 9^{54}.
Propitiation = forgiveness, Sir. $18^{20}n$.
Propontis, Sib. 3^{442}.
Proselyte, Zad. 17^{3}.
Proselytes, Tob. 1^{8} 2Bar. $41^{4}n$. 42^{5} 48^{19}.
Proselytizing, 2Bar. 1^{4}.
Proseuche, place of prayer, in Egypt, 3Macc. 7^{20}.
Prosperity of wicked, Sir. 11^{18-22}.
Proverbs, the Book of, relation of to Wisdom, Wisd. § 5; of Ahikar, Ah. 2^{1-105}; various, Sir. 8^{8} 13^{24}–14^{2} 18^{29}.
Providence, Arist. 201. *See* God, titles of.
Provinces, one hundred and twenty-seven, Add.Esth. $B^{1}n$.
Prudence, evil sort of, Sir. 19^{23}.
Psalms of Solomon, account, short, § 1; character, § 5; date, § 5; MSS., Greek, § 2; origin, § 5; original language, Hebrew, § 4; references to, § 5; relation of Ps. Sol. 11 to 1 Bar. 4^{36}–5^{9}, 1Bar. § 6; Syriac version, from Greek, § 3.
Psalter, Canticles appended to contain P.Man., P. Man. § 4.
Psammetichus, Arist. 13.
Pseudepigrapha, 1En. § 1; implied in Zad. Frag. 9^{28} (A), (Jeremiah's word to Baruch, Elisha's to Gehazi); recognized largely until A.D. 70, Zad. § 8.
Pseudo-Cyprian, 1En. $1^{9}n$.
Pseudonymous publication, 1En. § 1.
Psychology, Arist. § 4 (6), 155–156, 160, 213–216, *see* Heart, Inclination, Senses; heart be changed and converted to a different spirit, 4Ez. 6^{26}; of mind, sprung from dust, 7^{62}; mind grows with us, 7^{64}; heart and understanding, 8^{6}.
Ptolemaeus, Add.Esth. F^{11}. *See* Lysimachus.
Ptolemais, 1Macc. $5^{15,21,55}$ 10^{1}, $^{39,56-58,60}$ $11^{22,24}$ $12^{46,48}$ 13^{12} 2Macc. $13^{24,25}$ Arist. 116; 'at the harbour,' 3Macc. 7^{17}.
Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, Arist. 13, 14.
Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, Arist. 35, 41^{1} Arist. § 1.
Ptolemy IV, Sir. $10^{9-11}n$. 3Macc. §§ 1, 5, $1^{1}n$. *et passim*.
Ptolemy VI, Philometor, 1Macc. 1^{18} $10^{51}n$.^{55,57} (11^{1}) $11^{3,8,13,15-18}$ 2Macc. 4^{21} 9^{29} 10^{13} Sib. $3^{192}n$. $^{316}n^{388-400}n^{608}n$. 4Macc. 4^{22}.
Ptolemy VII, Energetes II Physcon, 1Macc. 15^{16}.
Ptolemy, king. *See* Aristobulus.
Ptolemy VIII (Lathyrus) and Cleopatra, Add.Esth. $F^{11}n$.
Ptolemy Macron, son of Dorymenes, 1Macc. $3^{38}n$. 2Macc. $4^{45,46}$ 6^{8} 8^{8}; governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, 8^{8} 10^{12}; suicide, 10^{13}.
Ptolemy of Megalopolis, history of, 3Macc. § 5.
Ptolemy, son of Abubus, son-in-law of Simon, murders Simon, 1Macc. $16^{11}n$.^{15,16,18}
Punishment, P.A. 5^{11}; after death, no mention of in Sirach, Sir. § 9v, *see* Future; appropriate, Wisd. 11^{16}; differentiated, 6^{6} 11^{10}; eternal, *see* Destruction. *In* 1 *En.*, $41^{2}n$. 60^{6} 80^{8} 106^{17}; earth cleansed from all, 10^{22}; of kings, 1En. 56^{7}; on the earth, great, 106^{17}; of (from) Lord of Spirits, 54^{7} 60^{25}; (? Messiah shall know, Zad. 18^{9};) mild recommended, Arist. § 6, 188, 208; of Jerusalem, 4Macc. $4^{21}sq$.; place of, Adam and Eve in, 2En. $41^{1}n$.; remedial, Wisd. § 9; temporal, Sir. $9^{8,12,13}$. *See* Angels, Chastisement, Eternal, Future, Judgement, Wrath.
Pupils, class of, i. e. Yeshibah, Sir. $51^{29}n$.; rules for, by schools of Shammai and Hillel, Sir. $51^{23}n$.
Purgatory, belief in, 4Ez. $7^{137}n$.
Purification, Levitical laws of, Jub. 3^{4-14}; of Jerusalem, by martyrs, 4Macc. 1^{11} 18^{11}.
Purim, feast of, Add.Esth. $F^{11}n$.
Purity, exclude from Zad. 10^{13}, ^{14}. *See* Excommunication.
Put, Judith 2^{23} Jub. 7^{13} 9^{1} Test. *App.* I 9^{4}.
Pyramus, Sib. 4^{97}.
Python = Pithom, Sib. $5^{182}n$.

†Qafratef, Jub. 34^{15}.
Qelt, Jub. 8^{26}.
Quarrels, warnings against, Sir. 28^{8-12}; with powerful, rich, and boastful, warnings against, 8^{1-3}. *See* Disputes.
Quarters, the Four, 1En. 77^{1-3}.
Quietism, Ass.Mos. § 9.
Quotations from O.T., how introduced in Zad.Frag., Zad. § 8; include Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, § 8; from an apocryph, 'Jannes and Jambres,' § 8.

Raaboth, Jub. 38^{21}.
Raamses, Jub. 46^{14}.
Rabael, i. e. Arbela, T.Jud. 7^{9}. *See* Robel.
Rabbi = Judah the Prince, or the Holy, P.A. $2^{1}n$. 4^{27} 6^{9}.
Rabbinic citations of Sirach, Sir. § 3 ii.
Rabbinites attacked in Zad. Frag. § 2.
Rabbis, party among, favourable to apocalyptic, 4Ez. $14n$.
Rabshakeh, Sir. 48^{18}.
Rachel, Jub. $28^{1,3-5,8-10,12,16,17,19,20,24}$ $29^{1,2}$ 31^{2} $32^{3,33,34}$ $33^{2,22}$ 34^{16} 36^{23} $44^{23,26,27,32}$ T.Iss. 1^{3}, $^{6-8,10,14(\beta-\delta)}$ $2^{1,2,4}$ T.N. 1^{6-9} T.Jos. 20^{3} T.B. 1^{3-5} Test. *App.* I 1^{1}; death of, Jub. 32^{34}.
Rafa, mountain range, Jub. $8^{12,16,28}$.
Ragau, Judith $1^{5,15}$.
Rages, Tob. $4^{1,20}$ 5^{6} 6^{13} 9^{2}.
Raguel, Tob. 1^{1}.
Raguel, Tob. $3^{7,17}$ $6^{11,13}$ $7^{1,6}$.
Raguel, an angel, 1En. 20^{4} 23^{4}.
Raguil, an angel, 2En. 33^{6} (A, 'Rasuil' B), cf. Raguel, 1En. 20^{4}.
Rahab, monsters of, Sir. 43^{25}.
Rakeel, Jub. 4^{33}.
Ram = Chasidim, 1En. $90^{10,11}$; David, 89^{45-49}; Elijah, 90^{31}; Judas Maccabaeus, 90^{13-16}; Saul, 89^{43-47}.
Ramathaim, 1Macc. $11^{34}n$.
Rameses, Judith 1^{10} Jub. 45^{6}.
Rameel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Ramiel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Ramiel = Remiel, 2Bar. $55^{3}n$.63^{6}.
Ransom for sin, martyrs' death as, 4Macc. 17^{22}.
Raphael, Tob. 3^{17} 5^{4} $6^{10,14,18}$ 9^{5} 12^{15} 1En. 9^{1} 10^{4} 20^{3} $22^{3,6}$ 32^{6} 40^{9} 54^{6} $68^{2,3,4}$ $71^{8,9,13}$, *see* Angels, Archangels; functions of, in Tobit, later attributed to Michael, Tob. § 10.
Raphael, Tob. 1^{1}.
Raphaim, Judith 8^{1}.
Raphia, battle, 3Macc. 1^{1-6}.
Raphon, city, 1Macc. 5^{37}.
Rasses, children of, Judith 2^{23}.
Rasueja, Jub. 8^{1}.
Rasuil. *See* Raguil.
Rasujal, Jub. 4^{16}.
Rasuu, Jub. 34^{20}.
Rathumus, the story-writer, a Samaritan, 1Esd. $2^{16,17,25,30}$.
Ravenna, Sib. 5^{205}.
Ravens = Syrians, 1En. 90^{8-12}.
Ravine, deep and dry (= valley of Hinnom), 1En. $26^{4,6}$; deep and narrow (= Kedron or valley of Jehoshaphat), 1En. 26^{3}. *See* Abyss, Chasm, Valley.
Razis, an elder at Jerusalem, commits suicide, 2Macc. 14^{37}.
Reason (Inspired), in 4Macc. $1^{1}sq$. $2^{2}sq$. $3^{1}sq$. 5^{31} $6^{31}sq$. $13^{1}sq$. $16^{1}sq$.; definition of, 4Macc. $1^{1}n$. 1^{15}; as master-gardener of the mind, 1^{29}; compared to a harbour-mole, 13^{6}; guide of the virtues, 1^{30}; not extirpator, but antagonist of the passions, § 1, 1^{6} 3^{5}; not master over forgetfulness, &c., 1^{5} 2^{24} 3^{1}; is a spark, Wisd. $2^{2}n$.
Rebecca, Jub. $19^{10,12,16,26,31}$ 22^{4} 23^{4} $25^{1,4}$ $26^{3,5,7,9,10,11}$ $27^{1,6,7,8,12,13,18}$ 28^{1} 29^{16} $31^{3,5,6,30}$ $32^{30,31}$ 33^{21} $35^{1,18}$ 36^{21} T.L. 6^{8}.
Rebellion. *See* Israel.
Rebuke, in righteousness, Zad. 9^{40}; one's brother, 8^{19}; neighbour, $10^{2,5}$. *See* Reproof.
Recensions, two—of Daniel—of Hebrew Psalm, Ps.Sol. 11 and 1 Bar. 4^{6}–5^{9}—of Zadokite Fragments (A and B), 1Bar. § $6n$.^{5}.
Reckoning up of sins, Wisd. 4^{20}.
Recompense, of God to those who serve Him, Sir. 17^{15-24}; of the wicked, Zad. 9^{2}.
Record, Zad. $4^{2,3}$ 16^{5} 17^{3}.
Rectitude (ἁπλότης), T.R. 4^{1} T.S. $3^{2}n$. 4^{5} &c. *See* Singleness.
Red Sea, 1Macc. 4^{9} Judith 5^{13} Jub. 8^{21} $9^{2,4}$ Ass. Mos. 3^{11}.
Reelias, 1Esd. 5^{8}.
Reem, the, Test. *App.* I 3^{1}.
References, in Zad. Frag. to 'Book of the Hagu', Zad. 11^{2} &c., *see* Hagu; 'Jannes and Jambres,' 7^{19}; Jubilees, 20^{1}; 'Ordinances of the Covenant,' 11^{2}; Testaments of XII Patriarchs, 6^{10}. *See* § 8.
Refreshment, place of, 4Ez. $7^{36,38}$. *See* Paradise.
Regim, 2En. 1^{10} 57^{2}.
Register, Zad. 9^{29}(B).
Registration of Egyptian Jews, 3Macc. 2^{32} $4^{14}sq$. 7^{22}.
Regulation, in Zad. Frag.: as to almsgiving, Zad. 18^{1-5}; as to judges, 11^{1-4}; for the many, 18^{1}; of Censor of camp, 16^{1}; of dwellers in cities of Israel, $15^{1,4}$; of dwellers of all the camps, 17^{1}.
Reins, the, T.N. 2^{8}.
Remembrance. *See* Book.
Remiel, 1En. 20^{8} 2Bar. 55^{3} 3Bar. $2^{5}n$., *see* Ramiel; = Jeremiel, angel, 4Ez. $4^{36}n$.
Remnant, Zad. 1^{4} $2^{5,9}$; to be taught by Messiah, $2^{9,10}$.
Remorse of ungodly, Wisd. 4^{20}–5^{14}.
Renew. *See* Creation, Earth, Heaven, Luminaries.
Repay evil with good, Ah. 2^{21} (Syr. B).
Repent, 1En. 50^{2} 55^{1}; of transgression, Zad. 2^{3} 9^{41}, cf. 9^{15}. *See* Penitents, Return.
Repentance, Sir. § 4 Wisd. 12^{19} P.A. $4^{13,22}$ 5^{21}; and confession, Sir. $4^{26}n$. 17^{25-32} 18^{21}; appointed by God for some (as Manasseh), P.Man. 7, and not for others (as Abraham), § 8; call to, Wisd. 11^{23} $12^{10,19}$; cleansed through, Zad. 10^{16}; covenant of, Zad. 9^{15}(B); day of, Ass. Mos. 1^{18}; example of, Sir. $44^{16}n$.; exhortation to, Sir. 17^{25-32}; God's mercy leads to, Wisd. 11^{23}; meritorious, Sir. $17^{24}n$. $18^{21}n$.; of individual, T.R. 1^{9} 2^{1} T.S. 2^{13} T.Jud. 15^{4} T.G. 5^{6-8} T.Jos. 6^{6} T.B. 5^{4}; of nation, T.Jud. $23^{5}n$. T.Z. 9^{7}

