THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

BEING CHAPTERS 3–14 OF THE BOOK COMMONLY KNOWN AS 4 EZRA (OR II ESDRAS)

TRANSLATED FROM A CRITICALLY REVISED TEXT, WITH CRITICAL INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS; WITH A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE APOCALYPSE, AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE LATIN TEXT

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TOGETHER WITH A PREFATORY NOTE

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PREFATORY NOTE

By Professor Sanday

My friend, Mr. G. H. Box, has for a number of years devoted himself to a very close and careful study of the Later Judaism as it was in the centuries on both sides of the Christian era. He is giving to the world a weighty instalment of the results of these studies in the present edition of the so-called Fourth Book of Ezra, which corresponds to chaps. iii–xiv of the Book 2 Esdras as it stands in our Apocrypha. The quality of his work may be seen on every page, and I heartily commend it as a great enrichment of our knowledge in a comparatively new field. It is coming to be understood how valuable these Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical books are, both for their own sake and for the light which they throw upon the New Testament. And I will venture to say that in both these ways the Fourth Book of Ezra yields to none.

I may, perhaps, be allowed, before going further, to relieve my mind on one point of some little importance. Sincerely as I admire Mr. Box’s work and glad as I am to endorse his judgement in a general way, there is one rather fundamental question in regard to which we are not quite agreed. I hasten to add, however, that in the present state of opinion, if we are to speak of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, it is I who am the heretic and not he. The question is as to the unity of the book: Mr. Box distinguishes between a number of "sources" and a "redactor," and I am inclined to regard the whole as proceeding from a single hand.

Now I am well aware that the tendency at the present time is all in the direction of marking off "sources" and postulating an "editor" or "redactor." And in the particular case of 4 Ezra, Mr. Box can claim the high authority of Dr. Charles, who has done more than anyone else for the study of this literature. He has also himself
argued the case with much ability; I do not think that it could be better stated. And yet there are dissentients of note: I may mention especially Gunkel, F. C. Porter, and, apparently, Bertholet (in Budde's *Althebräische Litteratur*, pp. 370–374). And, weighing the data as well as I can, I am obliged to range myself on the same side. Mr. Box has been much influenced by the opening words of the book: "In the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city, I, Salathiel (the same is Esdras), was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed, and my thoughts came up over my heart." He asks, Why this equation of Salathiel with Esdras—two historical personages between whom there was an interval of a hundred years? He thinks that the writer, who has assumed the name of Ezra, is incorporating the text of an older document written in the name of Salathiel. He assigns to this older document the first eight chapters (2 Esdr. 3–10); and then he marks off some four considerable paragraphs, besides single expressions, within these chapters, as probably interpolations. The passages are: 4:61–5:13; 6:11–29; 7:26–44; 8:63–9:18. I am afraid that I rather doubt this method: on the assumption that there is an older underlying document, there seem to be differences (chiefly in idea) which betray the hand of the redactor. I should be inclined to question the sufficiency of these supposed differences. So far as style is concerned, the obelized passages seem to me to be indistinguishable from the rest. We observe in them the same tendency to string together synonyms or quasi-synonyms, which is so characteristic of the whole book (cf. 3:55; 5:4–10; 6:18–28; 7:35–42; 9:8–15); observe, also, how in 6:10 the metaphor of "sealing" takes up v. 5.

I believe that there is a danger of looking for too much logical symmetry and consistency, which is more to be expected in the literature of Greece and of the West than in that of the East, and especially in subject-matter of this kind, where many heterogeneous details were handed down by tradition and not fitted into a coherent scheme. Mr. Box is really on his guard against this danger, and I doubt if he would have had recourse to the hypothesis of interpolation if he had not been put upon the track of a "Salathiel-Apocalypse" at the outset. But to my mind
he is too much impressed by the equation Salathiel = Esdras. The meaning is obscure; but I am by no means clear that it necessarily involves the absorption of a Salathiel-document by an Esdras-document. It is to be noticed that this is the only place in which the name Salathiel occurs; there is but one subject throughout the whole book, who is always spoken of and addressed as “Esdras,” in the first eight chapters as well as in the rest. It is true that there are two standpoints in the book: one (Salathiel), representing the chronological starting-point thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem; and the other (Ezra), representing the elements of reflection and instruction to which this gives rise. But the two seem to run into each other, and I doubt the necessity of referring them to different documents and different authors.

Then, again, it seems to me that Mr. Box must feel insecure as to his own hypothesis. He dates the Salathiel-Apocalypse about 100 A.D. and the Esdras-Apocalypse about 120 A.D. But these two dates really coalesce; there is no clear indication that would fit the one and not also fit the other.

If there is to be a distinction of sources, I could more easily accept the separation from the rest of chaps. 11, 12, or 13. In any case, these chapters detach themselves, and are not all of one piece with the main body of the work. That may mean that they were composed separately. But here, again, the Eagle Vision points to the reign of Domitian (81–96); so that the time is approximately the same, and I do not think that the chapters need be by a different hand. At the best, the “source” hypothesis seems to me to be rather artificial. If we try to imagine to ourselves the editor’s procedure, I doubt if we shall make a very satisfactory thing of it. In the case of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, the main sources disengage themselves easily and naturally; but I do not think that we can say so in regard to 4 Ezra.

For my own part, then, I am content to regard 4 Ezra as all the work of a single author. But that only simplifies the problem. Even if that view is accepted, the general conclusions drawn by Mr. Box are not materially affected. The Salathiel-Apocalypse is so much the most important
part of the whole, that it really gives colour to the rest; such reservations as may have to be made are only concerned with subordinate detail.

I began by saying that this Fourth Book of Ezra is second in value to none of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Books. When I say “in value,” I mean especially in religious value. Other books are earlier in date, and, perhaps, throw light upon darker places. By the time that this book was written, Christianity was in full course; it is not only subsequent to the beginnings of Christian history, but to most, if not all, of the New Testament. No other book presents so many points of contact with the New Testament. And yet the book is a pure product of Judaism; and it is the more significant and interesting because we may see represented in it both sides of Judaism; it belongs to the latest period in which there was still something like an even balance and fusion between the apocalyptic and legalist ideals. With the death of R. Aqiba in 135 A.D., legalism definitely triumphed; the Judaism of the future was to be the Judaism of the Talmud. But when 4 Ezra was written there was still room for that larger, broader, and more genial spirit which embraced both the divergent currents at the same time. It was written, too, at a time when the feelings of men were deeply stirred. Of all the tragedies of history there is none greater than the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The author of 4 Ezra wrote while the impression of it was still fresh, when the first paralysis of feeling was beginning to give way and something like coherent utterance was once more possible.

In this case, the blow had fallen upon a truly religious mind. The author of 4 Ezra was not a genius; his flights of imagination have nothing brilliant about them; the traditional imagery in which his thought is clothed will seem to us much of it crude, and some of it grotesque. But the root of the matter was in him: he had all that profound seriousness which belonged to the thinkers of Israel, and his whole heart and soul was wrapped up in his God. The calamities of his people pierced him to the quick. They stirred up in his mind questions that seemed to go to the very root of his religion; and these brought in their train others that were still more far-reaching. In a Western
mind the shock might well have caused a shipwreck of faith altogether. But this Jew was a descendant of those old Psalmists who had gone through crises not less harrowing, and his faith was as strong and loyal as theirs. The answers that he gives to his own perplexities will seldom seem to us completely adequate and convincing. But they did not need to be; there is always something in reserve which seems to fill up that which is lacking. His faith in God is not shaken, because its foundations are too deep; he knows in whom he has believed.

There are many points of contact with the Gospels and some with the Book of Revelation, but we are struck most by the resemblance between this Jewish thinker and St. Paul. The coincidences must be traceable ultimately to the school of Gamaliel. The connection cannot be quite immediate; at the date at which our author is writing two full generations or more must have intervened. And yet we can see that the problems were still largely the same, and men's minds were running towards like solutions. There is only an added poignancy, due to the course of events. Where St. Paul speaks of "the purpose of God according to selection" (Rom. 9:11), the author of 4 Ezra sets out his doctrine of election with great clearness (3:14-16; 5:32-37); and both writers feel the pathos of the situation—St. Paul in view of the rejection of Israel, and 4 Ezra in view of its sufferings. Both writers lament over the disastrous effects of the transgression of Adam (4 Ezr. 3:21-32; 4:30-38; 7:11. 48-51). In their treatment of sin, and especially of the relation of law to sin, the two writers have much in common along with a certain amount of divergence. If we take as a crucial passage Rom. 7:7-25, the leading conceptions of St. Paul are the same that are found in 4 Ezra: "the law is holy, and the commandment holy and righteous and good," but it is frustrated by the counter-working of sin. 4 Ezra has exactly the same antithesis—the gift of the law and its non-observance (9:31-33, 36, 37); but whereas St. Paul has more to say about the calamitous effects of law—which he acknowledges throughout to be good in itself—4 Ezra, though adding nothing in substance, goes into more detail, and has, indeed, a special doctrine of its own about the innate root or seed of sin which is the cause of all the evil (3:30-32; 4:38; 51; 7:40).
language of St. Paul is general: he speaks of "sin which
dwelleth in me," "the law of sin which is in my members"; the
language of 4 Ezra is more the language of a school. On
the other hand, we know that St. Paul has a highly-
developed doctrine of "faith." It would, of course, be too
much to expect to find anything like this in 4 Ezra; and
yet there are hints which go to show that here, too, "faith"
is something of a catchword, which is beginning to have a
special significance (9 7; 13 88, where "works" and "faith"
occur side by side).

And yet there is no suspicion that the author of 4 Ezra
is a Christian in disguise; he is really a true Jew. He has
some of the doctrines which St. Paul in particular combats,
e.g., "the treasure of good works" (7 77; 8 88; 13 64). He
has a full sense of the privileged position of Israel, which,
like the Rabbis, he carries to the point of holding that for
Israel's sake the world was created (6 65 68; 7 13). He has
one unfortunate bit of exegesis, by which the verse Is. 40:
"Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket," etc., which
is really a strong affirmation of the omnipotence of God, is
treated as though it were spoken of the "nations" in
comparison with Israel (4 Ezr. 6 58 57).

And yet, even such doctrines as this, which are character-
istic of Judaism on its least attractive side, are almost carried
off by the essential goodness of the writer. His patriotism
is beautiful; he never thinks of the sufferings of his people
without a pang. There can be no question of the genuineness
and depth of emotion which is apparent in every reference to them. It is true that he had a very exalted
idea of the vocation of Israel in the world, and true that dis-
paraging expressions may be quoted in reference to the
Gentiles. But the heart of this writer is large, and his
sympathies overflow. He is a man to whom nothing human
is alien. He thinks with sorrow of the fate of Gentiles as
well as Jews; this, too, is one of the problems that troubled
him (7 64 67). He collects from the Old Testament the
leading examples of intercessory prayer, and he hopes that
such prayer may be used for sinners even in the day of judg-
ment (7 108-111). He is disappointed of this hope, for he
receives the severe answer that, although such prayer may
be made in the present dispensation, it does not avail in the
judgement (7 113-116. 102-105). His trust is in the uncovenanted mercy of God (7 68-70).

Of all the arguments that are used to explain or mitigate the severity of Israel's fate, that which comes home to us most is the appeal to the Divine Love. "Thou art sore troubled in mind for Israel's sake: lovest thou that people better than He that made them? . . . Like as thou canst do none of these things that I have spoken of, even so canst thou not find out My judgement, or the end of the love that I have promised unto My people" (5 48. 49). This rests, in the last resort, on the revealed and experienced character of God. Accordingly, the writer sets forth at length (7 133-140) especially those attributes of God which point to His infinite mercy and compassion. These are, of course, based on the unanimous teaching of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms; it was their faith in that teaching which enabled Israel to withstand and to survive a succession of shocks to which anything weaker must have succumbed.

The patriotism of the book is of the finest kind; the writer is not thinking of his own sorrows, but of the sorrows of Sion. This comes out especially in that striking Vision, which is really the climax of the whole book (9 38-10 59). This is the allegory of the Woman who has lost her son in the hour of his marriage. Esdras tries to comfort her without success; at last he turns round upon her in anger: How can she give way to such unmitigated grief, when Sion the mother of them all is so afflicted? "Thou foolish woman above all other, seest thou not our mourning, and what hath happened unto us? How that Sion, the mother of us all, is full of sorrow, and much humbled. It is right now to mourn very sore, seeing we all mourn, and to be sorrowful, seeing we are all in sorrow, but thou sorrowest for one son." At this point a transformation scene occurs. The disconsolate mother was Sion; her dead son was the destruction of Jerusalem; but its place is taken by a new city, built on "large foundations."

The figure of Esdras himself is attractively drawn. He is an object of veneration to the people, like an eminent Rabbi. "Of all the prophets thou only art left us, as a cluster of the vintage, and as a lamp in a dark place, and as a haven for a ship saved from the tempest. . . . If thou shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us, if we
also had been consumed in the burning of Sion! For we are not better than they that died there” (12:42-46). And yet he is not puffed up or tempted to arrogance. “Thou hast forsaken thine own ways, and applied thy diligence unto mine, and hast sought out my law. Thy life hast thou ordered in wisdom, and hast called understanding thy mother. And, therefore, have I shewed thee this; for there is a reward laid up with the Most High” (13:44-46). I venture to think that it is the character of Esdras (i.e., of the author) which supplies the key to some of the seeming inconsistencies in the book. He inherits some of the straiter tenets of the Pharisees. But his heart is larger than his formal creed; in other words, he represents the best elements in his nation. I do not know a book which sets the Judaism of the first century in a more favourable light.

For these reasons, and for the great learning and care expended upon it, I sincerely hope that Mr. Box’s edition may meet with the success which it deserves.

W. SANDAY.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January, 1912.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The preparation of this volume has proved an exacting, though absorbingly interesting, task; and it is with feelings of genuine thankfulness that the Editor is able to bring his labours to an issue.

Though the Ezra-Apocalypse occupies a definite place in our Bible, being embodied in the 2 Esdras of our official Apocrypha, it is yet one of the least known books of Scripture. No commentary worthy of the book has hitherto appeared in England or America; and even in Germany, till comparatively recent years, it has hardly attracted the attention it deserves. Doubtless this widespread neglect is partly due to the fact that the book never formed part of the Latin Bible proper—being relegated to an Appendix in the Vulgate—and so never secured a place in the lectionary of the Church.

And yet 4 Ezra is of supreme value in helping to elucidate that fascinating but (to some extent) baffling phase of Judaism which immediately preceded the triumph of the Rabbinism of the Talmud. From this point of view it deserves the close attention and study of serious students of the New Testament. It is full of parallels both in thought and expression with the New Testament writings; an abundance of these has been pointed out in the notes of the commentary which follows.* In particular, our book will be found to possess a special interest for the student of the problems of eschatology, and especially of the eschatological questions that arise in connection with the New Testament. The historical background and conditions are in both cases largely the same.

The religious value and interest of the Apocalypse have already been pointed out by Professor Sanday in the Prefatory Note.

The textual and critical problems involved in the elucidation of the Book are of an exceedingly complex and difficult

* For the more important passages noted in this connection the reader is referred to Index IV under New Testament.
character. In the treatment of these, the Editor is well aware that a final solution has not been reached. But he hopes that some progress has been made in this direction. The issues, at any rate, have been clearly defined, and, perhaps he may add, the critical conclusions adopted have been forced upon him and accepted—somewhat reluctantly at first—only after a very close study of the text. Fortunately, however, as Professor Sanday points out, whichever critical view be adopted, the significance of the Book, as a whole, will not seriously be affected.

The Editor's warm thanks are due, first of all, to Professor Sanday, whose constant interest and generous encouragement have proved an unfailing source of stimulus; and, secondly, to his friend and colleague,† Professor Nairne, who has been good enough to read through the work in proof, and is responsible for many corrections in the printing; and, lastly, to his wife, who has materially assisted in the preparation of the Indexes and in other ways.

G. H. BOX.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON,
February, 1912.

† At King's College.
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§ 1 Name 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 recognise only chapters 3–14. Moreover in most of the Latin MSS. the additional chapters are distinguished from the Apocalypse proper by a separate enumeration, and are marked off as separate Books. In the later Latin Biblical MSS. a common arrangement is the following—

I Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah of the Canon.
II Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 1–2 (II Esdras, I–II of our Apocrypha).
III Esdras = I Esdras of our Apocrypha (III Esdras of the Vulgate).
IV Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 3–14 (our Apocalypse).
V Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 15–16 (II Esdras, xv–xvi of our Apocrypha).
According to this enumeration

II Esdras = Chapters 1–2.

IV Esdras = 3–14 (i.e., our Apocalypse).

and V Esdras = 15–16.

This is adopted by James (BJ, xxvii).

The important MSS. SACM vary considerably in the enumeration. Thus in S, I Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah + III (I) Esdras, 3, 4, 5 1–4; II Esdras = 4 Ezra, 1–2; III Esdras = III (I) Esdras, 1–2 18; IV Esdras = 4 Ezra, 3–14; and V Esdras = 4 Ezra, 15–16; in A III Esdras = 4 Ezra, 1–2; IV Esdras = 4 Ezra, 3–14; and V Esdras = 4 Ezra, 15–16; in C I Esdras = Ezra; II Esdras = Nehemiah; III Esdras = 4 Ezra, 3–14; and IV Esdras = 4 Ezra, 15–16, 1–2; in M I Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah + III (I) Esdras, 3–5 8; and II Esdras = 4 Ezra, 2–16 + 1–2. There is also MS. authority for the combining of all 16 chapters into one book; a Zurich MS., first used by Volkmar (12th to 13th cent.) entitles the combined chapters Liber Esdras IV. The printed editions of the Vulgate also follow this usage. The popular use of the name II Esdras as applied to the whole combined book (16 chapters) is due to the opening words of ch. I Liber Esdras prophetas secundus. The prevailing usage of the Latin MSS. (including SA) is to designate chapters 3–14 as the opening words of ch. I Liber Esdras prophetas secundus. The Oriental Versions are also inconsistent in the titles they employ. In Ar and Ethiop. the Apocalypse (chapters 3–14) is called the First Book of Ezra. The Syr. and Ar attach no number to the title. It seems probable that the title prefixed to the lost Greek Version was Ἠσδρας ὁ προφήτης, as Clement of Alexandria quotes from our Apocalypse as from Ἠσδρας ὁ προφήτης (cf. note on 4 Ezra 5 8, p. 56 below), while St. Ambrose also uses the name prophetæ Ezra (cf. also the opening words of 4 Ezra I liber Ezrae prophetæ secundus, cited above). Another possible form (suggested by Westcott) is Ἄποκάλυψις Ἠσδρα.

§ 2 The 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 18th century, who noted the variants of the Codex Sangermanensis (Codex S) in his great corpus of the Latin texts of the Bible.* 

* Bibliorum sacrorum latinæ versiones antiquæ. Tom. III (Rheims 1749).
further advance was made by Volkmar in 1863, who published a Latin text, adding the variants of a Zurich MS. (Codex Turicensis, 13th cent.), in his edition of our Apocalypse.* A few years later Hilgenfeld in his Messias Judaeorum (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 9th 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).† In 1856 Prof. Gildemeister, 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

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* Das vierte Buch Esra (Tubingen, 1863), pp. 3–213.
† Fonds latins, 11505.
4 Esdras and is the parent of the vast majority of extant copies."

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 9th 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 9th–10th 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).

(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 (11th century).

To these—the principal MS. authorities—must now be added—

(5) Codex V (= Codex Abulensis) now in the Biblioteca Nacionale at Madrid. It is known as the Bible of Avila. Its text is unmutated, and appears to be a copy of Codex C (early 13th 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 Oct., 1906 (by D. Donatien de Bryne, O.S.B.). It is part of a Bible in 4 vols.; the writing is of the 12th 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. 8 40–44 (the so-called Confessio Esdrae) see the introductory section to that passage; 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.† A splendid critical edition of the

* BJ. p. xiii. Codex S is dated 822 A.D.
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.*

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 CMNV (= 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 un mutilated text of our book, which are preserved in various libraries, but have not as yet been utilised 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; see also the notes to 4 Ezra 5 48, 5 55, etc., in the commentary below). Possible but doubtful citations are made by Tertullian (4 Ezra 8 20) and Cyprian (4 Ezra 5 54, 55). It has also been supposed that Commodian, the Christian poet of the 3rd century, cites 4 Ezra, 13 40. It is interesting to note in this connection 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."† It has already been pointed out in the introductory section to 4 Ezra 8 30–31 (p. 176 below) that the Latin MS. evidence for this portion of the Book points to the existence of two independent Latin translations of the Greek text of the *Confessio Esdrae*. The Latin Version as a whole is singularly faithful and literal, and it is not difficult to arrive at the Greek text.

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† 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.
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

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 (6th 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 improvements,
in Hilgenfeld's Messias Judaeorum, 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 the Ethiopic Enoch and of
The Ascension of Isaiah). Laurence's Latin translation of the
Ethiopic text, revised by Praetorius, is printed in Hilgen-
feld's Messias Judaeorum (pp. 262 ff.). A critical text of this
version, based upon the collation of several MSS., was pre-
pared by Dillmann and published after his death.* 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

* Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici, Tomus V (Berlin, 1894, pp. 152–193).
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 Revived (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. Wissenschaft zu Göttingen.*

In this MS. our book appears as I 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 (Esdræe 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. 7 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.

* 1863, Vol. XI (also reprinted separately).
Gunkel supports this view by citing ch. 8 where Ar.⁹, alone among the versions, renders ceaseless, \( \text{eternal} \) = Heb. \( \nu^\gamma \): the other versions imply for a witness (= \( \nu^\gamma \)). Evidently there were two Greek readings, representing two renderings of a single Hebrew text. One has been followed by Ar.⁹; the other by the other versions. Again in 14 Ar.⁹ has Sinai (= \( \nu^\nu \)) where the other versions have bush (= \( \nu^\nu \))—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.⁸ go back to one recension of the Greek, which is characterized by a lacuna in the text, 8 ⁴—9 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.³.

Thus Ar.⁹, 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.⁹ agrees with the Syr. in omitting the first half of 11 ⁴⁴ (= et vidi quomodo complexa est), and again with the Syr. in attesting (in 11 ⁴⁴) a clause which has fallen out in all the other versions (= that thou shouldest forsake us also).

Two further fragments of an Arabic Version independent of Ar.¹ and Ar.³ are also known; but these seem to be of secondary importance, depending, as they not improbably do, on the Latin Version. [See further Violet xxxi—xxxix: Violet gives a German translation of both Ar.¹ and Ar.³ with critical notes.]

(c) 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 paraphrastic, 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.* The fragment in question covers chapter 13 ²⁹—⁴⁶; but the leaf containing it is

* In the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Bund 41, Heft 2., pp. 138–140).
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. xi ff.]

§ 3 The Lost Greek Version. The dependence of all the versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian) on 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 67 Lat. has: quae ort separatio (= χωρίσις) temporum (so Syr.): but. Ethiop. what is the sign (= γνωρίσις ?) of the time? Here prob. χωρίσις and γνωρίσις have been confused (the latter = a corruption of the former). Again in 7 184 the Latin has that he may understand in his stead (ut pro eo intelligat): so Ar.: but Ethiop. and Syr. have that in his stead he may be ill (= i.e., reading μη νοερ for the corrupt μη νοερ of Lat. and Ar.). Again in 5 21 Lat. and Syr. (so Ethiop.) have toil (Lat. laborem = τον κόσμον) for objective (= τον εκείνον: so prob. Ar.: read: cf. Ar.4) which latter is manifestly right (then will I display to thee the objective thou desirlest to see). 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: cf. 5 25 and note e ad loc.) or Greek genders which are unknown to Latin grammar. Thus saeculum is sometimes treated as if it were a masculine noun (= Greek o αυτω): e.g., creatus est saeculum (6 25); saeculum qui ab eo factus est (9 2) (cf. also 7 21): cp. also in campum (το πεδιον) quod vocatur etc. (9 22); multitudinem (το πληθυν) . . . . . quod paratum erat (13 11). Note further the tendency to use factum est (ἐγευτο) "as a fixed form independent of the gender of the subject," as: factum est permanens in firmatis (3 25). See more fully on this point Bensly MF, pp. 17 f: and see the critical notes in the commentary below, passim.

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 5 25 (see note ad loc.) in Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis III, 16; and of 8 23 (see note o ad loc.) in Const. Apost. VIII, 7; while Const.
Apost. II, 14, contains a passage, the language of which is strongly reminiscent of 7 103 (fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest).

The passage in question runs as follows—

Ε'ι δὲ πάτρες ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὔ τιμωροῦνται, οὔτε μιὰ ὑπὲρ πατέρων, δῆλον ώς, οὔτε γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, οὔτε οἰκέται ὑπὲρ δεσποτῶν, οὔτε συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, οὔτε φίλοι ὑπὲρ φίλων, οὔτε δίκαιοι (v.l. δίκαιοι) ὑπὲρ δίκων. Ὁ λάθος; ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔργου τοῦ λόγου ἀπαιτηθῆσαι.

Another document which plainly presupposes a knowledge of the Greek 4 Ezra is the Hippolytean fragment replro5 Tranvraς. "Though it does not actually cite our Book, in its description of the future state it draws upon 4 Ezra and the Apocalypse of Peter: see the passages cited in the notes on 7 85, 7 86 and 7 103 (pp. 146, 147, and 157 of the commentary below).

It has been supposed that the Epistle of Barnabas definitely quotes from 4 Ezra: see the passages collected in BJ, p. xxviii f. The most plausible of these supposed references is undoubtedly 5 8 (blood shall trickle forth from wood); but how precarious this view is is shown in the note ad loc. (p. 44 of the following commentary). For a full discussion of all the supposed ancient Greek citations see BJ, pp. xxvii-xxx.

Two late Greek works, the Apocryphies of Esdras (ed. Tischendorf) and of Sedrach (ed. James, Apocrypha Anecdota) appear to be dependent upon the Greek Version of our Book. The former is almost certainly based directly upon it; the latter, perhaps only indirectly (see the full discussion in Violet, with parallel passages: pp. l-lx). Violet (p. lx) also discovers traces in the later Greek Baruch-literature of knowledge of the Greek Version of our Book.

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 Rönisch). It is printed in Messias Judaeorum (pp. 36–113). It 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

* Also cited sometimes as Hippolytus Against Plato.
commentary some 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 15 57-68, has been discovered (1909) among the Oxyrhynchos 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 (op. 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 § 2 d (in connection with Ar.3). The textual phenomena are susceptible of an alternative and simpler explanation, viz., that Ar.3 has embodied marginal variants occasionally: while, in other respects, it has handled its Greek text rather freely, omitting considerable portions.

Volkmar (op. cit., pp. 317 f.) postulates a second Greek recension; but on rather different grounds. He regards the Greek as the original text, and thinks that the original Greek (though with many corruptions and a certain amount of glossing) is reflected in the Old Latin version. The second Greek recension, he thinks, represents a later revision of the original Greek text, undertaken with the object of smoothing away crudities of language, improving the logical connection and style, and perhaps also for dogmatic reasons (he thinks this second recension was definitely Christian). It is represented mainly in Ar.1. Volkmar’s theory, however, by leaving out of account the Hebrew original text (see next section), fails to satisfy the requirements of the problem.

§ 4 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.* The opposite view (of a Greek original) has been championed by Lücke, Volkmar and Hilgenfeld.

* Among earlier scholars Ewald (Hist. of Israel; Vol. 7) held this view; earlier still Jo. Morinus.
The fullest discussion of the grounds for postulating a Hebrew original is that of Wellhausen.* 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. 3 18 (et factum est cum coepissent multiplicari . . . . et multiplicaverunt filios . . . . et coeperunt . . . . impietatem facere, etc.); 3 17 f (et factum est cum educeres semen ejus ex Aegypto et adduxisti eos . . . . Et transit gloria tua, etc.); 3 18; 5 4 f.; 5 11; 6 14 f. In some of these cases the punctuation of the editors is not certainly correct—the sentences should, perhaps, be run on.

Such a sentence as *et imperasti pulveriet dedit tibi Adam (3 4. 5) where the content of the command is expressed (and consequently its fulfilment) historically by *et followed by the preterite, is Hebrew rather than Greek. Again such turns of expression as *et factum est et, and *et erit et are essentially Hebrew modes of expression, as also are *et ecce (very frequent in chapters 10 and 11), and *et vidi et ecce (4 48, 11 1 f.) or *et andivi et ecce (6 18). All these, as Wellhausen points out, are characteristically Hebrew, and not Greek.

The following are also examples of strongly marked Hebrews: the complement of the relative by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.: de quibus si mihi renunciaveris ex his (4 4), de quo me interroges de eo (4 70), in quo sias super eum (6 14), super quem stabam super eum (6 20), qui per semet ipsum liberabit creaturam suam (13 20; cf note k on this passage, p. 293 below).

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 *wm does not distinctly express either number or case). Similar instances of misunderstanding also occur in 9 48 (propter cogitationes quae in eo adverterunt should be p.c. eorum qui in eo etc.: cf. note c, p. 208 below); and in 13 48 (quem captivum duxit Salmanassar should be quas or quos captivos duxit, etc.: cf. note j, p. 297 below.)

* Shissen, VI, pp. 234–239 (1899).
The construction of the Hebrew infinitive absolute with the finite verb is of extraordinarily frequent occurrence. It is usually rendered by a participle or by an abstract substantive.

Wellhausen cites the following examples: *excedens excessit cor tuum* (4*); *festinans festinat seaculum pertransire* (4*); *mensura mensuravit temporae et numero numeravit tempora* (4*); *odiens odisti populum tuum* (5*); *commotione commovebitur locus* (6*); *auditu audita est vox tua* (6*); *loquens locutus es ab initio* (6*); *data dabitur civitas* (7*); *si ergo non ingredientias ingressus fuerint* (7*); *mandans mandavit dens* (7*); *salvati salvabimur, tormento tormentabimur* (7*); *conservavi conservabimur in requie* (7*); *metiens metiressetemel ipso* (9*); *ostendens ostensus es pairibus nostris in deserto* (9*); *Sion tristitia constristiat humilitate humiliata est* (10*); *apparens non appareas* (11*); *derelinquens dereliquisti nos* (12*); *revelans revelatus sum* (14*); *peregrinantes peregrinati sunt* (14*); 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. Compare also with the above: *pondera pondus* (4*); *cogitaverunt cogitationes* (4*); *requiem quam requiescent* (7*, cf. 10*); *timor quem expavi* (12*)

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, etc.). But sometimes other methods are resorted to. Thus repeated action (= again) is expressed in Hebrew by such phrases as *ad diciam dicere coram te* (5*); *superdixerunt superdixierunt* (7*); *noli ergo adiscere inquirendo* (8*); *adician dolorem* (9*); *adposui ad huc logos* (10*)

The usage of prepositions is often Hebrew rather than Greek.

Thus *in* = *to* (into): * factus est Jacob in multitudinem magna* (3*); *excedit cor tuum in seculum hoc* (thy heart hath utterly failed thee regarding this world, 4*); cf also 5*, 5*, etc. Again *Super* is used in a peculiar way which can only be explained by Hebrew usage: *e.g. cogitationes meae ascendebant super cor meum* (31); *nomen quod invocatum est super nos* (4*, 10*); *sine super dextoram partem* (4*); 6*, 10*; *surge super pedes tuos* (5*, 6*, 11*); *super stellas fulgebant facies eorum* (7*); *super terram natus est homo* (7*, 11*); *gaudium super eos quibus persuasa est salus* (7*); again *dierc* is used with *ad* (rarely with dat.) : when God is addressed *coram* is used (5*, 8*).
7 8), or in conspectu (8 44) or ante oculos (4 44), just as יָנָא is used in later Hebrew (כֶּנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶn in the LXX and מֵעַ in the Targums). In conspectu and ante oculos are used as real prepositions, just as יָנָא and מֵעַ: in the same way in manibus = מִן; cf. pastor (dervinquin) greant sumam in manibus luporum (5 19); in 5 42 adiciam coram te = I will again speak in thy presence (cf. note y, p. 55 below). As Wellhausen remarks, what Latin or Greek, composing freely in his own language, would ever have so expressed himself? Such expressions, again, as impie agebant coram te (3 4), cum iniquitatem facerent coram te (3 18) are Hebrew, rather than Greek, although similar phraseology occurs in the Greek Testament: while the use of the preposition a (= Heb. p with negative meaning) in the expression radix signata est a vobis (the evil root is sealed up from you, i.e., so that it no longer works in you, 8 44) is pure Hebrew.

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 5 46, 50. Before the oratio recta, saying (= יָנָא) is constantly prefixed, dixit dicere even occurring (11 37, 12 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. 5 45, 54, 6 18, 7 75, 102, 8 6, 54, 10 37, 12 8, 13 14); in the case of a woman thine handmaid (9 45, 46).

The title of address O dominator domine (O Lord that bearest rule R.V.), which occurs several times is properly applicable only to God = דָּיוֹנָא הַיָּדָא μον (Heb. יָנָא יָנָא מִנֶn: cf. 4 48 note y, p. 36 below).

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: vadepondera mihi (4 4); venite et eamus (4 14); venite ascendentes debellemus (4 18); vade et interroga (4 49) etc. The materializing of the action is detailed by the side of the description of the action itself: e.g. respexi oculis meis et vidi (9 10); apertum est os meum et inchoavi dicere (9 88). Especially frequent is the somewhat similar use of incipere (= Heb. הָנָא): cf. 6 8, 19, 24, 7 14, 28, 27, 108, 188, etc., etc.; (cf. the similar use of ἀρχήσθαι in the Gospels). The following are also examples of expanded descriptions of simple actions, which are characteristically Hebrew: surgesuper pedes tuos (5 16, 6 18, 17, 10 48, 11 7); capax est tibi visus oculorum videre (10 48); torquent me renas mei (5 41); cogitationes meae ascenderunt super cor meum (3 1); conturbatus est sensus.
cordis tui (10 31); ne expavescat cor tuum (10 28); vultus tuus tristis (5 19); amara animo (9 41); figmentum manuum tuarum (3 8, 8 7); plantavit dextera tua (3 9). 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, etc.

Further examples of genuine Hebraisms are the following: dixi in corde meo (3 22); accepisti in corde tuo (7 16); reddere animam suam (7 16); non dirigentur viae eorum (24 6); dare vocem suam (= ἡμικονικά 5 7); nomen unde vocasti (6 49); nomen tuum invocatum est super nos (4 22, 10 22); fiebat species coruscus (10 20); factus est in uno casus eorum (3 10); factus est Jacob in multitudine magna (3 10); factus est in vano (4 16); concipiscantia gustus multiformis (6 46).

A number of words are used also in a sense that can only be explained by Hebrew usage: cf. e.g. contractio (7 102 and note), cor maris (4 7), flumen = the River sc. Euphrates, (13 48), lignum = tree (4 18, 5 4: Heb. יָה = both wood and tree), multus for magnus (Heb. יָה, 10 11, etc.) nationes = מר or מִלְתָּה, (3 7 and note), nomen unde vocasti = individuals, persons (3 18), opus (= Heb. נַעַר reward 7 18, cf. 3 22, note n), proximus = ? Heb. מַעְר = in another technical sense (5 11, in another technical sense 8 33 note i), a saeculo (= מַעְר 9 7, 18), sermo = מַעְר 7 101 ut videant qui praedicti sunt sermones, (cf. also 10 4), spiritus intellectus (5 10), unicus (= מַעְר 5 24), vas bellicosum (= מַעְר לְאָרָר 13 18), via (= Heb. מַעְר mode or kind; cf 7 28, 4 8 and often: see note v, p. 145); among verbs the following, which reflect Hebrew usage, may be noted: vincere and vinci (Heb. מַעְר and מַעְר, 3 21, 6 11, 7 112, 120), confortare (= מַעְר 5 16), congregari (= מַעְר 7 22) inquirere justitiam ab (= מַעְר 6 18 and note), spernere used absolutely, like καταφρονέω (= מַעְר 7 14, 79, etc.).

It would, no doubt, be possible to explain isolated examples in the list 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 3—(2430)
the occurrence of Greek usages and constructions in the Latin text.* These merely reflect the Greek text on which the Latin translator worked. Of Graecisms proper in the Greek translation itself a good example is in *quod misereatur (7 189) = *v τω ποιεῖν, several examples of which occur (*v τω + infin.). Occasional word-plays in the Greek may also be explained as due to the translator.†

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, and numerous cases of such have been noted in the course of the following commentary.‡ But a large number of cases remain where divergent readings of the Greek can best be explained by the hypothesis of corruption in the original Hebrew text.

Numerous examples are noted in the following commentary: cf. e.g. 5 44, note m, 5 44, note d, 7 44 notes s and t, 7 44 note s, 8 4 note p, 8 47, note s; cf. also 8 43 and 14 3 already cited in § 2 d (in connection with Ar.†). See further Index s.v. Hebrew text.

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 6 44 where the LXX of Is. 40 16 (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. note c on p. 54 below). The word-play in the Greek of 12 44-46 has already been referred to (cf. p. 271 note f).

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.

There is some probability that the original of 1 Enoch was Aramaic.‖ But in the 1st century A.D. a great revival of Hebrew took place;

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* For a full and detailed list see Volkmar, pp. 313 ff.
† A good example of this occurs in 12 44-46 (cf. p. 271, note f).
‡ A good example of internal corruption in the Latin is 7 4 (altum for latum).
it was especially cultivated in Rabbinical circles, and in such a book as 4 Ezra, which apparently was composed, to some extent, under Rabbinical influence, and was designed to recommend itself to Rabbinical circles, Hebrew would be the most natural idiom to employ. It must be remembered that Hebrew was not only the sacred, but the national language of Israel.