T.D. 6[4]; necessary to coming of kingdom, Ass.Mos. 1[18]*n.*; one day before death, i.e. at once, P.A. 2[14]*n.*; place of, Wisd. 12[10,20] 4Ez. 9[12]; place of, no, 2Bar. 85[12]; = return to Law, 4Ez. 7[133], cf. Zad. 19[9,11,14] 20[2]; unto hope, 1En. 40[8]. Contrast 'No place of repentance', 1En. 65[11], and 63[1-11].
Rephaim, Jub. 14[18] 29[9].
Reproof of friend, duty of, Sir. 19[13-17]. Zad. 10[10].
Resaias, 1Esd. 5[8].
Resignation to God's Will, Sir. 2[4-6].
Rest, a, 4Ez. 8[52]; for souls of righteous, not of wicked, 4Ez. 7[80,91,95].
Restitution, Zad. 10[8] 19[6].
Resurrection, 2Macc. 12[43] 1En. § 11(*c*), 51[1]*n.* 5[7] 22[13] 51[1] 61[5] 90[33] 91[10] 100[5] T.Jud. 25[1,4] T.Z. 10[2] T.B. 10[6-8] 2En. 50[2]*n.* 65[6]; at close of temporary Messianic kingdom, 2Bar. 30[2]; belief in, 2Macc. 7[9]*sq.* 12[44]; for judgement, 2Bar. 50[4]; *in* 1*Enoch*, differing conceptions of: (*a*) to earthly Messianic kingdom of eternal duration of soul (spirit) and body, 1En. 6-36, 83-90; (*b*) to spiritual kingdom, in which the righteous have a spiritual body, 37-71; (*c*) resurrection of spirit only, 91-104, cf. 91[10] 100[5]; not referred to in 1Bar. § 11; of body, 2En. 65[6] 2Bar. 50-51*n.*, not expected in Jubilees, Jub. § 15, nor in 4 Ezra, § 9; of godly, Sib. 4[187-191]; of good and evil deeds, 4Ez. 7[35]; of life and spirit, 2Macc. 14[46]; of martyrs to life everlasting, 7[9,11,14], *see* Life; of patriarchs, then of righteous, Test. § 16 T.B. 10[6-8]; postulated for participation of pious dead in blessedness of final age, 4Ez. 5[41]*n.*; of righteous only with bodies, 2Macc. 7[11,23] 14[46]; to life eternal, i.e. participation in Messianic kingdom on earth, 2Macc. § 7; spiritual, of righteous, Jub. 23[31].
Retribution, P.A. 1[7] 2[18-20] 4[12,13,19] 5[1,2,11,26] 6[5]; doctrine of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9v, 21[10]*n.*; confined to this life, 41[3,4]; individual, 2[8,11] 9[12] 11[26] 12[2]; continued in fortunes of descendants. 11[28]*n.* 23[24-26] 40[15] 41[6] 44[11-13], *see* Sheol; future, Wisd. 19[16]*n.*; in kind, §1, 11[5,16]; national and individual, 1 En. § 11; on the sinner, Sir. 3[26-28] 16[6-14], *see* Punishment, Wrath; theory of, 2Macc. 6[12-16]. *See* Judgement.
Return, from corrupt way, Zad. 19[7]; to law of Moses, 19[9,11,14] 20[2].
Return to Jerusalem, first, under Cyrus, 1Esd. 2[8-15] (Sheshbazzar); second under Darius, 5[1-43] (Zerubbabel), register of, 5[7-46]; under Artaxerxes, 8[1-40] (Ezra).
Reu, Jub. 10[18] 11[1].
Reuben, Jub. 28[1,17] 33[2,4,7,8,9,15,22] 34[20] 38[7,8] 42[18] 44[12] T.R. 1[1,25] 3[9] 7[1] T.S. 2[9,10] T.L. 6[3] T.Jud. 5[2] 9[7] 13[3] 25[2] T.Iss. 1[3,4] T.Z. 2[7] 4[5,7] T.G. 1[6] Test. *App.* II 3; defiles Jacob's bed, T.R. 1[6] 3[14]; punished, T.R. 1[7].
Reveal, hidden things wherein all Israel had erred, Zad. 5[1]; salvation and righteousness, 9[43].
Revealed, everything that was of the law, Zad. 19[12].
Revelation. *See* Apocalyptic, Apocrypha.
Revelations, gained by Adam after eating of tree, A. & E. 29[2-10]; of Enoch, to be handed down, 2En. 33[9]; and kept till the end of time, 33[11]; revealed to faithful in due time, 35[2]; preceded by fasting, *see* Fasts; to be kept secret = Apocrypha, 1En. 82[1] 104[11-13] Ass. Mos. 1[16] 10[11] 11[1] 4Ez. 12[37]*n.* 14[26,46,47]. *See* Faithful.
Revenge forbidden, Ah. 2[17,18,21] (Syr. B). *See* Forgiveness.
Reward, P.A. 2[1,2,19,20] 3[4] 4[1] 5[1] 6[5]; for faithful, 4Ez. 7[83]; laid up with Most High, 13[56]; of filial duty, Sir. 3[1-16]; of loyalty to the law, 33(36)[1-3]; of righteousness and sin, 27[8-10]; of righteous, 3[29-31] 11[22] 16[13,14]; of those who seek Wisdom, 4[11-19]; of wise, 20[27,28]. *See* Nemesis, Recompense, Retribution.
Rewards of precepts. P.A. 2[1]*n.*
Rhea. Sib. 3[122,132,135,138,143,148,150,402] 5[131].
Rhodes, 1Macc. 15[23] Sib. 3[444].
Rhodians, Sib. 4[101].
Rhodocus, a traitor, 2Macc. 13[21].
Rhodophorus, title of Ptolemais, 3Macc. 7[17].
Rhyndacus, Sib. 3[443].
Rich, avoid quarrels with, Sir. 8[2]; avoid associating with, 13[2-8]; and poor cannot associate, 13[18-20]; how treated by world, 13[21-23]; anxieties of, 31(34)[1-4]; fool, parable of, 11[19]*n*; Lord of. *See* God, titles of.
Riches, Tob. 12[8] 1En. 46[7] 94[8] 96[4] 97[10] 100[6], cf. 98[3] 103[5]. *See* Mammon, Wealth.
Right-doing, precepts on, Sir. 4[20-28].
Righteous, 1En. 1[8]*n.* 5[6] 10[17,21] 25[4] 38[3-5] 39[4] 43[4] 45[6] 47[1,2,4] 48[1,7,9] 50[2] 53[7] 56[7] 58[3,5] 60[2] 61[3] 62[3] 82[4] 91[10] 94[3,11] 95[3,7] 96[1,8] 97[1,3,5] 98[12-14] 99[3] 100[5,7,10] 102[4,10] 103[1] 104[1,6,12,13] Ps. Sol. 2[38] 3[3-8,14] 4[9] 10[3] 13[5-8] 14[6] 15[8] 16[15]; good name of, lasts for ever, Sir. 41[11-13], *see* Reward; observed faithfully the law, 4Ez. 7[89,94]; One, *see* Messiah; only seem to die, Wisd. 3[2]; = Pharisees or Chasidim in Ps. Sol. § 5, hope in future life, 13[9-11] 14[3] 15[15] 17[1-3], Messianic expectation, spiritual, 17[23] 18[6], oppose non-Davidic, i.e. Hasmonaean monarchy, 17[7,8]; pious, § 5, 3[10] &c.; political Quietists, 12[6]; poor, 10[7] 15[2] 18[3]; prayer of, 1En. 47[1,2,4] 97[3,5] 99[3] Zad. 14[1]; risen, the, 2Bar. 51[10]*n.*; soul of, attacked, Zad. 1[15]; to shine as light of stars, 2Bar. 51[10] 4Ez. 7[97].
Righteousness, Tob. 4[5,6] 12[8]; = almsgiving, Sir. 7[10]*n.*; by the Law, 2Bar. 67[6]: imputed, denied, 4Ez. 7[102-115]*n.*, *see* 8[20-40]*n.*; Messiah and, 1En. 39[6] 46[3] 53[7] 61[4] 62[3] 71[14,16]; various conceptions of, 2Bar. 24[1]*n.*; week of, 1En. 91[12]. *See* Paths, Statutes, Teacher.
Rim. *See* Riman.
Riman, 2En. 57[2] (A, 'Rim' B).
River = Euphrates, 4Ez. 13[43,44,47].
River, fiery, 2En. 10[2]*n*, cf. 1En. 14[19].
Rivers, the seven, 1En. 77[6-7].
Robe, of priesthood, T.L. 8[2]; of righteousness from God, 1Bar. 5[2].
Robel, i.e. Arbela, Jub. 34[8].
Rock of Isaac, i.e. God, Sir. 51[12xi].
Roimus, 1Esd. 5[8].
Roman, Sib. 4[125.]; conquest of Judaea, 1Bar. § 1; destruction of Jerusalem, Jews suffer terribly in, 1Bar. § 7; emperors, history of, Sib. 5[12-60]; Empire = eagle of 4Ez. 10[60]-12[35]; doom of, 11[41-45].
Romans, 1Macc. § 7iii (*a*)(*c*) (letters to, 8[1-32]*n.*, *see* Letters) 8[1,23,27,29] 12[16] 14[40] 15[16] 2Macc. 4[11] 8[10,36] 11[34]; letter of, 11[34], historicity of, § 1. *See* Gabinius, Judaea, Pompey.
Rome, 1Macc. 1[10] 7[1] 8[17,19,24,26,28] 12[1,3] 14[16,24] 15[15] Sib. 3[46,52,161,350,352,356,364] 4[123,138,145] 5[139,443,463]; already feared in Sib. 3[175-193]; conquest of Greece by, 3[520]*sqq.*; doom of, 5[386-402]; great disaster to, in Asia, 3[350-362]; wickedness concentrated in, in Eagle Vision, 4Ez. 11-12, § 10; will fall under Messiah, 12[32].
Root. *See* Planting.
Rosh, Jub. 44[25].
Rotheus, T.N. 1[10].
Royal treasury, Tob. 1[20].
Rude man, i.e. *bōr*, P.A. 2[6]*n.* 5[10].
Rufinus, Sir. § 8.
Rule, i.e. halachah, P.A. 3[16,23] 5[10,11].
Ruler of Zadokites, to be Priest or Levite, Zad. 15[4-6]. *See* Judges.
Rulers, need of wisdom in, Sir. 9[17-10]; pride in, ruins nations, 10[6-18]; avoid associating with, 13[9-13]. *See* Mighty.
†Rumael, 1En. 69[2].
Rumjal, 1En. 69[2].
Rust, of wickedness, Sir. 12[10,11]; treasures not to, 29[10].

Sabanneus, 1Esd. 9[33].
Sabannus, 1Esd. 8[63].
Sabateus, 1Esd. 9[48].
Sabathus, 1Esd. 9[28].
Sabbateus, 1Esd. 9[14].
Sabbataeus, an elder, Arist. 48.
Sabbataeus, an elder, Arist. 49.
Sabbatarianism, 2 Macc. 8[26]*sq.* 12[38] 15[4].
Sabbath, 2Macc. 5[25] 6[5,11] 8[28] 15[1,3] Jub. 2[1,17-21,24,28-31] 4[18] 2En. 32[2]; carefully observed by Judas Maccabaeus, 2Macc. 8[26-29]; day, 1Macc. 2[32,35,38]; massacre of faithful Jews on, 2[33-38] 9[34,43] 10[34]; by Apollonius, 2Macc. 5[24-27]. *In Jubilees*: § 15, 2[17-31]; appointed as a sign for all God's works, not observed by lower orders of angels, as by higher, § 15, 2[1,17,32]; observed by highest angels. 2[18]; by Israel also later, 2[20-24,27-33]; fasting on, 50[12]; journey on, 50[8]*n.*; laws regarding, 50[6-13]; strict observance of, 50[8]*n.*; war on, 50[12]. *see* 1 Macc. 2[31-38] 2Macc. 6[11] 15[1]. *In Zad. Frag.*: holy, Zad. 13[1] 14[3]; journey, limit to. 13[7,14]; laws regarding, 13[1-11,13-27]; observe, 8[15] 13[1]; profane, 14[6]; keeping of, permitted by Demetrius I, 1 Macc. 10[34]; meaning of, in Lev. 23[15,16], (i) = feast day, (ii) = seventh day of unleavened bread, (iii) = weekly Sabbath, Jub. 15[1]*n.*; mourning on, forbidden, Apoc. Mos. 43[3]*n.*; not to be kept, 2 Macc. 6[5]; profaning of, 1Macc. 1[43,45] 2[34]*n.*; profaning of, tolerated, 1Macc. § 3, 2[41]*n.*; sign of resurrection and rest of age to come, A. & E. 51[2]; strict observance of, leads to massacre of Jewish fugitives, 1Macc. 2[29-38].
Sabbaths, Jub. 1[10,14] 23[19] 50[1-3,6,7,9,10-13]; and festivals, God's holy, Zad. § 9[40], 5[2].
Sabbatical year, 1 Macc. 6[49]*n.*
Sabbeus, 1Esd. 9[32].
Sabi, 1Esd. 5[28].
Sabias, 1Esd. 1[9].
Sabie, 1Esd. 5[34].
Sacrifice, acceptable, Sir. 35[1-11] (32[1-13]), and unacceptable, 34[18-26] (31[21-31]); animal, abhorred, Sib. 4[29,30]; Jews compelled to, 3Macc. 2[28]; penitence as a, Azar. 17; to the dead, Tob. 4[17].
Sacrifices, animal, T.L. 9[7,13]; ceased, 1Macc. 1[45] Azar. 15; depreciated, 2En. 45[1-3]; directions as to, 45[3]*n.* 59[2,3]*n.* 61[4,5]*n.* 66[2]; in heaven, T.L. 3[6]; of righteousness, Sir. 7[31]; polluted, 1En. 89[37]; to idol, vain, 30[18,19]; unclean, offered, 1Macc. 1[47]. *See* Pollution.
Sacrificial system. *See* Offering.
Sadducee, Ass. Mos. § 8. *See* Sceptic.
Sadducees, Wisd. 1[1]*n.* 1En. 38[5] 94[6] 95[3] 98[15] 103[14,15]; accepted O.T. but not tradition and scribe law, Sir. § 4; = 'children of earth', 1En. 100[6]; devourers of goods of poor, Ass.Mos. 7[6], cf. Ps.Sol. 4[11] &c.; had set up non-Davidic, i.e. Hasmonaean monarchy, Ps.Sol. 17[7,8]*n.* § 5; in control of law-courts, Sus. § 7; referred to, in Ass.Mos.

7^{3-10}; severity of, in judgement, Ps.Sol. $4^{1}n.$; Sirach expresses standpoint of, Sir. § 4; support O.T. view of Sheol and of retribution in this life, 1En. 102^{4}–104^{9}. *See* Sceptic.
Sadduceeism, unreformed, Zad. §§ 9^{3o} 10i. *See* Zadokite Party.
Sadduk, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Saints and meek-hearted, Azar. 65; of the Most High, 9^{33}; whom God pardoned, Zad. 6^{4}.
Salamiel, Judith 8^{1}.
Salamis in Cyprus, Sib. 4^{128} 5^{452}.
Salasadai, Judith 8^{1}.
Salathiel, 1Esd. $5^{5,48,56}$ 6^{2}.
Salathiel, 4Ez. § 6; [= Ezra, 4Ez. 3^{1}].
Salathiel-Apocalypse. *See* Ezra, 4 Book of.
Salem, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Salem, Jub. 30^{1}; valley of, Judith 4^{4}.
Salimoth, 1Esd. 8^{36}.
Sallumus, 1Esd. 9^{25}.
Salman, Jub. $38^{20,21}$.
Salmanasar, 2Bar. 62^{6}, 4Ez. 13^{40}. *See* Alagar Zagar, Leba Nasr.
Saloas, 1Esd. 9^{22}.
Salom, 1Bar. 1^{7}.
Salt of the covenant, Jub. 21^{11}.
Salt Sea, Jub. 13^{22}. *See* Siddim, Vale of.
Salum, 1Esd. 5^{28}.
Salvation, Zad. $9^{43,54}$; in temporal sense, Sir. 3^{1}; security of righteous dead in intermediate state, 4Ez. $8^{39}n.$; to arise from Levi and Judah, *see* Levi and Judah, Works.
Samaias, 1Esd. 1^{9}.
Samaias, 1Esd 8^{39}.
Samaias, 1Esd. 8^{44}.
Samaria, 1Esd. $2^{16,25}$ 1Macc. 3^{10} $10^{30,38}$ 11^{34} (added to Judaea $10^{30,38}$) 2Macc. 15^{1} Tob. 14^{4} Judith 1^{9} 4^{4} Arist. 107 Mart. Is. $2^{12,13,14,16}n.$ $3^{2,3}$. *See* Sebaste.
Samaritan, Mart. Is. 3^{1}
Samaritans, 1En. $90^{72}n.$; hospitality of, 2Macc. 6^{2}; oppose rebuilding of temple, 2^{18-24} 5^{66}; relations with returning Jews, 1Esd. § 5(*a*). *See* Zadokite Party.
Samatus, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Samellius, 1Esd. $2^{16,17,25,30}$.
Sameus, 1Esd. 9^{21}.
Samians, Sib. 3^{452}.
Samjaza, 1En. 69^{2}. *See also* Semjaza.
Sammael, Angel of Death, Sir. $25^{24}n.$
Sammael, angel, 3Bar. 4^{8} 9^{7}; led Adam astray, 4^{8}; planted vine, 4^{8}: used serpent as disguise, 9^{7}.
Sammael Malchira, Mart. Is. $1^{8}n.^{11}$ 2^{1}.
Sammus, 1Esd. 9^{43}.
Samon, Jub. 44^{28}.
Samos, 1Macc. 15^{23} Sib. 3^{363} 4^{91}.
Sampsames, 1Macc. 15^{22}.
Samsapeel, 1En. 6^{7}. *See also* Shamsiel *and* Simapesiel.
Samuel, the prophet, 1Esd. 1^{20} Sir. 46^{13-20} 1En. $82^{41,44}n.$ 4Ez. 7^{108}.
Samuel, an elder, Arist. 47.
Samuel, an elder, Arist. 49.
Samuel, an elder, Arist. 50.
Samuel, the Small, P.A. 4^{24}.
Samuil, an angel, 2En. 33^{6} (A, 'Semil' B).
Sanaas, 1Esd. 5^{24}.
Sanabassar, Sanabassarus, governor of Judaea. *See* Sheshbazzar.
Sanasib, 1Esd. 5^{24}.
Sanctification, angels of. *See* Angels.
Sanctified, *see* Holy Land: peoples, tribes, Ps. Sol. $17^{48,49}$.
Sanctuary, Sir. 50^{5} $51^{12\ vii}$; the, P.A. 5^{8} 6^{11}, *see* Temple; built by God, will be, Jub. 1^{17}; built unto all ages, 1^{27} 25^{21}; burnt, rebuilt, A. & E. $29^{5,6}$; desecrated by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1^{21}, by Apollonius, 1^{37}; idols in, Ass. Mos. 2^{8}. *In Zad. Frag.*: $1^{3}n.$ 5^{7} 6^{11} 7^{8} $8^{11,12}$ 9^{47} 14^{4}; city of the, 14^{4}; entering, conditions of, 8^{11}; of God, 1^{3} 5^{7}; of Zadokites, § 5; pollution of, 6^{11} 7^{8} 9^{47}; wealth of, 8^{12}; keys of, cast up to the Lord, 2Bar. 10^{18}; of the Lord, in world to come, Wisd. 3^{14}; pollution of, 1Macc. 1^{46} $3^{45,51,58}$, *see* Pollution; profaning of, Jub. 30^{15}; tower of, Ass. Mos. 2^{4}, *see* Tower.
Sanhedrin, 2Macc. 1^{10b} (*see* Senate) Judith $11^{14}n.$ *See* Council.
Sanherib. *See* Sennacherib.
Sanir mountains, Jub. 8^{21} 9^{4}.
Saphat, 1Esd. 5^{9}.
Saphat, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Saphatias, 1Esd. 8^{34}.
Sapphuthi, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Sarabias, 1Esd. 9^{48}.
Sarah, Tob. $3^{7,17}$ $6^{11}sq.$ 7^{8}.
Sarah, Jub. $15^{15,17,19,21}$ $16^{1,2,12,15,16,19}$ $17^{4,6}$ $19^{2,7,11}$ 23^{7} $35^{20,21,27}$ 36^{21} T.L. 6^{8}.
Sarai, Jub. 12^{9} $13^{1,13,15}$ 14^{21-23}; name changed to Sarah, 15^{15}.
Saraias, i.e. Seraiah, 1Esd. 5^{5}.
Sarapis, Sib. 5^{487}.
Saraqael, 1En. 20^{6}.
Sarasael, angel. 3Bar. 4^{15}.
Sardis, Sib. 5^{289}.
Sardo, Sib. 3^{477}.
Saregan or Seragan, Jub. $34^{4,7}$.
Sarhadum, Ah. $1^{1,13}$ (Syr. Arab.); father of Sennacherib in Syr. Arab. Versions for most part; but rightly son of Sennacherib in Papyrus 1^{3} (= Esarhaddon), *passim*.
Sariel, 1En. 6^{7} 8^{3}.
Sarothie, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Satan, Mart. Is. $2^{2,7}$ A. & E. 9^{1} Apoc. Mos. 17^{1} 1En. 54^{6} T.D. 3^{6} 5^{6} 6^{1} T.G. 4^{7} T.A. $6^{4(\beta)}$ Ass. Mos. 10^{1} (= Satomail, Sotona, 2En. $29^{4,5}n.$ 31^{4-7}); (= the Serpent), 4Macc. 18^{8}; and the Satans, 1En. § 11(*d*); appears as angel, Apoc. Mos. 17^{1}, as serpent, 17^{4}; chief of demons, Jub. §15, *see* Demonology; no Satan, or evil one, 23^{29} 40^{9} 46^{2} 50^{5} Ass. Mos. 10^{1}.
Satanail, 2En. $18^{3}n.$ $29^{4,5}n.$ 31^{4}.
Satans, 1En. 65^{6}; accuse as in O.T., 40^{7}; punish, 53^{3} 56^{1} 62^{11} 63^{1}; tempt, $69^{4}sq.$
Satarel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Sathrabuzanes, i.e. Shetharbozenai, 1Esd. 6^{27} 7^{1}.
Satomail. *See* Satan.
Saul, 1En. $89^{43}n.$ 4Ez. 7^{108}.
Saul of Raaboth, Jub. $38^{21,22}$.
Saved, many to be, 2Bar. 21^{11}. *See* Fewness, Many.
Savias, 1Esd. 8^{2}.
Scales, the, constellation, Sib. 5^{520}.
Scalping, 2Macc. 7^{4}.
Sceptic denies God's intervention, Sir. 16^{20-23}, cf. 1En. 98^{7}; disbelieves in angels, $16^{22}n.$
Sceptre = Messiah, prince of all the congregation, Zad. 9^{9}; to rise out of Israel, 9^{8}.
Schatzhöhle, Die, A. & E. §§ 4, 8.
Schedia, 3Macc. 4^{11}.
Scornfulness, Tob. 4^{13}.
Scorpio, Sib. 5^{525}.
Scribe, ideal, described, Sir. 39^{1-11}; = reader, *Prologue*, $3n.$; superior to labourer and artisan, 38^{24-30}; of the knowledge of the Most High, 4Ez. 14^{50}, cf. Enoch. *See* 1Esd. 8^{8}.
Scribes, activity of, Sir. *Prologue* 4, 9 *notes*; degeneracy of, § 4; 'handlers of the Law', $15^{1}n.$; position and character of, in time of Sirach, Sir. 38^{24}–$39^{11}n.$; = teachers of Law, 4Ez. 8^{29}.
Scriptures, Arist. 56, 154, 168.
Scythed chariots, 2Macc. 13^{2}.
Scythian cruelty, 3Macc. 7^{5}; fashion, 4Macc. 10^{7}.
Scythians, 2Macc. 4^{47} 4Macc. 10^{7}.
Scythopolis = Bethshan, Judith 3^{10} 2Macc. $12^{29}n.^{30}$.
Sea, a great, in heaven, T.L. 2^{7}; Great, = the Mediterranean, Jub. 9^{6}; 1En. $77^{5,7,8}$ Test. *App.* I 4^{2}; man from the, *see* Man; †of the heap, Jub. 29^{14}; power which came up from, = Rome, 4Ez. $11^{1}n.$
Seal of Sion, reference to coinage (?), 4Ez. 10^{23}; of truth, $7^{104}n.$
Sealing, of righteous, 4Ez. $6^{5}n.$; = closing, of the age, 6^{20}.
Seasons, Angels or Spirits of, Jub. 2^{2}. *See* Angels.
Sebaste = Samaria, Sib. 3^{63}; *or* = Augustus' family, $3^{63}n.$
Sebat, month, $16^{14}n.$
Sechenias, 1Esd. 8^{29}.
Sechenias, 1Esd. 8^{32}.
Secret revelation, 4E z. $12^{37}n.$, *see* Apocrypha; sins = mystery cults, Wisd. $17^{3}n.$
Secrets, betrayal of, Sir. 27^{16-21} 1En. 41^{3} 65^{11} $68^{1,2}$ 71^{3}, cf. 40^{2} 46^{2} (evil) 69^{8}; eternal . . . in heaven, 9^{6}, cf. 10^{7} 16^{3}; of angels, $65^{6,11}$; clouds, 41^{3}; depths, 61^{5}; of God, 63^{8}; the heavens, 41^{1}; ends of heaven, 71^{4}; the holy, 106^{19}, *see* Mysteries; lightning, 59^{3}, *see* Thunder; the righteous, 38^{3}; righteousness, 49^{2} 58^{5} 71^{3}; of sin, 83^{7}; thunder and lightning, 41^{3} 59^{1-3}; winds, 41^{3}; wisdom, 51^{3} 69^{8}.
Secularization of Pharisaism, Ass.Mos. § 1.
Sedekias, king, 1Bar. 1^{9} 1Esd. 1^{46}. *See* Zedekiah.
Sedekias, 1Bar. 1^{1}.
Sedeqetelebab, city, Jub. $7^{16,17}$.
Seir, abhorred, Sir. 50^{26} T. Jud. 9^{3}; land of, Jub. 29^{13}; mount, 29^{18}; mountains of, 36^{19} $38^{9,10}$.
Selemias, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Selemias, an elder, Arist. 49.
Seleucia, port of Antioch, 1Macc. 11^{8}.
Seleucid era. *See* Greek kingdom.
Seleucidae, 1En. $90^{2}n.$; empire of, Sir. $10^{8}n.$
Seleucus. *See* Demetrius I.
Seleucus IV, king of Asia, 2Macc. 3^{3} 4^{7} 5^{18}; Nicanor, 4Macc. $3^{20}n.$ $4^{3,4,13,15}$.
Self-control, need of, Sir. 18^{30}–19^{3} 22^{27}–23^{6}. *See* Tongue.
Self-esteem, right and wrong kind of, Sir. 10^{26-29}.
Sellasar, Jub. 13^{22}.
Selo = Shiloh, Jub. $34^{4,7}$.
Semei, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9^{33}.
Semei, T.L. 12^{1}.
Semeias, Add.Esth. A^{1}.
Semeis, 1Esd. 9^{23}.
Semelias, Tob. 5^{14}.
Semiazaz, 1En. 6^{7}.
Semil. *See* Samuil.
Semitic original of 1 Esdras, 1Esd. § 2.
Semjaza, 1En. 6^{3} 8^{3} 9^{7} 10^{11}. *See also* 6^{7} 69^{2} *and* Samjaza, Semiazaz.
Senate = Sanhedrin, 2Macc. 1^{10b}, Judith 11^{14}; of Rome, description of, 1Macc. $8^{15,19}$.
Seneqereim = Sanherib in Ah. 1^{1} *et passim* (Arm.).
Seneser, 1En. 13^{9}.
Seniqar, criminal substituted for Aḥiḳar, Ah. $4^{10,11}$ (Arm.). *See* Marzifan.
Sennacherib, 2Macc. 8^{19} 15^{22}; 3Macc. 6^{5} Tob. $1^{15,18,22}$ Sir. 48^{18} 2Bar. $63^{2,4}$ 4Ez. 7^{110}; *or* Sanherib, king of Assyria, Ah. 1^{1} *et passim*.
Senses, seven, T.R. 2^{3-9} Sir. 17^{4} *crit. n.*; five, T.N. 2^{8} Sir. $17^{5}n.$ Cf. 2En. 30^{9}.
Separate according to the Law, Zad. 7^{8}.
Sephantiphans = Zaphnath-paaneah, Jub. 40^{10}.
Seragan or Saregan, Jub. $34^{4,7}$.
Serah, Jub. 44^{21}.
Seraphim, Apoc. Mos. 33^{3} 1En. 61^{10} 71^{7} 2En. $12^{1}n.$ 19^{6} 29^{3}(B). *See* Angels.
Serar, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Sered, Jub. 44^{17}.
Seriah, 2Bar. 5^{5}.
Sermon, in synagogue(?), 4Macc. = a, 4Macc. § 6.
Seroh, Jub. $11^{1,5}$.
Seron, 1Macc. $3^{13,23}$.
Serpent, Ps.Sol. 4^{11}; bites Seth, A. & E. 37^{1}; tempts Eve, Jub. 3^{17} 4Macc. 18^{8}; punished, 3^{23}. *See* Satan.