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 3–14 of 2 Esdras in the Vulgate-form). To this original Greek Version were appended (in the 3rd century) the additional chapters (1–2 and 15–16 of the Vulgate and our own official Apocrypha).

In the time of Ambrose apparently the Latin version of chapters 15–16 was already current, and it is probable that these chapters were already attached to chapters 3–14 (see BJ, p. xliii).

The additional chapters go back to a Greek original, a fragment of which (4 Ezra 15-16) has recently been discovered among the Oxyrhynchus papyri (cf. § 3 above). The character of these chapters, is quite different from that of our Apocalypse proper; chapters 1 and 2 are certainly a Christian composition, while 15–16 are less distinctively so.† As the extant versions of 4 Ezra know nothing of these additional chapters, with the exception of the Latin, it seems probable that they were originally independent compositions circulating in a Greek form (chapters 1–2 forming one piece, and 15–16 another). They were early translated into Latin, and appended to the Latin translation of the Apocalypse by a Christian editor, the process of junction necessitating some dislocation at the end of chap. 14 (cf., p. 321 note d). James thinks that chapters 15–16 were composed about the year A.D. 268, as an appendix to 4 Ezra by a writer who imitated the Sibylline

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* One interesting example of this has been pointed out by Büchler. Apparently in the latter years of the Temple's existence the Pharisees succeeded in having the public notices and directions within the Temple changed from Aramaic into Hebrew.

† For a German translation of and commentary on the additional Chapters cf. E. Hennecke Neutestamentliche Apokryphen (1904), pp. 305 ff. and Handbuch z. d. Neu. Apokryphen (1904), by the same writer, pp. 301 ff.

Cf. also BJ, pp. xxxviii–lxxx (esp. lxxxiii–lxxx).
Oracles and the prophetic books of the O.T., and that they were never current in an independent form. It would follow from this that they were appended to the Greek version which was afterwards used by the Latin translator, who translated the whole book. On the other hand, James regards chapters 1–2 as a fragment of a larger work which has affinities with an apocalypse of Zephaniah; this was prefixed to our Apocalypse by a Christian editor, who desired to supplement the latter upon the themes which he considered had been omitted or inadequately treated in the Apocalypse proper. If James' view be right, it follows that the Latin translation was made from a later (enlarged) recension of the Greek Version of the Apocalypse than that underlying the Oriental Versions—a difficult hypothesis to hold.
CHAPTER II

§ 5. THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK AND THEIR DATE

(a) THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK

The first question to decide, in this connection, is: is the present form of our Apocalypse 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, and has been cautiously expressed by the American scholar, F. C. Porter, as follows:* "Each of them [the apocalypses of Baruch and 4 Ezra] contains a variety of eschatological material, derived certainly in large part from various traditional sources, and not worked together into a consistent or orderly whole. It is because of such diversities that some regard these Books as composite, but it is probably better to say that they have each a proper author and a real unity, but that the authors, like others of their class, are very dependent on traditions, and are not anxious, perhaps are not able, to harmonize them."

The difficulties which beset this view in relation to our present Book, if it means that the author of the Apocalypse wrote those parts of the Book which are denominated S (i.e., the Salathiel-Apocalypse), and is also responsible for interweaving with them the eschatological passages, as well as appending the Eagle and Son of Man Visions (= chapters 11–13) will be pointed out below. On the other hand, Prof. Porter's words would serve excellently as a description of the work of a compiler or redactor, who was making extracts from different written sources, and endeavouring to weave them together into a more or less consistent whole.

Against the probability of such a compilation having really taken place no valid a priori objection can be urged. In the case of some other apocalyptic books the composite character of their present form is generally admitted. This is notoriously

the case with 1 Enoch (the so-called "Ethiopic Enoch"), which is acknowledged to be a compilation embracing distinct and independent writings of very various date. Such a procedure is, also, in accordance with ancient literary methods and canons. No objection was felt to the method of enriching and supplementing ancient writings by the addition of material drawn from other sources. Whether such a process has, as a matter of fact, been followed in the case of a particular ancient book must, therefore, be decided by an examination of the internal evidence.

The work of critical analysis requires caution. It is, no doubt, possible to press logical consistency too far, or to build too much upon insufficient data. But where certain dominant ideas, of a strongly marked type, characterize an ancient writing, and at the same time passages occur where the type of thought is of a more conventional kind, and largely irreconcilable with the main features already referred to, the presumption of interpolation is very strong. This is greatly enhanced when other phenomena of a more external character (phraseology, style, awkward logical connection, etc.), also combine to suggest interpolation.

At the outset of our book 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. 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 utilised 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.

* For further discussion of this and kindred points cf. pp. 1 ff.
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 book, and what are its relations to other parts of the Book.

No question arises in connection with 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 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 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 11–14), 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 11–12) 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 § 6 (1)). On the other hand, in the Eagle-Vision a strongly political view is held. The writer’s hopes are fixed on the speedy 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 opinions. The conviction that dominates the whole thought of S is that the evil which reigns in the present order is 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.* Is it conceivable that S can at the same time have held the view that the annihilation of oppressive world-power by the Messiah will usher in a new age in the present world, which will bring felicity to those living 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 transcendent view. Consequently we are justified in treating the Eagle-Vision (A) as an independent source which owes its position in the Book to R.† The general theme of the Son of Man Vision (ch. 13)—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. The considerations which necessitate its being treated as a source independent of the Eagle-Vision are stated on pp. 285–286. Though in tone in some of its characteristic conceptions the final chapter of our Apocalypse is much more akin to S than the independent sources already referred to, it yet cannot be regarded as belonging to the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

Thus, as the result of our discussion, so far, we have reached the conclusion that the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) is con

* Cf. especially 4:10-12 (which should be carefully read).
† See further the discussion, pp. 246 ff.
‡ Cf. further pp. 306–7 below.
within chapters 3–10 of our Book; while outside of and independent of, this at least three other independent sources have been used, viz., the Eagle-Vision (chapters 11–12 = A), the Son of Man Vision (ch. 13 = M), and an Ezra-piece (ch. 14 = E *). Only the broad and more important considerations which lead up to these conclusions have been stated above. Fuller and more detailed discussion will be found in the introductory sections that precede the respective chapters in the commentary.

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) 4 5 5 12a, (2) 6 11-20, (3) 7 36-44, and (4) 8 68-9 18. For a detailed description of the contents of these passages reference must be made to the introductory sections which precede them in the following commentary. 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 (5 1-4); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed (5 5); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society; monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (5 6-8, cf. 6 31-28); and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (5 10-18). 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" (6 18-24). 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 (7 36-44). In (4) the signs of the End are again reviewed (8 68-9 14).
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 (4 54–512) mentioned discloses unmistakable marks of interpolation (cf. p. 40 f.). 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 (cf. pp. 70 f.). 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 7 54–54 and 8 63–913 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 utilised other material. They are, in fact, a compilation of diverse elements (cf. the discussion in 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 utilised) is embodied in 3 1–31, 4 1–51, 5 54–610, 6 30–7 35, 7 45–8 63, and 9 13–10 57; in addition the two sections 12 40–45 and 14 53–54 are probably misplaced pieces which belong to S (see the introductory sections ad loc.).

(2) E, an Ezra-Apocalypse, from which 4 52–5 13a and 6 13–29 are extracts. Their present position is due to R who has also drawn upon this source in 7 56–44 and 8 63–9 13.

(3) A, the Eagle-Vision, contained (with revision by R) in chapters 11–12.

(4) M, a Son of Man Vision, contained (with much revision and insertions by R) in chapter 13.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(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: 4 53 (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 (5 1-13), 6 11-13 (introducing the second extract from E which follows in 6 13-25), 6 29, 10 58-59 (transition to the Fifth Vision), 12 49-51 (transition to the Sixth Vision), 14 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 (12 40-48 and 14 28-35) the following also fall under this category: 5 14-15 (cf. p. 49) and 13 57-58 (cf. p. 303). The following are the longer insertions which were probably compiled in their present form, as well as inserted, by R: 3 52-56, 7 26-44, 8 65-9 18, and 13 130-134; R is also responsible for a certain amount of revision in the fourth and following visions (especially in the interpretation): 10 48 (in eo altered in the original Hebrew to in ea) and 10 46 (David altered into Solomon), 11 29 (on the right side), 11 20 (upon the right side), 12 9 (completely), 12 9, 12 14, 12 16 (the twelve), 12 26b-26b, 12 32 (partly), 12 58, 12 39, 13 16b, 13 29-32, 13 36, 13 48, 13 52 (or those that are with him). The following are cases of small adjustments made by R: 3 1 (who am also Ezra), 4 1 (and whose name was Uriel), 6 30 (will I show these signs), 6 24 (friends shall war against friends like enemies and together with the dwellers thereon), 14 8b, 14 17b (for already the Eagle is hastening to come whom thou sawest in vision: to connect with the preceding Eagle-Vision) and 14 28.

Of glosses which have crept into the text 7 18 (few and evil), and 8 11 (inscription to Ezra's prayer) are examples. 10 48-46 is apparently a doublet of 10 41-44. See further Index s.v. Glosses.

The above analysis agrees in the main with the results of Kabisch's masterly discussion in his Essay on our Book.* The present editor, however, differs from Kabisch in assigning rather more to R—in particular the sections 7 18-44 and 8 68-9 18, which appear to be compilations by him. Thus the Book, as a whole, appears to be a compilation by R from different sources. In the case of E, A and M we have,

* Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht (1889).
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

embodied in our Apocalypse, only extracts from larger works. Thus the Eagle-Vision seems to have been extracted from a book of dream-visions, of which it was, presumably, the last (cf. p. 244 f.). The Son of Man Vision (ch. 13), again, is a dream-vision from another book of a somewhat similar character.* In the case of E² we have, apparently, a piece extracted from an apocalypse (?) that belonged to a three-day cycle (cf. p. 301).† Even in the case of S the compiler seems not to have reproduced the full form of the original, having considerably curtailed its opening section (cf. p. 4 f.). But S is substantially embodied in its entirety in our Book of which it forms the nucleus. Partly interwoven with it, and partly added to it are a number of excerpts from different Ezra-Apocalypses. This will partly explain the name of the Book, and its association with Ezra. The Redactor wished to make a compilation drawn from a larger apocalyptic literature which circulated under the name of Ezra. The Book thus affords a striking parallel to 1 Enoch, which is admittedly in its extant form a compilation made from a larger Enochic literature, and interwoven with fragments of a Noah-Apocalypse.

There is no difficulty in assuming the existence of a larger apocalyptic literature circulating under the name of Ezra. Apparently the Ezra-legend, embodied in ch. 14, was known to patristic writers in some cases in an independent form (cf. BJ, p. xxxvii f.; and see p. 306 below). For later apocalyptic literature circulating under Ezra's name cf. BJ, pp. lxxxvi ff.

(b) THE DATE OF THE SOURCES

The most important question to decide in this connection is the date of the Salathiel-Apocalypse. Fortunately we have in the opening verse of the Book a precise statement which points definitely to an exact date. It is stated in 3¹ 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. The statement is repeated in 3²² (these thirty years), and the whole context implies that the seer had

* It may, of course, have been excerpted from the same collection; but, in any case, seems to be of independent authorship.
† For Kabisch's view cf. p. 306 f.
already spent a considerable time in captivity. But the question at once suggests itself: is the number thirty in these passages the original number as written by S, or has it been altered by R so as to suggest the date at which he published the Book (i.e., thirty years after the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. = 100 A.D.)? There is no sufficient reason to suppose that such an alteration by R has taken place. R does not make alterations unless he is obliged to do so. Moreover, the date presupposed for Salathiel (thirty years after the Fall of Jerusalem) admirably suits the situation implied throughout S. The date of R, as we shall see, is probably somewhat later. It may, therefore, be concluded that in the thirtieth year is original to S.

It still remains to determine whether we are justified in regarding the date as a precise one, or only a general time-indication. The latter view is taken by Vaganay, who thinks it has been modelled upon Ezek. 1. But there is every reason to suppose that the Salathiel-Apocalypse throughout was intended by its author to bear a typical and allegorical significance. Salathiel, living in captivity thirty years after the first destruction of Jerusalem (in 586 B.C.) speaks to a later generation that finds itself in similar circumstances. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the date, like other features in S, was intended to bear a typical significance, and that it typifies the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, i.e., the year 100 A.D. Consequently S may be regarded as having been originally written and put forth in 100 A.D.

It is not necessary to suppose with Kabisch that the place of composition of S was Rome. If, as we have seen reason to believe, the Salathiel-Apocalypse was originally written in Hebrew, this rather suggests Palestine as the place of writing and publication. It is true that Salathiel is represented as living in Babylon and receiving his revelations in the neighbourhood of that City, and that Babylon typically = Rome. But such a representation is only natural for the apocalypse, seeing that its historical framework is that of the Babylonian Exile, and Salathiel is the recipient of the revelations. Salathiel, the natural head of the Exiles, could only be represented historically as living in Babylon or its neighbourhood at the date presupposed (thirty years after 586 B.C., i.e., 556 B.C.). This does not preclude the possibility of the author of S having travelled, and so become well acquainted with the Roman Empire and its institutions, and with the life of Rome itself. Several Palestinian Rabbis of the first and second centuries
did so.* It is certainly true that S shows himself to be much impressed with the might and apparent stability of the great world-power, and, at the same time, displays a certain pity for the heathen world which rather suggest that he was well acquainted with the conditions of life in the world outside Palestine at the time when he wrote.

The dates of the other sources embodied in the Book are not always so easy to determine. It has already been pointed out that E is marked by traditional features which suggest that it was current long before it was utilised by R. R, too, has apparently used it with considerable freedom. In 5 1-12 and 6 18-28 it seems fairly certain that we have extracts from this source, though in the latter the original order has been considerably disturbed by fragmentary re-arrangement. It is also probable that R has drawn upon this source in 7 16-44 and 8 48-9 11, but with much greater freedom in the handling of the material. The traditional features which have assumed a more or less stereotyped character (war, earthquake, fire, famine, etc.) were, doubtless, formed gradually; but how early it is impossible to say. It is more important to discover what indications there are (if any) of particular historical associations or allusions, or of a particular eschatological scheme, which may afford some clue to the possible date when E first assumed literary form.

It is clear that the standpoint of E in 5 1-12 and 6 13 1 implies a date before A.D. 70. If it had assumed its original literary form after 70 A.D. the events of the great Jewish struggle against Rome could hardly have failed to colour the delineation of the horrors attendant on the Messianic "woes." But amid all the description of the commotions and upheavals given in 5 1-12 there is not the slightest allusion to any oppression of, or any special misfortune befalling, the chosen people. It is true that in 6 18 there is a reference to the "humiliation" of Sion—and when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete. But this line has all the appearance of being a later insertion. It is impossible to imagine the original writer, if he were composing after 70 A.D., speaking in this way as if anything remained to complete the fulfilment of Sion's humiliation (contrast e.g., the tone and words of S in 10 38). Moreover, as Kabisch has pointed out, the Divine speaker in the context of 6 18, is recapitulating in general language the "woes" already described in detail in 5 1-12; there is a backward reference to the latter passage clearly implied. But in this case there is no antecedent; there is nothing to which the humiliation of Sion can refer back. On the other hand, the line can quite naturally be explained as an interpolation of R, who tried

* Cf. e.g., Derek oros rabbâ V, where four famous Rabbis (including Gamaliel and Aqiba) are mentioned as having visited Rome.
in this way to reconcile E with the source (S) which throughout presupposes the destruction of the Holy City as an accomplished fact. It may, therefore, be concluded that E was originally composed while Jerusalem was still standing, i.e., before A.D. 70. It seems probable that its date of composition was considerably earlier. The terms of 5 *(And the land that thou seest now to bear rule shall be a pathless waste; and men shall see it forsaken)* suggest a time when Rome had begun to dominate the East, and the political affairs of the surrounding nations had been thrown into dire confusion by the aggression of the new and oppressive world-power (cf. 9 *, also from E). The vague way in which Rome is referred to also suggests that imperial rule had not yet definitely taken shape (contrast the symbolism of the Eagle-Vision). The date thus indicated may be, as Kabisch suggests, about 30 B.C. Kabisch thinks that the one whom the dwellers upon earth do not look for and who shall wield sovereignty (5 *) points to Octavian, to whom the terms would apply after his victory over Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium. Not improbably the Redactor at a much later time understood the reference to be to the expected advent of Nero redivivus—the return of Nero from the underworld to reconquer the imperial city that had forsaken him. Wellhausen* thinks that 5 *(the earth o'er wide regions shall open, and fire burst forth for a long period)* points to the eruption of Vesuvius which took place in the year 79 A.D.† Quite possibly the reference may have been so applied by later readers of E, but it can hardly have been in the mind of the original writer. Such features as earthquake and fire would naturally figure in any description of widespread commotions of nature.

The general conclusion that E was reduced to literary form before A.D. 70 is confirmed by its relation to the early Messianic Apocalypse, denoted A¹ by Charles, in the Apocalypse of Baruch (Ap. Bar. xxvii—xxx. 1). In A¹ the Messiah assumes a purely passive rôle, and the same is true of E, if indeed the Messiah is an original feature in the earliest form of this source. In this form it is possible that a Messianic Age was depicted without a Messiah.

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 (80–96 A.D.); but a date in the reign of Vespasian is quite possible, and not improbable (see the point fully discussed, 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. p. 286). It also has points of contact with those elements in the Apocalypse of Baruch which belong to the

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* Skizzen vi. 247.
† In Sibyll. Oracles iv. 114–179 it is predicted that after a terrible cleavage of the earth followed by an emission of fire to heaven, Nero with countless hosts will reappear on the further side of the Euphrates. (Cf. 6 ** and notes, and the introduction to 7 ***, pp. 108 ff.)
period antecedent to 70 A.D. (cf. Charles, Introd. to Ap. Bar., p. lxxiv f.). 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 E, though it must be remembered that the actual vision in M (4 Ezra 13:1-12a) embodies traditional elements that are much older. On the other hand, E 2 (ch. 14) 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 (14:21) 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 70 A.D. and the time of the Redactor (? circa 120 A.D.); 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 100 A.D. is not improbable.

(c) The Date of the Final Redaction

The limits within which the final reduction of our Book must have taken place may be fixed as 100-135 A.D. 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 3:1 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 132-135 A.D. 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 120 A.D. Can it be placed any earlier?

We have already seen reason to believe that the explicit time-determination given in 3:1 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 the Jewish circles in Palestine had become embittered.* This was the case after the suppression of the Jewish rebellions in 116–117 A.D.; 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 120 A.D., as the time when the Redactor wrote and completed his work. It may have been somewhat later.

A similar date (between 120–130 A.D.) is suggested by Charles as the time when The Apocalypse of Baruch was edited in its final form (in Hebrew, and then translated into Greek). It is evident that this work and our Apocalypse are very closely related, and, not improbably, they may have assumed their final form within a short time of each other. See further on this point § 9.

* The insertion of the Eagle-Vision by R is evidence of this.
CHAPTER III

§ 6. THE THEOLOGY AND ESCHATOLOGY OF THE BOOK

The Book as a whole presents, as Gunkel has pointed two kinds of material: "(1) properly apocalyptic especially eschatological mysteries; this material is compared with Dan. 7 ff. or Revelation 4 ff.; (2) religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology; find in it either their answer or their occasion; this material is comparable with the speculations of the Pauline literature. The author put these problems in general before the mystery, as being of greater importance, an order which can be compared with that of Revelation."* In the light of the careful analysis given in the previous chapter, by "author" we must understand, for the purposes of our discussion, the Redactor. The latter, in compiling our Book must have placed the discussion of the religious problems, which is treated in S, first, because this discussion was felt to be connected with one of the burning subjects of the day—the re-establishment of the Temple and the significance of the Fall of Jerusalem. The appendices (chapters 11-14) were intended to supplement the Sapiential Apocalypse by setting forth some classical expressions of older eschatology. As will be seen, the eschatology of S is both explicit and implicit, is in many respects fundamentally different character.

(1) THE THEOLOGY AND ESCHATOLOGY OF S

The author of S was a Jew who evidently was in touch and doubtless belonged to, the circles of the teacher of the Law. Thus he displays great reverence for the Ten Commandments. He also attaches high importance to sacrifices (3:4). He may be called the Founder of the Holy City (cf. 10:46) over, in such passages as 8:29 (regard them that have)

* Cited by F. C. Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 338

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taught thy Law) the writer expresses his strong sympathy, if he does not actually identify himself, with the orthodox Scribes. Like many Pharisees of the time he valued and practised an ascetic mode of life (cf. the frequent references to fasting, e.g., 6 °, 9 °, etc., and also 8 °, where humbled thyself =? hast fasted; also 6 °, thy chastity which thou hast had ever since thy youth. As a Jew he postulates the fundamental beliefs of Judaism. Thus he insists on God's unity and uniqueness, which is absolutely unshared. 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 (6 1-6). Israel is God's chosen and elect people (5 °; cf. the whole passage 5 °-50°; 6 °; 8 °, etc.), with whom God entered into a special covenant-relation (3 14°), and for whose sake the world was made (6 °, 7 °). Of Israel's election as a nation the apocalypticist has no doubt whatever, though, as will appear, he finds it hard to reconcile with the failure of individual members of the chosen race to live up to the standard of the divine requirements, as set forth in the God-given Law. The Law is a divine gift to Israel (3 °, °, 9 °). It had indeed been offered to the other nations of the world but deliberately rejected by them (cf. 7 °, °, 7 °); Israel, on the other hand, had accepted it. Herein lies the ground of Israel's election and privileged position before God, according to our apocalypticist. Israel had, unlike the other nations, accepted the divine Law, and 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 (6 °, 7 °). The apocalypticist glorifies the Law (cf. especially 9 °-5°), but is perplexed by the problems presented by it in its relation to Israel. In the first part of our book the problem of the nation—of Israel—is debated. Why is the chosen people given up as a prey to the heathen? The usual answer given to this question was that Israel's afflictions are due to its unfaithfulness to the Law. But this answer fails to satisfy the seer. He raises the question: Why have the godless heathen, whose sins far outweigh the shortcomings of the chosen people, been allowed to lord it over and oppress the latter? Why have they who denied thy promises been allowed to tread under
foot those that have believed thy covenants? (5 28). Are their deeds any better that inhabit Babylon? Has he for this rejected Sion? (3 28). To these questions no satisfactory answer can be found in the Law alone. One of the most striking features of S is that the sense of the Law's inadequacy to solve the moral issues comes in it to such poignant expression. The Law is impotent to redeem and to save the sinner: We who have received the Law and sinned must perish (9 30). Compare with this Rom. 3 20: for through the Law cometh knowledge of sin. To a race doomed to sin the promises of the Law are a mockery (7 11b-13). The utmost that the seer can hope from the Law is that while the many are born to perish, but few shall be saved (9 16). To this it will be necessary to return. The answers to the problem of the nation to which the apocalyptic struggles in the debate, and in which he finds a partial consolation 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? (4 7-11; cf. 5 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 (4 12-31). 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 (4 32-33).

(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 (4 38-31); but everything has been pre-determined—the number of the righteous elect, and the duration of the present 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 (4 33-43). That moment, it is hinted, will soon arrive (4 44-50).

(d) In spite of all appearances to the contrary God loves Israel now and always. The apocalyptic never wavers in his conviction that God's love for Israel exceeds all other, and finds
in this thought a source of supreme consolation (5 31-40, cf. 8 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.* (7 114.)

But having won his way to this position, the apocalyptist still finds himself baffled and perplexed with sore difficulties. One of the greatest of these he expresses by declaring that the coming Age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto many (7 47). The answer given by the Angel is that the few are precious, and the many worthless (7 49-61). But this naturally fails to satisfy the seer, who bursts into passionate lamentation over the evil case of the human race. Surely it would have been better for man never to have been created at all, than to be created merely to sin and suffer (7 53-69), or, at least, for Adam, after he had been created, to have been restrained from sinning (7 118-136). To these protests the Angel can only reply that such are the conditions of the fight—the issues had been set plainly and clearly before men, and, therefore, the inevitable doom is just: there will be more joy in heaven over those who attain salvation than sorrow over the many who perish. Such is the logical result of legalism, and the apocalyptist confidently appeals against it to God's attributes of mercy and compassion (7 132-140). Judgement will be mitigated by
compassion and mercy, for if God did not multiply mercy, the world with its inhabitants could not attain unto life (i.e., eternal life, 7 187). It should be noted, in this connection, that in Rabbinic doctrine God's mercy is no less insisted upon, as a mitigating element in judgement. Thus, one midrashic passage (Pesiqta, ed. Buber, 161) states that God is long-suffering, seeing that in this world he removes guilt from the pious, who then pass into eternity with their good works; while in the other world he releases sinners from their guilt. In his final reply the Angel again reminds the seer that his (the seer's) love for creation comes far short of the divine love; the righteous will be rewarded, but sinners will meet the fate they deserve. 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.

God's purpose in creation, it is admitted, has partially failed: For the Most High willed not that men 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 life for them (8 60-61). The result has been the almost total corruption of the world in consequence of man's sin. Only a remnant of the sinful mass has been rescued with great difficulty, and by the grace of God.

Then I considered my world; and lo! it was destroyed, and my earth; and lo! it was in peril—

... And I saw and spared (some) with very great difficulty, and saved me a grape out of a cluster, and a plant out of a great forest. (9 20, 21.)

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:† and it is clear that this attitude of mind was by no means so rare and isolated a phenomenon in early Judaism as is sometimes supposed. This becomes

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* See further the passages cited p. 155.

† Cf. Rom. 8 4 f.: For what the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and as an offering for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the ordinance of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit.
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 good 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. It is true that on strict legal principles the Law, having once been 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 divinely given Law: *For in truth there is none of the earth-born that has not dealt wickedly, and among those that exist that has not sinned* (8*).

So conscious is the apocalyptist of this that he reckons himself among the sinners; cf. 7 48 (*the evil heart has grown up in us, which has estranged us from God, and brought us into destruction*), 7 64 (*we perish*), 7 118, 126, 8 17, 8 51 (*we and our fathers have passed our lives in ways that bring death*). Thus, according to S, sin is conceived as consisting essentially in unfaithfulness to the Law; cf. 9 38 (*we who have received the Law and sinned must perish*). The result has been alienation and estrangement from God (7 48). But it remains to explain how such a result can have come about. According to our apocalyptist it is due, in some way, to the sin of Adam which has involved the fall of the entire human race; cf. 7 118 (*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!*). Man’s infirmity is to be traced to the evil heart (*cor malignum*) which was developed in Adam and transmitted to his descendants. The most important passage for elucidating these points is 3 30–32 and 25–26—

And yet thou didst not take away from them the evil heart, that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them. For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome; 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, and the evil remained.

And after this had been done many years, the inhabitants of the City committed sin, in all things doing as Adam and all his
generations had done; for they also had clothed themselves with the evil heart.

The effect of the Law was nullified because of the evil germ (root, 3:22) or grain of evil seed (granum seminis mali) which was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning (4:30). This evil root or grain of evil seed doubtless corresponds to the evil impulse (yeser ha-ra') of Rabbinic theology; and in fact the actual Rabbinic expression probably underlies the phrase the innate evil thought (cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum) which occurs in 7:9. 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 (4:30) with the result that the infirmity became inveterate (3:24). All men have fallen into sin (8:18), and, as a consequence, this age [the present world-order] is full of sorrow and impotence (4:27); the ways of this world have become narrow and sorrowful and painful (7:18). The evil heart has estranged from God and brought into destruction . . . not a few only, but well nigh all that have been created (7:48); 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 (7:49).

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 the passage already cited which charges Adam with being responsible for the perdition of all mankind (7:18). It is true that 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 (3:16); the apocalypticist does not deny the moral responsibility of each individual member of the race. Probably at the back of his 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 form of the apocalypticist's conception is specifically Rabbinic. He bases his conclusions on the doctrine of the yeser ha-ra'; there is no suggestion that the introduction of evil into the world was due to external agents or forces. The older mythological view (found in Genesis and in the older apocalyptic literature) that the
fall of man was brought about by demonic incitement is tacitly discarded. The corruption of the human race is regarded as due to a development of something inherent in man's nature (the yeşer ha-ra'). Though this doctrine is sometimes combined, in the Rabbinical literature, with the popular view of Satan (Satan works his evil purpose by the instrumentality of the yeşer ha-ra'), it probably really represents a theological refinement which was intended to supersede the older crude popular ideas about demonic agency; cf. e.g., the saying of Simon b. Lakish: Satan and yeşer and the angel of death are one (T.B. Baba bathra 16a). It is a striking fact that in our apocalypse there is no reference to Satan or demonic agency at all. The interchange of the expressions heart and impulse or thought (cor malignum, cogitamentum malum) may also be paralleled in Rabbinic literature.* Where our apocalyptist differs, and differs fundamentally, from the orthodox doctrine of Judaism, as expressed in the Rabbinical literature, is in the emphasis he lays on the ravages of the evil yeşer upon human nature generally. The enfeeblement of man's nature is such that practically no one has been able successfully to withstand the yeşer: the whole race has fallen into corruption. The Rabbis insisted, on the other hand, that human nature is not, by any means, in such a hopeless condition. Man can, by moral effort and assisted by the grace of God, successfully resist the suggestions of the evil impulse.† This, in fact, has been done not only by the patriarchs and other eminent men of piety in the Old Testament, but also by the pious in Israel generally. The most esteemed means for waging this war were the study of the Law and the practice of acts of kindness. Blessed are Israel, one passage in the Talmud runs, as long as they are devoted to the study of the Law and works of kindness the evil yeşer is delivered into their hands.‡ In fact by some of the Rabbis the evil yeşer "is reduced to certain passions. . . . They only become evil by the improper use man makes of them."|| The Yeşer ha-ra' was originally created by God to subserve a purpose essentially good. Our apocalyptist, by representing the Law as powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery (3 11), directly contradicts the orthodox Rabbinical view.

Another point to be noted in this connection is that the entry of physical death into the world is directly connected with the Fall in S. Adam in Paradise transgressed the divine commandment (as to eating of the forbidden fruit); Forthwith thou appointedst death for him and for his generations (i.e.,

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* Cf. Schechter, Aspects, p. 258 f.
† So also all sections of Ap. Bar. According to this Book, each man is the Adam of his own soul, and can work out his own salvation or the reverse.
‡ Aboda sara 5b (cited by Schechter, op. cit., p. 273).
descendants, 3 7). Thus, according to S, both physical and spiritual death are a legacy from Adam.

That physical death is due to Adam's sin is also the prevailing view in Rabbinical literature and in Judaism generally. Adam was not originally destined to die; if he had not sinned he would have lived for ever (cf. Pesiqta, 76a, etc.; Ap. Bar. xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxxii. 4; Ecclus. 25 14; 1 Enoch lxix. 11; 2 Enoch xxx. 16, 17; Wisdom 1 13, 14, 2 14; Romans 5 (Through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin: and so death passed unto all men), 1 Cor. 15 21. Another view, represented in Ap. Bar. (cf. liv. 15, lvi. 6), is that Adam's sin brought in premature death. See further Charles' note on Ap. Bar. xxiii. 4.

The positions that have been discussed naturally suggest comparison with the doctrine of St. Paul on the subject (cf. especially Rom. 5 18-21). St. Paul agrees with S in tracing the entry of physical death into the world to the Fall of Adam; and the same cause is also responsible for human sinfulness, and the tendency to sin; St. Paul also insists upon the moral responsibility of the individual. Where the Pauline doctrine differs, perhaps, is on the question of the cor malignum and the evil yezer. In S Adam's Fall is due to the fact that he had allowed the evil yezer to master him, and so clothed himself with the cor malignum which brought about his Fall. In St. Paul the Fall is traced not to the evil inclination of man's heart, but to a deliberate act of the will. But the former may possibly be implicit in the Apostle's thought. It is a mistake, as Sanday and Headlam maintain, to place the teaching of St. Paul in too marked opposition with the views of his contemporaries. There is no fundamental inconsistency between them. He does not either affirm or deny the existence of the evil yezer (and the cor malignum) before the Fall. Two complementary fundamental truths are left side by side. "Man inherits his nature; and yet he must not be allowed to shift responsibility from himself, there is that within him by virtue of which he is free; and on that freedom of choice he must stand or fall."

It has already been pointed out above that in the theology of S it is the acceptance of the Law—not the strict observance of it—that constitutes, for practical purposes, the standard by which it is possible to justify the choice of Israel by God.

* Romans, p. 138.
Israel, as a nation, had accepted the divine Law; the other nations of the world had deliberately rejected it. But, as a matter of fact, very few (if any) individuals, even in Israel, had been able to live up to the requirements of the Law. Consequently our apocalypticist lays far more stress upon faith than works; cf. 6⁶ (they have gathered faith for a treasure), 7⁴⁴ (in his statutes they have put no faith, i.e., they have not believed in the Law). In the latter passage faith = belief; in the former the meaning seems to be more concrete—perhaps the idea of loyalty to the Law in the sense of acknowledgment of its claims is in the writer's mind.

In 5¹ (E) 6⁴⁴ (E) and 7⁴⁴ (E or R) fides is also used absolutely, but in the passive sense of faithfulness. See the note on 7⁴⁴-⁴⁴ (p. 122 f.).

It is a striking fact that nowhere in S does the seer claim for himself that he has a treasure of good works. It is true that in 7⁷⁷ the angel assures him that he has a treasure of good works laid up with the Most High, but it shall not be showed thee until the last times; but in 8⁵¹ he expressly includes himself among those who have no works of righteousness, though he goes on to speak of the righteous who have many works laid up with thee and who shall out of their own deeds receive their reward (8⁵¹); immediately on this, however, there follows an explicit affirmation of the sinfulness of the whole human race (8⁴⁴-⁴⁵). It is clear that the writer of S, though he does not deny that there are genuine cases of true piety under the Law, yet finds little consolation in this fact; in his heart of hearts he doubts whether any, judged strictly, have lived up to the divine requirements. All men have fallen into transgression and sin. With such a profound sense of sin the writer must have regarded the best works of piety as of doubtful value in themselves. On the other hand, it is clear, from the emphasis which he lays on this point, that to the writer of S the sin that dooms is deliberate and defiant rejection of the divine Law (cf. 7⁴¹-⁴⁴, 7⁷²). Israel as a nation (in spite of individual lapses) has at least not been guilty of this—it has openly acknowledged God's sovereignty; whereas the heathen world has spurned the divine ordinances. Israel, in other words, has faith; whereas the heathen world have none (7⁴⁴). In the latter part of S (after 7¹⁷) the problem is discussed not from the national but from the individual standpoint. Granted that Israel is the elect nation which is
destined to inherit the coming Age of felicity, the question arises who are the individuals that shall be found worthy to be numbered among the elect? The writer of S is evidently conscious that large numbers of the elect race fall lamentably short of any tolerable standard of righteousness. This comes out strikingly in the latter part of the beautiful prayer in chapter 8—

O look not on the sins of thy people,
but on them that have served thee in truth;

Regard not the deeds of the godless,
but (rather) them that have kept thy covenants in tortures;

Think not upon those that have walked in devious ways before thee,

but remember them that have willingly kept thy fear;

Will not to destroy those that have lived like cattle,
but regard them that have gloriously taught thy Law;

Be not wroth with those that are deemed worse than the beasts,
but love them that have always put their trust in thy glory.

—(8:5-11.)

In this passage the apocalyptist is undoubtedly referring to fellow-Jews. It would seem that large numbers of these, after the Fall of Jerusalem, had lapsed into indifference, or even open apostasy. The terms in which the latter are referred to above—the godless, those that have lived like cattle, those that are deemed worse than the beasts—recall the references that are met with in the Rabbinical literature to the people of the land, the 'am hā-’āres, between whom and the orthodox Teachers of the Law an exceedingly bitter feeling had grown up towards the end of the first century and during the first half of the second century A.D.* In any case by them that have gloriously taught thy Law and the corresponding descriptive terms in the passage cited above, the orthodox Teachers of the Law are undoubtedly meant. Nor must it be overlooked that the spectacle of his lapsed fellow-countrymen excites not so much the apocalyptist's scorn and anger as his compassion: will not to destroy, be not wroth with, those that have

* According to Büchler (Der galiläische 'Am hā-'āres des zweiten Jahrhunderts), this deep hostility was not developed till after the Bar Kokba revolt (135 a.d.). But it is difficult not to see traces of it earlier.
lived like cattle is rather the language of prayer and intercession than of denunciation.

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 shouldest 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.

—(8 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 pronounced in the Apocalypse of Baruch.* 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. 7 128-8 3; 8 30).

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 7 78-101, which gives a long description of the state of the soul after death and before the Judgement (cf. p. 141 f.). It is further stated (7 102-115) 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 everyone shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness (7 104-106).

While the theology of S recognises the Day of Judgement and an intermediate state for the soul between death and

* In this Book (especially in the sections written after 70 A.D.), "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' note on Ap. Bar. xv. 5; p. 31.)
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 rest-
lessly 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
Wisdom and of Hellenistic Judaism.*

It seems probable, however, that the apocalyptist, in his description,
has in mind only the very righteous and very wicked; his categories
are logical ones. In view of his passionate appeal to the divine mercy
and forgiveness in 7 18 f. (cf. 8 26) it is difficult to believe that he did
not share the belief, represented in more than one of the contemporary
Palestinian schools of thought, that in the case of the intermediate
class forming the vast mass of mankind, who are neither wholly good
nor wicked, judgement would be mitigated with mercy. See further
p. 155 below.