Serpent worship, Wisd. 11[15] 15[18] Bel. § 2.
Serpents, the, 1En. 20[7].
Serug, Jub. 11[6].
Servant and slave, duty to, Sir. 7[20–21]; how to treat, 4[30] 33[24–31] (30[33–40]).
Servants of the Lord = Levites(?), Azar. 63.
Serve the Holy One, used of Levitical priests, Sir. 4[14]*n.*
Service, the, P.A. 1[2].
Sesis, 1Esd. 9[34].
Sesthel, 1Esd. 9[31].
Seth, Sir. 49[16] Jub. 4[7,11] 19[24] 1En. 37[1] A. & E. 23[3] 24[2] 25[1] 29[2] 31[1,3] 36[1] 37[1] 39[1,2] 40[1] 41[3] 43[1–3] 44[1] 46[1,2] 48[1,6] 49[1] 51[1,3] Apoc. Mos. 4[1] 5[3] 6[1,3] 9[3] 10[1] 12[1,2] 13[1,2] 14[1,2] 34[1,2] 35[1,3] 36[1,3] 37[1] 38[4,5] 42[3] 43[1,2] 2En. 33[10]; = 'a great white bull', 1En. 85[9]; seed of Seth (or Sheth?), Jub. 22[12]*n.*
Seven, 1En. 18[6]*n.* 61[11]*n.* 77[8]*n.* &c.; brethren and mother martyred, 2Macc. 7[1–42]; days of creation, 4Macc. 14[8]*n*, *see* Heavens; men, i.e. angels, ordain Levi, T.L. 8[2]*sqq.*; natures, 2En. 30[9]*n.*; powers of man, 30[9]; senses, *see* Senses; sons and mother, martyrdom of, 4Macc. 8[3]–18[23]; spirits of deceit, *see* Spirits; substances, man formed from, 2En. 30[8]*n.*; ways of souls of righteous and wicked, 4Ez. 7[81–99]; orders, i. e. emotions, 7[91]*n.*
Seventh-year periods, 4Macc. 2[8]*n.*
Seventy—and seven years' captivity, Ass.Mos. 3[14]*n.*; nations, have seventy languages and seventy ministering angels, Test. *App.* I 8[5,6]; weeks, T.L. 16[1]; years' captivity, reinterpreted as seven generations, cf. Ep. Jer. § 2, 3*n.* *See* Gentile.
Shah, father of king of Persia, Ah. 3[7] (Arab.).
Shallum, son of Naphtali, Jub. 44[30].
Shalmaneser, Tob. 1[2,12,15,16].
Shame, moral duties inculcated under category of, Sir. 41[14]–42[8]; right and wrong, 4[21].
Shamin, a god, Ah. 1[4] (Arm.). *See* Bel.
Shammai, P.A. 1[12,15] 2[9] 5[20]; school of, views on after-life, 4 Ez. 7[137]*n.*
Shamsiel, 1En. 8[3]. *See* Samsapeel.
Shaul, son of Simeon, Jub. 44[13].
Shebet. *See* Sebat.
Shechem, city, Jub. 13[1] 30[1,3–5,24,26] 31[2] 34[1,7,10] T.S. 2[9] T.L. 2[1] 6[8(β)] 7[2] T.Jud. 4[1] Test. *App.* II 3.
Shechem, person, Jub. 30[1,2,3,24] Test. *App.* II 78.
Shechemite, Judith 5[16].
Shechemites, Jub. 30[5,12,17] Test. *App.* II 1-3, 4Macc. 2[19]; slaughter of, Judith 9[3], ordained in heaven, Jub. 30[5], reckoned for righteousness to Simeon and Levi, 30[17]; circumcision of, not referred to, 30[2–6]*n.*
Shechinah, the, 4Ez. 7[112]*n.* P.A. 3[3,8]; a mode of referring to God, P.A. 3[3]*n.*; 'the divine dwelling,' 4Ez. 10[47].
Shedim, 2Bar. 10[8]*n.*
Sheep, blinded, 1En. 90[26]; white (= Jacob), 89[12]; Lord of, *see* God, titles of.
Shem, Sir. 49[16] Jub. 4[33] 7[9,11,12,16] 8[10,12,17,18,21,30] 9[2] 10[14,31] 19[24,27] T.B. 10[6] Test. *App.* I 8[6]; lot of, Jub. 8[12]; seed of, Jub. 19[17].
Shema, the, P.A. 2[17]*n.*
Shemaiah, P.A. 1[10].
Shemoneh Esreh, relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7 iv.
Sheol, Tob. 3[6,10] 4[19] 13[2] Sir. 14[16] 41[4] 48[5] 51[2,5,6,19] Jub. 5[14] 7[29] 22[22] 24[31] 2Bar. 11[6]*n.* 52[2]*n.* 56[6]*n.* 83[17] Ps.Sol. 4[15] 14[6] 15[11] 16[2], *see* Hades, Pit; abode of souls of wicked dead, 4Ez. 4[41]*n.*; and darkness and destruction, Ps.Sol. 14[6]; conception of, *in* 1 *Enoch*: 1En. 22(*n.*) 51 56[8] 63[10]*n.* 99[11]*n.* 102[4]*n.*–104[5]*n.*; (i) O.T. conception—the goal of all, involving social, not moral distinctions, 63[10]*n.* 102[11]; (ii) the intermediate state of the righteous and the wicked involving moral distinctions, 22 51[1] 63[10]*n.* 102[5], cf. 100[5]; three hollow places in, 22; (iii) the intermediate state of the wicked, 63[10]*n.*; (iv) the final abode of the wicked = hell, 63[10]*n.* 99[11]*n.* 103[7]*n*, *see* Gehenna. *In Sirach*: Sir. 21[10]*n.*; eternal rest, 31[17]; life in, no organic connexion with life on earth—no account of past life on earth—no reproaches in, 41[4]; no delight of life, 14[16]; no light for those who dwell there, 22[11]; no recognition of God, 17[28], *see* Hades; gates of, Ps.Sol. 16[2]; life in, O.T. teaching of reproduced in 1 Bar. 2[16,17]; New Testament meaning of, first found in 1En. § 11(*c*); Old Testament doctrine of, opposed in 102[4]–104[9].
Shepherd, censor as, Zad. 16[3]; smite the . . . &c., 9(B).
Shepherds of Israel perished, 2Bar. 77[13]; to be found in the Law, 77[15]; the Seventy, 1En. 82[59]*n.*–90[1] 90[13,17,25].
Sheshbazzar, governor of Judaea, 1Esd. 2[12,15] (Sanabassar) 6[18,20]; return of, § 1, § 6(*a*) 2[15]*n.*
Shelah, Jub. 8[5,6].
Shelah, Jub. 41[6,7,20] 44[15] T.Jud. 10[6] 11[3].
Sheth. *See* Seth.
Shetharbozenai. *See* Sathrabuzanes.
Shield of Abraham, i.e. God, Sir. 51[12x].
Shiloh. *See* Selo.
Shimei, Test. *App.* II 74.
Shimil, a god, Ah. 1[4] (Arm.). *See* Bel.
Shimron, Jub. 44[16].
Shinar, Jub. 9[3] 10[18–20,25–27] 13[22].
Ships, Jews to help Romans with, 1Macc. 7[26].
Shuah, Jub. 19[11].
Shuni, Jub. 44[20].
Shur, Jub. 16[10]; wilderness of, 49[23].
Sibyl, the, Sib. § 2, 3[815] 4[22]; daughter of Gnostos, 3[815]; daughter-in-law of Noah, 3[827]; prophetess of the Mighty God, 3[818] 4[6].
Sibylline Oracles, the (Jewish), account of, § 6; bibliography, § 9; MSS., § 7; Sibyl, the, § 2; Sibylline verses, earliest, § 3, general character of, § 1; Jewish, § 4, in later history, § 5; Roman collection of, §§ 3, 5; theology of, § 8.
Siccuth = the tabernacle, Zad. 9[6].
Sichem, foolish nation that dwelleth in, Sir. 50[26]; abhorred, 50[26].
Sicily, Sib. 4[80] 5[16].
Sick, duty to, Sir. 7[35]. *See* Visiting.
Sickness. *See* Physician.
Sicyon, 1Macc. 15[23] Sib. 3[487].
Siddim, Vale of, Jub. 13[22].
Side, 1Macc. 15[23].
Sidon, 1Esd. 5[55] 1Macc. 5[15] Judith 2[28] Sus. 56 Mart.Is. 5[13].
Sidonians, Sib. 3[451] 5[203].
Sign, 1En. 55[2].
Signs of Zodiac, 1En. 48[3] 72[13,19] 75[3]; of the days, 82[16,19].
Signs of the End, 4Ez. 4[51]–5[13] 6[20–24] 8[63–9]12.
Silence, P.A. 1[17] 3[18]; primeval, 2Bar. 3[7], return to, for seven days, 4Ez. 7[30]; times for, Sir. 20[1–8].
Siloah, 1En. 26[2].
Simapesiel, 1 En. 69[2]. *See* Samsapeel.
Simeon ben Eleazar, P.A. 4[23].
Simeon ben Gamaliel, P.A. 1[18].
Simeon ben Hillel (?), P.A. 1[17].
Simeon ben Johai, P.A. 3[5] 4[17] 6[8].
Simeon ben Judah, P.A. 6[8].
Simeon ben Menasia, P.A. 6[9].
Simeon ben Nathaniel, P.A. 2[10,12,13,17].
Simeon ben Shetach, P.A. 1[8,9]. *See* Simon ben Shetach.
Simeon the Just, P.A. 1[2].
Simeon, Jub. 28[13,17] 30[4] 33[22] 34[20] 38[8] 42[6,9,10,22] 44[13] 4Macc. 2[19] T.S. 1[1,2] 2[1,2] 8[1] 9[1] T.L. 2[2] 6[4] T.Jud. 6[5] 25[1,2] T.Z. 2[1] 3[2] 4[2,11] T.G. 2[3(β)]; jealous of Joseph, T.S. 2[6,14]; tribe of, to be dispersed, 5[6]; and Levi, *see* Shechemites, slaughter of.
Simeon, 1Macc. 2[1].
Simeon, 1Macc. 2[64]. *See* Simon Maccabaeus.
Simeon, son of Jeshua, called Ben Sira—son of Jeshua, son of Eleazar, son of Sira, Sir. 51[30].
Simeon, son of Jochanan, the priest, Sir. 49[15]*n.*–50[24]; whether Simon I or II, Sir. § 6 ii.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 47.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 48.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 49.
Simon II (?), high priest, 3Macc. 2[1]*n.*
Simon ben Shetach, Sus. §§ 6, 7 Zad. § 9[30,40]. *See* Simeon ben Shetach.
Simon, a Benjamite, 2Macc. 3[4,11] 4[1,2,4,6,23] 4Macc. 4[1,5]; and Jason, intrigues of, over high-priesthood, 2Macc. 3[40]–4[22].
Simon Chosameus, 1Esd. 9[32].
Simon Maccabaeus, called Thassis, 1Macc. § 4, 2[3] 5[17,20,21] 5[55] 9[19,33,37,62,65,68] 10[74,82] 11[59,64,65] 12[33,38] 13[1,13,14,17,20,27,33–35,42,45,47,50,53] 14[4,17,20,23–25,28]*n.*[29,32,35,40,41,48,49] 15[1,17,21,24,26,32,33,36] 16[1,2,13,14,16] 2Macc. 8[22] 10[19,20] 14[17]; = heaven-sent king, Sib. 3[652]*n.*; panegyric on, 1Macc. § 7i(*d*); prosperity of Jews under, Sib. 3[573]*n.*; regarded as Messiah, Jub. § 15, *see* Messiah; history of, elected leader, 1Macc. 13[3]; defeats Tryphon, 13[12–24]; treaty of, with Demetrius II, 13[31–42]; captures Gazara and the citadel of Jerusalem, 13[43–53]; ode in praise of, 14[4–15]; renews alliance with Rome, 14[16–24]; hereditary high-priesthood conferred on, 14[25–49]; three titles of, 14[41]*n.*; asked to help Antiochus VII, 15[1–9]; alliance of, with Rome renewed, 15[15–24]; covenant with, broken by Antiochus VII, 15[25–41]; sons of, defeat Cendebaeus, 16[1–10]; murder of, by Ptolemy, son of Abubus, 16[11–24]; threefold title bestowed on: prince of people of God, 14[28]*n.*; leader and high-priest for ever, 14[41]; captain and governor, 14[47]; victory of, in Galilee, 5[9–23].
Simon Magus, Sib. 5[217]. *See* Beliar.
Sin, Tob. 4[5] P.A. 1[17] 2[1,2,6] 3[1] 4[2] 5[21] 6[1]; author of 4Ez. conscious of, 7[48,64,118,126] 8[17,31]; bear, Zad. 10[5]; confession of, 3Macc. 2[13] 6[10], *see* Cleansed, Confession; consists in alienation from God, 4Ez. 7[48], unfaithfulness to Law, 9[36]; doctrine of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9 iv; due to demons, 1En. 15[8,9,11] 16[1]; to fall of angels, and the knowledge they imparted to mankind, 1En. § 11, 7[5] 9[1,6,8] 10[8]*n.* 16[3], cf. 69[11]; to man, 98[4]; to Satans, 40[7] 69[6]; God the cause of, 15[11]*n.*; man of himself has created, 1En. 98[4]; nature of, Sir. 21[1–10]; no doctrine of, in Arist. § 6, 3; of Adam, 1En. 32[6]; of Eve, 69[6]; of fornication, Zad. 7[1–4]; of polluting Sanctuary, 7[8–18]; original, 2Bar. § 10, *see* Original; originated with Eve, Sir. 25[24]; Stoic doctrine of, 4Macc. 5[20]; to come to an end, T.L. 18[9]; traced to evil heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3[20–22] 4[30] 7[116–120]; transmitted to descendants, 3[25–26], *see* Yetzer; unconsciousness of, T.Iss. 7[1] T.Z. 1[4,5]; universal, 4Ez. 3[35,36] 7[116–131] 8[35], cause of ills of this age, 4[27,28] 7[48] 8[31].

Sina, Mount, Sib. 3^{256}. *See* Sinai.
Sinaar, Jub. 10^{18}.
Sinai, Judith 5^{14} Sir. 48^{7} Jub. *Prologue* 1^{5} 4^{26} 8^{19} 48^{2} $50^{1,2}$ 1En. 1^{4} $89^{29,32,33}n.$ 4Ez. 3^{17} 14^{4}; centre of desert, Jub. 8^{19}; desert of, 50^{1}.
Singers. *See* Asaph, sons of.
Single-minded man, T.Iss. 4^{2}–5^{3}.
Singleness, T.Iss. $3^{1}n.$, *see* Rectitude; of heart, Wisd. 1^{1} T.R. $4^{1}n.$ T.Iss. $3^{1}n.$
Sinners, danger of associating with, Sir. 8^{10-11}. *In* 1 *En.*: 5^{6} $22^{10,13}$ 38^{1-3} 41^{2} $45^{2,5,6}$ 50^{2} $53^{2,7}$ $62^{2,13}$ 69^{27}; caused to pass away, 69^{27}; destroyed by sword, 91^{11}; judged for sins, 38^{1}; judgement impending for, 45^{6}; shall not set foot on new earth, 45^{6}; tempt men to evilly entreat wisdom, 94^{5}. *In Ps.Sol.* = Sadducees, Ps.Sol. § 5; charged with sensual sins, Ps.Sol. 2^{13-15} 4^{4} $8^{9,24}$; profanation of sanctuary and sacrifices, 1^{8} 2^{3} $8^{12,26}$, so connected with the Temple services; hypocrites, Ps.Sol. $4^{7,22}$; wealthy, 12^{4} 15^{7}. *See* Righteous, Poor.
Sinope, Sib. 3^{344}.
Sins, great and small, equally heinous, Stoic view, 4Macc. $5^{20}n.$; of ignorance, T.L. 3^{5}; chastening of, Ps.Sol. 13^{6} 18^{5}; cleansed by confession, 9^{12}; fasting atones for, 3^{9}; lists of, *see* Lists; three cardinal, fornication, uncleanness, iniquity, Jub. 7^{21} 1En. 7^{1}.
Sion, i.e. Zion, 1Esd. 8^{81} 1Macc. $4^{37,60}$ 5^{54} $6^{48,61}$ 7^{33} 10^{11} Sir. 36^{14} 1Bar. $4^{9,14,24}$ Jub. 18^{13} 4Ez. $3^{2,28,31}$ 5^{25} 6^{4} [6^{19}] $10^{7,20,23,44}$ $12^{44,48}$ $13^{35,36}$ 14^{31}; footstool of, 6^{4}; mother of us all, $10^{7}n.$; new, 10^{44}; seal of, i.e. independence of, $10^{23}n.$ *See* Zion.
Sira. *See* Ben Sira, Jeshua.
Sirach, Zad. §§4, 9^{30}; Book of, abbreviations, Sir. § 10; account, short, § 1; authorship, § 6i; canonicity and use in Early Church, § 8; date, § 6ii; influence on later literature, § 7: (*a*) on N.T., (*b*) Tobit, (*c*) Jewish non-Rabbinic literature, (*d*) Rabbinic literature; original Hebrew text, § 3: (*a*) recovery of lost Hebrew original, (*b*) value and authenticity of fragments, relation to each other and to versions, (*c*) secondary Hebrew recension, (*d*) reconstruction of original Hebrew text; symbols used in notes, § 10; theology, § 9: (i) doctrine of God, (& § 4), (ii) the Law, (& § 4), (iii) Wisdom, (iv) Sin, (v) Future Life; title, § 2; versions, Greek, and secondary Greek text, Pharisaic recension, § 4; versions, other ancient, § 5: (i) Syriac, (ii) Old Latin, (iii) Syro-Hexaplaric, (iv) Sahidic, (v) Ethiopic, (vi) Aramaic, (vii) Slavonic, (viii) Arabic; relation of Tobit to, Tob. § 8iv.
Sirens, 1En. 19^{2} 2Bar. $10^{8}n.$ 4Macc. 15^{21}; as spirits of lamentation, Sib. 5^{457} 2Bar. 10^{8}.
Sirion. *See* Aspis.
Sirocco, Sir. 34^{16}.
Sis, a rock near the plain of Nisrin, Ah. 3^{11} (Syr.). *See* Nisrin.
Sisinnes, i. e. Tattenai, 1Esd. $6^{3,7,27}$ 7^{1}.
Sivan, month, 1Bar. 1^{8} 2En. 48^{2} $68^{1,3}$.
Slave-trade, 2Macc. 8^{11}.
Slay, 1En. 60^{25} 62^{2} 98^{12} 99^{15}; slain in Sheol, 99^{11}; spirits not slain, 22^{13}; spirits slain, 108^{3}.
Sleep, meaning of, Sir. $47^{23}n.$; not, those who, *see* Watchers.
Sloth despicable, Sir. 22^{1-2}.
Smyrna, Sib. $3^{344,365}$ $5^{122,306}$.
Social problems, Arist. § 6, 5.
Sodom, Jub. $13^{17,23,28}$ $16^{5,6,9}$ 20^{6} 22^{22} 36^{10} Mart.Is. 3^{10} T.L. 14^{6} T.N. 3^{4} 4^{1} T.A. 7^{1} T.B. 9^{1} 4Ez. 7^{106}; destruction of, 3Macc. 2^{5}; fruit of, Wisd. 10^{7}; = Jerusalem, Mart.Is. 3^{10}; men of, punished in the judgement, Wisd. $19^{15}n.$; punished, Sir. 16^{8}.
Sodomites, Jub. 16^{6} 20^{5}.
Solar year, Jub. $6^{29,30}$ 1En. 74; necessary to right observance of feasts, Jub. 6^{32-34}. *See* Year.
Solomon, 1Esd. $1^{3,5}$ $5^{33,35}$ 2Macc. $2^{8,12}$ Sir. 47^{13-23} A. & E. 51^{13} *Appendix* Sib. $3^{167,214}$ 2Bar. 61^{1} 77^{25} 4Macc. 18^{16} 4Ez. 7^{108} $10^{46}n.$ (*read* David). *See* Psalms of.
Solyma = Jerusalem, Sib. $4^{115,125}$.
Someis, 1Esd. 9^{34}.
Son, Aḥiḳar's prayer for a, Ah. 14^{5}; [of Man], in Son of Man Vision, 4Ez. 13 :—destroys enemies without labour by the Law, 13^{38}; restoration of lost Ten Tribes under, $13^{41}sqq.$; of Man, *in* 1 *Enoch*:—1En. 46^{2} 48^{2}; all judgement committed to, 69^{27}; pre-existence of, $48^{2}n.$; to sit on God's throne, 51^{3}; universal dominion of, 62^{1}; various phrases for, 1 En. §§ 9(*b*), 11(*b*), *see* Messiah; of man = Enoch, 1En. 60^{10}.
Son of God [A. & E. $42^{2,3,5}$]; Messiah as, 1En. 105^{2} (contrast 'Sons of God'); 4Ez. $7^{28,29}$ $13^{32,37,52}$ 14^{9}.
Son of the Law, 2Bar. $46^{4}n.$
Sons of (battle) din, Zad. 9^{10}(A). *See* Seth, seed of.
Sons of God, 1En. $69^{4,5}$ 71^{1}, *see* Angels; of the God of heaven, 1En. 106^{5}; of heaven, 13^{8}; Jacob, Zad. 4^{4}; man, 14^{6}; Noah, 4^{1}; of Watchers, 1En. 10^{12} 14^{6}, *see* Children; Zadok, Zad. 5^{7}.
Sorites, Wisd. 6^{17}.
Sorrow, and care, to be dismissed, Sir. 30^{21-25}; three things that cause, 26^{28}.
Sosibius of Tarentum, Arist. 12, 19.
Sosipater, Maccabaean leader, 2Macc. $12^{19,24}$.
Sostratus, 2Macc. $4^{27,29}$.
Sotona, 2En. 31^{4}. *See* Satan.
Soul, active, Wisd. 15^{11}, *see* Spirit; a good, fell to lot, Wisd. 8^{19}; external, belief in, Sir. $6^{16}n.$; greatly vexed, 1Bar. 2^{18}; hungry, 2^{18}; in anguish, 3^{1}; lent to man, Wisd. 15^{8}, cf. 15^{16}; individual, personal responsibility of, 4Ez. $7^{102-115}n.$; = influence, Sir. $47^{15}n.$; invisible, 1En. 93^{12}; living, and pure spirit given by God to man, Test. *App.* I 10^{8}; of man 'a transient individualization of the one primitive substance or force', Wisd. $2^{2}n.$
Souls, created before the foundation of the world, 2En. $23^{5}n.$; God the giver of, 4Macc. 13^{13} 18^{23}; disembodied (= *inspirationes*), state of, 4Ez. 7^{80-101}; holy, Wisd. 7^{27}; of dead, 1En. 9^{10} 22^{3}; of flesh, 16^{1}; of men, 9^{3}; of righteous, 102^{4}, cf. 102^{11}, in chambers, *see* Chambers, in fourth heaven, 3Bar. 10^{5}; pure and immortal, received from God, 4Macc. 18^{23}; pre-existence of, Wisd. § 9, $8^{19,20}$ 2En. $23^{5}n.$ 4Ez. $4^{41}n.$ 4Macc. 18^{23}; treasuries of, 2Bar. 21^{23}, *see* Chambers; unborn, 4Ez. $4^{41}n.$
Spain, 1Macc. 8^{3}.
Spartans, 1Macc. $12^{2,5,6,20,21}n.$ $14^{16,20,23}$ 15^{23}; league with, 12^{2}; letter of, to Onias, $12^{21}n.$; Jews brethren of, stock of Abraham, 12^{21}. *See* Letters.
Speculations, Greek, Sir. $3^{24}n.$
Speech, need of straightforwardness in, Sir. 5^{9}–6^{1}; times for, and silence, 20^{1-8}; unseasonable, 20^{18-20}; varieties of, 27^{11-15}; of wise and foolish, 27^{11-13}.
Speeches composed to suit characters, 4Macc. $5^{5}n.$
Spheres, orderly ministration of, 1En. 2^{1} 2En. $30^{2,3}$ 2 Bar. 48^{9} Ps.Sol. 18^{12-14}; a witness to men, 2Bar. 19^{3}. *See* Heavenly Bodies.
Spirit, and soul, 1En. 22^{3}; each judged according to his, Zad. 9^{48}; evil, *see* Demons; God's —His sweet, Sib.Frag. 1^{5}; Holy, Wisd. 9^{17} [A. & E. 42^{4}] Mart.Is. 5^{14} 4Ez. 14^{22} Ps.Sol. 17^{42}, of God, Test. *App.* I 10^{9} Zad. 2^{10}, (of man, Jub. $1^{21,23}$ Zad. 7^{12} 8^{20}); My, Jub. 5^{8}; of God, T.S. 4^{4} T.B. 8^{2} ($c\beta S^{1}$) [9^{4}] Sib. 3^{701} P.A. 3^{14}; of the Lord, Wisd. 1^{7} 1En. 67^{10}; which speaketh in me, Mart.Is. 1^{7}. *In* 1 *Enoch*: 1En. 13^{6} 15^{10} $22^{6,7,9-13}$ $39^{8,12}$ $60^{4,14,15,17}$ $67^{8,9}$ 68^{2} 70^{2} $71^{1,5,11}$ 91^{1} 92^{2} 93^{12} $98^{3,7,10}$ 102^{11} $103^{8,9}$ 106^{17} $108^{3,7}$; evil, $15^{8,9,12}$ 16^{1} 20^{6} 69^{12}; of Abel, 22^{7}; angels, 19^{1}; dead, $22^{5,9}$; dew, 6^{20} 75^{5}; earth, 15^{10}; faith, 61^{11}; giants, $15^{11,12}$ 16^{1}; good, 108^{11}; goodness, 61^{11}; of hail, 60^{17}; heaven 15^{10}; hoar-frost, 60^{17}; insight, 49^{3}; judgement, 61^{11}; life, 61^{7}; light, 61^{12}; lightning and thunder, $60^{14,15}$; man, 98^{7}; men, 20^{3} 22^{5} 41^{8}; mercy, 61^{11}; mist, 60^{19}; patience, 61^{11}; peace, 61^{11}; power, 71^{11}; rain, 60^{21}; reprobate, 10^{15}; righteous, 22^{9} 41^{8}; righteousness, 62^{2}; sea, 60^{16}; sinners, 22^{13} 108^{6}; snow, 60^{17}; souls of dead, 22^{3}; those who died in righteousness, 49^{3} $103^{3,4}$; thunder, 60^{14}; understanding and might, 49^{3}; water, 69^{22}; winds and zephyrs, 69^{22}; wisdom, 49^{3} 61^{11}. *In Test. XII Patr.*: of deceit (to be trodden under foot), T.S. 6^{6} T.L. 18^{12} T.Z. 9^{8}; desire, T.Jud. 16^{1}; envy, T.S. 3^{1} 4^{7}; fighting, T.R. 3^{4}; filthy lucre, T.Jud. 16^{1}; fornication, T.R. 3^{3}; hatred, T.G. 1^{9} 3^{1}; injustice, T.R. 3^{6}; insatiableness, 3^{3}; jealousy, T.Jud. 13^{3} T.S. 2^{7} T.D. 1^{6}; lust, T.Jud. 16^{1}; lying, T.R. 3^{5}; obsequiousness, 3^{4}; pride, 3^{5}; profligacy, T.Jud. 16^{1}; sleep, T.R. $3^{1,7}$; truth, T.Jud. $20^{1,5}$; understanding, T.L. 2^{3} 18^{7} T.Jud. 20^{2}; vainglory, T.D. 1^{6}; wickedness, T.D. 5^{6}, *see* T.S. 5^{1} T.N. 2^{2}; (= angel) of firmament, 4Ez. 6^{41}; of man, borrowed, Wisd. 15^{16}; vital, 15^{11}, *see* Soul; of wisdom, a, 7^{7} Ps.Sol. 18^{8}; †perturbed of, Zad. 9^{22}; = principle of life, Sir. $34^{13}n.$; punishment of, 1En. 67^{8}; sacred, = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11^{16}; slaying of, 1En. 22^{13} 108^{3}; troubled, 1Bar. 3^{1}; upright, Jub. 1^{20}.
Spirit(s) of Beliar, T.Iss. 7^{7} T.D. 1^{7} T.Jos. 7^{4} T.B. $3^{3,4}$. *See* Beliar, Mastema, Satans.
Spirits, and souls of the righteous, i.e. the living, Azar. 64; evil, haunt desert, 4Macc $18^{8}n.$; four evil, T.Jud. 16^{1}; invisible, T.L. 4^{1}; of the retributions (i. e. plagues), 3^{2}; over natural phenomena, 1En. $60^{12}n$, *see* Angels, Powers; seven, of deceit, T.R. $2^{1-2}n.$ 3^{3-6} T.L. 3^{3}; which serve before God (= angels), created on first day, Jub. 2^{2}.
Spleen, T.N. 2^{8}.
Spring, bright, of water, for righteous, 1En. 22^{9}. *See* Water.
Star, a, out of Jacob, Zad. 9^{8}; is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, 9^{8}; = leader and lawgiver of Zadokites, § 10ii. *See* Leader.
Stars, Sir. 43^{9-10}; = angels (?), 2En. $30^{14}n.$; battle of, Sib. $5^{512-531}$; conscious existence of, 1En. $41^{5}n.$; obedience of, 1Bar. 3^{34}, *see* Spheres; punished (the seven), 18^{13-16} 21^{1-6}; shooting, $44n.$; symbolize angels, $86^{1,3}$; men, 43^{4} 46^{7}.
Statute, Zad. 1^{15} 2^{4} 7^{12} 9^{2}(B), ^{12,37,51,52} 10^{14} 15^{2}.

Statutes of righteousness, Zad. $9^{37,53}$.
Stoic doctrine taught, T.R. 2^{3-9}; ideas in Wisdom, Wisd. $1^{7}n.$ $2^{2}n.$ $7^{27}n.$ $18^{19}n.$; philosophy, influence of, in Wisdom, § 9; teaching of five senses, Sir. $17^{5}n.$
Stoicism, 4Macc. §§ 8, 9; doctrine of sin, 5^{20}.
Strangers, intercourse with, danger of, Sir. 11^{34}.
Strangling of animals forbidden, 2En. 59^{4}.
Stubbornness of heart, Zad. $3^{4}n.$ $4^{5,10}$ $9^{18;27,34}$.
Study, P.A. 1^{17} $3^{10,11}$ $6^{2,6}$.
Stygian stream, Sib. 3^{146}.
Styx, 1En. $17^{6}n.$
Sua, 1Esd. 5^{29}.
Subai, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Subas, 1Esd. 5^{34}.
Submission to foreign conqueror inculcated in 1Bar. $1-3^{8}$, 1Bar. § 7.
Subscription to Sirach, by Jeshua, Sir. 50^{27-29}.
Substance, Wisd. $16^{21}n.$
Substitute for sins, Sir. 3^{14}. *See* Merit.
Sud, river, 1Bar. 1^{4}.
Sudhana Avadana, story of, Ah. § 4.
Sudias, 1Esd. 5^{26}.
Suffering, undeserved, problem of, Wisd. § 9; deserved, remedial and chastening, § 9.
Suicide, morality of, 4Macc. $17^{1}n.$; of Ptolemy Macron, 2Macc. 10^{13}; of the elder Razis, 14^{42}.
Sun, the, Sir. 43^{2-5}.
Sun's course, 1En. $72^{2}-73^{4}$ 2En. $13n.$ $14n.$ 16^{2} 3Bar. $6^{1}-8^{7}$; crown of fire, 6^{1} 8^{4}; defilement by beholding earth's sins, 8^{5}; orb, Zad. 13^{1}.
Sur, Judith 2^{28}.
Suretyship, Sir. 8^{12-13} 29^{14-20}.
Susa, Add.Esth. A^{2} E^{18} Sib. 4^{96}.
Susan, Jub. 8^{1}.
Susan, land of, Jub. 8^{21} 9^{2}.
Susanna, account, short, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 10; composite nature or integrity of text, § 6; date, § 7; influence on later literature, § 8; MSS., § 3; original text, § 5; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, § 4.
Susanna, Sus. 2 *n.*, 7, 22, 24, 27-31, 42, 63.
Swearing condemned, 2En. $49^{1}n.$
Sword, Zad. $1^{3,12,16}$ 4^{9} 9^{3}(B), ^{4,10,11}; given to sheep, 1En. 90^{19} 91^{12}; period of, 38^{5} 98^{12} $99^{4,6}$; used figuratively, 62^{12} 63^{11}.
Syene, Sib. 5^{194}.
Synagogue, the Great, P.A. $1^{1}n.$
Synagogues of the pious, Ps.Sol. 17^{18}. *See* Congregation, Council.
Syncellus, 1En. $6^{2}n.$
Syria, 1Esd. 2^{25} $6^{3,7,27}$ $8^{19,23}$ 1Macc. $3^{13,41}$ 7^{39} 3Macc. 3^{15} Judith 1^{12} 8^{26} Arist. 22 Sib. 4^{125} $5^{125,204}$ 4Macc. 4^{2}. *See* Coelesyria.
Syriac, 2Macc. 15^{36}.
Syrian, Jub. 27^{12}.
Syrians, T.N. 5^{8}; = ravens, 1En. 90^{8-12}.

Tabaet, 1En. 69^{12}.
Tabaoth, 1Esd. 5^{29}.
Tabellius, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2^{16}.
Tabernacle, Sir. 24^{15}, *see* Tent; of the King = books of Law, Zad. 9^{6}; of David, 9^{6}.
Tabernacles, feast of, 1Macc. $10^{21}n.$ 2Macc. $1^{18}n.$ Jub. 32^{27-29}; instituted, Jub. 16^{20-31}.
Table, behaviour at, Sir. 31 (34)$^{12-24}$. *See* Banquet.
Tablets of brass, treaties preserved on, 1Macc. 8^{22}; heavenly, 1En. $81^{1,2}$ 93^{2} 103^{2} 106^{19}, cf. $47^{3}n.$ T.L. 5^{4} T.A. $7^{5(\beta)}$; *in Jubilees*, record laws Levitical and criminal, 3^{8-14} 4^{5} $6^{17-18,30,35}$ 15^{25} $16^{9,16-29}$ 18^{18-19} 24^{33} 28^{6} 30^{9} 32^{2-15} 33^{10} 49 50^{6-13}; a contemporary event, 18^{18-19} 19^{9} $30^{9,20}$ 31^{32} 32^{22}; predictions, 5^{13} 23^{30-32} 30^{21-22}. *See* 1En. $47^{3}n.$
Tabshelim, one of the flying boys, Ah. 6^{5} (Syr.) *See* Ubael.
Tahpanhes, Judith 1^{10}.
Talking, avoid overmuch, Sir. 19^{4-12}.
Talmudic citations of Sirach, Sir. § 3.
†Tamaini, 1En. 82^{15}.
Tamar, Jub. $41^{1,6,9,16,19}$ T.Jud. $10^{1,2}$ 12^{1} 13^{3} 14^{5}.
Tamar, P.A. 5^{19}.
Tamiel, 1En. 6^{7}.
Tamnatares = Timnath, Jub. 34^{8}.
Tanagra, Sib. 3^{346}.
Tanais, Jub. 13^{12}.
Tanis, Judith 1^{10}.
Taphu (= Tephon, 1Macc. 9^{50}), king of, Jub. $34^{4,7}$. *See* Tephon.
Tappuah, T.Jud. 3^{2} 5^{6}.
Tarentum, Arist. 12.
Targum Ps. Jonathan, borrows from Testaments, T.Z. $3^{2}n.$ $4^{6}n.$
Tarphon, P.A. 2^{19-20}.
Tarsus, 2Macc. 3^{5} 4^{30}. *See* Apollonius.
Tartarus, 1En. $2c^{2}$ Sib. 4^{186}. *See* Hell.
Tattenai. *See* Sisinnes.
Tauri, Sib. 5^{132}.
Taurus, Sib. $5^{208,518,519}$.
Taxo = Eleazar the scribe, Ass. Mos. $9^{1}n.$
Tazon = Gozan, Mart.Is. $3^{2}n.$
Teacher, i.e. God, Sir. 51^{17}; of Righteousness, Zad. § 10iv, 1^{7} 8^{10}, relation to Messiah, $1^{7}n.$; Unique, 9^{53}, gathered in, 9^{29}(B) ^{39}(B); voice of, 9^{50}. *See also* 4^{7}.
Tebon in Gilead, Mart. Is. 2^{14}.
Tekoah, wilderness of, 1Macc. $9^{33}n.$
Teman, Jub. 38^{18}; wisdom of, 1Bar. 3^{22}.
Temperance, a gift of God, Arist. 237, 248.
Temple, Tob. 1^{4} 14^{5} Sir. 36^{14} 49^{12} $50^{1,7}$ Wisd. 9^{8} Arist. 53, 88 Sib. $3^{294,302,703,718}$ $4^{116,118,125}$ 5^{150}, *see* Holy Place, House, Tower; altar and vessels lately sanctified after profanation, Judith $4^{3}n.$; and altar, Add. Esth. § 7; beauty of, 3Macc. 1^{10}; cleansing of, 2Macc. $10^{5}sq.$; deposits in, $3^{6}sq.$; description of, Arist. 84-99; desecration by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1^{20-24} (*see* Vessels) Sib. 3^{327}; by Pompey, due to Israel's sin, P.Sol. 2^{1-15}; destroyed by fire, 1Bar. § 7; destruction of, Sib. $5^{398,401}n.$ $4^{116,119,125}$ 5^{150}; earthly, to be restored, and so sacred vessels preserved, 4Ez. $10^{22}n.$; furniture hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 2^{4-12}; honoured by heathen kings, e.g. Seleucus, 2Macc. 3^{1-4}, till Heliodorus attempted to plunder treasury, 3^{7-25}; = Lord's dwelling, 2En. 51^{4}; miraculous intervention to protect, 2Macc. 3^{24-30}; music and services, Sir. 50^{18}; of God, T.B. 9^{2}; Philopator's attempt to enter, 3Macc. $1^{9}sq.$ 3^{17}; profanation of, 2Macc. $5^{16}sq.$ 6^{4}; by Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 5^{1-27}; allowed by God owing to sin of Jews, 5^{17-20}; profaning of, Zad. §§ 9^{40} 10, *see* Sanctuary; purified and rededicated, 1Macc. 4^{36-61} 2Macc. 10^{1-8}; rebuilding of: Cyrus' decree for, § 1, 2^{1-15}, in 538 B.C. 5^{46}, forbidden by Artaxerxes, 2^{25-28}, completed by Darius's intervention, § 1, 6-7, in 520-516 B.C., Samaritans hinder, § 1, 2^{16-30}, whether done by Ezra or Nehemiah, § 5(*e*); restoration of, but 'not like the first', Tob. 14^{5}; low esteem of worship of, Ass. Mos. $4^{8}n.$ 1En. $89^{73,74}$ 2Bar. 68^{6}; sanctity of, 3Macc. $1^{11}sq.$ $2^{9}sq.$; second, destruction of, Zad. § 6i*n.*; second, low reputation of, 2Bar. $68^{6}n.$; still standing, Zad. § 6i, $1^{3}n.$; treasures, 4Macc. 4^{3}, an object of attack to Epiphanes, 1Macc. $3^{31}n.$; veil of, *see* Veil; Warden of, 2Macc. $3^{4}n.$; worship, importance of, in Sir. 44-49*n.* *See* Sanctuary.
Temple, Heavenly, Azar. 31; = the holy, T.L. 5^{1}; of glory, 18^{6}.
Temple, heathen, Bel. 8.
Temple, Messianic, Sib. 5^{423}.
Temple of Onias at Alexandria, 1Esd. § 1.
Temples, use of, disowned, Sib. 4^{27}.
Temptations, the, T.Jos. 2^{7}; of trade, Sir. $26^{29}-27^{3}$; power of, Wisd. 4^{12}.
Tempting God, wickedness of, Sir. 5^{4-8}.
Ten, series of: generations, P.A. $5^{2,3}$; sayings, world created by, 5^{1}; things created between the suns, 5^{9}; trials of Abraham, 5^{4}; wonders in Egypt, 5^{5}; in Sanctuary, 5^{8}.
Ten tribes, Ass. Mos. § 6 4Ez. 13^{40}; Return of, 13^{40-48}.
Tendency, the natural, Sir. $21^{11}n.$ *See* Inclination, Yetzer.
Tent, Sir. 50^{5}. *See* Tabernacle.
Tenth, first and second, Tob. $1^{6,7}$. *See* Tithes.
Tephon, city, 1Macc. 9^{50}. *See* Taphu.
Terah, Jub. $11^{10,12,14}$ $12^{1,14,15,29}$ 34^{20}.
Tergal, king of nations, Jub. 13^{22}.
Territory added to Judaea by Demetrius I, 1Macc. $10^{30,38}$.
Tertullian, 1En. 8^{1} $15^{8,9}$ 19^{1} $99^{6,7}$ (*notes*).
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, account of, § 1; additions, Jewish, § 12, Christian, § 13; author, § 11; bibliography, § 17; brackets, symbols, and abbreviations, § 18; date of original Hebrew, § 10; integrity of, § 11; influence on Jewish and Patristic literature, § 14, on N.T., § 15; MSS., Armenian, § 4, Greek, § 3; original language Hebrew, § 8; recensions of, two, in Armenian, § 6, Greek, §§ 7, 9, Hebrew, § 9, Slavonic, § 5; relation to 1 Enoch, 1En. § 10(*a*); 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4; sources, § 11; theology of, § 16; title, § 2; versions of, Armenian, § 6; Greek, § 7, translated from Hebrew, § 8; Slavonic, § 5. *See* Zad. §§ 8, 12, Levi, References.
Testament of Moses, Ass.Mos. 1^{1}. *See* Moses.
Testament, title of, Test. § 2.
Testimony, 1En. 67^{12} $89^{63,76}$ 96^{4} 97^{4} 99^{3}, cf. 89^{53} 103^{4}.
Testing of character, Sir. 2^{1-6} $4^{17,18}$; of friends, Sir. 6^{7}.
Teuchira, Sib. 5^{195}.
Thamna, T.Jud. $7^{4,9}$ (Timnath, 1Macc. 9^{50}).
Thanksgiving, a, Sir. $51^{12i-xvi}$.
Tharmuth, daughter of Pharaoh, Jub. 47^{5}.
Tharra, eunuch, Add. Esth. A^{12}.
Thassis. *See* Simon.
Thebes, Sib. 4^{89} 5^{189}.
Thelersas, 1Esd. 5^{36}.
Theodektes, tragic poet, Arist. $316n.$
Theodosius, Arist. 47.
Theodosius, an elder, Arist. 49.
Theodosius, an elder, Arist. 50.
Theodotus, 2Macc. 14^{19}.
Theodotus, a deserter from Ptolemy, 3Macc. $1^{2}n.$
Theophanies referred to, T.S. 6^{5} T.L. 2^{11} 5^{2} 8^{1} T.Jud. 22^{2} T.Z. 9^{8} T.D. 5^{13} T.N. 8^{3} T.A. 7^{3}.
Theophilus *ad* Autolycum, Sib. § 1.
Theophilus, an elder, Arist. 49.
Theophrastus, Ah. § 2.
Theopompus of Chios, Arist. $314n.$
Therapeutae, Wisd. 4^{8}.
Theras, river, 1Esd. $8^{41,61}$.
Thermeleth, 1Esd. 5^{36}.
Thermodon, Sib. 5^{320}.
Thessalian land, Sib. 5^{134}.
Thevan or Thevad, month, 2En. 48^{2}.