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
will follow the collapse of the 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 (10 26 f.), and which belongs to the future Age. As to
when the end of the present order is to come the apocalyptist
has no definite knowledge, nor is any precise disclosure made
to him on the point. But he is made to understand that the
decisive moment is not far distant (cf. 4 43, 44-50). The
appointed time has been pre-determined by God (4 36 f.),
as well as the number of the righteous elect; and till this

* Cf. on this point Bousset*, p. 337 f.
number has been completed the promised salvation cannot come (4 °). God's purpose is fixed, but it is beyond the power of the human mind to fathom it (cf. 5 °-60°, 6 °, 7 °, 7 °). 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. Even God's pre-determined purposes are conditioned by human freedom. Man's freedom and the use he has made of it justify his final condemnation (7127-130°; cf. 7 °, 7 °, 7 °; 8 °-63°; 9 °-1°); but at the same time it has modified the original purpose of God: For the Most High willed not that men 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 life for them (8 59°). In consequence of man's sin the present world, which was originally created good, has become narrow and sorrowful and painful (7 °); human transgression results in a harvest of evil, which must first be reaped before the good can take its place (4 °) When the end does come it will be by the act of the Creator alone (6 °).

The theology of S is thus essentially other-worldly. "The main sanctions of morality are derived by this writer from the hope of future judgement and the future life." His 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 spiritual: How should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible? (4 °). The body, regarded as the prison-house of the soul, is described as this corruptible vessel (7 °). It is significant that in S there is no resurrection of the body; what is anticipated is 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 (9 °). In contrast to the present world-order, which is full of sorrow and impotence (4 °), and the ways of which, owing to man's sin, have become narrow and sorrowful and painful (7 °), the ways of the

* H. Maldwyn Hughes, The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature, p. 305.
future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality
(7 12). 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 (8 58, 59).

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 elimina-
tion of Greek elements, and the hardening and crystallization
of the Rabbinic type of thought were 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.”*

The position of S in the question of the resurrection-belief is somewhat
difficult to define. From the terms in which the body is spoken of—it being regarded as entirely corruptible and doomed to dissolution (cf. especially 7 88, where it is said of the souls of the righteous after death:
“when they shall be separated, a vaso corruptibilis”), it seems clear
that the writer of S certainly did not accept the orthodox Palestinian
view of a resurrection of dead bodies (the body rising from the grave
and being re-united to the soul which had been preserved in an inter-
mediate state; cf. the discussion, pp. 119 ff.). There is no explicit
reference in S to such a resurrection (contrast Ap. Bar. 1-lii), and the
idea of such is contrary to the whole tone of his theology, according
to which the earthly organism belongs essentially to the present

corrupt and perishing world. On the other hand, a pure immortality is not taught as in Philo; for in S the conception of the final Judgement is strongly emphasized, whereas the idea of a pure immortality of the soul involves a judgement which sets in immediately after death. This inconsistency of representation is also present in the first part of Wisdom (cf. 3 7, 11, 17 f., 4 4, 40, 6 4 f.) and 2 Enoch, which both recognise the final Judgement, but are silent as to the resurrection of the body.*

As, according to S, the souls of the wicked and righteous enter immediately after death into a state of partial bliss or torment, which is a sort of foretaste of the final Judgement (cf. 7 7 ff.), it would seem that they are conceived as endowed with an organism which would make such experiences possible (cf. p. 121). However this may be, it is clear that they await (the righteous souls in their chambers and the wicked in a state of restless wandering in Sheol; cf. 4 41, note d) the final Judgement. No mention of a bodily resurrection as preceding this is made in S. At the same time S clearly implies that the souls will be assembled when creation is renewed (i.e., when the great transformation is brought about by which the present world-order is dissolved, and the incorruptible spiritual world succeeds it; 7 16, cf. 5 44) all together to receive the Judgement. The scene of the Judgement is the renewed (i.e., transformed) creation, in other words, the spiritual world. The liberation of the souls of the righteous (?) already endowed with "spiritual" bodies) and the assembling of the souls of the wicked at the scene of the final Judgement takes place. This conception appears to underlie the passage in S (5 41 f.) where the seer gives such remarkable expression to his eagerness for the advent of the Judgement. He is debating with the angel how the divine promises to Israel as a nation are to be fulfilled; it has already been shown that fulfilment is only possible in the new world which is to be ushered in by the final Judgement, and he impatiently asks, Why cannot the End be hastened? Will the final generation that survives the End and sees the dawn of the New Age have the advantage over previous generations that have died? Could not God have created all the generations at once, so that all might share equally in the great vindication? The reply is as follows—

*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 (5 44).

To the second question: 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 mightest display thy judgement the sooner? the answer is given: The creation may not proceed faster than the Creator; nor could the world hold all at once those created in it. The seer proceeds: How, then, is it that thou hast (just now) said to thy servant that thou wilt verily quicken (vivificans vivificabis) all at once the creation created by thee? If then they (i.e., all of the created) shall indeed be alive all at once, and creation (i.e., the world transformed) shall be able to sustain them, it might even now support them (all) present at once (5 45-45).

By the expressions quicken and be alive in this passage the writer of

* Cf. Bousset, RJ 4, p. 313.

5—(243c)}
S apparently means to describe the process by which the souls are assembled together alive to receive the final Judgement. The terms are borrowed from the current Palestinian eschatology, and bear different meanings in different contexts (cf. Volz, p. 326 f.). They might, of course, be applied to a bodily resurrection in the sense of the current orthodox belief; but if such a use were intended here some explicit mention of a bodily resurrection, describing the re-union of souls and bodies, would be desiderated. In the absence of such evidence it is best to assume that a judgement of souls alone is referred to, or, preferably, of souls conceived as already endowed with a "spiritual" or soul-body.

The writer of S conceives the Judgement as marking a decisive and momentous change in the condition of all souls. Those of the righteous, though in the intermediate state they already enjoy a foretaste of the bliss reserved to them, are represented as impatiently awaiting in their "chambers" the coming of the Judgement when the spacious liberty and indescribable felicity of the New Age will be theirs (cf. 4 *); while those of the wicked are destined likewise to endure the full torments reserved for them after the Judgement, though these are, to some extent, anticipated in the intermediate state. The theology of S, in this respect, thus occupies a middle position between the pure Alexandrine-Jewish view of immortality, and the resurrection-belief of Palestinian Judaism. The conception of the final Judgement, which is so strongly emphasized in S, is essentially Palestinian. It should be noted that according to Josephus (War ii. 8, 14, cf. Antiq. xviii. 1, 3) the Pharisees believed that "all souls are incorruptible," but that the souls of the righteous after death pass into "other (i.e., new spiritual) bodies," while the souls of the wicked "are subject to eternal punishment": cf. with this St. Paul's doctrine of the "spiritual body" of the resurrection (1 Cor. 15 *). It is also to be remarked that in Ap. Bar. xxx, 2 f., there is a reference to the assemblage of souls to receive the final Judgement, without any allusion to a bodily resurrection—

And it will come to pass at that time, that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they will come forth, and a multitude of souls will be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first will rejoice and the last will not be grieved . . . But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more. For they will know that their torment has come, and their perdition has arrived. This representation agrees essentially with that of S.

(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
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End of the world (4:5, 5a, 6:21-23); (2) the End of the world (this is announced by the Voice of God, but not actually described: 6:13-20, 22-24); (3) the felicity of those who survive the Messianic "woes" and live on into the Messianic Age (6:25-28). 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 (6:18-20). 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 utilised by R in 7:34-44 and 8:43-9:13 (see the introductory sections to these passages in the following commentary), 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 7:31. The description of the Messianic "woes" has many traditional features which find close parallels in similar descriptions elsewhere (cf. p. 41 below).

In the case of the Eagle-Vision (ch. 11-12) the dominating eschatological conception is a political one. Wickedness is concentrated in godless imperial Rome, and the Judgement will be effected when Rome is destroyed by the Lion of Judah, i.e., the Messiah . . . who shall spring from the seed of David (12:38). 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 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. 13). These have been fully discussed in the introductory section to the Vision (pp. 282-286),

* Cf. the "Beast" of the Johannine Apocalypse.
and it is unnecessary to repeat what is there said in this place. One feature, however, that comes out in the interpretation of the Vision calls for special mention in this connection. This is the emphasis that is laid on the Law. The heavenly Messiah destroys his enemies without labour by the Law (13:8). 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 (13:41). 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* (i.e., the Ezra-legend given in ch. 14), 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 similitudes of 1 Enoch. Just as in the Similitudes 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 14*). So too, as in the Similitudes, the heavenly Messiah is not to appear until the End and the coming of the Judgement (cf. 14* 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 3½ years of woe of Dan. 9:27), and regards the approach of the final consummation as imminent (cf. 14 11, 13 and notes). Another feature of E* 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. pp. 304–307).
The Redactor, who is responsible for the present form of our Apocalypse, though essentially a compiler, was yet also something more. He has impressed a certain unity on the Book, which, though it involves the combination of conceptions radically disparate, yet serves to reveal a whole which he contrived to combine into one system in his own thought. In order to accomplish this he has inserted connecting links and supplementary matter at different points of his compilation which serve to adjust the different elements to his own comprehensive scheme.

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. What may be inferred from this procedure? From the fact that the Salathiel-Apocalypse is placed first and occupies the larger part of the Book we may conclude that R was specially interested in its main theme, and found its discussion of the problems involved a most suggestive and stimulating exposition of the difficulties of which he, in common with his contemporaries, was acutely conscious. The great problems of the time were occasioned by the fall and destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. How, in the face of existing facts, were God's promises to his chosen people to be made good? These questions are debated in S in a manner profoundly earnest and moving, which must have appealed with poignant force to the generation that lived immediately after the great catastrophe. The answer given in S is that the solution of these difficulties can only take place in another world; nothing can be expected from the present evil world-order. But such an answer would fail to satisfy those who held by the old national Messianic hope; and, in fact, the Redactor, fully realizing the inadequacy of this answer from the orthodox standpoint, has provided another in the two appended apocalypses of the Eagle (A) and Son of Man (M) Visions. Here the overthrow of Rome is predicted, and the coming of King Messiah, and the setting up of his Kingdom. But the debate in S is concerned with another pressing problem. The writer of S discusses not only the eschatology of the nation, but also the eschatology
of the individual. The conviction, common to all the apocalyptists, that the misery of the world was due to the sin of the race raised the problem of the origin and prevalence of sin in general, and the dominance of evil. This problem is debated in S with almost unrivalled power and pathos, and the solution reached is the hope of a new and spiritual world which will succeed the final Judgement, and in which the source of sin in man's heart will be removed, and evil will be abolished root and branch. This solution evidently satisfied R, on the whole, and he has combined it, with some qualification in detail, with his national eschatology. One element in the treatment of the problem of sin in S must have appealed to R with special force—the fact that the problem is approached along the lines of the Rabbinic doctrine of the evil impulse or thought (the yiser hā-ra'); this method would have been especially congenial to a disciple of the Rabbis such as R, as there is every reason to believe, actually was.

The eschatological scheme which results from R's combination may be set forth as follows: (1) The period of the "woes" preceding the advent of the Messiah (4 6-5 13a, 6 11-28) will first occur. (2) The Messiah and his immortal companions (Enoch, Elijah, etc.) 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 (7 18-28 R). In ch. 13 (Μ) 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." After the annihilation of the last enemies has been effected, the "survivors," who are defined as those that are found within my holy border (13 48) shall be defended by the Messiah (13 49, cf. 13 28b), 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 7 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 primæval silence for seven days (7 \textsuperscript{29-30}). (4) This will be followed by the Resurrection and the Final Judgement (7 \textsuperscript{31-44}).

It should be noted that the Eagle-Vision (ch. 11–12), 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, which was 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. But R was not a profound thinker, like S, and there is no necessity to try to force his system up to a standard of logical consistency which he neither thought necessary nor strove to attain.

In combination with, and supplementing, this our compiler accepted the eschatology of the individual as set forth in S. This is given in detail in 7 \textsuperscript{75-101} (see also the introductory section to this passage, pp. 141 ff.). The souls immediately after death, after a period of seven days' freedom (7 \textsuperscript{100 ff.}), enter into their habitations, if they are just, or wander about restlessly (? in Sheol) if they are wicked, and await the final Judgement. The day of Judgement will fix the eternal fate of each individual soul (7 \textsuperscript{102-116}), and marks the decisive point between this Age and the eternal Age to come: at the Day of Judgement the righteous soul enters into eternal bliss, the wicked into eternal torment. In 8 \textsuperscript{83-9 13}, which is probably an insertion by R, the combination of the national and individual eschatology can be seen set forth in an interesting manner.

In contrast with S, the Redactor has much greater confidence in the Law, as such, as a protective power to the Jew; he vaunts the superior righteousness of Israel, as a nation, against the sinners of the nations (cf. 3 \textsuperscript{83-86}). S, on the other hand, while he is filled with horror at the wickedness of
the heathen world, is moved rather to compassion than denunciation. The whole human race, including Israel, is involved in sin, according to him.

Two interesting points which arise in connection with the theology of R remain to be noticed. In 7— a passage which belongs to R— it is declared that the Messiah, at the end of his temporary (400 years) reign, is destined to die with all men, although his heavenly preexistence has previously been implied, if not affirmed. How is this unique feature to be explained? Volz (p. 34) sees in this a veiled polemic against the Christian doctrine of the Messiah; but this is hardly probable. It is more probable that R in this way wishes to reduce the national Messianic hope to a position of subordination, "as if to emphasize the fact that what then follows, the new creation, wholly supersedes the national hope." He attaches far more importance to the eschatology of the individual than to that of the nation.

This being so, he cannot be regarded (with Kabisch) as a mere Zealot, whose sole thought is the hope of vengeance against Rome.

The other point is the title of the Messiah as God's Son. In 7 (R) the Messiah is spoken of by God as My Son the Messiah (cf. 13, 14). This explicit title of the Messiah as God's Son occurs in our Book for the first time in Jewish Literature, with the exception of 1 Enoch cv. 2, which, however, is probably an interpolation. It would naturally arise from the Messianic interpretation of Psalm 2 (Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee)—if, indeed, Ps. 2 is not, as Wellhausen maintains, Messianic in its very inception. As Dalman has shown, of the Messianic application of Psalm 2 there are not many traces in Jewish Literature. Still there are some. Thus in the Psalms of Solomon (17) there is a clear reference, in a Messianic connection, to Ps. 2, and the Messianic interpretation is occasionally, though rarely, met with in Rabbinical Literature (e.g., in a Baraitha given in T. B. Sukka 52a—a relatively early attestation; cf. also the Targ. on Ps. 80). The Psalm was certainly interpreted in a Messianic sense in the New Testament (in Luke 3 according to the reading of D, supported by Justin and Clem. Alex., the words of the divine Voice at the Baptism were: Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee = Ps. 2). But, perhaps the most significant fact in this connection is that throughout the interpretation of the Son of Man Vision in our Book (13) the Messianic interpretation of Ps. 2 has been an all-important factor. Here the hostile nations assemble together against

† Cf. Vaganay, p. 99.
‡ For the difference of readings in the Versions in these passages see notes in loc.

|| Wellhausen (Polychrome Bible, Psalms ad loc.) says: "The Messiah is the speaker, and the whole Psalm is composed in his name." The Psalm is undoubtedly very late, and has been prefixed (with Psalm i) to the whole collection of the Psalter.

the Messiah ( = Ps. 2:9), who is called God's Son ( = Ps. 2:7), and who, having taken his stand upon Mount Sion ( = Ps. 2:6), annihilates his enemies ( = Ps. 2:8, cf. Ps. Sol. 17:8), and sets up his kingdom, which includes, perhaps, proselytes (cf. Ps. 2:11-12). This interpretation may almost be called an eschatological commentary on Ps. 2, and it may, perhaps, be inferred from it that in certain apocalyptic circles the Messianic interpretation of the Psalm was cultivated. It does not follow that this interpretation was current in all the circles of the apocalyptists; nor does it preclude the existence, in the wider circles of Judaism, of a non-Messianic interpretation of the Psalm.* An important possibility is, however, that it was derived from apocalyptic circles by Our Lord. It must be remembered that the interpretation of the Son of Man Vision in our Book is considerably older than the date of the Book's compilation. It probably reflects a tradition that was current in apocalyptic circles anterior to the rise of the Christian movement.

In view of the considerations here advanced the view of Drummond (JM, p. 285 ff.) that Son as applied to the Messiah has arisen by mistake from Servant (cf. 4 Ezra 7:8, Ethiop., my servant the Messiah also Ap. Bar. lxx. 9) has little probability. It should be noted that the Messianic use of the title Son (of God) does not occur in Ap. Baruch.

In 3:11 (individual men of note indeed thou mayest find to have kept thy precepts; but nations thou shalt not find) which probably is to be assigned to R, there is an interesting reference to proselytes among the nations generally. These undoubtedly constituted a numerous class at this period—there was a powerful Jewish propaganda in the Dispersion during the whole of the first century A.D. and a little later—though in comparison with the mass of the heathen generally they were but few. R, however, would probably belong to the strict party among the Jews which refused to recognise as true proselytes any but those who submitted to circumcision. The not inconsiderable number of Christian converts from among this class would also be reckoned by him as included in the heathen.

* The Messianic interpretation of Ps. 2 may, however, have been more common in early Jewish Literature than now appears. "One may assume that as time passed on the Christian exposition of Psalm 2 became a deterrent to its common use by the synagogue" (Dalman, op. cit., p. 271 f.).
§ 7. The aim of the Book and its importance for Jewish Theology

What was the special object of the Redactor in compiling our Book and investing it with the Name of Ezra? The present Editor believes that the clue to the solution of this problem is to be found in the final chapter (14) of the Apocalypse, which narrates how Ezra was specially inspired to remember and dictate the contents of the 24 books of the Canonical Scriptures, and the 70 secret Books—in all 94 Books—which had perished in the ruin of the State.

Our Apocalyptist here claims for the apocalyptic literature an essential place within Judaism. And one main object of the compilation of our Book seems to have been to commend this literature to Rabbinical circles which were more or less hostile. Hence the prominence of Ezra, "the second Moses," and the application of Ezra's name to the whole composite work (see further the discussion, pp. 304 ff.).

In fact the compiler (R) seems above all anxious to secure the recognition of the apocalyptic literature (of which our Book is a specimen) as an essential part of the accepted oral tradition of Judaism. Jewish theology recognised, side by side with the letter of Scripture, an oral Law, embracing both halacha and haggada, and this was considered to be authoritative and "inspired"—at least so far as it had acquired recognised authority—and to constitute an essential part of the religion of the Synagogue. The written word (Scripture) and its traditional interpretation (embodied in the Oral Law) together expressed the religious convictions of orthodox Judaism. The commonly accepted codification of the Oral Law, which forms the basis of the Talmuds, viz., the Mishna, did not assume its present form till the end of the second century A.D. or even somewhat later. It was, it is true, preceded by earlier collections which were ultimately superseded by or incorporated in the later. One great feature of interest in our Apocalypse is that it seems to throw light upon some of the forces that were at work
during the early stages of this process. A determined effort was apparently made by a certain section within or, at any rate, in close contact with, certain Rabbinical circles to secure a permanent place for apocalyptic in the literature of orthodox Judaism. The object of the movement was to ensure the recognition of apocalyptic as part of the authoritative oral tradition. The movement was not successful, and our Book remains a noble and pathetic monument of the failure of the apocalyptists to attain their goal. Another outcome of the movement may be seen, perhaps, in the contemporary Apocalypse of Baruch, which was probably published in its present form soon after 4 Ezra, and is, in part, an answer to the latter conceived on lines even more calculated to appeal to orthodox Rabbinism.* But the whole of this literature was ultimately rejected by Rabbinical Judaism, and owes its survival to the vogue it acquired in Christian circles, although it failed in the long run to secure a permanent and authoritative position in the sacred literature of the Church.

What the attitude of the earlier (first century) Rabbis was to apocalyptic is difficult to determine. In any case hostility was not so marked as it became later, though the natural tendency of Rabbinic thought would at all times have been to subordinate the apocalyptic to the legalistic element. It is probably true to say that the use of apocalyptic books in Essene and Christian circles—in the latter for controversial purposes against the Synagogue, especially after 70 A.D.—was largely responsible for the decided anti-apocalyptic bias of the later Rabbis. But the alienation between Synagogue and Church were not complete till after 135 A.D., and the existence of our Book shows that apocalyptic had not yet been finally eliminated from orthodox Judaism at the time when the Book was put forth (c. 120 A.D.). It is important to remember, in this connection, that at the end of the first century A.D. (and possibly later) the Rabbis were much occupied with the question of the Canon of Scripture,† and it has been suggested‡ that in certain circles (apocalyptic and Essene) the apocalyptic books were put on a level not merely with the oral tradition, but with the canonical Scriptures. In delimiting the Canon precisely at the end of the first century A.D. the Rabbis may have been influenced by a desire to safeguard the older collection of Scripture from the possible rivalry of apocalyptic books.

The Rabbinical standard of canonicity was fixed in accordance with the theory that inspiration was active within a fixed period which was delimited as extending from Moses to Ezra. The period subsequent to the time of Ezra-Nehemiah marked the extinction of prophecy, and only writings which were believed to have been produced within

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* The Apocalypse of Baruch is also a composite work embodying early and later elements.
† The canonical character of certain Books (Ezekiel, Qoheleth, etc.) mainly in the third division of the Hebrew Bible (the Hagiographa) was challenged. The question was finally decided in favour of the disputed Books at a Rabbinical Synod held at Jamnia, c. 100 A.D.
‡ By Hölscher in his important monograph, *Kanonisch und Apokryph.*
the above-mentioned limits were to be regarded as canonical. Such was the Rabbinical theory.

It will be noticed that the superior limit for this inspiration-period is the time of Moses. Before Moses no canonical Scripture can have been written. This view, doubtless, based upon the historical position of the Tora, which was the first section of the Scriptures to secure official embodiment, and always occupied the place of honour in the collection of the sacred Books. But, at the same time, another motive may, as Hölscher contends, have been at work. The Maccabean period, and the time that followed, was marked by a vast quickening of religious life and hopes, which found characteristic expression—especially in apocalyptic books.* These writings, as is well known, were largely put forth in the names of great heroic figures of old, such as Enoch, Abraham, the Twelve Patriarchs, and even Adam and Eve. The vogue of this literature among certain sections of the people constituted a distinct danger to the older collections of religious literature acknowledged in official orthodox (Pharisaic) circles. "What availed the age of the Tora, which Moses had received, in face of the revelation which in the primæval period had been vouchsafed to the Patriarchs, to Noah, Enoch and even Adam?" The apocalyptic literature itself shows traces of a certain feeling of superiority (cf. 1 Enoch civ. 11–13, and especially 4 Ezra 14 '441). Hence the necessity felt by the Teachers of the Law for arriving at some principle for safeguarding the superior position of the older religious literature; and this was found in the theory of the prophetic period (Moses to Ezra). All literature falling outside these limits was necessarily excluded by this criterion, and so the Books of Enoch and Ben Sira share a similar fate.

This seems to be confirmed by the Rabbinical Literature in one or two passages which speak of the classes of books that do not defile the hands, i.e., are not to be treated as canonical. The more important of these passages is the Tosefta of Yadayim ii. 13 (ed. Zuckermandel, 683) and runs as follows: The gilyonim and the books of the heretics do not defile the hands; the books of Ben Sira and all books which were written after the prophetic period do not defile the hands.† The mysterious term gilydnim is usually translated Gospels. But Hölscher has shown good grounds for doubting the accuracy of this translation. The other possible rendering blank parchments or scroll-margins is equally unsatisfactory, and there is much to commend Hölscher's ingenious suggestion that the term really means apocalypses.‡ If so we have here

* The original meaning of the term ἀφωγητικός as applied to this literature in the circles where it was valued seems to have been esoteric (Heb. בַּנָּה). It only later acquired the derogatory sense of spurious or doubtful. In Origen's time the term still retained its earlier meaning, and is applied by him to pseudepigraphic-apocalyptic writings (cf. Hölscher, op. cit., p. 49).

† The Syr. form corresponding to viz., gelyänd or gelyând is the translation of ἀφωγητικός in the New Testament.
positive evidence that the apocalyptic books were definitely excluded from canonical rank. The mere fact that it was thought necessary to exclude them in this way suggests that in certain circles they were held in the highest estimation and were put on a level with inspired Scripture. This is almost certainly true of the Essenes.

But many indications suggest that in the earlier period up to 70 A.D. a much freer view of the Canon was largely held, at any rate outside the circle of the strict Pharisees. There is the striking fact that the Greek Bible of Alexandria contained many books in excess of the Hebrew Bible of Palestine, though Josephus seems to have used a Greek Bible which contained only twenty-two books, in accordance with the Pharisaic standard. There is also the fact that more than one apocalyptic book is quoted as Scripture in the New Testament. But, it may be asked, if these books were essentially esoteric in character, how can any question of their public or canonical use ever have arisen?

In answer to this objection it may be said—

(1) That esoteric teaching usually maintains its secret character only in the first stage of its existence, but that as it spreads and wins adherents it will, at some time or other, assume a written form and then ultimately become public property. Many instances of such a process might be cited. A somewhat parallel case meets us in the tradition of the oral law, which for centuries was treasured in Rabbinic circles as too sacred a thing to be written, though it was ultimately reduced to writing.

(2) But in the case of the apocalyptic books we have undoubtedly to deal with real books, which though not intended for perusal by the "unworthy" or uninitiated were yet circulated in written form among certain sections of people. In this case the esoteric character assigned to the Book may have been intended to account for its late appearance (so already Daniel; cf. also 4 Ezra); the Book had only been concealed and treasured in secret till the opportune moment for its publication had arrived; and, further, in apocalyptic circles a virtue may have been made of necessity, and when the whole of this literature (with the exception of the Book of Daniel) had been definitely excluded from canonical recognition we can well believe that they not only accepted the fact, but gloriied in it. "With pride and affection their friends called these books γένισίμα (ἀψυχρόφα)," i.e., books containing secret and mystical lore. That an apocalyptic book might, under certain circumstances, force its way into the Canon is proved by the case of the Book of Daniel.*

On the whole, however, it does not seem probable that the Redactor of 4 Ezra wished to claim for his Book a place among the books "that defile the hands," i.e., Canonical Scripture, but rather within the oral tradition which was now beginning to assume written form.

* The Book of Daniel occupied too secure and time-honoured a place in religious estimation, and had served the cause of true religion too well, to be dislodged. It is significant, however, that it was placed not in the prophetic collection of the Hebrew Bible, but towards the end of the Hagiographa.
The importance of our Book for the history of Jewish theological development is very great. From the numerous points of contact with Rabbinic thought that occur it is clear that some elements in the Book exhibit clear traces of Rabbinic influence. This is most pronounced in the case of S and R.

Many instances have been pointed out in detail in the notes of the following Commentary. Thus the author of S utilises more than one Midraash (cf. 6 40-44, 7 13-8 1), and in 6 7-10 cites a current Jewish allegory (cf. pp. 69-70 below). For the influence of Rabbinic thought upon R see especially the introduction to 7 36-44 in the following Commentary.

Rosenthal (Vier apokryphische Bücher, pp. 57 ff.) points out many striking parallels between parts of our Book and the characteristic positions maintained by the Rabbis of the School of Jamnia, which was founded in the latter half of the first century A.D., and was flourishing and influential at the time when our Apocalypse was being formed. Rosenthal rightly insists that it would have been impossible for any Jewish writing composed during this period not to have been influenced by the spirit of this famous school. This would certainly be the case in a contemporary production which bears distinct marks of Rabbinic influence.

The School of Jamnia was founded shortly before the Fall of Jerusalem by the famous Teacher Joḥanan ben Zakkai, and five of his disciples attained special eminence, viz., Eliezer b. Hyrqanos, Joshua b. Ḥananya, Jose the Priest, Simeon b. Nathanael, and Eleazar b. Araq (cf. Pirqē Aboth II, 8 f.). Not improbably we ought to see in Ezra and his five companions who restored the Scriptures (cf. 4 Ezra 14 23) a covert allusion to the great Rabbi Joḥanan b. Zakkai and his five famous disciples. Rosenthal thinks that Eliezer b. Hyrqanos has been most influential in this connection.

As has already been pointed out above the most significant and important feature in the theology of S is his sense of the sinfulness of the whole human race (including Israel). The evil heart has made it impossible, even for the most pious, to observe the Law strictly. This position, which approximates to the theology of St. Paul, was, it has been suggested, by no means so isolated in contemporary (first century) Judaism as is sometimes supposed. Some confirmation of this view is given in the Rabbinic tradition itself. Thus it is related (T.B. Berakoth 28b) that when Joḥanan ben Zakkai lay dying,
his disciples noticed with surprise that he trembled and wept. When asked, why? he is recorded to have said: *There are before me two ways: one to Paradise, and the other to Gehinnom; and I know not which of the two ways I shall have to go—whether to Paradise or to Gehinnom.* According to the accepted orthodox view, theoretically so great a Rabbi could have reckoned on gaining Paradise by the study of the Law and good works. According to T. B. Shabbath, 101a, Eliezer b. Hyrkanos was fond of citing the text: *Surely there is not a righteous man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not* (Qoh. 7:20), and, on this ground, taught that even the patriarchs themselves (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob), if judged strictly, could not have survived the test.†

It has been suggested by Rosenthal that R. Eliezer held a view about inherited sinfulness (from Adam) akin to that of S in our Apocalypse, and that his implication in a charge of heresy at one period of his life, especially in connection with his intercourse with a Min (? Jewish-Christian), may be explained on the same ground. See further Derenbourg, p. 357.

That on these and kindred questions great variety of opinion prevailed in early Rabbinical circles is attested by the Rabbinical Literature itself. One passage in the Talmud (T. B. 'Erubin, 13b) is highly significant in this connection. It runs as follows—

**Two years and a half the School of Shammai and the School of Hillel disputed among themselves. One School declared, it would have been better that man had not been created as he was, while the other declared it was better that man had been created as he was, than that he should not have been created at all. Finally they came to the conclusion that it would have been better if man had not been created, but since that had taken place, a man should always examine his actions; according to another version, a man should always consider the deeds he is about to perform.**

On this passage Prof. Schechter remarks—‡

This is all the tradition (or the compiler) chose to give us about this lengthy dispute; but we do not hear a single word as to the causes which led to it, or the reasons advanced by the litigant parties for their

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* He is reminded of the fact by Aqiba (*Thou hast taught us, O our master, etc.*).
† 'Arakin 17a (cited by Rosenthal).
‡ *Aspects*, p. 81.
various opinions. Were they metaphysical, or empirical, or simply based, as is so often the case, on different conceptions of the passages in the Scripture germane to the dispute? We feel the more cause for regret when we recollect that the members of these schools were the contemporaries of the Apostles; when Jerusalem, as it seems, was boiling over with theology, and its market-places and synagogues were preparing metaphysics and theosophies to employ the mind of posterity for thousands of years. What did the Rabbis think of all these aspirations and inspirations, or did they remain quite untouched by the influences of their surroundings? Is it not possible that a complete account of such a controversy as I have just mentioned, which probably formed neither an isolated nor an unprecedented event, would have furnished us with just the information of which now we are so sorely in need?

Now in the dialogue of the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) between the seer and the angel, the Shammaite position that it would have been better if man had never been created is definitely stated and maintained (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 to know why we suffer: 4 Ezra 4**: and not only so, but this is one of the fundamental positions of S throughout, and is constantly re-stated and sustained by argument. We have therefore in S a statement of some, at any rate, of the arguments adduced in support of the Shammaite position, and the silence of the Rabbinical Literature on this point, which Prof. Schechter deplores, is partially made good in our Apocalypse. Its value for the history of the development of Rabbinic theology in some of its earlier and more obscure phases could hardly be better demonstrated.*

Another possible point of contact with the School of Shammai may be seen in the view that the time of (Messianic) deliverance from the misery of the present world-order cannot be determined by man. According to T.B., Sanhedrin, 97b, the time of Israel's deliverance depends solely upon repentance, and not upon any external "sign" or circumstances: If Israel practise repentance they shall be delivered (or redeemed: ፪፵፲፥) ; and if not they shall not be delivered.† So in 4 Ezra 4 ** the coming of the future Age is made to depend upon the

* Such Jewish scholars as Rosenthal (op. cit.) and Kohler fully realize this; while Prof. Schecter (Aspects, p. 5) dismisses the whole of the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature associated with the Old Testament (with the exception of Ecclesiasticus) as having contributed "little or nothing towards the formation of Rabbinic thought."

† This saying is attributed to Eliezer b. Hyrquanos (a Shammaite).
fulfilment (or completion) of the righteous elect. The idea in each case is much the same, though the author of S conceives the actual "deliverance" very differently. In the same way the seer is reminded (in 5 *) that he cannot number the days that are not yet come. In his representation of the state of the wicked souls after death (4 Ezra 7 *), and of the strictness of the final Judgement (7 118-119) the author of S apparently follows the Shammaite view.

Another interesting Rabbinic parallel to S may be cited in this connection. In his representation of the misery suffered by wicked souls in the interval between death and Judgement, one of the chief parts of their punishment consists in beholding the felicity of the righteous. The same point of view is illustrated in a parable attributed to Johanan b. Zakkai, based on Qoh. 9:6 (Let thy garments be always white and let not thy head lack ointment).* A king once invited his servants to a banquet, but fixed no time. The wise among them adorned and prepared themselves, and sat at the door of the Palace; the foolish went about their ordinary business, saying that a Banquet would involve some trouble (in its preparation, and so give them warning). Suddenly the King sought his guests. The wise entered, adorned for the wedding; the foolish came in as they were (in their ordinary clothes). The King was pleased with the former, but upbraided the latter. He said: "Those who have adorned themselves for the banquet, shall sit down and eat and drink; but those who have not prepared themselves shall stand and look on." The point of the parable is well explained by Rashi: in the world to come the righteous shall sit and eat, while the wicked shall stand and look on (part of the sufferings of the wicked will be the contemplation of the felicity of the righteous).

There are also points of contact with the Shammaite School in other parts of our Book. Thus it was the Shammaite Eliezer b. Hyrganos who held the view (in opposition to Aqiba) that the Ten Tribes will take part in the Messianic Redemption, which forms so important a feature in the interpretation of the Son of Man Vision (4 Ezra 13 *). The apparent ignoring of the Gentiles as sharing in the Messianic Salvation in the same passage also accords with the view of Eliezer, who in opposition to the School of Hillel, denied all Gentiles a share in the world to come (Tosefta, Sanh. xiii. 2).† We may certainly reckon R, too, as a sympathizer with the strict Shammaite view.

We may, therefore, conclude that our Book emanates from a school of apocalyptic writers who reflect the influence of the School of Shammai; just as the companion Apocalypse of Baruch represents an apocalyptic school under the influence

* The parable is given in T.B. Shabbath, 153a; it offers a remarkable parallel to the New Testament parables of the wedding garment and the wise and foolish virgins.
† R. Eliezer's view would not, of course, include pious proselytes, whom he would consider to belong to Israel; nor would it be incompatible with a missionary spirit towards the Gentiles.
of Aqiba. This important distinction has been well brought out by Rosenthal (op. cit.).

Our Book is a supremely important document as illustrating the effect of the Fall of Jerusalem upon Judaism. This is especially the case with S. The strongly marked ascetic tendencies in S, to which attention has already been called above, faithfully reflect one of the results of the great catastrophe upon contemporary Judaism. As Dr. Kohler says: * "Upon the destruction of the Temple in the year 70, a veritable wave of asceticism swept over the people, and in tribute to the national misfortune various ascetic rules were instituted (cf. T. B. Baba bathra 60 b; Tosefta Sota, end; 4 Ezra 9)."

On this subject see further Bousset, p. 493; Köberle, 518, 562 f.; Bacher, Agada d. Tann., i., p. 158 f.; Conybeare's ed., De Vita Contempl., 262, 315-6, 352.

The general character and religious importance of 4 Ezra, which challenge comparison with those of the Book of Job (at any rate so far as S is concerned), have been well summed up by Prof. F. C. Porter—

A brief summary of the book will suggest some of the far-reaching thoughts which moved this man. His book records an inward struggle, as real as that of the writer of Job, in which an earnest religious thinker seeks to maintain his faith in monotheism and in salvation through the Law over against opposing facts, against the ill-fortune of Israel in the loss of its temple and nationality, against the power of evil in this world in general, and against the inability of the Law to produce righteousness in man, because of his evil heart. In the world-wide range of the writer's views, in his concern for sinful men and their fate, and in his almost Pauline experience of the inadequacy of the Law as a means of salvation, the writer helps us to understand the kind of Judaism that was ready for Christianity.

The fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) must have helped to detach many Jews of this type from the national and legalistic side of the Jewish religion, though on the other hand, it occasioned a reaction of the majority into a more one-sided type of legalism, in which eschatological motive was reduced to the hope by the study and keeping of the Law to have part in the world to come.

§ 8. THE LITERARY CHARACTER AND STYLE OF THE BOOK.

The first striking fact about the general literary form of the Book is that its framework is a series of seven Visions. The
visionary form is one of the characteristic features of apocalyptic literature generally, and differentiates it from the older prophetic literature. It is true that visions are to be found in the books of the older prophets, but only in a position of secondary importance. The tendency to enhance the position and importance of visions asserts itself in Ezekiel and the later prophetic literature (e.g., Zech. 1-8). In the apocalyptic literature the vision becomes the one recognised mode of revelation.