Third period or kingdom. *See* 4Ez. $5^{4}n.$
Thisbe, Tob. 1^{2}.
Thmouis, Sib. 5^{86}.
Thocanus, 1Esd. 9^{14}.
Thomei, 1Esd. 5^{32}.
Thrace, Sib. 3^{508} 5^{16}.
Thracian, 2Macc. 12^{35} Sib. 3^{474}.
Thracians, Sib. $5^{333,337,467}$.
Three Children, Song of, 4Macc. 13^{9}. *See* Azariah, Prayer of; Hananiah, Mishael.
Throne, of God, 1En. 25^{3}; of glory, T.L. 5^{1}; Elect One sits on, 1En. 45^{3} 55^{4} $62^{3,5}$.
Thrones, T.L. 3^{8}; of the elect, 1En. 108^{12}.
Thummim. *See* Urim.
Thunder, 1En. 59^{2}, *see* Lightning; and lightning, angel or spirit of, *see* Angels.
Thunderer, Sib. 3^{405}. *See* Poseidon.
Tiber, Sib. 5^{170}.
Tigers = Assyrians, 1En. $89^{55}n.$
Tigris, Tob. 6^{2} Judith 1^{6} Sir. 24^{25} Jub. $9^{2,5}$ A. & E. 6^{1} 7^{1} 9^{1} S.A. & E. 36^{1} 1En. $77^{6}n.$ Sib. 4^{64}.
Time, observe the, Sir. $4^{20}n.$; watch closely, 27^{12}.
Times and seasons, 4Ez. $14^{5}n.$; ended, Ass.Mos. 7^{1}; end of, 11^{39} 12^{9} 14^{9}; of Most High, ended, 4Ez. $11^{44}n.$, *see* Last time; the last, T.Iss. 6^{1}. *See* Hours.
Timnath, 1Macc. 9^{50} Jub. 41^{89}. *See* Tamnatares.
Timotheus, an Ammonite, 1Macc. $5^{6,11,34,37,40}$.
Timotheus, general, 2Macc. $8^{30,32}$ 9^{3} $10^{24,32,37}$; death, 10^{37}.
Timotheus, governor, 2Macc. $12^{2,10,18,19,20,21,24}$.
Tina, river, Jub. $8^{12,16,25,28}$ $9^{2,7}$.
Tiras, Jub. 7^{19} 9^{13} Test. *App.* I 9^{4}.
Tirshatha, the. *See* Attharias.
Titan, Sib. $3^{110,121,129,149}$.
Titans, Judith 16^{7} Sib. $3^{132,138,147,156,157,199}$.
Tithes and tolls, on Temple revenues, 1Macc. 10^{31}; law of, 13^{25-27} 32^{10-15}; of oxen and sheep, 32^{15}, *see* Holy Things, Tenth; paid by Jacob to Levi, Jub. 32^{4-9}.
Tithing, Jub. § 15, 32^{10}.
Titus, Sib. $5^{408,411}$.
Tobia the Canaanite, Mart.Is. 2^{5}.
Tobiadae, the, Sir. $45^{25}n.$
Tobias. *See* Hyrcanus.
Tobiel, Tob. 1^{1}.
Tobit, Book of, abbreviations used, § 13; account of, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; date of, pre-Maccabaean, § 6; influence on later literature, § 11; integrity of, § 9; MSS. and Papyrus, Greek, § 3 (for non-Greek, *see* Versions of); original language, Greek or Semitic, § 5; place of composition, Egypt, § 7; purpose, § 7; religious and moral teaching, § 10; sources, § 8: (i) Tractate of Khons; (ii) Fable of Grateful Dead; (iii) Story of Aḥiḳar; (iv) O.T. and Apocrypha, esp. Sirach; (v) Magian influences; title, § 2; versions, non-Greek, § 4; (A) Aramaic; (B) Latin—Old Latin and Quotations, Vulgate; (C) Hebrew Versions, Münster, Fagius, London, Gaster; (D) Syriac, two; (E) Ethiopic; parallels of, with Sirach, Sir. § 7(*b*), with Aḥiḳar, Ah. § 3(*b*).
Tola, Jub. 44^{16}.
Tolbanes, 1Esd. 9^{25}.
Tolman, 1Esd. 5^{28}.
Tomas, 1En. 78^{1}.
Tongue, control of, Sir. 23^{7-15}; mischief wrought by wicked, 28^{13-26}. *See* Double-tongued.
Tongues, two, T.B. 6^{5}.
Torah, P.A. $1^{1,2,5a,12,15}$ $2^{2,8,9,16,18,20}$ $3^{3-7,8,16,18,21}$ $4^{8,11,12,17,18}$ $5^{11,24}$ $6^{1-4,6,7,10,11}$; the chief concept of Aboth, P.A. § 5.
Torah and Mitzvah, Sir. $8^{9}n.$
Torture, 2Macc. $6^{19}sq.$ $7^{4}sq.$ $13^{5}sq.$; instruments of, 4Macc. $8^{13}n.$ $10^{6}sq.$ $11^{9}sq.$
Tower of sanctuary, Ass.Mos. $2^{4}n.$
Tower = Temple, 1En. $89^{50}n.$ ^{54,56,67,73}.
Trade, temptations of, Sir. 26^{29}–27^{3}.
Tradition, P.A. $3^{18}n.$; of the elders = Halachah, P.A. § 2; oral, Sir. $8^{9}n.$; recognized only to small extent by Zadokites, Zad. § $9^{30,40}$.
Trajan, 4Ez. $11^{32}n.$ $12^{3-39}n.$
Trallis, Sib. 3^{459} 5^{289}.
Transcendence of God, 1Macc. § 5.
Transformation of nature, Sib. 3^{777}; of world, moral and physical, *gradual*, Jub. $1^{29}n.$ T.L. 18 (*contrast* 1En. 45^{4} 91^{16} 2Bar. 32^{6} 67^{2} 4Ez. 7^{75}); of world, spiritual—it becomes undying, 2Bar. 51^{3}; incorruptible, 74^{2}, *see* World; of righteous at resurrection, $51^{1-3,7}$; and of condemned, 51^{4-6}. *See* Creation.
Translations of Enoch and Elijah, 4Ez. 6^{26}, *see* Messiah, companions of; of Ezra, 4Ez. 14^{9}, *see* Enoch.
Translators of Septuagint, Arist. 47–50.
Treasure of works. *See* Works.
Treasure-house of natural forces, Sir. 43^{14}.
Treasure-houses of snow, dew, &c., 2En. 5^{1} 6^{1}.
Treasures of immortality, 4Ez. 8^{54}.
Treasuries of good deeds, 2Bar. $24^{1}n.$; of righteousness, $24^{1}n.$, *see* Works, good; of souls, $21^{23}n.$ 23^{4}, *see* Chambers; of the stars, 1En. 17^{1}; of the winds, 18^{1} 4Ez. $4^{5}n.$ $5^{37}n.$
Treasury of manna, 2Bar. 29^{8}.
Tree, dismembered = Israel. 1En. 26^{1}; of life, 24^{4} 25^{4-6} Apoc. Mos. 19^{2} 22^{3} $28^{2,4}$ T.L. 18^{11} 2En. $8^{3}n.$ 4Ez. 7^{123} $8^{52}n.$; of mercy, i.e. of life, A. & E. 36^{2} 40^{2} 2En. 8^{5}(B), cf. 22^{8}(B); of wisdom, 1En. $32^{3-6}n.$
Trees, desirable, 1En. 10^{19}; fourteen evergreen, 3; fragrant, 24^{3} 29^{2} 30^{3} 32^{1}; with branches abiding and blooming, 26^{1}.
Trees of gladness = saints, as in Ps.Sol. 14^{2} (?), 12^{3}, but cf. 11^{7}.
Trees of life = God's pious ones, Ps.Sol. 14^{2}. *See* Planting.
Trespass, Zad. 1^{3} 8^{18} $9^{17,32,48}$ 10^{10} 11^{4}; against next of kin, 9^{17}; against Law, 10^{10}.
Trials, P.A. $5^{4,7}$. *See* Abraham, Testing.
Triballi, Sib. 5^{504}.
Tribes, the nine and a half, 2Bar. 62^{5} 77^{19} 78^{1}; the ten, 1^{2}, *see* Ten; the Twelve, T.B. 9^{2}.
Tribes, two and a half, lost Epistle to, 2Bar. § 8, $77^{12,17,19}$.
Tripolis, 2Macc. 14^{1}.
Tripolis by Maeander, Sib. 5^{321}.
Troglodytes, T.Z. 4^{6}.
Troy, Sib. $3^{206,405}$ 5^{9}.
True, he is, Zad. 2^{10}. *See* Interpretation, Judgement, Messiah.
Trumpet, announces coming woe, Ps.Sol. 8^{1}; proclaims Final Judgement, 4Ez. 6^{23}, cf. $5^{4}n.$ *See* Voice of God.
Truth, Tob. 4^{6} 12^{8}; praise of, 1Esd. § 1, 3^{1}–4^{46} $3^{1}n.$
Truthfulness enjoined, T.R. 6^{9} T.D. 2^{1} 5^{2} 6^{8} T.A. 6^{1} T.B. 10^{3}; as a virtue, T.Iss. $7^{4,5}$ T.D. 1^{3}.
Tryphon, 1Macc. $11^{39}n.^{54,56}$ $12^{39,42,49}$ $13^{1,12,14,20-24,31,34}$ 14^{1} $15^{10,25,37,39}$ Sib. $3^{388-400}n.$
Tsivan. *See* Sivan.
Tubal, Jub. 7^{19} 9^{11} Test. *App.* I 9^{4}.
Tubias, place, 1Macc. $5^{13}n.$
Tubieni, Jews so styled at Charax, 2Macc. $12^{17,35}$.
Tumael, 1En. 69^{2}.
†Turael, 1En. 69^{2}.
Turel, 1En. 6^{7} 69^{2}.
†Turel, 1En. 69^{2}.
Turn away. *See* Apostasy.
Twenty-two acts of creation, Jub. 2^{15}; heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, 2^{23}.
Twins, the, Sib. $5^{208,521}$.
Tyrannus. *See* Auranus.
Tyre, 1Esd. 5^{55} Judith 2^{28} Mart. Is. 5^{13} Sib. 4^{90} 5^{455} 2Macc. $4^{18,32,44}$; games at, 2Macc. 4^{18}; Ladder of, 1Macc. 11^{59}.
Tyrians, Sib. 4^{90}.