The question has been much debated as to what value is to be attached to the apocalyptic visions as actual experiences. Some scholars have asserted the purely artificial and conventional character of these forms of revelation. It cannot be denied that there is often an element in these compositions which suggests careful construction and reflexion; and they often possess marked literary affinities with older literature. But to admit this does not necessarily involve the denial of historical reality to the visions. They may still have been actual experiences in the ecstatic state. The recipients of the visions were profound students of the older literature, and doubtless such study and reflexion to a large extent determined, by way of suggestion, the form and content of the actual vision when it came. The most esteemed method of preparation for such ecstatic experiences was fasting. No doubt some of the visions are purely artificial constructions built up on older models. But not all. Gunkel (ap. Kautzsch, pp. 340 f.) regards the visions of our Book as reflecting real experiences. This is probably true especially of the visions in S. For a full and admirable discussion of the whole subject see F. C. Porter, op. cit., pp. 34–43. See also Vaganay, pp. 29 ff.

As regards literary style our Book, of course, offers considerable variety, which reflects the different sources. The Eagle and Son of Man Visions are comparable with similar compositions in Daniel and Enoch. But in the case of S the phenomena are very different. The work of S has a strongly marked character of its own. It is distinguished by a sustained exaltation of tone and feeling, which often rises into passages of real power and eloquence. The dialogue-form is sustained throughout at a high level. If there is a certain amount of repetition, yet the same thoughts and problems are never presented in exactly the same way twice over (cf. e.g., 3 20-30, 6 7-10, 6 35-59). The writer interweaves with his discussion midrashic pieces (6 38-54, 7 128-8 3), and parables and analogies (4 13-21, 40-45, 48-50, 5 44-49, 82-86, etc.), and so lends variety to his style; but such material is never bizarre or extravagant. The profoundly moving prayers (7 128-139, 8 28-36), the splendid
descriptions of divine majesty (6:1-8, 8:20-24), the triumphant
delineation of the felicity of the righteous after judgement
(8:51-54) are examples of the height to which our author can
attain. Parts of the dialogue are worthy to be placed side
by side with some of the great chapters in the Book of Job,
which they recall.

Gunkel has discovered in certain passages traces of poetical
rhythm which suggest that in his original work (written in
Hebrew) the author of S occasionally uses Hebrew poetical
structures (cf. e.g., 4:38 f., 5:1 f., etc.). These have been
distinguished by being printed as poetry in lines in the follow-
ing translation. Poetical feeling is especially marked in the
Fourth Vision.*

§ 9. THE RELATION OF 4 EZRA TO THE APOCALYPSE
OF BARUCH

As has already been pointed out above, the relation of our
Apocalypse with the Apocalypse of Baruch is of the closest
and most intimate description. This will appear from the
list of parallel passages given below, most of which have been
cited in the notes of the following commentary in their appro-
priate places. The Apocalypse of Baruch, as Charles has
shown in his edition of the Book, is, like 4 Ezra, a composite
work. It represents a point of view and a theological outlook
decidedly more in accordance with later Rabbinical Judaism
than our Book. It was probably put forth somewhat later
than 4 Ezra, and as an answer to the latter. While 4 Ezra
represents a school of apocalyptists who were under the influ-
ence of certain members of the School of Shammai (especially
Eliezer b. Hyrkanos) the Apocalypse of Baruch represents
another School who were under the influence of Aqiba

A detailed examination of the mutual relations of the two Books
cannot be attempted here. The matter is discussed by Charles in his
edition of the Ap. of Baruch (pp. lxxii-lxxvi), but still awaits a defini-
tive solution. An excellent summary of the religious teaching of
Ap. Baruch, noting its points of contrast with that of 4 Ezra, is given
in the relevant sections of Dr. H. M. Hughes' The Ethics of Jewish
Apocryphal Literature. The following list exhibits the parallel passages
between the two Books in detail.

* See further on this subject Vaganay, p. 27 f.; Gunkel, pp. 340 f.
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§ 10. THE AFFINITIES OF THE BOOK WITH OTHER EARLY LITERATURE

Some of the more important parallel passages illustrating the influence of our Book on later Christian literature have already been cited above (in §§ 2 and 3 of this introduction).* It remains to notice here some points of contact with older literature, and with the New Testament. Some parallel passages in Philo will be found in the notes (cf. Index IV under Philo).

(a) Passages in 1 Enoch to which there are parallels in 4 Ezra †

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* See also the full discussion (with the parallel passages set out in full) in BJ, pp. xxvii ff.
† These parallels have been noted by Prof. Charles.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

4 Ezra 7:22, 23: And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein. And the chambers shall restore the souls that were committed unto them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement. (R)

4 Ezra 7:87: 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 /

4 Ezra 4:35, 7:32, 7:33 (cf. 7:35)—passages which speak of the righteous dead being kept in chambers guarded by angels (awaiting the Judge- ment).

4 Ezra 7:185: The faces . . . shall shine above the stars, whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness.

1 Enoch li. 1, 3: And the earth shall restore those that are treasured up within her, 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.

1 Enoch liii. 1: Thus the Lord commanded . . . those who dwelt on the earth, and said: Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognise the Elect One.

Cf. also 1 Enoch lx. 6: Who have not served the righteous Law, and who deny the righteous Judgement, and who take His name in vain.

1 Enoch, c. 5: And over the righteous and holy (i.e., the righteous and holy dead) he will appoint as guardians holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye until He has made an end of all wickedness and all sin, etc.

1 Enoch, c. iv. 2: Ye shall shine as the stars of heaven.

1 Enoch lxii. 10: Darkness shall be piled upon their faces.

It should be noted that the most striking parallels in the above list are with the latest section of 1 Enoch, viz., the Similitudes (1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi).
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

(b) PASSAGES IN THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS (ED. CHARLES) TO WHICH THERE ARE PARALLELS IN 4 EZRA

4 Ezra 4:36, 37: For he has weighed the age in the balance, and with measure has measured the times, and by number has numbered the seasons.

Test. Napht. ii. 3 (in a passage speaking of the exact way in which the spirit is implanted in the body): for by weight, and measure, and rule, was all the creation made.

Test. Levi xviii. 10, 11: And he shall open the gates of Paradise, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam. And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life, and the spirit of holiness shall be on them.

(c) PASSAGES IN THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON (?END OF 1ST CENT. B.C.) TO WHICH THERE ARE PARALLELS IN 4 EZRA.*

4 Ezra 3: but thou didst not hinder them (of the heathen in their wickedness).

Pss. Sol. 2: and thou didst not hinder him (of the heathen attacking Jerusalem).

4 Ezra 4: What will he do for his own name whereby we are called (quod invocatum est super nos); cf. 9:22 (nomen quod nominatum super nos).†

Pss. Sol. 9:18: And thou didst set thy name upon us, O Lord.

* The instances cited are noted by Ryle and James in their ed. of the Pss. of Sol., pp. lxxvi ff.
† Both passages are based on Old Testament expressions; cf. 4 Ezra 4:34 note.
4 Ezra 6: And the springs of the fountains shall stand still, so that for three hours they shall not run.

Pss. Sol. 17: The fountains were stayed, the everlasting fountains from the great deeps, and from the lofty mountains.

4 Ezra 6: But we, thy people, whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy only-begotten, thy beloved most dear, etc.

Pss. Sol. 18: Thy chastening is upon us as upon a first-born son, only begotten (cf. Deut. 8).

The description of the Messiah in 4 Ezra has some parallels in the Psalms of Solomon. The following are to be noted:

1. The name Christ in 4 Ezra 7 (filius meus Christus) and in 12 (hic est unicus); cf. Pss. Sol. 17, 18.

2. The work of the Messiah: cf. 4 Ezra 12 (he shall reprove them for their ungodliness, rebuke them for their unrighteousness, reproach them . . . for their treacheries . . . and when he hath rebuked them he shall destroy them) with Pss. Sol. 17 (He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth, and he shall convict [ελεγξαί] the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts).

3. The representation of the Messiah as destroying his enemies without the aid of earthly weapons: cf. 4 Ezra 13 (lift his hand, nor held spear nor any warlike weapon: . . . sent out of his mouth a fiery stream, etc.) with Pss. Sol. 17 (For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow). It will be observed that 4 Ezra brings out in much closer detail the judicial functions of the Messiah than does our Psalmist [in the Pss. of Sol.], but that both lay stress on the pacific character of the Messiah, the 18th (Psalms of Solomon), asserting the sinlessness of the King as the spiritual substitute for material power, 4 Ezra describing the overthrow of foes by the fire of the Divine Law.

4 Ezra 13 (the return of the Ten Tribes).

Cf. Pss. Sol. 8 (gathering of the Dispersion);
11 (in the gathering together of the tribes).

* For other parallel passages see 4 Ezra 6 note i (p. 76 f.).
† Ryle and James, p. lxvii f.
As Ryle and James (p. lxvii) point out, the similarity of the above passages is hardly sufficient to justify the view that 4 Ezra borrowed from the Pss. of Solomon.*

(d) Passages in 4 Ezra to which there are parallels in the New Testament

A number of resemblances in thought, and (occasionally) of diction with the New Testament, occur in 4 Ezra; but nothing which suggests direct dependence.†

In 4 Ezra 4:8 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. 13); cf. in particular Matt. 13:39: *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 4:9 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 13:32 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 4:8 and Rev. 6:9-11 seem to be related in this way;‡ so in 4 Ezra 4:41 *the underworld* (infernun = Sheol) is used as in Rev. 1:18, etc., as the place where the wicked dead remain in the intermediate state. Other slight parallels have been pointed out in the notes; cf. 4 Ezra 7:80 (1 Cor. 15:50); etc., etc.; see also Index IV of passages under New Testament.

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* For some other passages where the similarity is less close cf. Ryle and James, op. cit., p. lxvii.
† According to Gunkel, however, there is a direct citation of 2 Pet. 1:19 in 4 Ezra 12:48 (see notes in loc. below).
‡ Cf. Bousset, Offenbarung Johannis, pp. 272 f.
§ 11. BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES CITED OR REFERRED TO
(with the Short Titles)

(a) EDITIONS OF THE TEXTS


Hilg. = Messias Judaorum (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.


Volkmar = Das Vierte Buch Ezra (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.

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 Ezra; 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. Ahibas, von Dr. F. Rosenthal (Leipzig, 1885).

Kabisch = Das vierte Buch Ezra auf seine Quellen untersucht, von Richard Kabisch (Göttingen, 1889).


Wellhausen = Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, von J. Wellhausen; sechstes Heft (Berlin, 1899).


[Cf. also Charles’s discussion in the introduction to his ed. of The (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch; also articles in the Bible Dictionaries (DB and EB) and in JE.]
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

(d) Other Works Referred To


Kohler = 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).


(e) Editions of the More Important Ancient Works Referred To


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 = the early Jewish Midrashim so called (on Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy).

Abbreviations Employed

EB = Encyclopaedia Biblica (4 vols.).
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
JE = Jewish Encyclopedia (12 vols.).
TB = Talmud of Babylon.
TJ = Talmud of Jerusalem.
OL = Old Latin.
PBH = Post-Biblical Hebrew; and NH = New Hebrew.
EXPLANATION OF TYPES

Type 1.—The sections of the text belonging to the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) are printed in the type here shown.

Type 2.—Notes are printed in the type here shown.

Italic type in the text of the translation denotes that the passages so printed are either wholly or mainly (in their present form) editorial (the work of the Redactor [R]).

Type 3.—Heavy Clarendon type indicates eschatological passages drawn from an older source (E).

Type 4.—Material drawn from other sources, viz.: the Eagle Vision (Ch. 11–12), the Son of Man Vision (Ch. 13), and the Ezra-Legend (Ch. 14)—apart from editorial matter (which is shown by italic type)—is indicated by small Roman type, as here shown.
THE EZRA - APOCALYPSE

PART I

THE SALATHIEL-APOCALYPSE

The question as to whether we have to do with independent sources or not within the present form of our Ezra-Apocalypse arises in an acute form at the very outset of the Book. In ch. 3* we are confronted with the strange identification: I Salathiel, who am also Ezra. What is its significance? How is it to be explained?

(1) Ezra or Salathiel? In ch. 3* the situation presupposed for the seer is that of the Exile, some thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (i.e., circa 556 B.C.). During these thirty years he has been living with his exiled people in Babylon. Sion is destroyed, and the seer is agitated by God’s apparent indifference to the fate of his chosen sanctuary and nation. All this suits admirably the situation of Salathiel, the father of Zerubbabel, and the natural head of the exiled community at the date presupposed. It is equally unsuitable to the situation of the historical Ezra, some 100 years later. Ezra lived in far different circumstances, and left Babylon to play an all-important part in Jerusalem. The latter had long been restored to the Jewish people in Ezra’s time; the Temple had long been rebuilt. It is impossible to explain the identification as due to a mere mistake. While it is true that the apocalyptists often fall into historical errors, this only applies to subjects about which they were badly or imperfectly informed. But no Jewish writer could have made such a blunder as to transfer Ezra to a time so remote from his true situation. Moreover, if Ezra were really the subject of this part of the Book, the great episodes of his career (such as the promulgation of the Law) could hardly have been ignored. Where Ezra really is the subject of the Apocalypse (e.g., in

* This applies also to the following chapters down to the end of ch. 10.
ch. 14) the situation and rôle assigned to him are not out of harmony with historical conditions.

The seer who is living in Babylon thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, who pours out his heart and his doubts to God, and receives in reply the divine assurances through the medium of an angel, is Salathiel, not Ezra. The book to which these visions (ch. 3–10) originally belonged was a Salathiel-Apocalypse. The identification of Salathiel with Ezra in 3:1 is due to the Editor or Redactor (R), who wove large parts of the Salathiel-Apocalypse into his own Ezra-Apocalypse, and, in doing so, sought to bring the opening of the Salathiel-Apocalypse into harmony with the character of the new compilation by identifying at the outset Salathiel with Ezra. In adopting such a procedure R probably did not suppose that he would be regarded as making a serious historical statement. For special reasons he had chosen the name of Ezra for his composite work, in which he desired to embody large extracts from S. In allowing the statement I Salathiel—who am also Ezra—to stand at the opening of his book, R probably intended to say by it: I Salathiel—who (for the purposes of this Book) am also Ezra.

The Salathiel-Apocalypse, so far as it is embodied in our present Book, consists of four visions. The first three of these are preceded each by a seven days’ fast,* after which the seer, usually in the form of a prefatory prayer followed by a debate, requests enlightenment as to various doubts and difficulties about which his mind is agitated. In response he is addressed by an angel (Uriel), who endeavours to meet and explain his difficulties. In the case of the fourth vision the preparatory fast is replaced by a solitary preparation in the mysterious field of Ardat, where the seer half fasts by eating only herbs (or flowers). A somewhat similar scheme (first a seven days’ fast, then a prayer or divine revelation, followed finally, by a public disclosure) has been adopted by the editor of the (Syriac) Baruch-Apocalypse (cf. Charles’ notes on Ap. Bar. v. 7; ix).†

* In the case of the first vision the seven days’ fast is not mentioned; but it is implied by what follows, and the mention of it has probably been deleted by R. See further the next section.
† The Baruch-Apocalypse was originally divided by the Editor, according to Charles, into seven sections, each preceded by a seven days’ fast.
(2) The Date of S. The opening words of chapter 3 state that it was in the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city that Salathiel was in Babylon and underwent the experiences detailed in the following visions. It has been supposed by some scholars (e.g., Vaganay) that the date is a general one, modelled upon Ezek. 1, and without any specific significance. But in view of the typical and allegorical character of S—the writer evidently intending his work to apply to the circumstances of his own time—it is much more probable that the date indicates typically the actual year in which the apocalypse appeared, viz., thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, i.e., 100 A.D. It seems, on the whole, probable that this date is original to S, and has not been altered by R. We may therefore date the original appearance of S. in the year 100 A.D. *

THE FIRST VISION

(31–519) (S) (E) (R)

(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 70 A.D. 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. 3 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. 3, 19). 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 28) 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 (4 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

* See further on this point the General Introduction.
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 (4 10-21). 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 realised 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 (4 22-23). 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 (4 33-34). 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 (4 44-46). In reply to a further question the angel states that he cannot tell whether the End will come within the seer's own lifetime (4 51-52). An interpolated passage (from E) narrates the signs of the near approach of the End (5 1-12). The first vision thus falls into the following divisions:

1. Introduction (3 1-3) (S).
2. The first questions (the seer's difficulties stated) (3 4-33) (mainly S).
3. The divine Reply (4 1-5 13):
   a) 4 1-11, b) 4 11-21, c) 4 22-33, d) 4 33-42, e) 4 44-46, f) 4 51-52 (S) (E), 5 1-12 (S) (E).

(a) 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. The sudden introduction of the angel Uriel in 4 1, without a word of explanation, is surprising. Elsewhere where an angelic mediator is introduced in similar situations some introductory words of explanation are usually given: cf. e.g., Dan. 10 1-4, Ap. Bar. li. 3 (And while I was pondering these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel, who presides over true visions, was sent unto me), Rev. 1 9-17. Further, both the second and the third Visions (S) are preceded by a seven days' fast (cf. 5 8-9, 6 29) which is commanded in each case by the angel at the end of the preceding Vision (cf. 5 18b, 6 31). Though too much stress must not be laid on this particular point, it is certainly significant, when taken in conjunction with other indications, that in the command to fast that is given at the conclusion of the first Vision, it is implied, according to the text as given in the Ethiopic version (so Ar. Ṣ, cf. Arm.) that this
fast is but the repetition of one that has already taken place (cf. 5\textsuperscript{13b}: if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast [Ethiop. adds yet again] seven days). But the clearest indication that such a fast preceded the first Vision in the original form of S is to be found in 6\textsuperscript{8}: And it came to pass after this that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that I might fulfil the three weeks that had been commanded me. Here it is obvious that three seven days’ fasts are contemplated (the three weeks that had been commanded me), the first of which must have been commanded by the angel before the first Vision. It may, therefore, be concluded that before the prayer of Salathiel (3\textsuperscript{4f.}) there stood originally an introductory section detailing the appearance of the angel Uriel, the command to the seer to fast for seven days, and the fulfilment of this command. This section, as Kabisch has shown, probably followed immediately the latter half of 3\textsuperscript{1}. In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I Salathiel was in Babylon; and as I lay upon my bed I was disquieted. It has been omitted by R (probably for the sake of brevity), who added the explanatory clause in 4\textsuperscript{1}: and whose name was Uriel.

But a close examination of the circumstances of the vision, as these are detailed in the present form of the text, reveals further difficulties. In 5\textsuperscript{14, 15}, at the conclusion of the dialogue with the angel, the text runs: Then I awoke, and my body trembled greatly; my soul was wearied even unto fainting. But the angel who came and spake with me took hold of me, strengthened me and set me up upon my feet. The seer is here depicted as waking from sleep, filled with a feeling of horror, presumably at what he has seen in vision. But what immediately precedes is not a vision, but a sustained dialogue with the angel. The analogy of similar pieces elsewhere makes it clear that we have here, as Kabisch with extraordinary acumen has pointed out, the conclusion of a dream-vision, in which Salathiel has seen something terrible and awe-inspiring: so in the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem, the sudden and amazing transformation of the woman fills the seer with terror, and he cries aloud for help to the angel (10\textsuperscript{8f. 10\textsuperscript{8f.}); cf. also in Daniel (after the vision of the four beasts and the Son of Man), 7\textsuperscript{1f.}; also 10\textsuperscript{14-18}.

The place where the missing dream-vision originally stood was, doubtless, after 3\textsuperscript{1}, where we have already seen reason to suspect that a passage has fallen out. The opening verse states that Salathiel was lying upon his bed, filled with disquieting thoughts. Then followed (in the missing passage) the account of a dream-vision. Apparently the angel Uriel makes his first appearance to the seer in the vision, and then, when he awakes, comes to his aid, strengthening him and setting him upon his feet (But the angel who came and spake with me [viz., in the vision] took hold of me, strengthened me and set me up upon my feet: 5\textsuperscript{11}); so in Daniel the same angel that first appears in vision, comes afterwards to strengthen the seer (8\textsuperscript{14f. 8\textsuperscript{18} of Gabriel). The command to fast seven days and prepare for further revelations may have been given in the vision (so Kabisch),* and then followed (5\textsuperscript{14, 15}) the statement that the seer awoke trembling and fainting, and was strengthened by the angel: then a statement corresponding to 5\textsuperscript{8}

* It may equally well have followed the Vision, after the awaking.
6 THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

(So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, even as the angel Uriel commanded me). Our first vision followed with the introductory words: [And it came to pass after the seven days] my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts, because, etc. (3 1b and following).

The Redactor, to whom the substance of S was more important than its external setting, has cut out the whole of this introductory section, probably as unimportant, and transferred the notice about the seer's awaking so as to form the conclusion of our first vision (5 14, 18; these verses in their present position misplaced).

It should be added that in all probability the missing passage contained a direction to the seer to repair to a certain spot—some well-known open place suitable for such a purpose in the neighbourhood of Babylon†—there to fast and prepare for the coming disclosure. It is obvious that his position on his bed (3 i) was suitable only for the dream-vision. In the dialogue with the angel that follows ch. 3 the seer is not in a recumbent position, but moves about, and changes his standing place at the bidding of the angel (4 47, 48). This inference is also confirmed by the passage 5 18-19, which states that in the second night Phaltiel, one of the chiefs of the people, found the seer, and asked him where he had been. Why was his countenance sad? Let him not desert his people. It is clear from this that the seer could not be still lying upon his bed 1. He has apparently left the city, and only been found after some search (cf. the parallel passage 12 48-48). This passage belongs to the historical framework of S, and clearly implies something which will explain the situation presupposed. This doubtless stood originally in the lost introductory passage. Possibly, as Kabisch suggests, R may have allowed this passage (5 18-19) to stand in order not to deprive the vision of the appearance of historical reality, as being founded on actual events. Thus the original situation of S was: in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem Salathiel in Babylon, lying on his bed, is terrified by a dream-vision; the end of this dream-vision, in which the archangel Uriel makes his first appearance, is a command to repair to a certain place and prepare, by three fasts of seven days' duration, and prayer to receive direct revelations. The first of these follows after a seven days' fast in 31 b.–5 13. This order—first an indirect revelation in dream, followed by direct revelations in the form of dialogue (after fasting and prayer) is observed elsewhere, especially in the Book of Daniel.

(3) The Redaction of the Vision. We have already seen how R has re-arranged, to some extent, the original material of S by omitting the long introductory section which contained the initial dream-vision, and by misplacing 5 14, 18, as well as by making some slight redactional adjustments (1 1 who am also Ezra; 4 1 and whose name was Uriel). It remains now to notice a longer interpolation by R in the first chapter. This consists of 3 28–28. A close examination of these verses, as Kabisch has shown, makes evident their essential

* For a similar displacement cf. 12 48-48.

† Cf. the field of Ardat (in the neighbourhood of Babylon) in 9 14; the oak (in or near Jerusalem) 14 1 (cf. Ap. Bar. vi. 1), the valley of the Cedron (Ap. Bar. xxi. 1).
incongruity in thought with the context. The preceding verses (3–31) bring to clear expression the thought of S (which can be illustrated from other parts of the book: cf. General Introduction, § 0) that the whole human race, including Israel, has failed to attain righteousness (cf. also 4 54, we indeed are not worthy to obtain mercy). How then can S have written: What tribes have so believed thy covenants as those of Jacob—whose reward (nevertheless) hath not appeared, nor their labour borne fruit! (3 38–39). The whole tone of the theology of S is inconsistent with this demand that Israel has a right to claim reward for obedience to the Law. According to S, Israel has indeed accepted the Law, but failed to keep it. In virtue of faith in the divine covenants Israel may plead for mercy, but certainly not claim reward (cf. 8 10–18). Moreover it is difficult to conceive of S, who has such a profound sense of the sinfulness of all men, whether Israelites or heathen (8 24), asserting that individual men, whether in Israel or among the nations, could be found who had kept the divine precepts (3 34). The passage seems to be an interpolation by R, who gives expression in it almost aggressively to his belief in the superior righteousness of Israel as a nation as against the sinners of the Gentiles. S, with his profound view of human sinfulness, is not inclined to assert Israel's superiority in this way. Israel, like the rest of the nations, is essentially unrighteous, and can only hope for the divine mercy.

For the reclamation that has taken place in 4 41–5 18 cf. introduction to that section.
I. INTRODUCTION

(31-3) (S)

1 "In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I
Salathiel—who am also Ezra—was in Babylon, and as I
lay upon my bed I was disquieted* .

* and * my mind was
preoccupied with my thoughts; d because I saw Sion's
desolation, on the one hand (matched) with the abundant
wealth of Babylon's inhabitants on the other. A And my
spirit was stirred profoundly, and in my agitation I began to
address the Most High.

a (vs. 1): In the thirtieth year: cf. Ezek. 1. The thirtieth year
after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is meant, i.e.,
556. The opening of the book may be compared with Ezek. i. 1, and
the general situation presupposed suits the circumstances of Salathiel.
On the question whether in the selection of this date an indication is to
be seen of the exact time when the author of this vision wrote (thirty
years after 70 A.D.—100 A.D.). See introductory section.

b (vs. 1): Salathiel = Shēaltiel, the Heb. form of the name. She'altiel
is mentioned as the father of Zerubbabel in Ezra 3.5, 5, Neh. 12 1;
but in 1 Chron. 317 f. as his uncle. The name apparently means
I have asked God—a meaning singularly appropriate to the questions
addressed to God which follow.

c (vs. 1): who am also Ezra. The identification of Ezra and Salathiel
is, of course, impossible chronologically. Ezra appears first in history
a century later (B.C. 459–458) than the date here presupposed (556 B.C.).
Kabisch and others regard the words as a gloss, added by the late
redactor. This is almost certainly right.

d (vs. 1): my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts, lit., my thoughts
were coming up upon my heart: cf. Dan. 2.4: and the Heb. phrase
rendered enter into mind ('ālā 'al leb), Is. 65 17, etc.

e (vs. 2): the abundant wealth: Lat., habundantiam: Hilg. Περισσευαν
= Heb. yether.

f (vs. 3): in my agitation . . . Most High: lit., and I began to speak
words full of fear (verba timorata) to, etc. So R.V.

* . . . . * (vs. 1): For the lacuna in the text here cf.
Introductory section above.
II. The First Questions: Whence Arise the Sin and Misery of the World? How Can Israel’s Continued Affliction Be Reconciled with the Divine Justice?

And I said: **O Lord, my Lord**, was it not thou who **in the beginning**, when thou didst form the earth—*and that thyself alone*—didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam, a lifeless body? But yet it was both itself the formation of thy hands and thou breathedst into him the breath of life, so that he was made living before thee. And thou leddest him into Paradise, which thy right hand did plant **before ever the earth came forward**; and **and**

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*g (3 4-36)*: Two distinct questions are involved in the section, and sometimes overlap throughout: the first, abstract and general, concerning the world at large; the second, concrete and particular, concerning Israel. The author is especially perplexed at God’s dealings with his people. He fails to discover any nation that has kept the divine precepts, in any sense (vs. 36). Israel’s oppressors, the Babylonians, are themselves the greatest of wrongdoers: how should such be permitted to rule and oppress the chosen nation—will not the Almighty weigh both in an impartial balance?

**h (vs. 4)**: *O Lord, my Lord*: so Syr. cf. Ethiop. Lat., *O dominator domine* (*O Lord that bearest rule*); Hilg. *Δεσποτα κυρε* = Heb. ‘ādōnai Yahwē, i.e., *O Lord Jahveh*. (See further 4 note.)

**hh (vs. 4)**: *in the beginning*. Cf. Gen. 2 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. e.g., Jer. 2 1, Hos. 11 1.

**i (vv. 4–5)**: thou didst form the earth... didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam (reading *plasmasti terram... et imperasti pulvere, et dedit tibi Adam*: so Bensly [cf. Oriental versions]. A.V. following Vulgate has thou *didst plant* (plantasti) *the earth... and commandedst the people and gavest* (et dedisti) (cf. 7 113, *Ap. Bar.* xlvi. 46) *a body unto Adam*.

**j (vs. 4)**: *and that thyself alone*: the expression is intentionally emphatic. God’s sole responsibility for the creation is insisted upon by S.; cf. esp. 6 1-4.

**h (vs. 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., Tora, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the Messiah; cf. *Pesaḥ* 54a, *Nedar* 39b, *Ber. rab.* xx). For this view, as regards Paradise, our text here is the earliest literary evidence. It was deduced from Gen. 2 4 (where the Heb. word *miggedem*, understood as “from the beginning” [not “eastward”] was interpreted
to him thou commandest 'one only observance of thine,' but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him and for his generations; and from him were born nations and tribes, peoples and clans innumerable. And every nation walked after their own will, and behaved wickedly before thee, and were ungodly—but thou didst not hinder them. Nevertheless again in time thou broughtest the Flood upon the earth and upon the inhabitants to mean before the creation of the world. 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' 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 the Garden of Eden (Paradise) as man's primitive home of blessedness is meant. See further the additional note on 8 (p. 195 ff).

l (vs. 7): one only observance of thine: Lat., diligentiam unam tuam. The command referred to is, of course, the injunction concerning the forbidden fruit: Gen. 2:14, 3:1 f.

ll (vs. 7): and for his generations: so Syr. Ethiop. (posterity: so Ar.); Ar., his children one generation after another: Lat. has et in nationibus (L., generationibus) ejus: Hilg., καὶ υἱὸς γενεάς αὐτοῦ [γενεάς = πατὴρ ου δαυῆ]. Adam's posterity is, of course, meant.

m (vs. 8): walked after their own will: cf. Gen. 6:2: Ap. Bar. xlviii. 38 (''walked every man in his own works '').

n (vs. 8): behaved wickedly: Lat., impie agebant, so best reading; but other MSS. read mira ''did wonderful things'' (so A.V.).

o (vs. 8): were ungodly: Lat., spernebant without obj. as in 7 ff, 9 = 아רש (Heb., פָּשָׁה) or קַנָּחָכָה (Heb., בָּגָד). So Wellhausen, Gunkel.

p (vs. 8): but thou didst not hinder them: the same phrase occurs in the Psalms of Solomon 2:4 (''When the sinful man waxed proud, he cast down fenced walls with a battering ram, and thou didst not hinder him '') with ref. to the heathen attacking the Holy City. Its use here may be due to reminiscence. The words are omitted here, however, in the Eth. Arm. and some Lat. MSS.

q (vs. 9): in due time: the time had been fixed beforehand; cf. 4 and note there.

r (vs. 9): upon the earth and: so Syr. and Ethiop.; Lat. and Arab. omit. Cf. Gen. 7:10; 2 Peter 2:3 f.

* So the Targums (cf. also the Syriac and Latin versions and Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion). According to another view, however, the expression means before the creation of man: cf. Gen. rab. xv.

† The word recurs in the same sense in vs. 19 below.

‡ For other possible cases cf. Psalms of Solomon (ed. Ryle and James), p. lxvi. f.
of "the world," and destroyest them. 10 "And their fate was one and the same; 11 "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 descendants." 12 And it came to pass that "when the inhabitants upon the earth began to multiply,"

s (vs. 9): the world: Lat., saeculum = aevum (Hilg.).

i (vs. 10): And their fate was one and the same (alike): = Lat., et factum est in uno casus eorum (v.l. casui, casui): Syr., et facta est simul perditio eorum (cf. Ethiop., et par factum est eorum supplicium). Hilg. renders: Kal eyeveto eis en to sywotwma autwv. A possible Heb. original for in uno or simul would be bé'ahath (or hê'ehadh); cf. Jer. 10 (But they are at the same time [bé'ahath] senseless and foolish): and for casus, perditio and supplicium the noun pèquddā [for the whole line wa-têhi bé'ahath pèquddāthām—" and their visitation was alike, one and the same" would be a possible Hebrew text; but it is perhaps more probable that the Lat. casus (= to sywotwma) should be regarded as original, and the variants in the versions as paraphrastic; the Heb. equivalent would probably be miqrē, and the whole line wa-yêhi bé'ehadh miqrē lāhem : see further note c on 10 13]. The general sense is clear; a like fate overtook both Adam and the generation of the deluge. For a somewhat similar turn of expression cf. Eccles. 2 14, One fate [miqrē 'ehadh] befalleth all. It is worth noting that in 2 Pet. 2 the two examples of sin and its consequent punishment that are cited begin not with Adam but with the fallen angels (For if God spared not angels when they sinned . . . and spared not the ancient world), in accordance with the older apocalyptic view which traced the origin of sin to the fall of the angelic watchers described in Gen. 6 1 f. cf. I Enoch vi-viii, and especially x. 8 (where all sin is ascribed to the fallen angels).

u (vs. 10): as death (overtook) Adam, etc. lit., as death to Adam so the Flood to these.

v (vs. 11): all the righteous his descendants: Lat., ex eo justos omnes = 'tous et aerwv theous pantas. For the place of Noah in Rabbinical and apocryphal Literature cf. the art. Noah in the J.E. There are some didactic references to Noah in the N.T. (cf. e.g., 1 Pet. 3 20 f., 2 Pet. 2 4). Josephus (C. Apion i. 19) calls Noah "the founder of our race." On the whole Noah seems to have occupied a higher place in earlier (post-exilic) tradition and speculation than later (cf. Ezek. 14 14-23 and the fragments of Noah apocalypses that can be traced in Ethiop. Enoch). The Rabbis were divided on the question of Noah's righteousness. One view was that he was spared for the sake of his righteous descendants (Abraham, Moses, etc.,—a view which may underlie the reference here, cf. Gen. rabb. xxix, end). Notice he is not called "righteous" here. Contrast 2 Pet. 2 4.

w (vs. 12): when the inhabitants upon the earth, etc. Cf. Gen.' 6 1 (And it came to pass when men began to multiply . . . and daughters were born, etc.).
and "there were born" children also and peoples and nations many, that they began to practise ungodliness more than former (generations). And it came to pass that when they practised ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose thee one from among them whose name was Abraham: him thou didst love, and unto him only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night; and with him thou didst make an everlasting covenant, and didst promise

x (vs. 12): there were born: cf. Ethiop.; but Lat. and Syr. have multiplied. The correction accords (as regards the sequence of verbs) with Gen. 6 1.

xx (vs. 12): to practise ungodliness more than former generations. Cf. Ps. Sol. i. 8: their transgressions were greater than those of the heathen before them.

y (vs. 13): thou didst choose thee one, etc. Cf. Gen. 12 1.

z (vs. 14): him thou didst love: Abraham as the chosen "friend" of God looms large in Jewish and Christian religious thought. He is God's "friend" (or "the lover of God") par excellence, cf. 2 Chron. 20 7, Is. 41 8, Ep. James 2 2 (φίλος θεοῦ).† Clem. of Rome, Ep. i. 10. Cf. also Schechter, Aspects, p. 83 f.

a (vs. 14): the end of the times: so the best reading (two Latin MSS.) and the Oriental Versions. The revelation made to Abraham, which is described in Gen. 15 4 f. is limited in the text of the Bible to a disclosure regarding the 400 years' slavery of his descendants in Egypt. The speculation of apocalyptists, however, found a hidden and more extended significance in the passage. An intimation was discovered in it of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Bk. of Daniel, which are interpreted to be Babylon, Media, Greece and Rome.† Cf. e.g., the Palestinian Targ. ad loc.: And when the birds descended they came not nigh the divisions; these birds are unclean fowl, and those unclean fowl are the kingdoms of the earth which are worshippers of idols, and which counsel evil counsels against the children of Israel . . . And behold Abram saw four kingdoms which should arise to bring his sons into subjection, § etc. The term "end" (Heb., qēs, pl. qissim) acquired a technical significance = the predestined end which was to be brought about by the advent of the Messianic age: cf. the phrase "calculators of the (Messianic) ends" in Sanh. 97 b. According to Apoc. of Baruch 4, the heavenly Jerusalem was shown to Abraham "by night among the portions of the victims." Some such conception, perhaps, underlies our text here.

b (vs. 14): secretly by night: so the best Lat. MSS. and Versions; the Vulg. omits.


* A mass of legend has grown up around his name. For an early form of such cf. Book of Jubilees xi. 15, etc., and Charles' notes.

† He is still called in the East halilallah, "the friend of God."

‡ Cf. 4 Ezra 12 11 (the fourth kingdom identified with Rome).

§ Cf. further Pirqē d. R. Eliezer xxviii; the Apocalypse of Abraham ix.
him that thou wouldest never forsake his seed. 16 And thy gavest him Isaac, and to Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau. And thou didst set apart Jacob for thyself, but Esau thou didst hate; and Jacob became a great host. 17 And it came to pass that when thou leddest forth his seed out of Egypt, and didst bring them to the Mount Sinai,

Thou didst make the earth quake and convulsedst the world—

Thou didst cause the deeps to tremble and didst alarm the spheres.

And it came to pass that when thou leddest forth his seed out of Egypt, and didst bring them to the Mount Sinai, thou didst bow down the heavens, didst make the earthquakes and convulsedst the world—

Thou didst cause the deeps to tremble and didst alarm the spheres.
And *thy glory went through the four gates of fire earthquake wind and cold*.

(1 Kings 19:11; cf. Ex. 9:23, "thunder, hail and fire"; Ps. 18:10), and the enumeration of such here in connection with the theophany at Sinai may be merely part of the general scenic description, and need not be pressed in detail (cf. the description in Ex. 19:18, where "thunders, lightnings and thick cloud" are mentioned in connection with the same event). But the specific mention of four gates and four elements (including "cold") is against this. And moreover the giving of the Law (the Ten Commandments) on Sinai is definitely connected in the Jewish Midrashim with the seven heavens. Moses' ascent to heaven (in one form of the story, through the seven heavens) to receive the Law is the theme of several midrashic passages which deal with the revelation given at Sinai. In the most elaborate form of this story Moses is described as passing through the various "gates" of heaven (cf. Pesiq. rabbati, ed. Friedmann, pp. 96b–98a). After describing Moses' ascent to the highest heaven and the divine presence, the Midrash proceeds: "The Holy One then opened [the seven doors of]† the seven firmaments and revealed himself" to Israel in all his glory, "eye to eye" and "face to face." In another paragraph we read: "And the glory of the Lord..."
To give Law to Jacob's seed
and Commandment to the generation of Israel.\(^k\)

And yet thou didst not take away from them "the evil heart," "that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them." \(^n\)

was revealed from heaven, from the habitation of his holiness. He gave the \(\text{torā}\) (Law) to the children of Jacob, his chosen one, and gave them righteous judgements," etc.\(^k\) That this account of Moses' ascent through the seven heavens was current in the 1st cent. A.D. may perhaps be inferred from the application of Ps. 68 \(^f\) ("when he ascended on high he led captivity captive and gave gifts to men) to Christ's ascension in Ephes. 4 \(^k\). This was apparently suggested by the Jewish application of the same passage to Moses' ascent to Sinai to receive the Tables of the Law.\(\uparrow\)

\(^{k}\) (vs. 19): to give Law to Jacob's seed, etc. Cf. Deut. 33 \(^k\):

Moses commanded us a Law, An inheritance for the congregation of Jacob—
a commonplace among the favourite texts of the Jews. The revelation on Sinai (Ex. 19 \(^f\) f.) is, of course, referred to [cf. also Ap. Bar. xvii. 3:

"he (Moses) brought the law to Jacob's seed and lighted a lamp to the nation of Israel"]').

\(^{l}\) (vs. 19): commandment : Lat., diligentiam ; cf. vs. 7 note.

\(^{m}\) (vs. 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 4 \(^k\)–5\(^k\), and in 7 \(^{11}\) 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).\(\uparrow\) 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. 5 \(^{18}\) 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 4 \(^k\). In 7 \(^{28}\) it is called the evil thought (cogitamentum malum) which was fashioned with them).

\(^{n}\) (vs. 20): that thy law might bring forth fruit in them. Evil could only have been forcibly eradicated at the expense of man's freedom of will; and without freedom of the will there could have been no law by which men could be judged. Cf. Ap. Bar. liv. 14 ("And justly do they

\(^{*}\) The Chronicle of Jerahmeel, ed. Gaster, p. 149.

\(^{\uparrow}\) The Targum to Ps. 68 \(^{18}\) runs: Thou didst ascend to the firmament, O Moses the prophet; thou didst take captivity captive; thou didst teach the words of the Law; thou didst give gifts to the children of men, etc. The same verse is quoted in the midrashic description of Moses' ascent to heaven already referred to (Pesiq. rab. 98a).

\(^{\dagger}\) Contrast Ap. Baruch 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.
the first Adam, "clothing himself with" the evil heart, transgressed and "was overcome;" 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, and the evil remained.' So the times passed away and the years came to an end; and (then) thou didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; and "thou commandedst him to build" the City (which is called) after perish that have not loved thy law); also 4 Ezra 7 (therefore the sojourners in the earth shall suffer torture . . . because having obtained the Law they set at naught that which they received). For the general sentiment cf. Rom. 5* ("the law came in beside that the trespass might abound"). Might bring forth fruit: Lat., ut faceret . . . fructum = γεννήσεις (Hilg.): the "fruit" produced was death and condemnation. Cf. Rom. 7* ("the sinful passions which were through the law wrought in our members to bring forth fruit unto death").

o (vs. 21): clothing himself with: so Syr. and Ethiop. Lat., baiolans = R.V. "bearing" [but the Greek underlying this, viz., φορεσα, has a meaning similar to vestivit, viz., "wearing," as a garment; cf. e.g., 1 Cor. 15**]. 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.

oo (vs. 21): was overcome: Lat. victus est. Hilg. renders περιστερη, "was worsted," i.e., was condemned and sentenced.

p (vs. 21): likewise also: Ethiop. and Arab. read not he only but.

q (vs. 22): the infirmity became inveterate: R.V., "disease was made permanent" (Lat., facta est permanens infirmitas). This "evil germ" is called in 4* "a grain of evil seed" (granum seminismali) and = the yeser ha-ra or evil impulse.

r (vs. 22): what was good departed, etc., i.e., the good tendency (the yeser ha-tob) 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 the Rabbinic theology which emphasises the power of the Law to keep the evil tendency in check and overcome it. Cf. e.g., the dictum: "The Law wears away the yeser ha-ra' as water wears away stone" (Suk. 52b).

s (vs. 22): but (in conjunction) with the evil germ, lit. with the evil root: so Syr. Ethiop. (best text); Lat., with the evil of the root (cum malignitate radicis). This "evil germ" is called in 4* "a grain of evil seed" (granum seminis malis) and = the yeser ha-ra' or evil impulse.

u (vs. 24): thou commandedst him to build. David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City, as in a sense he was. Cf. 10*.

v (vs. 24): the City (which is called) after thy name; lit., the city of
thy name, and to offer thee oblations therein of thine own."

And after 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 had clothed themselves with the evil heart: and so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies. Then I said in my heart: Are their deeds any better that inhabit Babylon? Has he for this rejected Sion? It came to pass when I came hither and saw ungodly deeds innumerable, and myself saw many sinners these thirty years, that my...
heart was perturbed: 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;

and hast not made known at all unto any how this course of thine shall be abandoned. Have the deeds of Babylon been better than those of Sion? Has any other nation known thee beside Israel? 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 and seen them

g (vs. 29): was perturbed: so Syr.; Arab. was astonished; Eth., marvelled; Lat., excessit, failed me = eisw (Volk. Hilg.) = Heb. hirad.

h (vs. 30): dost spare: so Syr. Eth.: Lat., hast spared.
i (vs. 30): hast destroyed: so Lat. Syr., but Ethiop. and Arab. read hast rejected. This may be right (= Greek πεπήλασε; so Volkmar).

j (vs. 31): at all unto any, reading nihil nemini (lit., aught to any man).
In the codd. (followed by the Vulg.) this has been corrupted to nihil memini, "I remember nought" (cf. A.V.).

k (vs. 31): how this course of thine shall be abandoned, lit. how this way should be forsaken; Lat., quomodo debeat derelinqui via haec. Cf. 4 ("the way of the Most High"). So Ball. God’s course of action is meant. For the phrase "forsake (= give up) a way" (= course of action); cf. Is. 55 ("let the wicked forsake his way"). Ball (Var. Ap. ad loc) ingeniously suggests as an alternative explanation: "why this way (= Israel as a religious community) should be abandoned"; cf. Acts 9 ("any that were of the Way" = the early Christian community). The Syr. reads how thy way may be comprehended; so Hilg. postulating a confusion between καταληπτη and καταληπτη in the underlying Greek; so also R.V. But this is unnecessary and probably wrong.

l (vs. 31): Have the deeds of Babylon been, lit. has Babylon done: so Syr. Arab. Arm.: but Lat. has factum (present) = are the deeds (of Babylon).

m (vs. 32): what tribes have so believed thy covenants, etc. The idea that the Law was offered not merely to Israel, but to all mankind, and was deliberately rejected by the nations of the world (outside Israel) is the theme of more than one midrashic passage. Cf. Schechter, Aspects, p. 131 ff. A somewhat similar notion seems to underlie the present passage. (Cf. further 71 note g.)

n (vs. 33): their labour; Lat., labor = μορφος (Hilg.). The latter translates Heb. pēulla, i.e., recompense (e.g., Is. 61 LXX). This would give a good parallel to reward; cf. Is. 40, 62.
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 which way the turn of the scale inclines. Or when was it that the inhabitants of the earth did not sin before thee? Or what nation hath so kept thy precepts? Individual men of note indeed thou mayest find to have kept thy precepts; but nations thou shalt not find.

in prosperity: Lat., abundantes. [Cf. for the expression Ps. 121, "they shall prosper (Heb. yishldyê) that love thee," which is rendered in Vulg. abundantes diligentibus te. The present text might represent beshalwî or shâlikîm in the original Hebrew.]

weigh thou our iniquities . . . in the balance: Lat., pendera in statera nostras iniquitates. The metaphor of "weighing" sins is common in the Rabbinical Literature, especially in connection with the weighing of merits against offences. Cf. e.g., Pesiq. Kah. xxvi (ed. Buber, 167a): R. Eliezer says: the scales are evenly balanced—the scale of iniquities on the one side and of merits on the other; the Holy One inclines (the balance) to the scale of merit. Here, however, iniquities fill both scales, and the only question is that of preponderance. This is characteristic. [For weighing of deeds cf. 1 Enoch xli. 1 and Charles' notes.]

the inhabitants of the world. Cf. the parallel phrase, inhabitants of the earth. The expression is frequent both in 4 Ezra and Ap. Baruch. In the latter, as Charles (on xxv. 1) points out it is always used in a bad ethical sense. And this is the prevailing one in our book (cf. 4 8, 5 6, 6 8, 7 12, 10 8, 13 8; but in 6 11, 11 8, 13 8, 12 11, it is merely geographical). For its use in both a good and bad ethical sense in 1 Enoch and Rev. cf. Charles' note on 1 Enoch xxxvii. 5 (p. 111 of his ed.).

and so shall be found which way the turn of the scale inclines: Lat., et invenietur momentum puncti ubi declinet. The reading momentum puncti for nomen tuum puncti is that of the best MSS. and confirms Hilgenfeld's emendation which was based upon the Syriac. The Greek equivalent is porý (vonw, "poise of the balance"); it occurs in the LXX of Is. 40 11 and Prov. 16 11; and in Symm. version of Ps. 61 (82). [According to another (not well attested) reading non should be inserted before invenietur: then render and there shall not be found the weight of a scruple whereby it (the scale) may go down. The A.V., And so shall thy name nowhere be found but in Israel represents the corrupt Vulg. text. Syr. reads and the poise of the scale will appear to be not inclined.]

individual men of note: Lat., homines per nomina = lit. men by names, i.e., noted individuals (Ball). [Names = persons or individuals. A Hebraism: cf. Rev. 11 18]. R.V.; men that may be reckoned by name; such as Job who was regarded (but not by all of the Rabbis) as a non-Israelite and a man of conspicuous piety. Cf. St. Paul's treatment of the theme of the law-abiding Gentile in Rom. 2 18f. [For nations in the last clause but nations thou shalt not find (so Lat. gentes), the Syr. has singular, a people; so Ethiop. (a whole
III. THE DIVINE REPLY: GOD'S WAYS ARE INSCRUTABLE

(a) The human spirit can only hope to understand dimly and in part

The angel (or rather archangel; cf. 4***) 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 28). For the dialogue between the angel and Salathiel cf. e.g. Zech. 1–6, Dan. 10, etc.

1 *Thereupon the angel* answered me who had been sent to me, and whose name was bUriel b; and he said to me:

people); cf. Arm. The context certainly suggests (whether the singular or plural be read) that the heathen are meant; and the point of the passage is that Israel as a people have kept the divine precepts. It is most natural, therefore, to take individual men of note (hominæ per nomina) to refer to individual men among the nations, such as Job. To understand it cf. individual men among Israel (such as Abraham, Moses) suits the theology neither of S nor R. Kabisch, however, proposes a different explanation. He understands homines to refer to Israel as a whole, and as = Jews as opposed to heathen, the heathen not being regarded as men at all. In support of this view he cites some late Rabbinical passages to the effect that the nations of the world are not men in the highest sense, endowed with the higher soul (nāmaw), but on a lower plane, endowed with the lower soul (nāma). But this view does not really represent the Rabbinical estimate of the heathen world, and moreover is a somewhat forced exegesis here, failing to explain per nomina. The passage perhaps refers generally to proselytes among the nations (cf. p. lvii). On the whole passage cf. introductory section.

a (vs. 1): Thereupon the angel. Gunkel calls attention to the sudden introduction of the angel without any preliminary explanation or description: cf. Rev. 1 10. Contrast Dan. 10 4.

b (vs. 1): Uriel (= ? "the fire of God," Heb. ʿūr - ʿāl) mentioned again in vs. 36, also in 5 22 and 10 22 (not again in the Bible); one of the four chief angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel), of whom Michael was the highest (cf., Lueken, Michael, p. 321). According to 1 Enoch xx. 2, Uriel was "the angel over the world and over Tartarus."† 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

* This meaning would naturally suggest itself to an early Heb. writer. But the real original significance of the angelic names compounded in el is uncertain and obscure.

† Over thunder and earthquake, according to the Eth. text; the Greek gives as above.
"thy heart hath utterly failed thee" regarding this world; and thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the Most High?

Then said I: Yes, my Lord.

And he answered me, and said: Three ways have I been sent to show thee, and three similitudes 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 whence comes the evil heart.

And I said: Speak on, my Lord.

Then said he unto me:

Come, weigh me the weight of the fire;

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 (téhém), 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. J.E. xii. 383). Later he became (mistakenly) associated with light (Heb., 'ôr) and was regarded as the enlightener ("he who brings light to Israel," Numb. rabb. ii. 10). In 1 En. xi, 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. [Probably the clause and whose name was Uriel was added by R.: cf. introductory section.]

c (vs. 2): thy heart hath utterly failed thee: Lat., excessens excessit cor tium = εκστασα εξσθη η καρδια σου (Hilg.). Cf. 43 18, εκστασω καρδια = Heb. נב וניש, "the heart is disquieted." Ecclus. 3 11. Heart, of course, connotes understanding in Heb. phraseology. For the sentiment cf. John 3 18 ("If I told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things.")

d (vs. 4): of these: Lat., de quibus . . . ex his = of which (whereof). a Hebraism. [But Arab. suggests that the Greek was εφ οις = "on condition that."]

e (vs. 4): teach: Lat., doceam. For this form of the fut. of the 2nd conj. (in sām for sō) cf. Bensly, Missing Fragment, p. 16. So again 10 18; cf. respondeam 8 18, appareas 11 44 [docebis, however, occurs in 12 44].

f (vs. 4): whence comes: Lat., unde sit (so Vulg. and one cod.): the better attested reading, in the Lat. MSS., is quare, "wherefore [the heart is]."

g (vs. 5): fire . . . wind. For the conjunction of fire and wind cf. 3 18, 8 28, Wisd. 13 1. 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

* Cf. Volkmar. ad loc.
Then answered I and said: Who of the earth-born
could do such things as thou shouldest ask me about such matters?

And he said to me: Had I asked thee

"How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea?"

Or "how many springs" in "the source of the deep?"

Or how many "ways" above the firmament?

"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 Ez. 6 1). According to Rev. 7 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. 11, "as thou knowest not the way of the wind," and John 3).

i (vs. 5): the day that is past: Arab., "yesterday which is past."

j (vs. 6): earthborn, lit. born (sc. of woman); Lat., natorum = Gk. γεννητων. The Heb. equivalent is γεννητων, "born of a woman" (only in Job 14, 15, 25). Arab. has a conflate reading: who is there among all the prophets who have been born upon the earth? k (vs. 6): so, lit., these things: so Syr.: other versions, this (so one Lat. codex, hoc): omitted in most Lat. MSS. hh (vs. 7): how many dwellings . . . in the sea, etc. For the whole of the verse cp. Job. 28 14-17 ("Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea," etc.).

l (vs. 7): the heart of the sea: for the expression cf. Ex. 15.
m (vs. 7): how many springs: so Arab. Ethiop.; Lat., quantae venae, "how many watercourses or channels": cf. 2 Sam. 22 14 ("and the channels of the sea appeared": Heb. αφιγμα παντοσ-οραμα). So Ball. [Quantae in these questions = quot = ποιμεν (Hilg.).]

n (vs. 7): the source of the deep: Lat., principio abyssi. Source here (principium) = Heb. דוד, "head."

o (vs. 7): ways: so Syr. Ethiop. Arm.: the Lat. has venae (to be emended to viae), "watercourses"; but this is not impossible, as the reference may be to the waters above the firmament (the celestial ocean); cf. Gen. 1, 7 11.
Or where are the portals of Hades? Or where the paths of Paradise?

Perchance thou wouldest have said to me:

Into the deep I have not descended,

nor as yet 'gone down' into Hades;

Neither to heaven have I ever ascended,

'nor entered Paradise.'

But now I have only asked thee of the fire, the wind and the day "that is past,"—"things without which thou canst not be;" and yet thou hast vouchsafed me no answer about them!

He said moreover unto me: "What belongs to thee—
the things that have intermingled with thy growth—"thou art incapable of understanding; " how then should "thy vessel" be able to comprehend the way of the Most High?

"For the way of the Most High has been formed without measure;" "how, then, should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible?"

with thy growth (lit., the things that have grown up with thee): Lat., quae tua sunt tecum coadulescentia = ora auro ear uera row aivsAarravovira (v. Wilamowitz apud Gunkel). Hilg. following Syr. Ethiop. (one reading) and Arm. omits what belongs to thee. The things referred to include fire and wind, two of the four primal elements (fire, wind, earth and water): for these cf. Wisd. 7.17, 13.1, 19.18 (τα στοιχεία). There may be an allusion, as Gunkel suggests, to the doctrine of man's living organism (the microcosm), being compounded of the elements: cf. 8. It. This view is of Oriental origin.

x (vs. 10): thy vessel: Lat. vas tuum = το σκέυος σου = the body as the "vessel" of the soul, or of the understanding. Cf. the phrase in Ep. Barnabas, "the vessel of his spirit" = Christ's human and living body: Ch. vii. 4 (Cp. xi. 10).

y (vs. 11): For the way of the Most High has been formed without measure, i.e., is immeasurable, incomprehensible. Ethiop. is rendered: nam in infinito via altissimi creata est: Syr., quia in aliquo quod non comprehenditur creata est via Altissimi: cf. Arab. and Arm. Hilg. retranslates: στη η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η η. The clause is omitted in the Latin [by homoioteleuton]. The words in aliquo quod non comprehenditur (in infinito) might possibly be represented in Heb. by תאר אליע, "without measure." The thought is well paraphrased in the Arab. version: for the ways of the Most High cannot be comprehended, nor his government be thoroughly searched out.

z (vs. 11) : how, then, should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible? Syr. has nor is it possible, etc. Ethiop. has nor canst thou who art corruptible understand the way of him who is incorruptible; Arab. paraphrases: And can one who shall be corrupted and dissolved apprehend incorruptible things, and understand ways which cannot be understood? The Lat. (corrected) text runs: et jam exterius corrupto saeculo intelligere incorruptionem? i.e., and how can one who is already worn out (exteritus = extritus) with the corrupted world understand incorruption? The Vulg. has the corrupt text et jam exterius corrupto saeculo = "And, the world being now outwardly corrupted," A.V. [The verse might, perhaps, be retranslated into Hebrew as follows:

(cf. Prov. 31 9) שָׁוָא (לְ) אֲוֹר (לְ) 1 הלֶכָה יִמּוֹן הָלֹא יִמּוֹן יִמּוֹן 1
i.e., And how should he who is subject to change (lit., the son of change, i.e., the transient; cf. Prov. 31 9) in a changing world be able to understand the ways of the changeless one? Hilg., και οἱ μησρην υπ' την φθαρτι αιωνιον δυνατα συνηνα την ουδον του αφθαρτου.
(b) The dialogue continued: it is foolish and senseless to demand what is against nature

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 7:12, 38:6 f.). The application of the idea to the wood seems to be original to the apocalyptist (so Gunkel).

12 a[And when I heard these things I fell upon my face] and said unto him: b It would have been better that we had

a (vs. 12): [And when I heard these things I fell upon my face.] So the Oriental Versions. The Latin is mutilated and corrupt. Part of the clause is represented by the Vulg. reading, evidentem in faciem meam. Hence, the A.V. "the corruption that is evident in my sight!" To fall upon one's face (to the earth) was a posture of humiliation and also of adoration in the presence of a superior being or power; often dictated by a sense of weakness and unworthiness; it might also betoken humble supplication and entreaty: cf. e.g., Josh. 7:6, Lk. 5:5. For the action in the presence of an angel, as here, cf. Dan. 8:17, 10:11, 1 Enoch xiv. 14, 24, Rev. 1:17 [cp. Is. 6:6, Ezek. 1:24].

b (vs. 12): it would have been better that we had never been created, etc.: Lat., melius erat nos non adesse, "it were better that we were not here at all," R.V. Ethiop., it would have been better that we had never been created. In the Greek Apoc. Esdræ, which was probably modelled upon 4 Ezra, the sentence occurs: καλον μη γεννηθηναι τον ανθρωπον η εισελθεν εν τω κοσμω (p. 24, ed. Tischendorf, cited by Gunkel). The terms be created or born and enter into the world are parallel expressions in Hebrew. The Latin nos non adesse might easily have arisen out of nos non natos esse; the whole clause would then run: melius erat nos non natos esse quam advenientes vivere in impietatisb, which might represent a Greek clause, καλον την ημια μη γεννηθηναι η εισερχομενου [εν την κοσμω] την εις αδελφων. For the expression and sentiment cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii, 2 Enoch xii. 2, Ap. Bar. x. 6, Matt. 26:44. The seer here takes the pessimistic view of the School of Shammai in the controversy with the School of Hillel on the question whether it would have been better for man never to have been created.

* In the early midrashim, Mekilla, Sifra, Sifre, the phrase all who come into the world (Heb., kol ba'ed olam) is regular and frequent, cf. e.g., Meh. (ed. Fried.), 38a: He (God) hears the cries of all who have come into the world. Cf. John 1:9 (παντα ανθρωπον ερχομενον εις τον κόσμον).
never been created than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not to know why we suffer.

13 And he answered me and said: 'Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth, and took counsel, and said: Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may retire before us, and we will make us more woods.'

14 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 more territory.

15 The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; likewise, also, the counsel of the waves of

According to the Bab. Talm., the controversy lasted two and a half years (Er. 13b). For γεννηθηναι as a rendering of be created (Heb. nibra') cf. Ezek. 21 (Heb. 21 *). [It is tempting to conjecture that the Hebrew underlying εὐσπορευμένος is (advenientes vivere) was to enter into life; cf. for the phrase Matt. 18 (*"it is better for a man to enter into life maimed," etc.). Then the Hebrew for the whole clause may have been: ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΑΝΕΚ ΑΦΙΕΝΤΕΣ ΒΙΒΕΝΕΣ, i.e., it would have been better for us that we had not been created than that we should have entered into life (i.e., have been born) in sins. For the last phrase cf. John 9 and see further 7 * note.] The phrase enter into the world or into life implies the belief in the soul's pre-existence. Cf. Wisd. 8 * ("Now I was a child of parts, and a good soul fell to my lot . . . I came into a body undefiled".), 2 Cor. 5 * and vs. 35 below and note.

c (vs. 12): to know: so the best reading in the Latin (intellegere), Syr., Arab. and Arm.; most Lat. codd. read I do not know (non intellexi); Syr., we do not know.
d (vs. 12): why we suffer: so Syr., Ethiop., Arm., but Lat. and Arab. omit we suffer.
e (vs. 13): Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth: so Syr. (the opening words lit. = going they went, a Hebraism; cf. Judg. 9 *); cf. Ethiop. (woods and trees of the field). Lat. has proficiscens profectus sum ad silvam lignorum campi = I verily went forth unto a wood of the trees of the field. This is obviously corrupt.

f (vs. 14): more woods: Lat., alias silvas. But Syr. and Ethiop. have sing. (a new wood). Gunkel prefers this.
g (vs. 15): we may win us more territory: Lat., ut consummemus nobismetipsis aliam regionem. For consummemus Volkmar well gives autelētemus as equivalent. The reading consummemus seems to have been suggested by consumsit of the following verse. [The conflict with the Sea—personified by Tiamat—was the theme of a widespread and well-known creation-myth. It is alluded to in Job 7, 38 * f., Ps. 89, and Is. 51 * f.: cf. the writer's Isaiah on the latter passage (p. 256 f.); also Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 401-428.]
the sea, for the sand stood up and stopped them. If thou, now, hadst been judge between them whom wouldest 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 to the sea a place to bear its waves.

Then he answered me and said: Thou hast judged aright; but why hast thou not given judgement in thine own case? For just as the earth has been assigned to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves; even so the dwellers upon earth can understand only what is upon the earth, and they who are above the heavens that which is above the heavenly height.

h (vs. 17): The sand stood up and stopped them: Lat., stetit enim harena et prohibuit eos; so Syr., Arab.: (stetit = stetit = intrans.); but for stood up Ethiop. and Arm. have stayed ( = stetit =). So Hilg. For the sand as the boundary of the sea cf. Jer. 5, where Jahveh is referred to as having placed the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree which it cannot transgress.

i (vs. 18): now: so Syr. (therefore), Arab., Arm. = Gk. η. Lat. renders here enim (cf. 3, 4, 7, 14). (ει and η often interchange: so Ethiop. renders if = ει δε.)

j (vs. 18): wouldest thou: Lat., incipiebas = Gk. θεον δε = Heb. בָּחַר: [whom wouldest thou have undertaken to justify: πως αυτῷ θεον δε = (Volk.) Heb., בָּחַר הָאֹדָד]. The verb ("wouldest thou have") has an independent force.

k (vs. 19): to the sea a place: so some Lat. MSS. (mari locus): but Syr. and best attested Lat. MSS. support maris locus = the place of the sea. The structure of the sentence, however, supports the reading mari locus. [The Arab. paraphrases: and the sea has boundaries which it may not transgress when it losses up its waters; cf. Jer. 5.]

l (vs. 21): the place of the sea to bear its waves: so Syr. Lat. has et mare fluctibus suis = and the sea to its waves.

m (vs. 21): they who are above the heavens. So Ar. 9. Arm. (the Lat., qui super coelos, is ambiguous); the Syr. has the singular (he who is above the heavens). Ethiop. has: [The inhabitants upon earth can only understand what is upon the earth] but not that which is in heaven and above heaven. This is apparently a theological alteration (to avoid the notion that God is only concerned with heavenly matters). [The parable is an excellent example in form and structure of its kind. The moral is clearly drawn. Notice also the characteristic question at the end (vs. 18).] The somewhat artificial variation of the theme by the application of the idea to the trees of the field suggests comparison with some of the similitudes in the Shepherd of Hermas. But here there is nothing recondite or obscure.]
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.

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 bears God's sacred name of Israel—should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen (vv. 22–25). He is assured in reply that the present age is hastening to its close, and that the New Age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (vs. 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 connection to the harvest of good and bad seed in Ap. Bar. lxx. 2: And it will 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).

Then answered I and said: "I beseech thee, O Lord,"

wherefore have I been endowed with "an understanding to discern?"

For I meant not to ask "about the ways above 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 has been brought to destruction; "the written covenants exist no more;" we vanish from the world as locusts, our life is "as a breath." 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.

36 Then *he answered* me and said: *If thou survive* thou shalt see, and *if thou livest long thou shalt marvel,* for the age *is hastening fast* to its end. 37 Because it is unable to bear the things promised "in

**nn** (vs. 25): whereby we are called: lit., which is called upon us. Lat., quod invocatum est super nos. (cp. 9). Cf. Ps. Sol. 9 (The people called by my name), Eccles. 38 (O Lord have mercy upon the people that is called by thy name) (cp. also Ep. James 2). In the ancient Jewish prayer beginning Sovereign of all worlds (cf. Singer, p. 74) there is the same contrast as here between Israel's unworthiness and privileged position as the elect people of God [Not because of our righteous deeds do we lay our supplications before thee, but because of thine abundant mercies. What are we? etc., etc. Nevertheless we are thy people, the children of thy covenant . . . the congregation of Jacob thy first-born son, whose name thou didst call Israel and Jeshurun by reason of the love with which thou didst love him, etc.]. In Meekilla, 102a, the double relation of God to the world in general (God of all flesh) and to Israel in particular (God of Israel) is discussed. God is called the God of Israel, and therefore Israel stands in a special relation to him: Over us has he particularly conferred his name (though God of the universe). Cf. Schechter, Aspects iv ("Election of Israel"), and especially p. 63, Weber, Jüdische Theologie, p. 51 f., etc. The liturgical appeal to Israel's election as a ground of the divine compassion is early. Cf. Ps. Sol. 9 14-16.

* (vs. 27): he answered. Ezra's questions, which ended in a tone of agonised despair—"It is about those things I have asked"—now receive an answer which has a note of consolation in it. No hope, however, is held out of any possibility of improvement in the present age. But the better future is fast approaching.

*p* (vs. 26): If thou survive: so Ethiop. (rendered si manseris); Lat., si fueris; so Syr. The Gk. original was probably ean μενησ, which was read by the Lat. and Syr., ean μεν ης (so Hilg.).

q (vs. 26): if thou livest long thou shalt marvel: so Syr. = ean ζηηρας ενi πολυ, θαυμαζεις (Hilg.). The Lat. (taking eii poii with θαυμαζεις) renders si viseris frequenter miraberis = si thou live thou will often marvel.

r (vs. 26): is hastening fast: Lat., festinans festinal, a Hebraism.

s (vs. 26): to its end: lit., to pass away: Lat., pertransire (= παρελθειν). Cf. Apoc. Bar. xx. 1 (the times will hasten . . . the seasons will speed . . . the years will pass).

t (vs. 27): it is unable: so Syr. Ethiopi.; Lat. (Bensly), non capiet = it will be unable.

u (vs. 27): in their season: Lat., in temporibus = en τοις καιροις,
their season to the righteous; for this age is full of sorrow and impotence.

28 "For the evil concerning which thou askest me is sown," but the ingathering of it is not yet come. 29 Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and unless the place where the evil is sown shall have passed away, *the field where the good is sown cannot come. 30 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

i.e., in the times appointed. A.V., in time to come: i.e., in temporibus [futuris]. This is possibly right. Syr. and Ethiop. omit.

uu (vs. 27): this age is full of sorrow and impotence: Lat. (Bensly): plenum mesticia est saeculum hoc et infirmitatibus: R.V., this world is full of sadness and infirmities [= πλῆθος λυπης ετων ο αων οντος και αεβεντιων]. Cf. I Ep. John 5 i.e., in time to come: i.e., in temporibus [futuris]. This is possibly right. Syr. and Ethiop. omit.

v (vs. 28): For the evil concerning which thou askest me is sown: so Syr. Ethiop. [In Bensly's corrected Lat. text: seminatum est enim malum de quo me interrogas de eo: note the Hebraism de quo... de illo]. The Lat. text of Fritzsche, Hilg. (following the Lat. codd.) has: seminatum est enim malum (de quibus me interroges dicam) = For the evil is sown (of the things thou askest me I will speak), but, etc.

w (vs. 28): the ingathering of it: the true Latin reading appears to be dextrocius ipsi, i.e., the plucking off of it (so Bensly, who compares Ezek. 17 * Vulg.: fructus ejus distringet): cf. Ethiop., which renders its ingathering. The variation to destructio was easy; hence the received reading, "the destruction of it." (So A.V.) For the idea of sowing, reaping and harvest applied metaphorically to evil, cf. the Parable of the Sower (Matt. 13); and in particular here Matt. 13 ""the enemy that sowed... is the devil, and the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels ").

x (vs. 29) : be reaped : Lat., messum fuerit (best reading): one MS. (D) reads avulsum, "torn up" (cf. Matt. 13 ii); Vulg. inversum, "turned upside down." A.V.

y (vs. 29): the field where the good is sown, i.e., the new world wherein dwelleth righteousness " (Ball). Vulg. omits field (Lat., ager).

z (vs. 30): a grain of evil seed : Lat., granum seminis mali [Vulg. has gramen, "grass," for granum—apparently a misprint; so vs. 31]: i.e., "the evil impulse" (yeser ha-ra) : cf. 3 ii notes. Cf. also 7 ii.

a (vs. 30): how much fruit of ungodliness; so Syr., Ethiop., but Lat. omits frui.
this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come!

Reckon up, now, in thine own mind: a grain of evil seed has produced so much fruit of ungodliness, when once the ears of the good seed shall have been sown without number, how great a 'floor' shall they be destined to fill?

(d) 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

(4 33-48)

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.

b (vs. 30): until the threshing-floor come: Possibly, as Ball suggests, the Heb. meant: until it come to the threshing-floor; cf. vv. 32, 35. [For the general sentiment of vs. 30 cf. the midrashic piece cited from Raym. Mart. (cf. R.W.S., p. 93): the latter (i.e., the first Adam) transgressed but one divine command, and see with how many deaths this transgression has been punished again and again in him and the following generations.]

c (vs. 31): Reckon up, now, in thine own mind: Lat., aestima autem apud te = aestima autem apud te (Hilg.): Heb., סע נפש: lit., reckon up with thyself (idiomatic use of סע; see Oxf. Heb. Lex.). Syr. correctly renders confer ergo tu in anima tua. On סע = autem cf. 4 18 note.

d (vs. 31): if: so Ethiop. (when). The Latin and Syriac omit, and take the sentence differently, making it end at the close of the verse: thus R.V., Ponder now by thyself how great fruit of wickedness a grain of evil seed hath brought forth.

e (vs. 32): of the good seed: so Syr. Ethiop. (= σπερματος αγαθου, Hilg.). Lat. omits.

f (vs. 32): floor, i.e., threshing-floor (Lat., area).

g (vs. 32): be destined to fill: Lat., incipient facere: Syr.: well futurum est ut faciant = Heb., הב שׁתי. [With the reading ears of the good seed adopted above the meaning of the passage is that the harvest of good when once it has been sown (immediately after the end of the present age) will in the golden future far surpass the previous harvest of evil. With the omission of the words of the good seed the passage implies that the present crop of evil, great as it is, is nothing compared to the harvest of evil that is coming. This is hardly consistent with the representation that the present age is on the point of closing.] The argument a minori ad majus is characteristically Jewish.
Then I answered and said: "How long and when shall these things (be coming to pass)? For our years are few and evil.

And he answered me and said: "Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High; for thou art hastening for thine own self, but the Exalted One on behalf of many."

Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls of the righteous in their chambers?
"How long are we (to remain) here?" "When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?"

And to them the archangel *Jeremiel* made reply, and apparently not again in the Vulgate.* These "chambers" are the "treasuries of souls" referred to sometimes in Apocalyptic books (cf. Ap. Bar. xxi. 23; And let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them"; 1 Enoch xxi, 3 f.). These "treasuries" or "habitations" (habitationa, 4 Ezra 7 **8**) were reserved for the righteous only (7 **8**) who entered them at death, and there enjoying "great quietness" and "guarded by angels," they awaited the final judgement (7 **8**). Then the "chambers" were to restore the souls committed to them (7 **8** cf. 4 **7**: Ap. Bar. xxi. 3; xxx. 2). According to the Talmud (T.B. Shabbath. 152b) the souls of the righteous dead are beneath the throne of God (cf. Rev. 6 **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 connection: cf. e.g., Midr. rab. on Qoheleth 3 **4**, 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 7 **4**, however, these "treasuries" or "chambers" are placed in Sheol (the lower world). But the alternative reading is better (see ad loc).

q (vs. 35): How long are we (to remain) here? So Ethiop., Syr., but Lat. has usquequos spero sic = How long shall I hope in this fashion?

r (vs. 35): When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward? Lat., quando venit fructus areae mercedis nostrae (R.V., "when cometh the fruit of the threshing-time [or threshing-floor] of our reward?"). But Syr. and Ethiop. both omit the fruit of (Ethiop. has "when cometh the harvest of our reward?") = πότε ελευθεράο

s (vs. 36): Jeremiel: Gk., Ιερεμιή ( = Heb., יְרֵמֶּל). This archangel may confidently be identified with 'Rēmēl (note that the Syr. of our verse actually reads Rāmiel, who appears in the Greek (Gizeh) text of 1 Enoch xx. as the seventh of the seven archangels (1, Uriel; 2, Raphael; 3, Raguel; 4, Michael; 5, Sariel [= Eth., Saraqāēl]; 6, Gabriel; 7, Remiel [= Jeremiel]). In the Ethiopic 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") (ἐν τω αὐτοκτονών). 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


† So the Latin text, "the chambers of souls in the lower world (in inferno promptuaria): but the Syr. and Ethiopic have "the lower world and the chambers of souls are like," etc.
said: Even when the number of ‘those like yourself is fulfilled’

For he has "weighed" the age in the balance,

await the final judgement and resurrection.* [Only two of the seven archangels are mentioned in 4 Ezra, viz., Uriel and Jeremiel.]