Ubael, one of the flying boys, Ah. 6^{5} (Syr.). *See* Tabshelim.
Uchan, 2En. 57^{2} (A, 'Azuchan' B).
Unchastity, Zad. 9^{17}.
Uncircumcised (= children of the pit), Zad. 8^{12} 16^{7}; marriage with, Add.Esth. C^{26}.
Uncircumcision, an eternal error, no forgiveness for, Jub. 15^{34}; submitted to, 1Macc. $1^{15}n.$ *See* Hellenizing.
Unclean, Zad. 5^{4} 8^{14} 12^{2} $14^{1,2,6}$ 15^{1}, *see* Clean; foods, abstinence from, 4Macc. $5^{26}n.$; woman, Zad. 5^{4}.
Uncleanness, 1En. $10^{11,20}$ 91^{7}. cf. 106^{17}, *see* Sin; Zad. 1^{17} $14^{1,15,16}$, *see* Impurity; heathen, Wisd. 14^{24}; laws of, Zad. § 7.
Underworld, i.e. *infernum* = abode of souls of wicked dead, 4Ez. $4^{41}n.$
Unfaithful steward, parable of, parallel to, in, Ah. 3^{1-2}.
Unforgiving, no atonement for, Sir 28^{5}.
Ungodly, end of, Sir. 41^{5-13}.
Unique. *See* Teacher.
Unity of God, Sir. § 9i Sib. Frags. i & iii 2Bar. 48^{24} 4Ez. § 10i.
Universal salvation, T.S. 6^{5} T.L. 2^{11} Test. § 16.
Unleavened bread, Feast of, Jub. 49^{22}.
Unrighteous, 1En. $62^{2,13}$ 96^{2} 103^{11}, *see* Sinners, Wicked; gains, 1En. 63^{10}, *see* Wealth.
Upper chamber, Tob. 3^{17}.
Upper Galilee, Tob. 1^{2}.
Upright, *see* Spirit.
Uprightness, *see* Plant; of heart, T.Iss. $3^{1}n.$ 4^{6} T.G. 7^{7}.
Ur, son of Kesed, Jub. $11^{1,3}$.
Ur of Chaldees, city, Jub. $11^{7,8}$ $12^{,14,15,21}$ 13^{7} 14^{7} 22^{27} Sib. 3^{218}. *See* Camarina.
Urias, 1Esd. 8^{62} 9^{43}.
Uriel, A. & E. $48^{4,6,7}$ Apoc. Mos. 40^{1} 1En. 9^{1} 10^{1} 19^{1} 20^{2} (over Tartarus) $21^{5,9}$ 27^{2} 33^{4} 72^{1} 74^{2} $75^{3,4}$ 78^{10} 79^{6} 80^{1} 82^{7} (*see* Angels, Archangels) 4Ez. [4^{1}] 5^{20} 10^{27}; archangel of fire and of Gehenna, $4^{1}n.$; sent as messenger to Salathiel, 4^{1}.
Urim, Law faithful as, Sir. 33^{3}.
Urim and Thummim, 1Esd. 5^{40}.
Usury, Sir. $29^{2}n.$
Uta, 1Esd. 5^{30}.
Uthi, 1Esd. 8^{40}.
Uzziel, Test. *App.* II 74.

Valley, accursed (= Gehenna), 1En. 27^{2}; burning, among metal mountains, 67^{4}, cf. 67^{7}, *see* 54^{7}–$55n.$; deep with burning fire, $54^{1,2}$; deep with open mouths, 53^{1}; full of water, 30^{1}.
Valleys, cinnamon, 1En. 30^{3}; of the earth, 10^{12}. *See* Abyss, Chasm, Deep, Depth, Gehenna, Ravine.
Value, true of a man, how tested, Sir. 27^{4-7}.
Varus, quelled Jewish rebellion in 4 B.C., Ass.Mos. 6^{8}.
Veil of Temple, T.L. 10^{3} T.B. 9^{4}.
Vengeance, 4Macc. $9^{24,32}$ 10^{21} 11^{23} 12^{19} Zad. 9^{20} $10^{2,3,6}$; belongs to God alone, Sir. 27^{30}–28^{7}; of the covenant, Zad. 1^{12} 9^{11}.
Venom = head, Zad. 9^{20}.
Versions. *See under each Book.*
Vespasian and Titus = Nabuchodonosor and Baltasar, 1Bar. § 7.
Vessel = body, 4Ez. $4^{10}n.$ $7^{88}n.$
Vessels of Temple, *see* Temple; holy, hidden by angel till last times of Messianic restoration, 2Bar. 6^{4-10} new ones made for rededicated Temple,

1Macc. 4^{49}; of the Lord, removed by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, Ass. Mos. 3^{2}, first some, 1Esd. 1^{41}; again others, 1^{45}; all taken, 1^{54}; restored (?) by Cyrus, $2^{10}n.$ 6^{18}; by Darius, $4^{44,57}$ 6^{26}; by Artaxerxes, 8^{17}; of Temple, restored to Jerusalem by captives at Babylon, 1Bar. $1^{8}n.$; removed from Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 1^{21-23}.

Vesuvius, 1Bar. $4^{35}n.$

Vicarious suffering of martyrs, 2Macc. 7^{33-38} 4Macc. 6^{28}.

Vine, planted by angel Sammael, the forbidden tree, 3Bar. $4^{8}n.$

Violence, 1En. 65^{6} $91^{5,6,8,11,18,19}$ 94^{2} 102^{10} 104^{6}; denunciation of, Sib. $5^{228-246}$. *See* Oppressed.

Virgo, Sib. $5^{209,521}$.

Virtues, cardinal, Wisd. 8^{7}; = guardian angels, A. & E. 21^{1}, cf. 33^{1}; philosophical, 4Macc. $1^{2}sq.$ $5^{23}sq.$—forms of wisdom, 1^{18}; obtained by training under the Law, 5^{23}.

Vision, Tob. 12^{19}; of angels, Jews saved by, 3Macc. 6^{18}; of the cedar and the vine, i.e. A^{2}, 2Bar. 36-40; of the cloud and the lightning, i.e. A^{3}, 2Bar. 53-74; heavenly, 1En. 93^{2}; of the Holy One, 1^{2}; of chastisement, 13^{8}; of cherubim, 14^{18}; of wisdom, 37^{1}; of Levi, T.L. $2^{5}sqq.$ $8^{1}sqq.$; Jacob, T.Jud. 3^{10}; Naphtali, T.N. 5, 6; Joseph, T.Jos. 19. cf. T.B. 10^{1}.

Visions, 1En. 13^{8} $14^{4,8,14}$ 19^{3} 37^{1} 83^{1-7} $85^{2,3}$ 87^{2} 88^{3} $89^{7,70}$ $90^{2,8,40,42}$ 93^{2} 106^{13}, *see* Dream Visions; of Naphtali, Test. *App.* I 2^{1}–3^{13} 4^{1}-6^{8}.

Visit (of God), Zad. 1^{5} 7^{17} $9^{12,13}$.

Visitation, Zad. $9^{2,10,11}$ (period of, 9^{10}; of first, 9^{11}); = deliverance, Wisd. 3^{7}; in good sense, Ass.Mos. 1^{18}; = judgement, Wisd. $14^{11}n.$ 19^{15}; of the earth, by God, 2Bar. $20^{2}n.$

Visiting the sick, duty of, Sir. $7^{35}n.$

Voice, mysterious voice, a sign of the End, 4Ez. 5^{7}; of God proclaims the End, 6^{13-17}. *See* Trumpet.

Vows, P.A. 3^{18} 4^{23}. *See* Laws.

Vretil, 2En. $22^{11,12}$ 23(B).

Vulgar, i.e. am-ha-aretz, P.A. 2^{6} 3^{15} 5^{13}.

Vultures = Graeco-Egyptians, 1En. 90^{2}, cf. $90^{11,13}n.$

Wages, Tob. 4^{14} $5^{15}sq.$ 12^{3} Arist. 258, 259.

Wajjissau. *See* Midrash.

Walk, according to Law, Zad. 7^{1} 9^{1}: in midrash of Law, 9^{33}; in perfection of holiness, 8^{21}; uprightly, 1^{16} 3^{2}.

Wall, built the, Zad. 6^{8} 9^{21}; builders of, $7^{1}9^{26}$. *See* Pharisees.

War of Egyptians against Canaan, Jub. $46^{6-9}n.$ T.S. 8^{2} T.G. $8^{5}n.$ T.B. $12^{3(\beta)}$.

Wars, civil, T.Jud. 22^{1} T.Z. 9^{2-5}.

Watchers = (i) archangels, 1En. $12^{2,3}$, cf. 20^{1} ('who watch'), *also* $39^{12,13}$ 40^{2} 61^{12} 71^{7} ('who sleep not'); = (ii) fallen angels, 1En. 1^{5} $10^{9,13}$ 12^{4} 13^{10} $14^{1,3}$ 15^{2} $16^{1,2}$ 91^{15} Jub. $4^{15,22}$ 7^{21} 8^{3} 10^{5}; the, T.R. $5^{6,7}$ T.N. 3^{5}; of heaven fell, Zad. 3^{4}, *see* Inclination; punished, rebellious in second heaven, 2En. 7^{1-5}, lustful beneath the earth, 2En. 18^{7}. *See* Children of, Grigori, Princes.

Water, Zad. 5^{3} 9^{13} $12^{1,2}$ 13^{12} 14^{14}, *see* Cleansed; of judgement, 1En. 67^{13}, *see* Spring.

Waters, above the heavens, 1En. $54^{1,7}$; beneath the earth, 54^{8} 66^{1}; earth upon, 69^{17}, *see* Fountain, Spring; living, 1En. 17^{4}, cf. 22^{9}; spring of, Zad. 9^{28}, *see* Well; of knowledge, i. e. of Torah, Sir. $15^{3}n.$

Way = course of action, P.A. 2^{1}; good, right, evil, &c., $2^{1,12,13}$ 6^{4}; of God, Zad. 9^{42}; of righteousness, 1En. 82^{4}; The Way, Zad. 1^{6-8} 2^{4}.

Ways, *in 4 Ezra*: of this world, narrow and sorrowful, 4Ez. $7^{11,12}$; of future world, broad and safe, 7^{13}, *see* Path; of souls, seven, *see* Seven. *In Zad. Frag.*: of God, Zad. 5^{2}, 9^{42}; of kings of Gentiles, 9^{20}; of the people, 9^{24}; of traitors, 9^{15}; of unclean woman, 5^{4}; of wicked, 2^{1} 9^{10};—the Two, 1En. $91^{4}n.$ $^{19}n.$ 2En. $30^{15}n.$ T.A. $1^{3,5}$.

Wealth, Zad. 6^{11} 9^{33} 14^{8} 16^{4}; and unjust gain, 9^{17} 13^{4}, or gain, 13^{25} 14^{7}; duties of, 14^{3-19}; less honoured than wisdom, Sir. 10^{30}–11^{1}; of Sanctuary, Zad. 8^{12}; of sins, 1En. 103^{5}, *see* Unrighteous; of wickedness, Zad. 6^{11} 8^{12} 9^{15}; trust not in, Sir. $5^{1,2}$, cf. 1En. 94^{8}; without sin, is good, Sir. 13^{24}. *See* Gains.

Week, of world, 1En. 93 91^{12-17}; = seven millenniums, 4Ez. $4^{36-37}n.$ $7^{30,43}$.

Weeks, Zad. 20^{1}; feast of, 2Macc. 12^{31} Tob. 2^{1} Jub. $15^{1}n.$, connected with Noah's covenant, Jub. $6^{17,18}$, *see* Pentecost; (= year-weeks), Jub. *Prologue*, $1^{26,29}$.

Weighing, 1En. 41^{1} 43^{2} 60^{12} 61^{8}; of sins of Israel and the nations, 4Ez. 3^{34}.

Well, is the Law, Zad. 8^{6}; dug by nobles of people, 8^{9}, penitents of Israel, 8^{6}; of many waters, dig a (= restudy Law), Zad. 5^{3} 8^{4-6}; of the Oath, Jub. $16^{11,15,20}$ 18^{17} 22^{1} 24^{26} $29^{17,18,19}$ 36^{12} $44^{1,8}$; of Vision, Jub. 24^{1}.

West, 1En. 67^{4} 70^{3}. *See* Fire.

White, symbolizes righteousness, 1En. $83^{3}n.$; men = angels. *See* Angels, Men.

Whoredom, Tob. 4^{12}.

Wicked, God's wrath against, Sir. 16^{6-14} $32(35)^{15}$; recompense of, 9^{2}; sacrifice of, Zad. 14^{1}; snared by Law, Sir. 32 $(35)^{15}$; ways of, Zad. 2^{1} 9^{19}.

Wickedness, of impurity, Sir. 23^{16-27}; of kings after Solomon, 47^{23-25}; of people in Elisha's time, 48^{12-16}; of tempting God, *see* Tempting; period of, Zad. $8^{9,12}$ 15^{4}, *see* Israel; wealth of, *see* Wealth.

Widows, Tob. 1^{8}; care of, Sir. 4^{10}.

Wife, P.A. $1^{5,5a}$; avoid being jealous of, Sir. 9^{1}; blessing of a good, $26^{1-4,13-22}$; curse of wicked, $26^{5-12,23-27}$; duty to, Sir. $7^{19,26}$ 9^{1}; need of a good, 26^{19-27}; value of, $36^{24-26(29-31)}$.

Will of God, T.Iss. 4^{3} T.D. 6^{6} T.N. 3^{1} T.B. $11^{2(\beta)}$ P.A. 2^{4} 5^{24} Zad. 3^{1-2} 5^{2}; of man, of own spirit, 4^{2}; own, 3^{7} 4^{10}. *see* Free-will.

Windows, 1En. $72^{3,7}$ 75^{7} 83^{11} 101^{2}.

Windpipe, T.N. 2^{8}.

Winds, 1En. 18^{1-5} 34-36 41^{4} 60^{12} 76; angels or spirits of, *see* Angels; portals of, 76^{1}; the twelve, 76^{1}. *See* Chambers, Treasuries.

Wine, 2Macc. 15^{39} Tob. $4^{15,17}$; makes heart lustful, Sir. 9^{9} 19^{2}; new, a new friend is, 9^{10}; use and abuse of, Sir. $31(34)^{25-31}$; = ways of kins of Gentiles, Zad. 9^{19}. *See* Dragons.

Wisdom, Tob. $4^{18,19}$ 4Macc. $1^{16}sq.$ P.A. 2^{8} $3^{12,13,21-23}$ 4^{1} $5^{10,13}$ $6^{6,8}$; and fear of God, $3^{21,22}$; and Word, 2En. 33^{4}; assessor of God, 2En. $30^{8}n.$; awaits righteous in heaven, 4Ez. 8^{52}; embodied in Law, praise of, 1Bar. § 11, 3^{9}–4^{4}; God loveth, Zad. 2^{2}; hidden at last times, 2Bar. 48^{36}; hypostatized, 2En. $30^{8}n.$ 33^{3}, cf. 1En. $42^{1,2}$. *In Book of Wisdom*: conceptions of—a breath of the power of God, a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty, ... from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets, 7^{25-27}; God's intermediary, sent into world, 9^{10}; immortal, $8^{17}n.$; not a person, but personified, § 9; omnipotent, $7^{21,27}$ 8^{8}; omnipresent, 1^{7}; omniscient, 8^{8} 9^{11}; spirit, 7^{22}; spouse of God, 8^{3}; synonymous with Word, $9^{1}n.$ *In Sirach*: Sir. $1^{1,4,6,14,16,18,20,25,26,27}$ $4^{11,23,24}$ 6^{18} 7^{6} 10^{30} 11^{15} 13^{22} 14^{20} 15^{18} 16^{24} 18^{28} $19^{20,22}$ $20^{30,31}$ $21^{11,18,21}$ 22^{6} 23^{15} $24^{1,25}$ $25^{5,10}$ 27^{11} 32^{4} $33^{8,11,17}$ $38^{24,34}$ 39^{1} 40^{19} $41^{14,15}$ 42^{21} 51^{13-30}; applied to eating, 37^{27-31}; as seen in creation, 16^{24-30}; blessedness of those who seek, 14^{20-27}; comes from the Lord, 1^{1} 11^{15}; conception of in Sirach, § 9 iii; —divine, created before creation, eternal: = the fear of the Lord: the free gift of God; differs from craftiness, 19^{20-30}; fear of Lord is true wisdom, 1^{11-20}; how acquired by Ben-Sira, 51^{13-30}; how attained, 15^{1-10}; joy and crown of beauty to those who seek, $6^{18,19,23-31}$, but harsh to foolish, 6^{20-22}; must not be hidden, 4^{23} $20^{30,31}$ $4^{14,15}$; need of in rulers, 9^{17}–10^{5}; not wealth, brings honour, 10^{30}–11^{1}; of aged, beautiful, 25^{3-6}; origin of, 1^{1-10}, from the Lord, 1^{1} 11^{15}; poured out on all God's works, 1^{9}, on all flesh in measure, on to Israel without measure, 1^{10}; practical value of true, 34^{9-17} (31^{9-20}); praise of, 24^{1-34}; reward of those who seek, 4^{11-19} 6^{32-37}; shown in conduct, 18^{26-29}, by patience, self-control, and humility, 1^{22-30}; true and false, 37^{16-26}; —literature, § 1; praise of, Wisd. 6^{9}–11^{1} T.L. 13 Test. *App.* II 88-95; soul so constituted as to receive, Arist. 236.