1 (vs. 38): those like yourself is fulfilled: reading similium vobis; so Syr., Ethiop. The Lat. MSS. have seminum (an obvious corruption) = of seeds; hence the Vulg. reading (seminum in vobis) = [even when the number] of the seeds is fulfilled in you. The righteous are identified with the good seed; cf. Matt. 13*,* (Ball). 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. 6** (*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. 7*4*, the number of the "sealed," i.e., the elect, is 144,000. In Apoc. 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 reff. cited by Charles on Ap. Bar. loc. cit.). This number was a secret known only to God himself (Ap. Bar. xxi. 10; xlviii. 46).

u (vs. 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 milleniums, corresponding to the week of creation† (cf. 7*8*,*; see notes there, and cf. R.W.S., p. 216 f.). 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 xii. Patr. Napht. ii. 3; Wisdom 11** (*by measure, number and weight thou didst order all things*); Philo, Somm. 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 28*24* the winds are said to be "weighed" and the waters "measured"; in Is. 40*18* the mountains and hills; cf. 1 Enoch xliii. 2 (the stars);

* In the Apocalypse of Elias (ed. Steindorff, 10), Eremiel is called the angel who watches over souls in the underworld (Gunkel, ad loc.) Ramiel appears in Ap. Bar. iv. 3 (cf. lxiii. 6) as "the angel who presides over true visions." In the Sibyll. Oracles (ii. 215–217) Ramiel is one of the five angels who lead the souls of men to judgement (Arakel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel and Aziel).

† A day = 1,000 years, Ps. 90*4*, 2 Pet. 3*8*. In 4 Ezra 14*11*,* the world-history is divided into twelve parts of which 9½ are passed already.
And with measure has "measured" the "times,"
And by number has "numbered" the "seasons;"  
Neither will he move nor stir things,
till the measure "appointed" be fulfilled.  

Then I answered and said: "O Lord my Lord,"  
but behold we are all full of ungodliness.  
Is it, perchance," on our account that the threshing-floor of the righteous is

The underlying idea is predestinarian* (cf. Charles on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3).  
It should be noted that the Syriac renders the verb in each case: weighing he has weighed, measuring he has measured, numbering he has numbered, replacing the nouns (weight, measure, number) by the participle in each case.)  

times . . . seasons: Lat., tempora . . . tempora; but Syr. has times . . . hours (changing the expression probably rightly).  
appointed: Lat., prædicta, i.e., predestined.  

Then I answered and said: "O Lord my Lord," but behold we are all full of ungodliness.  
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times . . . seasons: Lat., tempora . . . tempora; but Syr. has times . . . hours (changing the expression probably rightly).  

But behold: so Ethiop. and (by an easy emendation) the Syr.  
The Lat. sed et may also have arisen from sed ecce, i.e., sed ecce (Volkmar).  

The Essenes held strongly predestinarian views, affirming that "fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination" (Joseph, Ant. xiii. 5, 9; cf. xviii. 1, 5, "all things are best ascribed to God.")  

In the Oriental Versions.
kept back—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: The underworld and the chambers of souls are like the womb:

reward, the Ethiop. harvest for area]: the inferior reading of the Latin MSS. is non impleantur justorum areae = "the floors of the righteous are not filled" (A.V.).

c (vs. 39): the dwellers upon earth : Lat., inhabitantium super terram; cf. 3 note. Notice Ezra here identifies himself with the mass of mankind—the dwellers upon earth.

d (vs. 41): The underworld and the chambers of souls: so Syr., Ethiop. and Violet, reading infernum et promptuaria animarum, but Bensly following the Latin MSS. in infernum promptuaria animarum = τα ἐν ἀδη ταμεία τῶν ψυχῶν (Hilg.), the chambers of souls in the underworld. The treasury of the souls of the righteous dead is, no doubt, meant, as in vs. 35: so Ethiop. here, which adds of the righteous after chambers of the souls. [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. Ap. Bar. xxiii. 5 [same antithesis between abode of unborn and departed spirits]; xlviii. 16 [Nor did we send to Sheol and say "Receive us"], lii. 2, lvi. 6). With this may be compared the representation that appears in the Talmud (T. B. Hag. 12b,) according to which the spirits and souls that are to descend to earth (to be born) are kept in 'Arabóth, the last of the seven heavens.* Cf. also the saying (T. B. 'Aboda zara 5a) that the Son of David (i.e., the Messiah) will not come till the souls in the gâf (i.e., the superterrestrial abode of unborn souls) have been completed (i.e., have descended to earth to be born). But the context of the present passage is against this interpretation. In vs. 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. 1 18, 6 6, 20 13, 14; and see Charles' Eschatology, p. 352).] The state of the righteous and wicked souls after death is more particularly described in 7 78—101.

* According to the same passage the souls of the righteous dead are preserved in 'Arabóth.
43 for just as she who is in travail "makes haste" to escape 'the anguish' of the 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) The Dialogue continued: in reply to a further question, the seer is shown by a similitude that the end will come soon

(4 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 raindrops, and is told that in a like manner the greater part of the world's history that precedes the End is already past.

44 Then I answered and said: 'If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be 'sufficient,' show me "this" also: 'whether there be more to come...

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e (vs. 42): makes haste, i.e., does not delay when the appointed time arrives (so hasten below). The Lat. has festinabit = Heb. impf. The figure (of travail and birth) is not uncommon in Heb. Literature, especially in eschatological descriptions. For its application in an opposite sense to that here cf. Is. 66 ***.

f (vs. 42): the anguish: Lat., necessitatem = āvarām (Heb., sārā), Volkmar.

g (vv. 43, 44): what has been entrusted to them from the beginning: Lat., ea quae commendata sunt ab initio (so best Lat. codd.); so Syr. Ethiop. has those confided to her [the earth] who have been in her from (i.e., since) the foundation of the world. Ever since the beginning of history the souls of the righteous dead have been consigned to the places (i.e., the treasuries) which had been prepared for them. The Vulg. wrongly makes from the beginning commence a new sentence (vs. 43); cf. A.V.

h (vs. 43): to see: Lat., videre; so Syr., but Ethiop. and Arm., to know.

i (vs. 44): if I have found favour in thy sight: the phrase recurs in 5 88, 6 11, 12 7 (it is common in the O.T.; cf. e.g., Ruth 2 10, 19).

j (vs. 44): sufficient: Lat., idoneus = Gk. ἐξαρεῖς : i.e., capable of grasping the explanation when given. Note the tone of humility, and contrast with the previous questions (vv. 22 f., 33).

k (vs. 45): this. The question that follows has already been answered in advance in 4 88; it recurs with its answer, in a modified form in 5 88-89. In all these passages the author may be dependent upon already existing traditional material. The question, like the subject of the signs of the End, occupied a prominent place in the tradition of the apocalyptic schools and evidently interested apocalyptic circles greatly.

l (vs. 45): whether there be more to come than is past or whether the
than is past, or whether the more part is already gone by us? But for what is gone by I know, but what is to come I know not.

And he said to me: "Stand to the right," and I will explain the meaning of a similitude unto thee.

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.

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.

Then said he unto me: "Consider for thyself," for as

more part is already gone by us: Lat., si plus quam praeteriit habet venire aut plura pertransierunt super nos: Syr., whether the time which has passed by us is more than that which is to come: Ethiop., whether the time which is to come in the world be as much as that which is past or whether more will pass by. [Habet venire = εἰκε ἐρχεσθαι, Volk.] A similar question occurs in the Oratio Moysi (Textsand Studies ii.3, p. 172), quanta quantitatem temporis transit, et quanta remansit (cited by Gunkel).

Il (vs. 46): For what is gone by I know, etc.; cf. Ap. Bar. xxiv. 3.

m (vs. 47): Stand to the right: lit., stand upon the right side (Lat., sta super dexteram partem): so Syr. (= στήθη εἰς το δεξιὸν μέρος, Hilg.). Ethiop., stand towards the right a space (i.e., a certain distance): Arab., turn thyself towards the right side and look. The Arab. perhaps gives the sense intended correctly, but the expression may mean upon the right side of the speaker, i.e., 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 Salathiel took up this position he was face to face with the angel (cf., however, 9 *, note x). At the theophany on Mt. Horeb Elijah was bidden to stand "upon the Mount" in order to watch the divine manifestation as it passed.

n (vs. 48): a blazing furnace: Lat., fornaix ardens: Syr., a blazing fiery furnace (Hilg., κλίβανος φλεγομένος): cf. Gen. 15 17 ("a smoking furnace and a flaming torch") seen as here in a vision). The expression "fiery furnace" occurs in Ps. 21 9 (10).

o (vs. 49): sent down: Lat., inmisit: Syr. sent out (emisit) = αποστείλει. Ethiop., sent out (emisit) = αφησειν.

p (vs. 49): much rain with storm: Lat., pluviam impetu multam: Syr., a very violent rain (υετον ορμη πολυν Hilg.).

q (vs. 49): therein, viz., in the cloud.

r (vs. 50): consider for thyself: Lat., cogita tibi (= φροντίζου, Volkmar; λογίζεσθαι εαυτῷ, Hilg.): Syr., consider in thine own mind and see (cf. vs. 31).
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!

s (vs. 50): is more than: Lat., crescit . . . amplius quam = πλέον(ει)
. . . πλέον.

t (vs. 50): the measure of what is past: lit., the measure which is past: Lat., quae transivit mensura (to παρελθον μετερον, Hilg.).

u (vs. 50): exceeded by far: Lat., superhabundavit = υπερωπερσνευ (Hilg.).

(f) The signs which precede the End

(4 51–5 13) (E) (R)

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 (5 1–18). 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, 6 31–38)8; wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (vv. 10–12).

There is a further reference to these "signs" in 9 8 f.

A close examination of the passage makes it clear that the section detailing the signs (5 1–18) cannot belong to S. In 4 58 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 (5 1–18) 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

* 6 31–38 belong here; see notes on 5 8 f. below.
The eschatological description in 5:1-18 is derived from E. For a discussion of the extent to which this earlier source (the so-called "Ezra-Apocalypse") has been utilised in 4 Ezra; see pp. xxv f.
The passage is really a descriptive list of the Messianic woes (the "travail-pains of the Messiah," (Mt. 24:4, Mk. 13:8), and bears a general likeness to other eschatological descriptions of the signs that precede the End; cf. Ap. Baruch xxv-xxvii, xlviii, 31 f.; lxx. 2 f.; 1 Enoch lxxx. 2 f., xcix. 4 f., c. 1 f.; Jubilees xxiii. 16-25; Sibyll. Oracles ii. 154 f., iii. 796 f., Matt. 24:11-29 and parallels; in Rabbinical literature cf. Sota ix. 15, Dereh 'eres rishâ X, Bab. Talmud, Sanhedrin, 96b-97a, Pes rabbai i. 15. The Midrash on the Psalms has the saying (Ps. 2:8): A third part of all the world's woes will come in the generation of the Messiah. [A good instance of a description of such signs preceding the End in early Christian Literature is the apocalyptic prelude to the Test. of our Lord (E.T. by Cooper and Maclean), especially I, ch. 3-7.]


Then "I made supplication," and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? Who shall be (live) in those days?

He answered me, and said: 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).*

1 Concerning the signs, however:
*a Behold the days come when* the inhabitants of earth shall
be seized \with great panic,\b and *the way of truth* shall be hidden,
and \the land of faith\c be barren.

2 And \iniquity\d shall be increased above that which thou
thyself now seest or that thou hast heard of long ago.  
3 And \the land\ that thou seest now to bear rule *shall be a pathless

\* (vs. 52): \in part \: the description here is supplemented in 6 \textsuperscript{11-18}.  
\* (vs. 52): \nor have I any knowledge (thereof) \: the Lat. has \textit{sed nescio}:
Syr., \textit{for neither do I know} : Ethiop. and Arab., \textit{neither do I know = ove o\theta a} (which also perhaps underlies the Latin).

\* (vs. 1): \behold the days come when (and) \: Lat., \textit{ecce dies ventent et} : a Hebrew phrase and construction common in the prophets, and taken over into apocalyptic writings. Cf. with its use here Ap. Bar. xxxix. 2; lxx. 2.

\* (vs. 1): \with great panic \: so Syr. (rendered \textit{in stupore multo}).

\* (vs. 1): \the way of truth \: so Lat. (cf. Ps. 119 \textsuperscript{80}, \textit{viam veritatis = Heb. derek 'emuna}). But Ethiop. has \textit{region of truth} (cf. Syr. rendered \textit{pars veritatis} = \textit{oros or oros al\theta eias} (Wilamowitz cited by Gunkel). [For the expression \textit{way . . . be hidden} cf. Is. 40 \textsuperscript{*}, \textit{"My way is hidden from Jahveh "}]. Cf. Ap. Bar. xxxix. 6, where in connection with the fourth Empire (= Rome) it is said: \textit{by it the truth will be hidden}.

\* (vs. 1): \the land of faith \: so Syr., Ethiop. Cf. Ap. Bar. lix. 10 ("place of faith, and the region of hope "): Hilg., \textit{\eta χωρα της πιστεως}. But the Lat. has \textit{et sterilis erit a fide regio,} "and the land shall be barren of faith" (E.V.). Cf. Lk. 18 \textsuperscript{8}.

\* (vs. 2): \iniquity \: Lat., \textit{injusticia = \eta \alpha\thetakia}. Syr. (cp. vs. 10) has \"\textit{injustitia et incontinentia}" (Hilg.'s rend.). Cf. Matt. 24 \textsuperscript{18} (an apocalyptic passage): \"iniquity shall be multiplied."

\* (vs. 3): \the land \: the Roman Empire is, of course, meant. To its approaching dissolution there is a clear reference here.

\* (vs. 3): \shall be a pathless waste \: Lat., \textit{erit incomposita vestigio} [read (?) \textit{et sine vestigio}] \: \textit{will be disordered and pathless} \: cf. Syr., \"erit instabilis et non calcata" \: cf. the Heb. \textit{toh\nu d\nu d\~re\~h} (Job. 12 \textsuperscript{6}) \:"a wilderness without path." Gunkel compares Ps. 107 \textsuperscript{6}, \nu\xi\thi\~m\~\nu \textit{derek}, "a desert path." [The reading \textit{et erit incomposito vestigio} is ingeniously explained by Ball as = \textit{shall be for the footstep laid on, i.e., for trampling down}; cf. Is. 26 \textsuperscript{6}; 7 \textsuperscript{88}; 60 \textsuperscript{14}].

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\textit{THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE} [CHAP. 5]
waste; and men shall see it forsaken; if the Most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see it after the third (period) in confusion.

Then shall the sun suddenly shine forth by night and the moon by day:

\[ h (\text{vs. 3}): \text{it} : \text{Lat., eam} : \text{Syr., that land}. \text{ Cf. Ethiop.} \]

\[ i (\text{vs. 4}): \text{after the third (period) in confusion} : \text{Lat., post tertiam turbatam} : \text{the reading turbatam (Cod. C) is confirmed by all the Oriental Versions: in other MSS. this has been corrupted to tubam (tuba) : hence A.V., "after the third trumpet." But what is to be understood by post tertiam, after the third? This = \text{meta tnu triptn sc. hmuov} probably. 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 34 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 1,150, 1,290, and 1,335 days; cf. Dan. 8:14, 12:11 and 12:18; in Rev. 11:8, 12:4 as 1,260 days). In 4 Ezra 14:11 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 12:11, 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.]

\[ j (\text{vs. 4}): \text{The sun . . . by night and the moon by day}: \text{various portents and prodigies, the description of which is calculated to inspire terror and horror, mark the approach of the End. For the sun shining by night and the moon by day cf. \text{Asc. Isai. iv. 5}, where this is one of the wonders worked by Antichrist ("At his word the sun shall rise at night, and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour").} \]

* The final period of 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) days has already been entered and is past. If, however, the reading of the Ethiopic be right (as is possible) the text of 14:11-12 runs: For the world is divided into ten parts, and it hath come into the tenth and there remaineth a half of the tenth. In this case the last half of the final period has been reached as here (here 3 out of 3\(\frac{1}{2}\); in 14:11-12 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) out of 10 having passed).

† The celestial system will be disordered; cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 4-7 (And the moon shall alter her order and not appear at her appointed time etc.). Cf. Amos. 8:9, Joel 2:10.
5 And "blood shall trickle forth from wood," and "the stone utter its voice:

The peoples shall be in commotion, "the outgoings (?) (of the stars) shall change."   

**h (vs. 5): blood shall trickle forth from wood.** This clause appears in Ep. Baru. xii. 1 as part of a quotation from some prophetic writing ("In like manner . . . he defineth concerning the cross in another prophet, who saith: And when shall these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. Whensoever a tree shall be bended and stand upright, and whensoever blood shall drop from a tree" [ἐκ τούτου οὖν αὐτὰ σταύρῳ]). The quotation as a whole, which clearly suggests a mystical application, to the Passion and Resurrection, seems to be derived from a definitely Christian writing, which can hardly be 4 Ezra. Probably the saying was a commonplace in eschatological tradition, and was given a mystical significance by a Christian writer. It is added in this sense to the account of the crucifixion in the Comment. of Ps. Hieron. on Mark 15 (hic stillavit sanguis de ligno): but in our passage it is simply one among a number of portents. Cf. the discussion in BJ p. xxviii. (on the other side Dr. Rendel Harris' discussion referred to in the next note).*

**l (vs. 5): the stone utter its voice:** Lat., lapis dabit vocem suam ("to give (utter) the voice" is a Heb. expression: nāthan qōl). The phrase (which seems to have become proverbial, cf. Luke 19:40) owes its origin apparently to Hab. 2 ("For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it"). Dr. Rendel Harris (Rest of the Words of Baruch, pp. 42–46) argues that the quotation cited from "another prophet," really comes from "the apocalyptic Ezra," i.e., from this passage of our book. He thinks that a clause corresponding to "whensoever a tree shall be bended and stand upright" existed in the recension of 4 Ezra which Barnabas was quoting from, and that the entire citation is due to a perversion (or corruption) of the Heb. text of Hab. 2. But it is more plausible to trace the origin of such expressions to the stream of popular tradition and folk-lore.

**m (vs. 5): the outgoings (?) (of the stars) shall change:** Lat., et gressus commutabuntur (v.l., egressus) [Vulg. omits the clause with one Codex]; Syr. and Arab. "air" (for gressus): [the air shall be changed]: Ethiop., and the stars shall fall. The textual evidence suggests that the Oriental Versions read stars, or something like it, in their Greek text (ἀνερέσ απερέσ confused with αὐτών ανερέσ), while the Lat. simply represents some word like πτώσεως. 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 [וְהָאָרֶץ הַיָּטֵרָה]. Cf. Ps. 65 (8): "Thou makest the outgoings of the

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* Gunkel ad loc. plausibly traces back the idea to the ancient conception which regarded certain holy trees as endowed with a soul, and so as on a par with living human bodies. In Sibyll. Or. iii. 803 f. one of a series of portents marking the End is drops of blood distilling from the rocks.
And "one whom the dwellers upon earth do not look for shall wield sovereignty," and "the birds shall take to general flight." and the sea shall cast forth its fish.

morning and evening to rejoice." These *outgoings* or *exits* (cf. *exitus* 6') were the portals through which the stars proceeded and the winds blew (cf. 1 Enoch xxxiv-xxxvi, e.g., "I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven were open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed," etc.). Perhaps, however, a better equivalent for *gressus* (the variant is *egressus*) would be πορεία = Heb. (?) הָלִיכָה: the "goings" (= courses) of the stars are changed. Cf. Ps. Sol. 19 3 (''He that hath appointed the lights of heaven in their course . . . and they have not transgressed from the path which thou didst command them ''). One of the signs of the End is seen when the heavenly bodies, departing from their prescribed courses, fall into confusion: cf. 1 En. lxxx. 6 (''And many chiefs of the superior stars will err, and these will alter their orbits ''). Some reference to the stars is natural in so detailed an account of the last portents as our passage. In the eschatological description in *Assump. Moses* x. 5, after reference to the sun and moon, the stars [sea, fountains, rivers] are mentioned: ''the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.'' In Mk. 13 34 and parallels the stars are said to ''fall from heaven,'' and the heavenly powers to be shaken. Cf. also Rev. 6", 8 *; and the detailed description which closes Book V of the *Sibyll. Or.* (last line: *And the high heaven remaineth without a star*). [It is possible that our passage is not in its original position in the verse].

n (vs. 6): one whom . . . shall wield sovereignty, i.e., the Antichrist (the wicked tyrant of the last days).

o (vs. 6): and the birds shall take to general flight: Lat., et *volatilia conmigrationem facient*. Birds possibly as creatures which soar aloft, were regarded in antiquity as possessing supernatural knowledge;† They could foresee impending events. At the right time the winged creatures would naturally forsake the doomed regions.

p (vs. 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. 47 * f., where the bitter waters of the Dead Sea are pictured as sweetened and made full of life by the

* It must be confessed that the mention of stars in the present position of the clause (between peoples in commotion and Antichrist) is somewhat awkward. Hence, if the clause is to be retained in its present position, there is some plausibility in Wellhausen's suggestion that διαστρέφω and διαστρέφω may have been confused. Then render and *diadems* are changed: this fits in with following clause well.

† Hence augury by the flight of birds. For the bird as messenger cf. Eccles. 10 8.

‡ The Arab. picturesquely renders: *the Sea of Sodom shall cast forth live fish*.
4 And one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice.  

8 And 'the earth o'er wide regions' shall open, and fire burst forth 'for a long period':

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 vs. 9?). [Sea of Sodom is one of the names given to the Dead Sea in the Talmud.] For the general conception cf. Is. 50. 2.

q (vs. 7): and one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night and all shall hear his voice = ettdabit vocem noctu quem non noverunt multi, omnes autem audient vocem ejus: so Wellhausen, Charles. The Lat. erroneously refers the relative ("quem") 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 depart hence," which he relates as a portent (Jewish War vi. 5, 3 [299]; in the same context he relates other similar portents). If the Lat. text is kept, the sentence must be attached to what precedes; and [the sea shall] make a noise in the night which many have not known: but all shall hear the voice thereof (R.V.). So Gunkel, who understands it of the roaring of the sea ("roars by night with a sound [voice] which many do not understand," etc.). The roaring of the sea is an ancient feature in folk-lore. But the phraseology used here is not that usually employed in such connections.* Volkmar ingeniously suggests noctua for noctu: and the owl shall utter a cry. The owl ("night-bird") is often associated with the prognostication of evil in folk-lore.

r (vs. 8): the earth o'er wide regions shall open; lit., a fissure shall arise over wide regions: so Syr., reading χαός (for χαός); cf. Zech. 14 4 ("And the Mount of Olives shall be cleft [Heb., nibqā]"). The Armenian also supports this reading: the Ethiop. has "sound" (πχός); the Arab. = ١١٣١٣, "a corruption of χαός." So Wellhausen followed by Charles. Lat. has et chaos fiet per loca multa, there shall be chaos also in many places (R.V.). In the corrected text the construction is pregnant. The fissure starts and spreads over a widening area [per loca mulla].

s (vs. 8): for a long period: Lat., frequenter. This expression in 4 Ezra = "for long" (of continuance), not "often"; cf. 4 18 (si vixeris frequenter). 7 11. The fire shall burst forth (emittetur for remittetur; so Ethiop.). The "fall of fire" is one of the portents of the End in Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 10; cf. lxx. 8.

* In the ancient myth of the conflict between Jahveh and the sea-monster—echoes of which survive in the O.T.—Jahveh rebukes the angry waves and stills their roaring; cf. Job 26 12 f.; Is. 17 17 f., Ps. 96 11, etc. Cf. Gunkel, Schöpfung, Part I, passim.
The wild beasts 'shall desert their haunts,' "and women bear monsters."

**21-22** And one year old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. **22** And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty.)

"Salt waters shall be found in the sweet;" "friends shall attack one another suddenly."

Then shall "intelligence" hide itself,
and “wisdom” withdraws “to its chamber”—
by many shall be sought and not found.
And unrighteousness and “incontinency” shall be multiplied
upon the earth. 11 One land shall also ask another and say:
Is “Righteousness—that doeth the right”—passed through thee? 12
And it shall answer, No.
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

hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself, and whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?” [ pymysql and σοφία = probably חכמים and חכמה; for the collocation of the two Greek terms cf. 2 Chron. 2:18 in LXX; Syr. has wisdom and intelligence; Ethiop., wisdom and prudence (אֲלֶפֶּתָּהּ and אֶחָזָּהּ ?): sensus = avtornis according to Volkmar]. For the general idea cf. Is. 59:10-12. Gunkel points out that the attribution of actions which almost imply personal volition to such abstract qualities as wisdom, faith, repentance, and good works is common both in the Old Testament and the New. It is the outcome of religious reflection, which substitutes such personifications for the old and crude but real and living figures of ancient mythology; cf. the personification of wisdom in the O.T. and in the N.T. such passages as 1 Cor. 2:8, Ephes. 2:10. [For the representation (intelligence hiding itself, wisdom withdrawn, righteousness departed [vs. 11]). Cf. T.B. Sanh. 97a (in a context dealing with the coming of the Messiah and picturing the woes that precede his advent): And truth (faithfulness) will be missing, as it is said (Is. 59:10). And truth is missing.]

y (vs. 9): to its chamber: Lat., in promptuarium suum (cf. 4:10 note).
[Note: “to its chamber” is a common expression in the Bible, referring to a place of seclusion or hiding.]

z (vs. 10): incontinency: Lat., incontinentia (ακομή, Volkmar).

a (vs. 11): Righteousness—that doeth the right: Lat., justitia justum faciens: “Righteousness is personified”; cf. 3 (1) Ezra 4:18, where it is said of Truth that “she doeth the things that are just” (τα δικαία ποιεῖ). So Gunkel. But Syr. and Ethiop. insert or after Righteousness and render or a man that doeth the right (righteousness). R.V. renders “Is righteousness, is a man that doeth righteousness, gone through thee?”

b (vs. 11): And it shall answer, No. Cf. Amos 6:10.

c (vs. 12): Syr. adds here they shall toil and not find. Ethiop. adds they shall marry and not rejoice.

d (vs. 12): shall labour and not prosper (lit., shall labour but their ways shall not prosper); Lat., laborabunt et non dirigentur viae eorum. Syr., fatigabuntur, et non firmabitur via eorum; Ethiop., operabuntur, et non erit secunda via eorum. Heb. perhaps וְיָדַע מִי מִי (Gunkel). [Cf. Ap. Bar. lxx. 5. Nor will the hope of those who hope be confirmed with the first clause of this verse.]
wilt pray again, and weep as now, and "fast seven days," thou shalt hear again greater things than these.

(e vs. 13): fast seven days: cf. Ap. Bar. xx. 5, 6: Go, therefore, and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to any one. And afterwards come to that place, and I will reveal myself to thee, and speak true things with thee, etc. In Ap. Bar. four (or five) fasts of seven days' duration each are mentioned. According to the scheme adopted in the compilation of that book there is first a fast, "then generally a prayer, then a divine message or revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual or to the people; followed occasionally by a lamentation" (Charles on Ap. Bar. v. 2). In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days, followed by a divine revelation are referred to, 5 9, 6 8, 9 10, 11, 12 8. Fasting was one of the most esteemed ways for preparing the mind for the reception of a divine revelation, especially at the period when this work was composed. [The Ethiop. here (so Ar. cf. Arm.) has fast again seven days, implying that a fast originally preceded this vision; cf. Introductory section.]

IV. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION

(5 14-19) (S)

In their present position the opening verses of this section (5 14, 18) —which clearly form the conclusion of a dream-vision—are misplaced. They have been transferred from their proper position (at the conclusion of the lacuna in 3 1) to their present place by R so as to form the conclusion of the first vision (see further the introductory section to the first vision above, p. 4 f.).

The following verses (5 16-19) in narrative form belong to the original framework of S, and imply an earlier passage (in the missing introduction after 3 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 (see further Introductory section to the first vision above, p. 4f). The section should be compared with the parallel passage 12 46-48 (also from the framework of S; see introductory section there).

(5 14-16 [S] misplaced by R)

[14 Then 'I awoke,' and "my body trembled greatly;"

(f vs. 14): I awoke, viz., from sleep. Clearly this is the sequel of a dream-vision. For the expressions that follow cf. Dan. 7 18 f.

(g vs. 14): my body trembled greatly: Lat., corpus meum horruit valde: An extreme trembling went through my body (E.V.).

* Cf. Dan. 9 3 (And I set my face unto the Lord God to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes), 10 3 f.
my soul also was wearied even unto fainting. But the angel who came and spake with me took hold of me, strengthened me, and set me up upon my feet.]  

And in the second night Phaltiel, the captain of the people came unto me, and said: Where hast thou been? And why is thy countenance sad? Or knowest thou not that Israel has been entrusted unto thee in the land of their exile? Rouse thyself, then, and "eat a morsel of bread,"

k (vs. 14): my soul also was wearied even unto fainting: Lat., _et anima mea laboravit ut deficeret_ = καὶ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐκμετάλλευσεν εἰς τὸ ἐνθήμερον_ (Hilg.): cf. Dan. 10:10 and for the expression (the soul "fainting"), Ps. 84:15, 107:3, Jonah 2:2 (other). For the whole verse cf. _Ap. Bar._ xxii. 26 (And it came to pass that when I had completed the words of this prayer I was greatly weakened), 1 Enoch xiv. 21-24.

i (vs. 15): the angel who came and spake with me: cf. Ethiop. ("ille qui venit angelus, qui loquebatur in me"): Lat. has _has qui venit angelus, qui loquebatur in me._ Syr. has only "angelus qui loquebatur in me": lit., "the angel who spake through (in) me" = בַּרְצֵת, Zech. 2:1 and often; cf. Hab. 2:1, Hos. 1:8. The preposition expresses the instrument, probably; = through me as a medium. The expression suggests that the seer is in a state of predominantly passive receptivity. For the action of the angel as described cf. Dan. 8:17, 10:6-18, 11:16; Rev. 1:14.

j (vs. 16): Phaltiel: Lat., _Phalthiel_ : Gk., _Φαλτιήλ_ = Heb. _פַּלְתִּי_ . This name occurs in 2 Sam. 3:18 as that of Michal's husband; in Numb. 34:28 of a prince of Issachar; cf. _Piltai_ in the list Neh. 12:17 (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_ (= פַּלְתִּי), who is mentioned as one of the _heads of the people_ in the time of Nehemiah, in the list Neh. 12:20 (= the _Pelatiah_ of 1 Chron. 6:42). 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 _Pshlelyel_; Syr., Psaltsiel; Arm., _Phanuel._

h (vs. 16): why is thy countenance sad, viz., from fasting (cf. Matt. 6:18).

l (vs. 17): that Israel has been entrusted unto thee: Lat., _quoniam tibi creditus est Israel_ = _ὁ Ἰσραήλ καὶ τῷ Ἰσραήλ_ (Volkmar); cf. Ethiop. (_"creditus es de Israel"); Arab., _"thou hast been entrusted with Israel"). [but Hilg. _στὶς καὶ περιευπαρτίστα ὁ Ἰσραήλ._] Salathiel is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon; cf. 12:48.

m (vs. 18): eat a morsel of bread: so Syr. ("comede paullulum panis"): Lat., _gusta panem alicuius = γευσάρεις τον λαόν_ (Hilg.):—"eat some bread," E.V.
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 mayest come unto me "and I will explain matters unto thee." And when he heard what I said he left me.

n (vs. 18): as a shepherd does (who leaves) his flock in the power of noxious wolves: so Ethiop.; Lat. has sicut pastor gregem suum in manibus luporum malignorum = καθὼς ὁ ποιμήν τὴν ποιμνὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς χεῖρις λύκων ποιμνῶν. Cf. for the image Matt. 10 16 (Lk. 10 8), "as sheep in the midst of wolves." [Arab. has lions for wolves.]

o (vs. 19): and I will explain matters unto thee: Hilg., καὶ αὐτῷ διήγημα δοθεῖ; so Syr. Cf. Ethiop. ("et dicam tibi sermonem ") = Heb. תthèqueב. The Lat. and Arm. omit the clause.

[For vs. 18 cf. Ap. Bar. xxxii. 9 ("whither departest thou, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children and departs from them?") And for vs. 19, ibid 7 ("And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you").]

THE SECOND VISION

(5 30–6 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? (5 30–30) 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? (5 31–44) 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 (5 41–41). In the section that follows (5 44–6 4) 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 (6 1–10). A long passage detailing the signs of the last time and the End follows (6 11–35) and the vision concludes (6 36–36).

The vision thus falls into the following divisions—

I. Introduction (5 30–33) (S).

II. The seer's prayer and its answer (5 33–44), viz., (a) The prayer (5 33–39) and (b) the answer (5 41–44) (S).

III. The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world (5 41–55).

10—(2430)
IV. **The End of the Age shall come by God alone (5 5*-6 4").**

V. **The parting asunder of the times (6 7*-18) (S).**

VI. **The signs of the last time and the coming of the End (6 11*-18) (E).**

VII. **Conclusion of the Vision (6 19*-24).**

[For the Redaction that has taken place in this vision see introductory section to 6 11*-18 and on 6 18.]

### I. **Introduction**

(5 20*-22)

10 So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, even as the angel Uriel commanded me. 11 And 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.

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**a (vv. 20–22):** for the fast of seven days cf. note on vs. 13 of this chapter; for vv. 21–22 cf. 3 1-4.

**b (vs. 21):** the thoughts of my heart began to oppress me again grievously: Lat., iterum cogitationes cordis mei molestae erant mihi valde (= παλιν οἱ διαλογισμοὶ τῆς καρδίας ἠπέχον με λιῶν): cf. 3 1 (cognitiones meae ascendebant super cor meum).

**c (vs. 22):** then my soul recovered the spirit of understanding: Lat., et resumpsit anima mea spiritum intellectus (προσώπησε σοφίας, Hilg.). Ethiop. has the spirit of wisdom lifted up my soul: spiritus intellectus ? a Hebraism.

**d (vs. 22):** to address: lit., to speak words before (loqui [coram Altissimo] sermones).

### II. **The Prayer and its Answer**

(5 23*-40)

This section falls into two parts, viz., (a) the prayer of Salathiel (Ezra), (5 23*-28); and (b) the answer conveyed in a dialogue by the archangel Uriel (5 31*-40).

(a) **The prayer of Salathiel (Ezra) 5 23*-28.**

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?

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* Cf. the elaborate introduction to the prayer in the first vision in ch. 3.
And I said: "O Lord, my Lord, out of all the woods of the earth and all the trees thereof thou hast chosen thee one vine; out of all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one 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 thyself one river; out of all the cities that have been built thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself; out of all birds that have been created

\[\text{e (vs. 23): O Lord my Lord : cf. 4 note.}\]

\[\text{f (vs. 23 f.): The figures illustrating Israel's choice that follow have largely been drawn from the Old Testament. For the vine cf. Is. 5, Ps. 80 (10); for the lily Canticles 2 (interpreted allegorically of Israel), Hos. 14 (4); for the stream Is. 8, Canticles 4 (15); for the dove, Ps. 74 (19), Cant. 2 (14); for the sheep, Is. 53 (7), Ps. 79 (sheep of thy pasture) cf. Ps. 23, Ps. 80 (4); and for the root 1 Enoch xiii. 8 (race of the elect root); cf. Rom. 11 (17). It is well known that the allegorical interpretation of Canticles (of Jahveh's relation to Israel) is very old; in fact, the Book was only admitted into the Canon on this interpretation. Gunkel aptly notes here that our passage already implies such an interpretation of the Book. For a Jewish parallel cf. the following (from the Midr. Tanh. Numbers, nw): Out of certain classes of things God has chosen one. Of days the seventh was chosen and sanctified. Of years, too, the seventh was chosen as the sabbatical year; and out of seven sabbatical years one was selected as the jubilee. Of countries God made choice of Palestine. Of the heavens Arboth (i.e., the highest of the seven heavens) was chosen for God's throne. Of nations Israel was the choice; and of the tribes of Israel that of Levi. Cf. also Midr. rab. on Cant. 21.}\]

\[\text{g (vs. 23): all the woods : so Syr.; but Lat. has ex omni silva (sing.) ; so Ethiopi. The Arab. (ap. Hilg.) has ex omnibus virgultis et arboribus camporum.}\]

\[\text{h (vs. 23): thee (= sor, Hilg.). So Oriental Versions. Lat. omits.}\]

\[\text{i (vs. 23): vine : so Oriental Versions. Lat. has vineam, "vineyard" (cf. Is. 5). For this symbolic use of "vine" cf. Ap. Bar. xxxvi. 3 f.}\]

\[\text{j (vs. 24): planting-ground: lit., pit or hole, viz., for the vine. Lat., fovea = בוהוים. Cf. Ps. 80 (10). The Oriental Versions (inaccurately) render one land (region, country), i.e., the Holy Land.}\]

\[\text{k (vs. 25): thou hast replenished: Lat., replesti, i.e., hast filled: so Ethiopi. Syr., magnificasti = ἐπυγνέοις, "thou hast enlarged" (so Wilanowitz, ap. Gunkel). For the idea of a mighty stream springing from a small beginning cf. Rest of Esther 11 ("And upon their cry, as it were from a little fountain there came a great river"); cf. also Ecclus. 24 (20), 31 (of Wisdom) and Ezek. 47 (the stream issuing from the sanctuary in Jerusalem and becoming a river). Arab. has hast separated. The Jordan is meant here.}\]

\[\text{l (vs. 25): thou hast sanctified Sion : cf. e.g., Ps. 132 (J. hath chosen Sion; he hath desired it for his habitation).}\]
"thou hast called for thyself" one dove; "out of all the cattle that have been formed "thou hast provided thee" one sheep; and out of all the peoples who have become so numerous "thou hast gotten" thee one people: and the law "which thou didst approve out of all (laws)" thou hast bestowed upon the people whom thou didst desire.

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? And "(why)" have they who denied thy promises been

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m (vs. 26): thou hast called for thyself: Lat., nominasti, "thou hast named" (so Syr. and Arab.); but as Volkmar points out, it is man who names the creatures (Gen. 1) not God. Doubtless this is a mistranslation of exaxeras = מַעְרָא. Ethiop. has thou hast sanctified. (= מַעְרָא)

mm (vs. 26): one dove: the dove is a favourite emblem of Israel, especially of Israel unjustly persecuted. For the comparison fully worked out cf. Midr.-rabba to Cant. 1 **, 41. So here* cf. 2 **.

n (vs. 26): thou hast provided thee: Lat., providisti tibi = προειδόθησας, thou hast looked out for thyself; Syr., complacuisti tibi in ave uno = עַל הַעַל בֶּן.

o (vs. 27): thou hast gotten: Lat., adquiristi = מִקְנַת, thou hast looked out for thyself"; Syr., complacuisti tibi in ave uno = עַל הַעַל בֶּן.

p (vs. 27): which thou didst approve out of all (laws): so Ethiop.; (ex omnibus probavisti legem); but Lat. has ab omnibus probatam legem, i.e., a law that is approved of all. For the idea of the superiority of the Mosaic Law above the laws of other nations Gunkel compares Deut. 4 ** ("what great nation is there that hath statutes and judgements so righteous as all this law?"). Every people has its own law, but that of the chosen people is the best. Cf. Rom. 1 **, 2 **. For the idea that the Gentiles had been offered and had rejected the Law of Sinai cf. 7 **, and note q there.

q (vs. 28): why: Lat., ut quid = ὠς ὅν.

r (vs. 28): dishonoured the one root above the rest: so Syr., Ethiop., Arab., translating γενέας: Lat., praeparasti = πραγματέως [A.V. renders and upon the one root hast thou prepared others, following the corrupt text of Vulg.]. This technical use of root is a Hebraism.

s (vs. 28): thine only one: Lat., unicum tuum: perhaps, as Wellhausen suggests, a Hebraism (ἡμών), "thine only child"; (cf. 6 **, note i).

t (vs. 28): among the multitude: Lat. in multis: Hilg., εν τοῖς πολλοῖς.

u (vs. 29): (why): it is best to construe the sentence as continuing the question. So Gunkel. E.V. makes the sentence a direct statement.

* The dove is also an image of the Holy Spirit; cf. Mk. 1 ** and see Swete, Holy Spirit in N.T., Appendix, pp. 365–6.
allowed to tread under foot those that have believed thy covenants?" 30 If thou "didst so much hate thy people they ought to have been punished" "with thine own hands."

(b) The answer: in spite of all God loves Israel now and always

The archangel Uriel is again sent to reason with him in answer to his complaint. As in 4 11, Uriel by a series of hard questions, demonstrates to Salathiel (Ezra) 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.

31 Now when I had spoken these words the angel who had before come to me on the previous night was sent unto me:

Hear me, and I will instruct thee;

Attend unto me, and I will speak again before thee.”

32 And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said: “Art

v (vs. 29): they who denied *thy promises* . . . those that have believed thy covenants: Lat., (Bensly) conculcaverunt qui contradicebant *spansionibus* tuis eos qui tuis testamentis credebant = κατευθυνοντες αντιλεγοντες τας συνθήκας σου τους πιστεύοντας τας διάθηκας σου.

[w (vs. 30): didst so much hate . . . ought to have been punished: so Syr. (cf. Ethiop., Arab., Arm.), translating Ọjẹ. But Lat. has debet = ḍẹ. [the Lat. text is: si odiens odisist populum tueum, tuis mansibus debet castigari = if thou dost so much hate thy people, they should be punished with thine own hands].

x (vs. 30): with thine own hands: i.e., by famine, pestilence or earthquake (cf. 2 Sam. 24 14), but not by the hand of foreign foes. For the sentiment cf. Ps. Sol. 7 2 (Do thou chasten us in thy good pleasure, but give us not over to the Gentiles), Ecclus. 2 16 (cf. 2 Sam. 24 14).

y (vs. 32): I will speak again before thee: Lat., adjiciam coram te (lit., I will add before thee) = προσθησων συνων εστι ( = Heb. ʾגיוה): cf. Lk. 19 11 (προσθες εστι = “he added and spake”). For the phrase cf. Apocal. Bar. xiv. 4: “Again will I speak in thy presence.”

z (vs. 33): art thou: it is better to construe the sentence as a

* Syr. has jussionibus tuis; Ethiop. (adversarii) foederis tui. See further on sponsio 7 14, note x.
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 the decree of his judgement.

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 the days that are not yet come,

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question (so Gunkel) than as an affirmative statement (so most); in this way the aut in the second clause (introducing a second question) is explained.

a (vs. 33): in sore perplexity of mind touching Israel: Lat., valde in excessu mentis factus es in Israel = Atav orv ev exorraore, 5vavotas eyevnémsev re 'IapamA. The expression excessus mentis (which recurs in 13) = ekstasis diaivas = viif yarpa; Deut. 28 (LXX.).

b (vs. 33): lovethou him better, etc. 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. 8.

c (vs. 34): I suffer agonies of soul; lit., my reins torment me: cf. Ps. 73 (I was pricked in my reins: the reins or kidneys were regarded as the seat of strong emotion in Hebrew psychology).

d (vs. 34): the decree of his judgement: the Lat. renders partem judicii (part of his judgement): so Syr. = μέρος τοῦ κρίματος αυτοῦ = in Heb. 5να να, i.e., the decree of his judgement. This is a common expression in late (Rabbinic) Hebrew. [But also = piece: hence the misreading:] Ar. has rightly judicium et decretum ejus. Ethiop. has the path (of his judgement).

e (vs. 35). This is cited in Clem. Alex. Stromateis iii. 16 (p. 556) thus δια τι γὰρ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἡ μητρα τῆς μητρὸς μου τάφος; ίππα μὴ τῶν μόχθων τῷ ἰακώβ καὶ τῶν κόσων τοῦ γένους Ἰσραήλ ἐσθρας ὁ σωφρονισμός λέγει. Cf. Job 310, 10, 18; Jer. 14.

f (vs. 35): that I might have been spared the sight of Jacob's misery: lit., that I might not have seen, etc.

g (vs. 36): the following passage is imitated in Apoc. Sedrach, Apoc. Esdræ (ed. Tischendorf), pp. 27, 28 (Gunkel).

h (vs. 36): the days that are not yet come: so Ethiop. and Arab.; Lat. has quis necudm venerunt = those who have not yet come, i.e., the unborn; Syr. has ea quas = the things that have not yet come. Context favours reading of Ethiop. (ras ημεράς having fallen out of the Greek text translated by the Latin and Syr.).
gather me the rain drops that are scattered,  
'make me the withered flowers bloom again;'  

Open me the chambers that are closed  
and bring me forth the spirits shut up in them.  
['Show me the image of faces thou hast never seen]  
or show me the image of a voice;  
and then I will display to thee the objective thou askest to see.

hh (vs. 36): the rain drops: Lat., guttas = στραγονα. So Syr. The Ethiop., Arab., however, understand grains to be meant. So Volkmar [Gk., παθανωμα = drops or grains]. But the former meaning is to be preferred here. For the "drops" contrasted with the "rain" cf. 4 46.

i (vs. 37): make me the withered flowers bloom again: Lat., revirida mihi aridos flores = αναβαλε μοι ξηρα ανθη. Cf. Ezek. 17 14, LXX (αναβαλλων ειλαν ξηρον).

j (vs. 37): the chambers: Lat., promptuaria: cf. 4 46 note.

k (vs. 37): the spirits shut up in them: Lat. has inclusos in eis flatus = the winds that in them are shut up: so Syr. But Arab. has spiritus (cf. Ethiop., animas). The same Gk. and Heb. term (πνευμα, πνευμα) means both "spirit" and "wind." Probably "spirits" is right here, and the reference is to the souls of the righteous dead who are guarded in "chambers": cf. 4 46 note. [It is, however, doubtful whether πνευματα could be used in this sense. The rendering of Arab., tribus in eis inclusos, suggests an original reading, ψυχας, "souls," which was misread by the translator, φυλας (= φυλα), "tribes"). If "winds" are meant, the reference will be to the "storehouses" where the winds are shut up, and only let loose by angelic agency: cf. 1 En. xli. 4, lxvii; Rev. 7 1.

l (vs. 37): [show me the image of faces thou hast never seen], etc.: so Syr. The bracketed clause was omitted by the Latin translator by homoioiteleuton. [Ethiop. has: show me the face of them you have never seen and let me hear their voice.] Cf. also Arab. The phrase imago vocis (= echo) occurs in Vergil Georgic iv. 50.* The ancients, as Gunkel remarks, believed that sound like other existences possessed form which was visible to celestial (but not to coarse human) sight. This applies also to the Deity. Such forms were only invisible on lower planes of existence.

m (vs. 37): the objective = τον σκοτων (so Hilg.; cf. Arab.¹): σκοτως = πτως, i.e., mark (for the arrow), object. But Lat. and Syr. have laborem, i.e., τον κοτων, "the travail" = Heb. ̀כַר. Gunkel explains the latter term here as = "a painful problem," comparing Ps. 73 16 ("When I thought how I might know this, it was a painful problem in my sight "). The meaning "objective" (aim and object) suits context admirably: cf. vs. 40 ("goal ").

* Vocisque offensa resultat imago.
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 and powerless: 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

(5 41-55)

The dialogue is continued. The prophet suggests that it would be better to be alive with the final generation when the End comes. They at least could feel that divine intervention was nigh. Or why could not God have made all generations of men to live at once upon the

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n (vs. 38): O Lord my Lord: cf. 4, note. This is one of the passages where the address which is proper only to God is used in dialogue with the angel. Such phenomena suggest interpolation (some think the angel has been introduced by the final editor). But it is possible that a certain amount of inconsistency on the part of the apocalyptist ought to be allowed for in such connections. In his absorbed interest in the main theme he forgets that God is not being addressed directly, but only an angel. It is clear, however, that the angel has only been introduced to enable the dialogue to be carried on with a freedom which would sometimes prove embarrassing to so pious a writer as the apocalyptist if God were being directly addressed. But the angelic figure is only an expedient; the angel, in other words, acts in a strictly subordinate capacity as God's instrument and messenger: he is not allowed to assume an essential or independent rôle.

o (vs. 38): why who: Lat., quis enim = risyap (Hilg.), ris5m, Volkmar.

p (vs. 38): save he who has not his dwelling among men, i.e., God, so Lat. and the Versions. But Gunkel renders as a pl. (save those who: etc.), i.e., heavenly beings generally. The same plural is applied in Dan. 2 to the gods whose dwelling is not with flesh (LXX ου ονω κεστι κατοικητηριον μετα παση σαρκι).

q (vs. 39): I am unwise and powerless: so Syr. (insipiens et miser); cf. Ethiop. and Arab. Lat. has insipiens alone.

r (vs. 40): to discover: Lat., invenire, "to find out" (Heb., יָצָא). s (vs. 40): my judgements: God speaks here directly apart from the angel (an inconsistency).

u (vs. 40): the goal: Lat., finem = τελεος, "end."

v (vs. 40): I have declared: Lat., promisi: "I have promised" (R.V.). Ethiop. has which I await (or delay) on behalf of my people.
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” (5 41-43). The prophet proceeds to ask whether our Mother Earth is still young. Are the last-born 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 (5 44-45). The eagerness of the seer that the End of the present world should be hastened is a striking feature.

(a) The succession of generations accords with the Divine plan; God’s judgement reaches all alike

51 And I said: But lo, O Lord, “thou art ready to meet (with blessing)” those who survive in the end; but what shall our predecessors do, or we ourselves or our posterity?

52 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.”

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a (vs. 41): thou art ready to meet, viz., with blessing and salvation; Lat. (best reading), praees = προφθανεσ = Heb., ויהי = “to prevent” as in the Collect: “Prevent us, O Lord . . . with thy most gracious favour.” Syr. has thou hast made the promise; so Hilg. (emending Lat. to promisisti) and R.V. [Ethiop. has for the clause: O Lord, my Lord, behold thou thyself waitest patiently on behalf of them (cf. Ethiop. of vs. 40). Violet restores promittis.

b (vs. 41): those who survive in the end: Lat., his qui in fines sunt. Cf. Ps. Sol. 18⁹ (“Blessed are they that shall be in those days”). Lk. 2 18 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. 4 18 f. It is not clear, however, that the writer of S. believed in a resurrection of dead bodies (cf. p. 121 and see p. xlvi ff.).

c (vs. 42): I will liken: Lat., adsimilabo; but Syr. and Ethiop. have the perf. (= adsimilavi).

d (vs. 42): to a ring: so Ethiop. (circulo) and Arab. (= κυκλον): Lat. has corona (= στροφή) to a crown.

e (vs. 42): just as there is no retardation, etc.; Lat., sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic nec priorum velocitas; i.e., just as in the case of a
Thereupon I answered and said: Coudest thou not have 'created' them all at once—those who have been, those who (now) exist, and those who are to be—that thou mightest display thy judgement the sooner?

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.'

And I said: 'How then is it that thou hast (just now) said to thy servant that 'thou wilt verily quicken' all at once the creation created by thee? 'If, then, they (i.e., all of the

ring or circle there is neither beginning nor end, so God's judgement will reach all generations at one and the same time. Cf. Ap. Bar. li. 13: "For the first will receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away" (of the risen righteous). The passage is cited by Ambrose, De bono mortis, ch. x.: Mirabiliter aut scriptura, coronae asse similem illum judicii diem in quo sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic non priorum velocitas: Hilg. also compares Ep. Barn. vi. λέγει κυρίος τοιαύτα ἐκείνα καὶ τα κύρια (with allusion probably to this passage)."
created) shall indeed be alive all at once, and "creation" 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: "Thus have I also made the earth the womb for those who, in their own time, are conceived by it. For just as the young child does not bring forth, nor she that is aged "any more," so have I also disposed the world which I have created by defined periods of time."

m (vs. 45): creation (Lat., creatura): Ethiop. has the world (perhaps rightly).

n (vs. 46): unto it, viz., the womb; Lat., ad eam may be rendered unto her, viz., the woman; but context favours former meaning.

o (vs. 46): why (dost thou bring them forth) each in its own time? Lat., quare per tempus = lati kaata kairov (Volkmar, Hilg.): R.V., why . . . at several times [lit., according to season].

p (vs. 46): it produce: Lat., ut det. Cf. Heb., "he produce fruit."

q (vs. 47): it cannot possibly: Lat., non utique poterit: ὅτι δὲ μὲν ἡμοὶ (Hilg.).

r (vs. 47): but (only each) in its own time: Lat., sed secundum tempus = alla kaata kairov. [Vs. 47 is omitted by the Ethiop.]

s (vs. 48): thus have I also made the earth the womb for those: so Syr. (et ego dedi terram matricem sis): this use of give = make = Heb. יָעַת + 2 accusatives). The Lat. has et ego dedi matricem terrae his = even so have I given the womb of the earth to those (R.V.).

t (vs. 48): who in their own time are conceived by it; lit., who are sown upon it in season: Lat., qui seminati sunt super eam per tempus = τοὺς εὐκαρπους ἐκ αὐνθην κατα καιρον. Notice the change of figure (earth, womb, sowing).

u (vs. 49): any more: Lat., adhuc = eti.

v (vs. 49): I also = κατω: so Syr. Ethiop.: Lat. has ego alone.

w (vs. 49): disposed the world which I have created by defined periods of time: so Ethiop. (disporsi per tempus mundum quem creavi = διεθνη πον αἰωνα ον εκτην κατα καιρον). Lat. has disporsi a me creativum saeculum, with nothing to represent κατα καιρον. 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.
Thereupon I asked "him" and said: Seeing thou hast now showed me the way, I would fain speak (further) before thee. *Is our mother, of whom thou hast told me, still young? Or does she now approach old age?*

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 in stature?" And she also shall answer thee: Those that are born "in vigorous youth" are of one fashion, and those born in old age, when the womb fails, are otherwise. Consider, therefore, thou 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."
IV. THE END OF THE AGE SHALL COME BY THE AGENCY OF GOD ALONE

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 apocalypticist 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. 90. 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. 401n. and especially p. 419). It should be compared with the parallel passage in Prov. 8. [Cf. also the description of the Day of Judgement in 7 ff.]

58 Then said I: O Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found

So Wilamowitz, ap. Gunkel. The thought of the world's growing old is not uncommon in literature. It recurs in this book cf. 4 Ezra 14f., (cf. 4 f.): cf. also Apoc. Bar. lxxxv. 10 ('For the youth of the world is past, and the strength of the creation is already exhausted, and the advent of the times is very short, yea, they have passed by; and the pitch er is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey to the city, and life to consummation'). Ambrose, De bono mortis x. (already cited above) expresses the same thought (alluding to our text here): Defecit enim multitudine generationis hoc saeculum tanguam vulva generationis, et tanguam senescens creatura, robur juventutis suae velut marcente jam virium suarum robore deposuit. Lucretius has expressed the same thought (ii. 1150 f.)—

Jam adeo fracta est aetas, effetaque tellus
Vix animalia parva creat, quae cuncta creavit
Saecula, deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.

The feeling that they were standing at the end of the age is characteristic of the Apocalyptists. [The representation of the latest generation as inferior in stature and strength to the ancients is old (cf. e.g., Gen. 6 4). It also comes to expression in Philo. (cf. e.g., de mundi opin., § 49: ἡ δὲ ἀκμάζων ἦν τοῦ παρημνήκοντος βέλτιον ἄνων κ.τ.λ.).]
favour in thy sight, show thy servant by whom thou wilt visit thy creation.

1 And he said unto me: 'In the beginning of the terrestrial world before ever the heavenward portals were standing,' or ever the 'wind-blasts' blew;

a (vs. 56): by whom: Lat., per quem = διὰ τινός; so Syr., Ethiop. (one reading): but Ethiop. (one reading) and Arab. have propter quem = on account of whom? This is probably a deliberate alteration made under Christian influence, so as to evade the unacceptable statement that the final judgement will be ushered in by God alone, without the mediation of a Messiah or Christ (cf. Rom. 2:15, Matt. 25:31 f.).

b (vs. 56): thou wilt visit: so Syr.: Lat. has visitas, 'thou visitest.'

c (vs. 1): in the beginning of the terrestrial world: Lat., initium terreni orbis (v.l. initio) = αυτὸς τοῦ κόσμου. The Oriental Versions add a clause after initium which is absent from the Latin. The Syr. has: the beginning by the Son of Man, but the End by Myself alone for as before, etc.; the Ethiop. has: at first by the Son of Man, and afterwards I myself. For before the earth and the lands were created, and before, etc. (So Arab. varying by to on account of). Here again the text has probably been altered under Christian influence, so as to include the Son of Man (i.e., Christ) in the divine visitation. Volkmar, however, thinks that the textual evidence points to a line having fallen out in the Latin which he would thus restore: initium terreni orbis [erat per me ipsum. Nam antequam crearentur terra et mundus et antequam, etc. = η αρχή τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦν διὸ ἐμαυτόν στὶ πρὸς γενέσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τον κόσμον καὶ πρὶν κ.τ.λ., i.e., the beginning of the terrestrial world [was by me myself. For before the earth and the universe were created] and before.

d (vs. 1): the heavenward portals: Lat., exitus saeculi = αὐτὸς τοῦ κόσμου: the outgoings of the world (R.V.). Cf. 1 En. xxxiv, where at "the ends of the earth . . . three open portals of heaven in the heaven" are described; "from each of them proceed north winds." [It is possible that here, saeculi = αἰώνως means "of heaven" and that we should render the portals (outgoings of heaven); so Gunkel, comparing 8:18 (qui inhabitatis saeculum) and 3:18 (note on spheres).

e (vs. 1): were standing: Lat. (SAC), starent; so Oriental Versions. One Lat. codex (M.), however, reads statuerentur = were fixed (R.V.).

f (vs. 1): the wind-blasts: the Lat. has conventiones ventorum = 'the meetings of the winds' (R.V., gatherings of the winds). Gunkel reads connectiones = συμφωνας. The massed winds blowing (i.e., in gusts or blasts) are meant. [Hilg., τὰς ωλές τῶν ἀνεμών: following Syr., which renders "pondera ventorum." Cf. Ap. Bar. lix. 5, "the weight of the winds": οἰκη = ἑρμ.]
before *the rumblings of thunderings* did sound,
or ever *the lightning-flashes* did shine;
When
the foundations of paradise were not yet laid,
nor *the beauty of its flowers* yet seen;
Before ever *the motive powers (of heaven)* were
[established,]
or the numberless *armies* of angels were gathered;
Before ever *the heights of the air* were uplifted,
er *the spaces of the firmaments* were named;*

*before the rumblings of thunderings did sound,*
or ever *the lightning-flashes* did shine;
When
the foundations of paradise were not yet laid,
nor *the beauty of its flowers* yet seen;
Before ever *the motive powers (of heaven)* were
[established,]
or the numberless *armies* of angels were gathered;
Before ever *the heights of the air* were uplifted,
er *the spaces of the firmaments* were named;*

* * *
ere the footstool of Sion was appointed.

5 Before the years of the present were reckoned, ere the counsels of present-day sinners were spurned, or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed—

O (vs. 4): ere the footstool of Sion was appointed, reading et antequam destinaretur scabellum Sion. The best Latin MSS. read et antequam astitaretur (S.A.) scabellum (v.l. camillum) Sion, i.e., before the footstool of Sion was valued: astitaretur is doubtless corrupt (cf. Bensly, Missing Fragment, p. 26n.). Hilg. suggested aedificaretur: destinaretur is given by Gunkel (R.V. was established = firmaretur: so Syr.). [The A.V. or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot upon the corrupt text et antequam astitaretur camini in Sion.] For God's footstool cf. Ps. 99 4, 132 7; 1 Chron. 28 2; Lam. 2 1.

P (vs. 5): the years of the present: so Gunkel after Ar. 8 (= τού ενευατων). Lat. has praesentes anni = τοὺς παροντας ενευατους Hilg.). So Syr. (Vul., τα ενευατα ετη).

Q (vs. 5): were reckoned: lit., were sought out: Lat., investigarentur (προ της εξευαθειας, Hilg.). [Ethiop., before the track (vestigium) of the world to come was known, paraphrasing.]

R (vs. 5): ere the counsels of present-day sinners were spurned: Lat., et antequam abalienarentur eoruit qui nunc peccant adinventiones = και προ της καταλογισθησεως των των γνω αμαρτανοντων επιτηδευματα [adinventio = επιτηδευμα = παρεια, Ps. 81 13 (13)]: abalienarentur, lit. = estranged (R.V., or ever the imaginations of them that now sin were estranged): estranged might, perhaps, have some such meaning here as outlawed, rejected (by God), i.e., the devices of the wicked were foreseen from the very first, and provision was made in the divine counsel for their frustration. But some corruption of the text is to be suspected. Syr. renders et antequam effingerentur stultitias eoruit qui nunc peccant [= προ της παρειας των των γνω αμαρτανοντων πλαισιων. Since επιτηδευμα = Heb. παρεια (Ezek. 6 9, 8 14 LXX) and πλαισιον = παρεια (Neh. 4 8, Is. 32 6 LXX) we may, perhaps, assume that Lat. and Syr. represent divergent Gk. renderings of a Heb. text which was uncertain, and may thus be represented—

Syr. = παρεια παρεια των των γνω αμαρτανοντων πλαισιων.

This might point to a text: before the errors (or abominations) of those who now sin were devised (or planned). A similar confusion between παρεια and παρεια occurs in the text of Ezek. 44 13. Ball suggests an original text: before sinners made strange their inventions (cf. Jer. 19 4, Job 21 19).]

S (vs. 5): or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed: Lat. (Bensly): et consignaretur qui fidem thesaurizaverunt (R.V., or they were sealed that have gathered faith for a treasure = και προ της οφθαλμουσιν των πιστων θεοςαριστος (so Syr., Ethiop.). It should

* I.e., scamillum = footstool; cf. Bensly MF, p. 6 note.

† When the predicate precedes it need not agree in gender with the subject, and in such cases as that above usually does not.
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

(6 7-10) (S)

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 connection in thought with what precedes seems to be: just as there is

be noted that it is the persons of the faithful that are here "sealed," exactly as in Rev. 7 6 (the 144,000 "who were sealed"); cf. Rev. 9 4, 14 1, 22 4,* (In Rev. 13 14, 14 9, 20 6 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 meritia 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 5 1, 6 8. 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. Ap. Bar. liv. 21). In 7 8 it = fidelity to the Law, just as its opposite incredulitas = disloyalty in 7 11. In 9 7, 8, 13 12 faith and works are combined (as complementary). But the Law as such is not always necessarily the object of "faith" (cf. Ap. Bar. Ivii. 2, faith is prophecy of coming judgement). Cf. Sanday-Headlam, Romans, pp. 31–34).

* The conception of a divine "sealing" of Christians occurs elsewhere in the N.T.; cf. 2 Cor. 1 21, Ephes. 1 13, 4 16 (Jn. 6 27, of Christ). For its application to Baptism in post-Apostolic writings cf. Hermas, Simil. ix. 16 ("the seal is the water"); see Swete on Rev. 7 8.
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 (cf. 7*). This interpretation harmonizes with the thought of S. The language of the allegory might, it is true, be interpreted differently. Esau might (as in Rabbinic literature) be interpreted as a symbol of Rome, and Jacob of Israel. The meaning would then be, that the present Age of heathen (Roman) oppression is to be succeeded by the glorious Messianic Age, which coincides with the establishment of Israel's dominion (Jacob = the Israelitic nation).* But so interpreted the passage cannot possibly be assigned to S, who never elsewhere displays the slightest interest in such a political solution of the problem. His gaze is steadfastly fixed on the future transcendental world.

On the whole it is best to assign the passage to S, and to treat Esau and Jacob as symbols for the present and future Ages. S is using a current allegory, the language of which is vague and adaptable to different eschatological conceptions. Hence the ambiguity (see additional note below, p. 69). The somewhat similar allegory in Gal. 4 31-31 (Sarah, Isaac, against Hagar, Ishmael) should be compared.

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: "From Abraham to Abraham." For from him sprang Jacob and Esau,* but Jacob's hand

v (vs. 7): mark: lit., be.

w (vs. 8): From Abraham to Abraham: so best Lat. MSS. (SA), Syr., Ethiop. (Ar.¹); the Lat. codices CM (also Ethiop. Ar.²) have usque ad Isaac (so A.V.). Possibly the underlying Greek was as Hilg. renders: ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως τῶν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ. 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 vs. 7. The answer to the second is given in vv. 8b-10.

x (vs. 8): For from him sprang Jacob and Esau: Lat., quoniam ab eo natus est Jacob et Esau; so Ethiop. (cf. Ar.³, qui Jacobum et Esavum generavit); Syr. has from Abraham was born Isaac, and from Isaac was born Jacob and Esau; so Ar.⁴. Hilg. (adopting this) renders: στῇ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ γεννηθῆ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ τῷ Ἰσαὰκ γεννηθῆ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἡσαῦ. [The sing. natus est with Jacob et Esau is intentional—the twins being regarded as one birth.]

y (vs. 8): but Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning: Lat., manus enim Jacob tenebat ab initio calcaneum Esau (cf. Gen. 25 26). So Syr. The clause is omitted by Ethiop. and Arab.¹ [Enim = έν: cf. Benaly, Missing Frag., p. 58. Other cases are 6 21, 7 8, 11, 9 31, 11, 10 9, 11 21, 12 48, 13 31, 14 8].

* Cf. the Eagle-Vision (ch. 11-12).
held the heel of Esau from the beginning.\textsuperscript{9} The heel of the first age is Esau; the hand of the second is Jacob.\textsuperscript{10} The beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel.\textsuperscript{11} Between heel and hand seek nought else, \textit{Ezra}! \textsuperscript{bb}

\textbf{ADDITIONAL NOTE ON 6:7-10.}

Esau throughout this passage is undoubtedly a symbolical term, though not necessarily for Rome.\textsuperscript{*} The interpretation of the name as symbolical of Herod and the Herodian dynasty (Hilg., Volk.) cannot be right. \textit{Esau} and \textit{Jacob} in such a connection cannot both symbolize individuals. They might, however, symbolize the Roman Empire and the Messianic Kingdom of Israel.\textsuperscript{*}

It is interesting to note that this political-Messianic application of Gen. 25:16 \textit{(And after that came forth his brother, and his hand had hold on Esau's heel)} occurs in the Rabbinic Literature (\textit{Midr. rabb.} on the passage; cf. the parallel in the \textit{Yalqut}). The Midrash passage runs as follows: \textit{A certain ruler asked one of (the scholars) of Beth Seloni (Beth Silon): Who shall hold the government (of the world) after us? Then he (i.e., the scholar)}

\begin{itemize}
  \item [\textsuperscript{a} (vs. 9):] The heel of the first age is Esau; the hand of the second is Jacob: so Syr. (\textit{calcaneus prioris Esau, et manus secundi Jacob}). The Lat. has \textit{Finis enim hujus saeculi Esau, et principium sequentis Jacob} (\textit{For Esau is the end of this world and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth, R.V.)}. So Ar. \textsuperscript{1} (cf. Ethiop.); but this destroys the coherence of the allegory by anticipating the explanation.
  \item [\textsuperscript{aa} (vs. 10):] The beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel: so Syr. (\textit{principium enim hominis manus ejus, et finis hominis calcaneus ejus.}); so Ar. \textsuperscript{1}, and Ethiop. (partly) = \textit{η γαρ αρχή του ανθρώπου η χειρ αυτου και το τέλος του ανθρώπου η πτέρνα αυτου.} [The Lat. text is here defective; after \textit{hominis manus} some words have fallen out.]
  \item [\textsuperscript{bb} (vs. 10):] Between heel and hand seek nought else \textit{Ezra}! Lat., \textit{inter calcaneum et manum aliud noli quaerere, Ezra (so Syr.):} \textit{μεταξύ πτέρνης και χειρος ουδέν αλλο γητε \textit{Ezra} (Wilamowitz): i.e., do not look for any interval between the two ages; the beginning (= the hand) of the one follows immediately on the end (= the heel) of the other. [The direct address to Ezra, calling his careful attention to the significance of the mysterious language is quite in the apocalyptic style; cf. \textit{e.g.}, Mark 13:14: \textit{Ezra} (for Salathiel) is doubtless due to R; cf. 3:4.]
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{*} In 4 \textit{Ezra} 12:11 Rome is symbolized by the eagle; Babylon was a common synonym for Rome in the first Christian century [cf. \textit{Ap. Bar.} xi. 1; \textit{Rev.} 14:4, 16:10, 17:4, 18:3; 1 \textit{Pet.} 5:13 (possibly); \textit{Sibyll. Oracles}, v. 143 (pre-Christian)].
brought out a piece of blank paper, took a pen, and wrote thereon (the words): "And after that came forth his brother, and his hand had hold of Esau's heel." Then they said: Behold, words that are ancient from the mouth of an elder who is new!* In the Yalqut version the elder addressed is stated to be Rabban Gamaliel (i.e., Gamaliel II flourished c. 90-110 A.D.) [The "ruler" who asks the question is, of course, a Roman] and this may, not improbably, be the correct version.†

It is noteworthy that in this passage the dominion of Jacob follows that of Esau without a break. Contrast 7 30, 31, where the dominion of the Messiah (lasting 400 years) forms the close of the present age. The End is marked by the death of the Messiah and all who have survived with him, after which the earth returns to its primeval silence for seven days: then follow the general resurrection, the judgement and the future age of felicity for the righteous. The two conceptions are mutually exclusive and appear in different sources.

[Esau as the opponent of Jacob is a type in Rabbinical Literature of the power that is essentially opposed to the people of God. Sometimes Amalek, Esau's descendant, plays the same rôle. "When shall the name of the Amalekites be wiped out?" exclaims Eliezer of Modim: "Not till both the idols and their worshippers cease to exist, when God will be alone in the world, and his kingdom established for ever and ever." (Mek. 56a, 56b.) Cf. Schechter, Aspects, pp. 99 f., 108.]

VI. THE SIGNS OF THE LAST TIME AND THE END

The passage as a whole is parallel to 4 44-5 12a, 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 4 44-5 12a, 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).

* I.e., the words are old, but have been filled with new meaning, which had hitherto not been guessed.
† So Rosenthal, but Bacher (Ag. der Tannaiten * I, 77) denies this.
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).

Here, it should be noted, there is no description of the actual Day of Judgement, only of its preliminaries. Doubtless such a description as is desiderated here originally existed in the source, but it does not seem to have been preserved. Its place has been taken apparently by some verses in a later section (7 **), which the Redactor probably excerpted from another (and that a Rabbinical) source. Two distinct elements thus appear in the section, one of which is incomplete. Both may be, and not improbably were, derived from one source (E); and R may reasonably be held responsible for any incoherence that may have resulted from the incompleteness of the present form of the text. From this we may infer that the original sequence was (1) a description of the period of "woes" preceding the advent of the Messianic Age (4 5-5 12a); (2) a description of the felicity of those who survive the "woes" and live on into the Messianic Age [Note: there is no mention here—nor could there have been—of the Messiah himself (6 11-12)]; (3) a description of the End of the world [incomplete] (6 13-20, 23, 24). The dislocation which has resulted from R's work seems to have arisen from his desire to make room for the personal appearance of the Messiah [see further introduction to 7 38-44].

(a) Redactional Introduction

(6 11-12).

The redactional character of the introductory verses is evident. They show clearly that the Redactor intended all that follows (vv. 13–29) to be understood as descriptive of the signs preliminary to the End. Vs. 11 seems to have been imitated from 5 12a.

11 I answered and said: "O Lord my lord," if I have found favour in thy sight, 12 (I beseech thee) that thou show thy servant 'the last' of thy signs of which thou didst show me "a part" in the night that is past.

a (vs. 11): O Lord my Lord: cf. 4 8 note.
b (vs. 12): (I beseech thee) that thou show: Lat., ut demonstras (SAC), v.l., demonstra (Vulg., oro ut demonstras): Syr., Ethiop. read an imperative (omitting oro).
c (vs. 12): the last: lit., the end (finem = to telos).
d (vs. 12): of the signs: Arab., days (σημείων ημερών ημερών).
e (vs. 12): of which...part: Lat., quorum (Volk., quae una ex parte).
(b) Description of the End (6:18-20, 22-24) together with some misplaced verses describing the signs that precede the End (6:21-22).

In its present form, as it lies in our text, the eschatological material is in a fragmentary condition. But it is all probably derived from one source (E).

13 And 'he' answered and said unto me: 'Stand up upon thy feet,' and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding loud; and it shall be if the place whereon thou standest, 'be greatly shaken,' when it (i.e., the voice) speaks 'with thee' be not thou terrified; for the word is of the End, and 'the foundations of the earth shall understand' that the speech is concerning themselves. 'They' shall tremble and be shaken, for they know 'that their end is to be changed.'

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\* Note especially *locus in quo stas super eum* (super eum, redundant in Lat. represents the Heb. construction). Cf. 4:18.
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, and when I require from the doers of iniquity the penalty of their iniquity; and when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete,"

And when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete,  

an inferior reading of the Ethiop. (quam in illo praesens est eorum finis; but this is not the best reading) would postulate an original Greek text: το το τελεο αυτων [παρετι και αυτα] δει αλλαθεσαι. Cf. Arab. (quod forma eorum mutabitur et erit finis eorum). But Lat. and Syr. combine against this [the better attested Ethiop. rendering is: nam illo removentur ad finem suam].

p (vs. 17): the sound of it . . . mighty waters: cf. Ezek. 1 24 (like the noise of great waters, like the voice of the Almighty of the wings of the living creatures in flight); cf. also Rev. 1 11, 14 3, 19 4. The Divine Voice is meant.

q (vs. 18): Behold the days come: a common O.T. phrase, especially in the prophetic literature (= אֶזְכַּר אֶזְכַּר): cf. Amos. 8 9, and often (especially in Jeremiah). In Ap. Bar. it occurs in xx. 1, xxiv. 1, xxxi. 5, xxxix. 3.

r (vs. 18): and it shall be = γενομαι.

s (vs. 18): when I am about to draw nigh: Lat., quando adpropinquare incipio = otan τηεναετω μελεν.

t (vs. 19): and when I require from the doers of iniquity the penalty of their iniquity = και στου εκκετω μελεν απο *των αδικησαντων την αδικεω αυτων, which might represent απο την αδικεω αυτων, and have the sense of punishment for iniquity or transgression; cf. e.g., 1 Sam. 5 14; Dan. 8 13, 18, 9 24. This construction of the sentence is supported by the Ethiop. (et tunc inquiram eorum injustitiam qui injuste egerunt: cf. the Armenian). The Lat. has et quando inquirere incipiam ab eis qui injuste nocuerunt injustitia sua (R.V., them that have done hurt unjustly with their unrighteousness). [The accus. might easily be misread as a dative in the Greek, especially in abbreviated writing.]

u (vs. 19): shall be complete: Lat., suppleta fuerit; lit., shall have been completed, or fulfilled. The fall of Jerusalem is regarded as marking a definite step towards the speedy advent of the Divine judgement. This idea is expressed more explicitly in Ap. Bar. xx. 2 (Therefore have I now taken away Sion in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season); cf. also xxxi. 21. This clause is prob. due to R (cf. p. xxx).