Wisdom, Book of, Add.Esth. §§ 1, 5, $F^{11}n.$; account of, short, Wisd. § 1; author, § 7, an Alexandrian Jew; bibliography, § 10; composite nature, § 6; date, § 5; language of, § 7; MSS., § 3; relation to O.T. and N.T. books, § 8; theology and philosophy, § 9; title, § 2; versions, § 4; vocabulary, § 6.

Wisdom literature, Wisd. § 1 1Bar. § 2 iii.

Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira, Sir. § 2. *See* Wisdom, Book of.

Wise, P.A. $1^{4,5a,11,17}$ $2^{11,14}$ 5^{18} $6^{1,6,9,10}$; advice to learn from, Sir. 8^{8}; class of, § 1; gifts blind the eyes of, 20^{29}; godly man is, 21^{11}; how differs from fool, $21^{12-17,18-28}$; of the people to be taught the secret revelations of Ezra, 4Ez. 12^{38} $14^{26}n.$; reward of, Sir. $20^{27,28}$; speech of, $20^{13,27}$ 27^{11-13}; = teachers, Rabbis, P.A. 1^{11}.

Witchcraft, 1En. 65^{6}.

Witness, heap of, Jub. 29^{8}.

Witnesses, P.A. 4^{29}; examination of, Sus. §§ 7, 8, 44-59, P.A. 1^{9}, *see* Simon ben Shetach; false, law regarding, Pharisees and Sadducees differ in, Sus. 60-62*n.*; law of, Zad. 10^{10-17}.

Witnesses (= prophets), Jub. 1^{12}.

Wolves = Egyptians, 1En. $89^{13-27,55}$.

Woman, Disconsolate, vision of, 4Ez. 9^{38}–10^{24}; unclean, ways of, Zad. 5^{4}; wicked, 25^{16-26}.

Women, conduct to, Sir. 9^{1-9} 19^{2}; inferiority of, Arist. 250; to be shunned by men, T.R. 3^{10} 4^{1} 6^{1} T.Jud. 17^{1} T.Iss. 4^{4}; not to associate with men, T.R. 6^{2}; value of, to man, Sir. $36^{21-26(26-31)}$.

Wonders, P.A. $5^{5,8}$.

Woods, to be used in sacrifices, Jub. 21^{12-14} Test. *App.* II 23, 24.

Word, the, of God, Sir. 33^{3}; all-powerful, Wisd. $18^{15}n.$, *see*

9^{1} 16^{12}; and wisdom, 2En. 33^{4}; creation by, 2Bar. 21^{4}; interpreter of God's powers, a seventh sense, Sir. 17^{5} *crit. n.*; ='person' of God, Ass. Mos. $8^{5}n.$; (= prophecy), 2Bar. 10^{1} Zad. 9^{28}(A); written, 9^{2}.

Words, careful in, P.A. $1^{9,11,17}$, cf. 4^{16}, *see* Fence; lying, Zad. 1^{10}; of the holy angels, 1En. 93^{2}; Holy One, 37^{2} 104^{9}; righteousness, 13^{10} 14^{1} 104^{10}; wisdom, 14^{3} 37^{2} 99^{10}.

Work, P.A. 1^{10} $2^{2,18,20}$; honourableness of, Sir. 7^{15}.

Works, doctrine of, 2Bar. $2^{1,2}n.$ $14^{7}n.$; faith and, *see* Faith; good, T.R. 4^{1} 2Bar. $14^{7}n.^{12}$ 4Ez. 7^{77} Zad. 1^{7} P.A. 3^{16} $4^{13,22}$ 6^{10}, no doctrine of in Ass.Mos. §9, justification by, Sir. $16^{14}n.$, of righteous should have saved Zion, 2Bar. $14^{7}n.$, prepared for man by God, Test. *App.* I 10^{8}, cf. 4Ez. 8^{52}, store of preserved in treasuries, 2Bar. 14^{12} 4Ez. 7^{77}; judgement by, Sir. 16^{14} (cf. $3^{14,31}$ 11^{27} 17^{22} 29^{9} $31^{9,10}$, *contrast* $5^{5,6}$ 34^{26})4Ez. 8^{33} P.A. 3^{19}; justification by, 2Bar. § 10, 10^{12} 14^{12} $51^{3,7}$ $63^{3,5}$ 67^{6} 85^{2}; of Beliar, T.B. 6^{7}; of deceit, T.Jud. 20^{3}; of God, Zad. 1^{1} 3^{1} 16^{1}, of Israel, evil, 2^{6}; of man preordained, *see* Man, works of; of righteousness and truth, 1En. 10^{16}; of truth, T.Jud. 20^{3}; salvation by, 4Ez. 8^{33}; treasure of, laid up with Most High, $7^{77}n.$; wealth of, 8^{36}.

World-age, stages in, revealed to chosen men, e. g. Enoch, Moses, Jub.1^{26} 4Ez.$14^{5}n.$ Ass. Mos. 1^{16}*sqq.* 10^{12} 11^{1}; beauty of, Wisd. 13^{5}; beginning of, Zad. 2^{6}; children of, 9^{54}; created on behalf of Israel, Ass. Mos. 1^{12} 4Ez. $6^{55,59}$ 7^{11} 2Bar. $14^{18}n.$; for righteous in Israel, 2Bar. 14^{19} 15^{7} 21^{24}; for mankind, 2Bar. 14^{18} 4Ez. $8^{1,44}$; empires, 2Bar. 39^{3-5}; fights for the righteous, Wisd. 5^{17} 16^{17-24} 18^{24} 19^{6}; new, 2Bar. 44^{12}, which does not die, 51^{3}, which ages not those who come to it, 51^{16} 44^{12}; now invisible, 51^{8}; of corruption, $21^{19}n.$; end of, $4c^{3}$;—plan, place of successive generations in, 4Ez. 5^{41-55}; (future) promised to righteous after death, 2Bar. 14^{13}; of incorruption, $21^{19}n.$ $57^{2}n.$;—soul, Wisd. $1^{7}n.$; this, P.A. $1^{2,18}$ 2^{15} $3^{15,19,22}$ $4^{1,7,21,22,28}$ $5^{1,11,27}$ $6^{1,4,6,7,11,12}$, Beliar ruler of, Mart. Is. 2^{4}, life of, P.A. 4^{22}; to come, 1En. 71^{15} P.A. 2^{8} 3^{16} $4^{1,21,22}$ $6^{4,7,10}$, inherit, 5^{22}, life of, 2^{8}, calmness of spirit in, 4^{22}, portion in, 3^{16}; whole, represented in high-priest's robe, Wisd.$18^{24}n.$

Worldly occupation, P.A. 2^{2} $3^{7,21}$.

Worship of animals, Wisd. 16^{1}; nature, 13^{2}; serpents, 11^{15} 15^{18}. *See* House of worship.

Wrath of God, P.Man. 10, 13 1En. 55^{3} 62^{12} 84^{4} 90^{18} $91^{7,9}$; (=anger, 5^{9} 101^{3}, cf. 18^{16} 99^{16}) Zad. 1^{17} 3^{7} 4^{7} 7^{17} $9^{13,22,26[40]}$ 11^{4}, *see* 2^{4-7}; against wicked, Sir. 16^{6-14}; came upon Israel, 1Macc. 1^{64}; certain though long delayed, Sir.$5^{6,7}$ 7^{16} 16^{6-13} 21^{10} 40^{10-17}, *see* Retribution; day of, *see* Day; prayer that it may be stayed with the martyrs' sufferings, 2Macc. 7^{38}; turned away, 1Macc. 3^{8}.

Write down, censor to, a capital charge, Zad. 10^{10}; to write in register of people, 9^{29}, *see* Written; (sins recorded in heaven), 1En. 89^{70} 98^{8} 104^{7}; for destruction, 1En. 91^{14}, cf. 'Record', 1En. $89^{62,64}$. *See* Names.

Writing. *See* Characters.

Written, it is, Zad. 13^{27} 14^{1}; Law is, 7^{11}. See 9^{2} 10^{3}.

Xanthicus, month, 2Macc. $11^{30,33,38}$.

Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, relation to, of Wisdom, Wisd. § 9, $8^{2-18}n.$

Xouis, Sib. 5^{86}.

Year, 1En. 74^{10} 82^{6}, *see* Lunar, Solar; four parts of, 1En. 82^{4-13}.

Years, during which Belial is let loose, Zad. 6^{5-9}; forty, 9^{39}; seven, of excommunication, 14^{6}.

Yeshibah, i. e. circle of hearers, Sir. $51^{29}n.$

Yetzer, Sir. 15^{14} 27^{6} 37^{3}; God placed man at first in hand of his Yetzer, 15^{14}, *see* Inclination, Tendency; good, Sir. $1^{14}n.$; evil, P.A. 2^{15} 4^{1}, counteracts the Law, 4Ez. 3^{22}, inherent in man's nature, 3^{20-22}, not created by God, Sir. $15^{11}n.$ *See* Evil—germ, heart, principle, seed, thought.

Yoke, of the Law, 2Bar. $41^{3}n.$ P.A. 3^{7} 6^{6}; wisdom compared to, Sir. $6^{25}n.^{30}$.

Yosippon. *See* Josephus 'the Hebrew'.

Zabadeas, 1Esd. 9^{35}.

Zabdeus, 1Esd. 9^{21}.

Zabdiel the Arab, 1Macc. 11^{17}.

Zabulon. *See* Zebulon.

Zacchaeus, a Maccabaean leader, 2Macc. 10^{19}.

Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 47.

Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 49.

Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 50.

Zacharias, a ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1^{8}.

Zacharias, a singer, 1Esd. 1^{15}.

Zacharias, son of Phoros, 1Esd. 8^{30}.

Zacharias, son of Bebai, 1Esd. 8^{37}.

Zacharias, 1Esd. 8^{44}.

Zacharias, 1Esd. 9^{27}.

Zacharias, 1Esd. 9^{44}.

Zacharias, i. e. Zechariah, the prophet, 1Esd. 6^{1} 7^{3}.

Zadok, chief of works, Mart.Is. 2^{5}.

Zadok, Rabbi, P.A. 4^{7}.

Zadok, play on name, Zad. § 2; Book of Law hidden till Z. arose, 7^{6}; sons of, Zad. 5^{7}; are elect of Israel, 6^{2}; chosen for priesthood, Sir. $51^{12[1]}n.$, cf. 50^{24}; pre-Maccabaean high-priests, Sir. § 3iii, 51^{12}.

Zadokite Fragments, bibliography, § 14; date of original, § 6; MSS., § 3; integrity of, § 7: (i) incomplete; (ii) in great disorder; (iii) based on earlier documents; sources of teaching of, § 7iii; teachings of, § 13; text, *see* Hebrew; title of work, Zad. § 2. *See* Zadokite Party.

Zadokite Party (*refs. to Zad. Frag.*): belief in future life and angels, Zad. $9^{4^{0}}$; connexion with Christian Church, § 10vi, Dositheans, § 10 end, Karaites, § 10vii; constitution, § 11, *see* Censor, Judges, Priest; depreciate David and Kings, and Judah, § 12, $7^{5,7}$; expect Messiah from Aaron and Israel, not Judah, *see* Messiah; expectations of, 9^{4-9}; foundation of, 9^{4-9}; glorify Aaron, and priests, and Levites, § 12; head-quarters, Jerusalem, not Damascus permanently, § 10iii; history, principal phases in, § 10:—(i) breach with Sadducean priesthood; (ii) establishment of new covenant of repentance; subsequent breach with Pharisaic party; (iii) claim to be the true Israel; hence term Temple their sanctuary; Jerusalem their holy city, &c.; (iv) period of obedience to precepts of 'Lawgiver' ('Star') till coming of Teacher of Righteousness, thereafter called 'Sons of Zadok'; (v) period from death of Teacher till expected advent of Messiah—judges of, *see* Regulation; leader, *see* Leader; members of, in four orders, § 11, *see* Levites; migration to Damascus, temporary, § 10; name, play on, 1^{1} 2^{10}, *see* Zadok; nature and origin of—a party, not a sect, § 5; within Judaism, within priesthood, possessed genuine orders, § 5; had origin in priesthood (i.e. Sadducees), but was closely related to Pharisees, § 9; an attempt at reform from within the priesthood, § 9; included laity and priests = 'from Israel and Aaron', § 10; not Essenes, $§ 9^{2^{0}}$; not Pharisees, yet related to in many respects, $§ 9^{4^{0}}$; not Sadducees, but a reformed Sadduceeism, $§ 9^{3^{0}}$; not Samaritans, $§ 9^{1^{0}}$—; relation to Pharisees and Sadducees, $§ 9^{3^{0},4^{0}}$; sanctuary = Temple, § 10iii; rules for membership—faithfulness to New Covenant; penalty excommunication and exclusion for seven years, 9^{28-38}—; observance of Levitical and moral laws, 7^{9-11} 9^{1} 10^{7-17} 12–15 19–20; use of Old Testament, Prophets as well as Law, §§ 8, $9^{3^{0}}$, 10.

Zambri, 1Esd. 9^{34}.

Zamoth, 1Esd. 9^{28}.

Zaqiel, 1En. 6^{7}.

Zara, Jub. 38^{17}.

Zaraias, 1Esd. 5^{8}.

Zaraias, 1Esd. 8^{2}.

Zaraias, 1Esd. 8^{31}.

Zaraias, 1Esd. 8^{34}.

Zarakes, brother of Joakim, 1Esd. 1^{38}.

Zardeus, 1Esd. 9^{28}.

Zathoes, 1Esd. 8^{32}.

Zathui, 1Esd. 5^{12}.

Zealot, Ass. Mos. § 8.

Zeboim, Jub. 13^{23} 16^{5}.

Zebulon, or Zabulon, Jub. 28^{23} 33^{22} 34^{20} 38^{7} 44^{17} T.Jud. 25^{2} T.Z. 1^{1-3} 10^{2}.

Zechariah, the prophet, Zad. § 3, 9^{2}(B). *See* Isaiah, Zacharias.

Zechrias, 1Esd. 8^{1}.

Zedekiah, king of Judah, 1Esd. 1^{46} (*see* Sedekias) 2Bar. 8^{5}.

Zedekiah, an elder, Arist. 49.

Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, Mart.Is. $2^{12,13,15}$.

Zelebsel, 1En. 82^{17}.

Zephathite woman, Jub. 44^{13}.

Zerah, Jub. 41^{21} 44^{15}.

Zeredah, P.A. 1^{4}.

Zerubbabel, Sir. 49^{11} 1En. $90^{72}n.$; wins in contest of oratory, 1Esd. §1, 3^{1}–5^{6}; overshadowed by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1; a Zerubbabel source of 1 Esdras, § 6(*b*). *See* Zorobabel.

Zeus, Sib. 3^{141} $5^{7,87,131,140}$; of Ammon, 5^{7}; or Dis, Arist. 15; the planet, 2En. $30^{3}n.$; Olympius, sanctuary at Jerusalem called after, 2Macc. 6^{2}, *see* Hellenizing; Xenius, sanctuary at Gerizim called after, 2Macc. 6^{2}.

Zilpah, Jub. $28^{3,9,20}$ 33^{22} 44^{19} T.N. 1^{11} T.G. 1^{6} T.Jos. $20^{3}(\beta)$.

Zimram, Jub. 19^{11}.

Zimri, son of Salom, slain by Phinehas, 1Macc. 2^{26}.

Zion, Jub. $1^{28,29}$ 4^{26} 8^{19} Sir. $24^{10,13}$ $48^{18,24}$ $51^{12[11]}$ 1En. $26^{2}n.$ 2Bar. $5^{1,3}$ 7^{1} $10^{7,10,12}$ 11^{1} &c. Ps.Sol. 11^{1}; centre of earth, Jub. 8^{19}; consolation of, 2Bar. 44^{7} 81^{2}; God King on, Jub. 1^{28}; shall be holy, 1^{28}; Mount, scene of revelations in 2Bar. 13^{1} 22–30 48–52. *See* Sion.

Ziphion, Jub. 44^{20}.

Zodiac, 2En. 30^{6}; twelve signs of, 21^{6} $30^{3}n.$ *See* Signs.

Zohar, son of Simeon, Jub. 44^{13}.

Zoma, ben, P.A. 4^{1}.

Zoroastrianism, not in Tobit, Tob. § 8 v.

Zorobabel, 1Esd. 4^{13} $5^{5,48,56,68,70}$ $6^{2,18,27,29}$. *See* Zerubbabel.

Zorzelleus, 1Esd. 5^{38}.

Zotiel (the angel), 1En. 32^{2}.

Zugoth, i. e. pairs, P.A. $1^{4}n.$