* Or απο την την αδικεω πραξατων, which the Latin misread (?) απο των τη αδικεω βλαχατων = ab eis qui injuste nocuerunt.
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 *shall see*
together.

v (vs. 20): the Age which is about to pass away; Lat., saeculum quod incipient pertransire: cf. 4 * (festinans festinat saeculum pertransire).
w (vs. 20): shall be sealed: Lat., supersignabitur: (R.V., the seal shall be set upon). The figure is suggested by the sealing up of a document: (contrast vs. 5).
x (vs. 20): [will I show (lit., do) these signs]: Lat., haec signa faciam. These words have probably been added by the Redactor, 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.
y (vs. 20): the books shall be opened: i.e. the celestial books in which are recorded the deeds of the righteous and the wicked. Probably both classes are included in the books mentioned here and in Dan. 7 10; cf. Ascens. Is. ix. 28 (the judgement was set and the books were opened). Elsewhere "books" are spoken of which perhaps record separately the deeds of the wicked; cf. Ap. Bar. xxiv. 1 (For behold the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned); cf. Rev. 20 11 (And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne; and books were opened: and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works): see further I Enoch lxiii. 4, lxxix. 61–64, 68, 70, 71, 78, 77; xc. 17, 20; xcvi. 7, 8; civ. 7; in O.T. cf. Is. 65 6. [Records of good deeds only are referred to in Ps. 56 14, Mal. 3 14, Jubilees xxx.] See Charles’ full note on I Enoch xlvi. 3. In the theology of the Synagogue the Day of Judgement is boldly identified with the beginning of the New Year, which thus inaugurates a yearly period of solemn significance (lasting ten days and culminating in the Day of Atonement). To this day of "awe and terror" the conception of the judgement-records has also been transferred. This is vividly illustrated in the following liturgical piece* which is recited by the congregation and reader at the Additional Service for the New Year: [God seated on His throne to judge the world] opens the Book of Records; it is read, every man’s signature being found therein. The great trumpet is sounded: a still small voice is heard the angels shudder . . . and say: "This is the Day of Judgement." [Gunkel regards the books in our passage as those which contain plagues; when they are opened calamities issue forth; cf. the book with the seven seals in Rev. 5 1 ff. But this view is negatived by the context here. Besides our passage speaks of books, not of one mysterious book.]
z (vs. 20): shall see: Syr. adds my judgement.

* Known as āmethannē tōqēf (cf. Routledge’s ed. of the Rosh ha-shānā services, p. 146).
"Wv. 21-22 misplaced"

(11 And b one-year old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. 22 And suddenly shall 'the sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty;') 23 And d the

a (vv. 21–22): these verses obviously continue the description of the 'travail-pains' of the Messiah—the portents of evil and disorder that constitute the 'signs' of the approaching End. Their place is between vv. 8 and 9 of chap. 5 (see notes there).

b (vs. 21): and one-year old children shall speak with their voices: cf. the Syriac Test. of our Lord (ed. Cooper and Maclean), i. 7: and young women newly wed shall bring forth babes who speak perfectly, etc. For derangement in the laws of human progeny cf. Jubilees xxiii. 25 (a child of three weeks will appear old like a man of 100 years); Sib. Oracles ii. 154 f.

c (vs. 22): the sown places unsown ... empty: for this feature (natural processes and produce disorganised) cf. Enoch lxxx. 2; Jubilees xxiii. 18; Sibyllines iii. 539 f. (drought).

d (vs. 23): the trumpet: Lat., tuba = ῥαματήριον: i.e., the trumpet the blowing of which ushers in the last judgement (cf. Sibyll. Or. iv. 173-4; circa 80 A.D.).* After the books in heaven have been opened—which all men see—the trumpet shall be blown—which all shall hear and be terror-struck, because it announces the Judgement. This trumpet-blast is elsewhere closely associated with the awakening of the sleeping dead who are roused to take their part with the living (who have survived) in the Judgement; cf. 1 Cor. 15 (for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised), 1 Thess. 4 (For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first, etc.).† The trumpeter is usually the archangel Michael, but sometimes Elijah (cf. Lucken, Michael, p. 49, n. 5). In the Othiyyoth of R. Aqiba (a late Midrashic work) a series of seven trumpet calls is described as follows: The Holy One takes a great trumpet which according to divine measure is 1,000 ells long, and blows upon it, and its sound shall go from one end of the earth to the other. At the first blast the whole world shall be moved; at the second the dust shall fall asunder; at the third the bones of the dead shall be collected; at the fourth their members shall be warmed; at the fifth the flesh shall be drawn over them; at the sixth the souls and the spirits shall enter their bodies; at the seventh they shall live and stand

* There shall be over all the world a fire, and greatest omen with sword and trumpet at sunrise (ῥωμάω σαλπιγγίζω θ' αὐτῷ αἰωνίω), the whole world shall hear the roar and mighty sound. Here the trumpet-blast ushers in the End; after the great conflagration, which burns up the world, follow the resurrection and judgement.

† Cf. Palest. Targ. to Ex. 20 (the voice of the trumpet as it will raise the dead); also T.B. Ber. 15b where this is alluded to.
trumpet shall sound aloud, at which all men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear. 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 hours they shall not run.

The idea underlying the passages quoted (with the exception of Ps. Sol.) is that of nature suspending some of her surest activities, in terror at the Divine Visitation. In the passage from Ps. Sol. (17) the figure
(e) The felicity of those who survive the Messianic Woes

(6 25-28 (29))

25 And it shall be 'whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he shall be saved and shall see "my salvation" and the end of "my world." 26 And "the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death

is used to describe the havoc wrought by the triumph of sin and unrighteousness. So far-reaching is this that nature herself is aghast. In our passage the paralysing effect both on men and nature of the announcement by the trumpet-blast of the Divine judgement is described.

For three hours: Lat., in horis tribus = was τρεῖς. Ar. * has years for hours (in tribus annis). The number "three" in such connections seems to be a favourite one in apocalyptic tradition. Cf. the curious passage (of the "shortening" of the days) in the pseudo-Johannine Apocalypse, ch. 8: Three years shall be those times, and the three years will I make as three months, and the three months as three weeks, and the three weeks as three days, and the three days as three hours.

(See further Bousset, Antichrist, p. 218 f., 291.)

j (vs.25): whosoever shall have survived all these things that: Lat., qui derelictus fuerit ex omnibus istis quibus (notice the attraction of the rel. to the case of its antecedent—Gk., construction) = ras o replAeirouevosexravray rovrovwy (Hilg.): cf. 7, " (quiliberatusest . . . qui relictisunt), 9 °, 13 ***, 13 *, *; cf. 1 Thess. 4 *, musis ol replAeirouevo("we that are left"). The expression is a technical one in apocalyptic, and denotes those who survive the Messianic Woes.* For the idea cf. Ap. Bar. xxxii. 1, lxxi. 1, xxix. 2; and see Volz., p. 183; cf. also Mk. 13 * and parallels.

k (vs.25): my salvation: Lat., salutare metum = to rarmptov uov [σωτηρῶν, especially of the Messianic salvation; cf. Lk. 2 *, 34, Acts 28 **]. Cf. in Rabb. Lit. the phrase to see (i.e., enjoy) the consolation (rā'ā ba-nekāmd); cf. Volz., p. 305.

l (vs.25): my world: so Lat. (S), Ethiop.; but Syr. omits my.

m (vs.26): the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth: Lat., qui recepti sunt homines, qui mortem non gusta- verunt a nativitate sua : men who were removed from earth without dying are meant. In this connection figure especially Enoch and Elijah (cf. Wisdom 4 10 f. [? Enoch], Jub. iv. 23; 1 En. xxxix. 3 f., lxx. 1–3, 2 Enoch xxxvi. 2, all of Enoch; 1 En. lxxix. 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 7 *, 13 *). Elijah is especially prominent in this connection in Rabbinic Literature (his rôle was, as high priest, to anoint the Messiah, to promote Israel's

* In the Rabbinical Lit. the term used in such connections is הָעַב, "be rescued," "delivered": cf. Mek. 50b, 51a, T. B., Sankedr. 98a and b.
from their birth, "shall appear." Then shall the heart of the inhabitants (of the world) be changed,* and be converted to a different spirit.*
For evil shall be blotted out, and deceit extinguished; faithfulness shall flourish, and corruption be vanquished; and truth, which for so long a time has been without fruit shall be made manifest. And it came to pass while he spake to me "behold by little and little the place whereon I stood rocked to and fro."

VII. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (6:30-34)

Here the speaker is again the archangel Uriel, and 6:30 forms the immediate continuation of 6:10. 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.

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29 For evil shall be blotted out, and deceit extinguished; faithfulness shall flourish, and corruption be vanquished; and truth, which for so long a time has been without fruit shall be made manifest. And it came to pass while he spake to me "behold by little and little the place whereon I stood rocked to and fro."

28 6:30-34 Conclusion of the Vision

Here the speaker is again the archangel Uriel, and 6:30 forms the immediate continuation of 6:10. 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.
And he said unto me: These things came I to show thee this night. If therefore thou wilt petition yet again, and fast seven days more, I will tell thee yet again greater things than these.

For thy voice has surely been heard before the Most High.
High; for the Mighty One has seen thy rectitude, and marked also thy chastity which thou hast had ever since thy youth.

Therefore has he sent me to show thee all these things, and to say unto thee: 'Be of good cheer, and fear not! Be not over-solicitous in the case of former times to indulge idle thoughts, lest soliciitude overtake thee in the last times.'

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 (6 28-37).

II. The problem propounded in its final form: If the world was created for Israel's sake, why is Israel deprived of its inheritance? (6 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 (7 1-24) (S).

IV. The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the world (7 25-44) (R).

V. The Debate continued (from 7 25): Israel's election and the problem of righteousness (7 45-9 22), with the exception of 8 42-9 11, which belongs to R, all this section is to be assigned to S.

VI. Conclusion of the Vision (9 30-38) (S).

I. INTRODUCTION

a (6 35-37)

And it came to pass after this that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner that I might fulfil the three weeks that had been commanded me. And in the eighth night my heart 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?

(6 38-59) (S)

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 who 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 downtrodden 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. 4 24 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 (6 6-19). 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. Thus (vs. 42) the sea occupies a seventh part of the earth, the dry land six-sevenths; while in vs. 49 f. the allusions to Behemoth and Leviathan find their elucidation in a mythological fancy which comes to characteristic expression in the Rabbinical Literature (cf. notes on vv. 49-52). It seems indeed highly probable as Charles (Ap. Bar., p. 53) suggests, that there once existed independently a short account of the works of the six days of creation (a hexaemeron), probably in the form of a midrash, which closely resembled the account given here in vv. 38-54, and which was utilised independently by the authors of S. and of Ap. Bar. xxvii-xxx (cf. also xv. 7). The author of S, who had no clear hope of a Messiah, seems to have modified the form of this earlier account in vs. 52 (cf. note there). For another midrashic piece cf. 7 130-139.

38 And I said: O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak at the beginning of the creation *upon the first day,

* This is hinted at in the explicit reference (in vs. 35) to the completion of three weeks of fasting, which forms the fitting preparation for the most highly important of the disclosures.
saying: Let heaven and earth be made! say thy word perfected the work. Then was the spirit hovering; darkness and silence were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet before thee. Then thou didst command a ray of light

h (vs. 38): thy word perfected the work: cf. Ap. Bar. xiv. 17: When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, thou didst devise and speak with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before thee. Cf. further Gen. 1; Ps. 33 (By the word of J. were the heavens made); Heb. 11; 2 Pet. 3. [Ethiop. (one reading) has: and thy word it was that wrought the work, and thy spirit; thou wast hovering and darkness, etc.; according to the common text: and thy word wrought the work, and spirit thou wert, and didst overshadow, etc.]

i (vs. 39): the spirit (Heb., ; Gk., ) or wind (cf. the Talmudic passage cited above).

j (vs. 39): hovering: Lat., volans, "flying."

k (vs. 39): darkness and silence were on every side: Lat., et tenebrae circumferat silentium: for silentium Syr. has silentium soni (cf. Ar. 1, Ethiop.) = καὶ σκοτία περιεφέρεται καὶ σκοτία ἡχοῦ [taking the word rendered = ηχος (ηχου) from the following clause].

l (vs. 39): the sound of man's voice was not yet before thee: Lat., sonus vocis hominis nondum erat abs te = ἤχος τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ὄντως ἢς ἔσων [abs te = εἴσω σου = ?ν]. Syr. has simply and man's voice was not yet (cf. Ethiop., Arab. 1). The conjunction of darkness and silence is noticeable; and especially the clause that follows: the sound of man's voice was not yet before thee. The apocalyptic writer is possessed with the idea that the supreme object of creation is the appearance of a being who fears and honours God, and lifts up his voice in prayer and praise to his creator. Similarly the founding of the primæval holy cities of Babylonia with their temples is put in the forefront of one of the Babylonian poems of creation. "The sanctuaries and service of the gods are the final purpose of Merodach's creative activity."† [darkness and silence = ημέραϊ ημερών].

m (vs. 40): a ray of light: Lat., lumen aliquod luminis (so substantially the best codices): the inferior reading is lumen luminosum = φως φωτείνου (Hilg.). These readings suggest a conflation of two renderings of an original Heb. text, ἤχος φως ( = φως τι έκ φωτος), which was also read ημέραῖ ημερών = φως φωτείνου. The Syr. renders

* The text-reading (S.) is et erat tunc spiritus; Volk. suggests that tunc may have arisen from tunc = and it was thy spirit, i.e., the creative word was the spirit of God. He omits volans with Vulg. (but against the best MSS.).

† Ball, Light from the East, p. 19 f. The poem begins—
The pure house, the house of the gods . . . was not made:
No reed had come forth, no tree been created;
No house was made, no city built: etc.

‡ The phrase: the light came forth from the light occurs in 2 Enoch xxv. 3 (ed. Charles).
"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 to make a division
between [the waters and] the waters,* that the one part
might go up, the other remain beneath.*

splendor luminis, which may point to a variant, *splendor luminis,*
i.e., radiancy of the prima-val heavenly light (see note p below).

n (vs. 40): to be brought forth: *proferriv.l. proferre.*
o (vs. 40): *out of thy treasuries: de thesauristuis.* The "treasuries"
of God are in heaven.

p (vs. 40): that then thy works might become visible: *Lat., ut apperarent tune operata.* According to Rabbinic tradition (cf. T.B. *Hag.* 12a),
though the luminaries did not shine till the fourth day (cf. vs. 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.* : Is. 60 18, Rev. 21 28). In
2 Enoch xxv. 1–3 there is a mystical account of the emergence of the
heavenly light above God’s throne.

q (vs. 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*
*sierum creasti spiritum coelorum.* As Gunkel remarks, *spirit* here =
angel (as often in the Bk. of Enoch). This is apparently a midrashic
amplification of the Biblical Text in Gen. 1 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
*Bk. of Enoch = Anu, Baal shamayim,* etc.).

r (vs. 41): to make a division between [the waters and] the waters:
so *Syr.* (cf. Gen. 1 6, Heb., and let it divide between waters and waters).
Cf. Ethiop. Ar. 6 (Arab. 1 omissions the verse). The Latin has *ut divideret
et divisionem faceret inter aquas* (a double rendering?).

s (vs. 41): that the one part might go up, the other remain beneath:
Lat. (SAM), *ut pars quidam sursum recederet, pars vero deorsum manaret*
= *υπαρξει συνέχεια, υπήρξει μεταμορφος,* Hilg. (Volk.,
It agrees with Jub. ii. 4 substantially. [It should be noted that
according to the Rabb. view (cf. *Ber. rab.* 3 f.) hell and the angels
as well as the firmament were created the second day, but in Jubilees
the angels are created on the first day.]
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, "in order that (issuing) from them there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow."

The corresponding sky-zones are the Arctic, Antarctic, Summer tropic, Winter tropic, Equinoctial, Zodiac, and Galaxy.
"But" as soon as thy word went forth the work was done.

For immediately there came forth

Fruits "in endless abundance,"

'in pleasure of taste exquisitely varied;"

Flowers "of inimitable colour."

Cultivation of the soil is described by the Bible as the destiny and duty of man from the beginning. Adam is placed in the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it; and when expelled he is sent forth to till the ground (Gen. 2, 3; Ps. 104). The millenium of peace will see a people given only to agricultural pursuits (Is. 2; Jer. 31; Hos. 14; Amos 9; Micah 4; Mal. 3; Ps. 81; E.V. 81). The Essenes were devoted to land-pursuits, and love for agriculture was strongly inculcated by the Rabbis (cf. further Test. xii. Patr. Issachar iii. 5, and contrast Ecl. 38, How can he get wisdom who holds a plow?).

In a description of the works of creation on the third day, such as our passage contains, some reference might be expected to the creation of Paradise (cf. ch. 3), and Gunkel, indeed, discovers such. He renders the clause: that a part thereof should be tilled before thee which had been sown and planted by God himself (reading a deo for adeo; and taking ministranitia as = erga=omena = Heb. יָגוֹר). The Heb. word is both to till and to serve). The part of the earth here referred to is, he thinks, Paradise (the Garden of Eden), which God had himself planted, and man was destined to till (cf. Gen. 2). But the word rendered planted can only mean tilled or ploughed (cula: so Oriental Versions), and the change from 2nd person to 3rd (thee . . . by God) is awkward. Volkmar retranslates the Greek text: in order that of these, (places) which had been sown and tilled by thee might serve before thee. [The Lat. a deo arose from a mistake, when being misread ut deo = ut deo.]

w (vs. 43): but: Lat., enim = δε cf. 4 note.

x (vs. 44): in endless abundance: Lat., multitudinis immensus = αειφος του πλῆθους (Volkmar).

y (vs. 44): in pleasure of taste exquisitely varied: cf. Syr. (dulces in gustibus suis in omni genere et genere) Lat., et concupiscientia gustus multiformis (R.V., and manifold pleasures for the taste = et concupiscientiae gustus multiformes). It is best to follow Syr. in making the clause subordinate to the first line, and descriptive of the fruits. So Volk., who retranslates: και της επίθεμης της γενεσεως πολυμορφης, &c. ο καρπος.

z (vs. 44): of inimitable colour: Lat., colore inimitabiles (v.l., inimitabili = χρωματος ομοιωμενος. Vulg. has corrupt reading immutabili : hence A.V., of unchangeable colour.

* J.E., art. Agriculture, i. 263.
"(trees infinitely varied in form), and odours of scent indefinable."

This was done the third day.

But "on the fourth day" thou didst command that there should come into being the brightness of the sun, the light of the moon and the order of the stars; and didst command them that they should "do service unto man" who

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\(a\) (trees infinitely varied in form): so Syr. (trees unlike each other in their form) = καὶ δενὸς ἑιδει τούκια. This is confirmed by Ethiop. and Arab. \(^1\). The clause is omitted in Lat. and Armenian.

\(b\) (vs. 44): indefinable: lit., unsearchable (Lat., investigabiles\(^*\) = \(ἀνεξερευνητὸν\) \((\varepsilonνίδοις)\), Hilg. [Gunkel suggests that in the above poetical description the author has in mind mainly the beauties of Paradise. Possibly in the source followed by S. the description really did apply to Paradise as a creation of the third day. But it is significant that all explicit reference to Paradise is carefully avoided. The conception of S. did not allow of the identification. See the additional note on 8 \(^*\) (p. 195 f.).]

\(c\) (vs. 45): on the fourth day. Cf. Gen. 1 \(^{14-19}\); Jub. ii. 8–10; 2 Enoch xxx. 2–6.

\(d\) (vs. 45): the order of the stars. The conception of the stars being disposed in order and acting according to rule and law was a familiar one in the ancient world: the subject was especially studied in certain apocalyptic circles (cf. 1 Enoch lxxii–lxxxii). One of the portents of the last time was to be a disorganisation of the order of the stars (cf. ch. 5 \(^\dagger\) note).

\(e\) (vs. 46): do service unto man: cf. Clem., Recogn. v. 29: That God does concern himself with the affairs of men his government of the world bears witness: for the sun daily waits upon it, the showers minister to it, etc. . . . And by this God is shown to have not only a care over men, but some great affection, since he has deputed such noble elements to their service [et per hoc non solum curam deus erga homines, sed grandem quem-dam habere doceetur affectum, quorum ministerio tam praeclaras mancipavit elementa \((φτοιχεία)\): cf. also Clem., Hom. x. 25: for it is not right to call the elements gods, by which good things are supplied; but only him who ordereth them, to accomplish all things for our use, and who commandeth them to be serviceable to man. Him alone we call God in propriety of speech, whose beneficence you do not perceive, but you permit those elements to rule over you which have been assigned to you as your servants \([ον \ τις \ ενεργεῖας \ ομιος \ μη \ αἰσθανομοι \ τα νομι δουλα αντουμιθεντα φτοιχεία καθ' αυτων \ δεσποτε σει απηγορευσατε]\).\(^\dagger\) The apocalyptic writer in our passage especially emphasizes the thought that the stars are man’s servants because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods.

\(f\) (vs. 46): man who was about to be formed: Lat., \(futura\) \(plasmato\)

\(\ast\) = \(\text{ininvestigabiles}\).

\(\dagger\) Cited by Hilgen.
was about to be formed.\(^{47}\) Upon the fifth days thou didst bid the seventh part, where the water was gathered together, to bring forth living creatures, birds, and fishes; \(^{48}\) and so it came to pass.\(^{49}\) The dumb and lifeless water produced living creatures \(^{50}\) that for this the nations might declare thy wondrous works.\(^{51}\) Then didst thou preserve two living creatures; \(^{52}\) the name of the one thou didst call "Behemoth" and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan. And thou didst separate the one from the other; for "the seventh part," where the water was gathered together, was unable to hold them (both). \(^{53}\) And thou didst give Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day

\(\text{hominis} = \tau\phi\nu\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu\upsilon \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omicron\omega\nu\upsilon \left(\text{Volk.}\right)\). \(\text{Arab.}, \text{whom thou didst create.}\)

\(g\) (vs. 47): the fifth day: cf. Gen. 1 26-28; Jub. ii. 11-12; 2 Enoch xxx. 7.

\(h\) (vs. 47): and so it came to pass = καὶ ὄπως εὐφέρετο. The LXX. has this clause at the end of the vs. (Gen. 1 *) but not the Hebrew. The Lat. runs it on with the following verse, et ita fiebat aqua . . . animalia faciens = and so the water became . . . producing (making): so Syr., Ethiop. (cf. Arab.).

\(i\) (vs. 48): Lat. adds as it was commanded (quod ei jubebatur): but all other versions omit.

\(j\) (vs. 48): that for this the nations might declare thy wondrous works: Lat., ut ex hoc mirabilia tua nationes enarrrent: cf. Ps. 269, 105 3. For nations the Oriental Versions have generations = a yeweau (perhaps rightly).

\(k\) (vs. 49): two living creatures: i.e., the two primeval monsters Behemoth and Leviathan. For the myth see additional note on vv. 49-52 below. The entire passage, vv. 49-52, is omitted in Arab. \(^{1}\). The Lat. codd. have duo animas, which should be emended to duo animalia (which is implied by the following secundi and also by ea in vv. 50, 52). So Syr., Ethiop., Hilg., Bensly. After living creatures Syr. adds which thou didst create: so Ethiop.

\(l\) (vs. 49): the name of the one: Lat., nomen uni [uni is here gen. (not dat.), as in Plautus and Catullus].

\(m\) (vs. 49): Behemoth: the Lat. Codd. S.A. have Enoch, and so Vulg. (cf. A.V.): also in vs. 51. This is apparently a corruption of the text.

\(n\) (vs. 50): the seventh part: Syr. adds the moist (cf. vs. 52): but this addition is not found in the Ethiop. This feature—that both monsters were at first together in the seventh part where the water was gathered together—shows that both were originally sea-monsters. In the oldest form of the tradition both were mythological representations of the primeval ocean.

\(o\) (vs. 51): one of the parts: so Syr. (unam ex partibus): but Lat. has unam partem (so Ethiop).
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.

**ADDITIONAL NOTE ON 6 49-52:**

**BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN**

Gunkel (Schöpfung, pp. 41–69) has shown that Behemoth and Leviathan represent the two primaeval monsters of chaos originally corresponding to the Tiamat (= Heb. thôm, "abyss," "deep") and Kingu of Babylonian mythology. There are some very clear allusions in the Old Testament to the ancient creation-myth which described in detail the conflict of Jahveh with chaos, in the person of the dragon (= Rahab, Têhôm, Leviathan): cf. Is. 51 9, 10; Ps. 74 18-19; Is. 30 7; Job 7 18; Ps. 89 10 f.; Job 26 12, 13).[*

"Knowledge of this ancient story was widespread in the prophetic period. It has been preserved most fully in the Babylonian records (cf. especially Gunkel, Schöpfung, pp.

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*p (vs. 51):* where are a thousand hills: the Haggadic interpretation of Ps. 50 10 made Behêmôth there (rendered cattle in PB V) identical with the primaeval monster of our text (Behêmôth [lying] upon a thousand hills [and feeding upon them]: so immense was its size). Cf. the Midrashim on Ps. 50 10 (Tehillim and Yalqut Makhiri). Ethiop. has strangely four mountains (probably misreading the numeral letter in the Greek text).

*q (vs. 52):* the seventh part: Lat., septimam partem: so Ethiop.; Syr., one of the seven parts: viz., that covered by the sea. Two traditions, as Gunkel remarks, have been fused together in the representation of our text. According to the one, both are sea-monsters; according to the other Leviathan is a sea and Behemoth a land-monster. The two traditions have been combined in such a way that both monsters originally belonged to the sea, but have been separated on account of their enormous size, one being assigned to the land (Behemoth) and the other to the sea (Leviathan).

*r (vs. 52):* to be devoured: Lat., in devorationem = εἰς καταβρέσσως (Hilg.) = מְצָא. By whom they will be devoured is only vaguely indicated in our text. In the parallel passage in Ap. 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.

*s (vs. 52):* and when: omitted by Ethiop.

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*See further on this point the discussion in Oesterley’s Evolution of the Messianic Idea, ch. v., and the present writer’s Isaiah, p. 256 f.*
401–428; Ball, Light from the East, pp. 7 ff.). Not improbably a version of it may once have existed in the Jahvistic narrative (of the Hexateuch) preceding Gen. 2."* This was apparently later displaced by the present narrative of the Priestly Writer (Gen. 1 1–2 44). There is a full description of Behemoth and Leviathan in Job 40, 41.

The myth survived and was developed haggadistically in various ways in Jewish tradition. In the parallel to our text already referred to and embodied in Ap. Bar. xxix. 4, the appearance of the monsters is explicitly connected with the coming of the Messiah.

[And it will come to pass . . . that the Messiah will then begin to be revealed.] And Behemoth will be revealed from his place, and Leviathan will ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left.

In an interpolated section† of the Ethiopic Enoch the following references occur (lxix. 7 f.): In that day (i.e., probably the time of the deluge) two monsters shall be parted: a female monster named Leviathan,‡ to dwell in the depths of the ocean above the sources of the waters.§ But the male is called Behemoth§ who occupies with his breast a waste wilderness named Dëndânin,|| on the east of the garden (i.e., of Paradise) where the elect righteous dwell, where my grandfather [Enoch] was taken up: being the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought that other angel to show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted in one day, and the one who was placed in the depth of the sea, and the other on the firm land of the wilderness. And he spake to me: "Thou son of man, thou desirest in this to know what has been concealed." Then spake unto me the other angel who went with me and showed me

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* Cf. present writer's Isaiah, loc. cit.
† One of the Noachic interpolations.
‡ I.e., the primeval ocean beneath the earth (= apsu or nakbu of the Babylonian myth) from which the water-floods spring; cf. Gen. 7 11; Job 38 18.
§ By the side of the female Leviathan there stands the male Behemoth, just as in Babylonian mythology the female Tiamat is paired with the male Kingu.
|| Dëndânin (: ['i judgment of a judge] = perhaps originally the Babylonian danminu "Festland" (Zimmern).
what was concealed . . . . "Those two monsters are prepared to be fed conformably to the greatness of God . . . that the penal judgment (punishment) of God may not be in vain."

A collection of haggadoth which illustrate the later Jewish developments of the myth can be seen in T.B., Baba bathra 74b. Here each monster is multiplied into a pair, male and female; but they were rendered incapable of producing any progeny, lest by so doing they should "destroy the world."

The female Leviathan was killed and salted "for the righteous in the world to come"; the two Behemoths were also reserved for the same purpose.

The male leviathan will not be slain till the last. Its flesh will provide food at the banquet given by God for the righteous after the resurrection, and its hide will be used to make tents, etc., for them. It should be noted that by the later Jewish commentators (e.g., Maimonides) these haggadoth are interpreted allegorically (the banquet means the spiritual enjoyment of the intellect and so on).


In the text of our passage the creation of these monsters is assigned to the fifth day. So in a Midrash partly preserved in Yalqut (Gen. 12) Leviathan is said to have been created on the fifth day (cf. Palest. Targ. in Gen. 1:11: On the fifth day God created the great monsters of the water, Leviathan and its female, which are prepared for the day of consolation).

But upon the sixth day thou didst command the earth

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1 (vs. 53): the sixth day. For the works of creation on this day (cattle, beasts, creeping things, man) cf. Gen. 1:24–31; Jub. ii. 13–14; 2 Enoch xxx. 8 f.

* In the Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer (xi), Behemoth is said to have been created on the sixth day, and feeds daily upon a thousand mountains (cf. Ps. 50:10), on which, however, the grass grows again every night. Cf. also The Chron. of Jerahmeel (ed. Gaster) v. and vi. (p. 14), where Leviathan is said to have been created on the fifth, Behemoth on the sixth day. (These passages contain a good summary of the Jewish haggadoth on the subject.)
“that it should bring forth" before thee cattle, "beasts" and "creeping things;" \[54\] and over these Adam, whom thou didst ordain lord over all the works\[54\] that thou didst create before him: \[54\] of him we are all sprung, whom thou hast chosen (to be) (thy) people.

\[56\] All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, "because thou hast said that "for our sakes thou hast created this world."

\[u\] (vs. 53): that it should bring forth: Lat., ut crearet (Hilg., εὐαγγελον = procrearet, vs. 47).
\[v\] (vs. 53): beasts: Ethiop., beasts of the field (= בְּשָׂרָה). \[w\] (vs. 53): creeping things: Lat., reptilia (= ῥύπωτα, which Ethiop. apparently misread ῥύπα, rendering νότομοι coeli).
\[x\] (vs. 54): and over these Adam whom thou didst ordain lord over all the works: so Lat., Syr. has super his autem constituisti Adam ducem super omnibus operibus (so Ethiop. which adds principem et before ducem and tuis after operibus). Cf. with the passage Ap. Bar. xiv. 18: And thou didst say that thou wouldest 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.
\[xx\] (vs. 54): thou didst create before him: so Syr., Ethiop. (quaes prius creasti). The Lat. has which thou hast made (quae fecisti).
\[y\] (vs. 54): of him we are all sprung whom thou hast chosen (to be) (thy) people: Lat., et ex eo educimus nos omnes quem eligistipopulum. R.V. renders: of him come we all, the people whom thou hast chosen, which = the Syr. The thought is well brought out by Van der Vlis, who comments: “he (the apocalyptist) sets forth the superior excellence of the Israelitish nation above other peoples on the ground that it has derived its origin from Adam, lord of the whole world created by God, and also because above all other peoples descended from Adam it has been chosen by God.”

The Ethiop. introduces an alien thought rendering: and on account of him (Adam) we are overwhelmed, we thy people whom thou hast chosen. This can hardly be right here.
\[z\] (vs. 55): because thou hast said that: Lat., quoniam dixisti quia: Vulg. omits quoniam dixisti (cf. A.V.). [For O Lord Syr. has O Lord my Lord = Dominater domine.]
\[a\] (vs. 55): for our sakes thou hast created this world: Syr. saeculum istud: Ar. \[1\] has prius saeculum: Lat. (Codd.), primogenitum saeculum = the first-born world (R.V. marg.). Does this point to a gloss πρωτεροκοινος on μικροι (from vs. 58), for the sake of us the first born? Cf. Ex. 4 \[xx\] (Israel is my son, my first born), Jer. 31 \[x\]. The regular Heb. phrase is this world (הַרְחַבַּד) as opposed to the world to come (אֵלֶּה). The doctrine that the world was created for the sake of Israel is expressed not only in this passage (cf. also vs. 59 below), but also in 7 \[x\]; cf. also Assumpt. Moses (ed. Charles) i. 12: for he (God) hath created the world on behalf of his people (but possibly legem law ought to be read for plebem people here). In Ap. Bar. the expression of this idea is limited to the righteous in Israel in xv. 7 (And as regards what
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 them" to a "drop on a bucket." And now, O Lord, behold thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this world come, nay more even that which is to come is on their account: so also xxii. 24; but in xiv. 18 (man was not made on account of the world, but the world on account of him: the next clause, however, identifies man here with us [i.e., Israel]: and now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, etc.) and in 4 Ezra 8 (likewise man also . . . for whose sake thou hast formed all things; cf. 8 1) it is stated that the world was formed for man. But there is really no antithesis involved. The Jew with his deep-rooted consciousness of Israel's election would regard Israel as the true representative of the human race: man in the ideal sense was equivalent to Israel. Other nations, it is true, were descendants of Adam; but they had obscured and defaced the divine image which belonged originally to man (as created) by idolatry and immorality. See further notes on next verse. It should be noted that the statement about the creation of the world for the sake of Israel is described as a divine utterance (thou hast said). Possibly, as Charles suggests, some such dictum was embodied in the hexaemeron which has been utilised in this section of the book and elsewhere (see p. 83); but it seems more probable that the writer was thinking of the Rabbinic exegesis of certain scriptural texts which would serve to justify such a deduction from the words of Scripture.*

b (vs. 56): the other nations . . . are nothing: a reference to Is. 40 ** (All the nations are as nothing before him). Cf. Dan. 4 28 (Aram. 4 28), where the same text is alluded to.

c (vs. 56): that they are like unto spittle: Lat., quoniam salivae adsimilatae sunt = ori orieMøwuotaffmaav (Hilg.): cf. Is. 40 16 (LXX) or orios logistosvov. The Heb. text has pi, small dust, which LXX misread pi sprium. Apparently the Greek translator here made a similar mistake (perhaps under the influence of the LXX). The Syr. has thou hast likened here for they are like.

d (vs. 56): the abundance of them: Lat., habundantiam eorum = πυρ αριστοστιων αυτων, i.e., their superfluity, wealth: cf. 3 8 (their abundant wealth [Ethiop. renders both here and in 3 8 joy] = שדח).

e (vs. 56): a drop on a bucket: Lat., sicut stillicidium de vaso = ως στεγωνα απο καλου = Heb.,Ven ṣeb (Is. 40 14): lit., as a drop from (i.e., hanging from, on) a bucket. R.V. renders here: a drop that falleth from a vessel.

* If Israel were not the world would not exist (Bemid. rabba ii). For a collection of Rabbinical passages of similar import cf. Weber, p. 208 f.; and see the chapter on the Election of Israel (iv) in Schechter's Aspects. In T.B. Ber. 32b there is a passage where God in answer to Israel's complaint of having been forgotten, first of all enumerates some of the mighty examples (in the starry heavens) of creation, and then exclaims All these have I created only for thy sake.
these nations which are reputed as nothing 'lord it over us'

The deep-seated consciousness of Israel's divine election which comes out so strongly in this passage has already been referred to above. It indeed is a characteristic note of Jewish religious literature* pervading even the N.T. (cf. e.g., Rest of Esther 14 4; Ps. Solomon 9 16-18; Rom. 3 1-8, 9 1-8; Gal. 6 14 [the Israel of God]). See further Volz, pp. 107-109 (full and detailed discussion); and cf. Köberle, Sünde und Gnade, p. 413.)

The attitude adopted in vs. 56 to the world outside Israel calls for remark. The author of the Salathiel apocalypse does not deny that the other nations of the world are descended of Adam—like the chosen race: but they have ceased to count in God's eyes, have been rejected. This, certainly, represents the standpoint of Jewish particularism in a strong form. But there is no trace in S of any feeling of hatred against the heathen world. It has simply been condemned and rejected. Nor according to S. is Israel's election due to any special merit or righteousness on its part. Israel, like the rest of the human race, is involved in sin. The election is due to God's grace alone. At the same time Israel, relatively to the heathen world exhibits a marked moral and religious superiority. The Israelitish people acknowledge the one true God, accept God's revelation and Law, and in certain matters (e.g., in particular requirements of the Divine Law) fulfill God's will.

It should be remembered that the Jewish judgement on the moral decadence and corruption of the pagan world as a whole was shared and confirmed by the earliest generation of Christians, as well as by later generations. Many of the Rabbinical sayings against the Gentile world were inspired by a genuine hatred of idolatry—a hatred of the sin rather than of the sinner. The Rabbis were convinced that the regeneration of the world could only be effected by means of the chosen people, and the noblest of the synagogue prayers breathes the aspiration that idolatry may be abolished, and the pure worship of one God established throughout all the world (cf. Singer, op. cit., p. 239).

Rabbinical theology also laid much more stress on Israel's unworthiness, and God's grace in choosing his people, than on Israel's righteousness, or the merits of the fathers. Cf. Schechter, Aspects, pp. 60 f.; and on the Jewish estimate of the heathen world (its life, morals, etc.) see Dr. J. Bergmann's Jüdische Apologetik im neustamentlichen Zeitalter (1908), pp. 11 f. Cf. also art. Gentiles in JE, which contains much material.

* This is particularly noticeable in the Jewish Liturgy. Cf. e.g., Thou hast chosen us from all peoples; hast loved and taken pleasure in us, and hast exalted us above all tongues, and hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and brought us near to thy service, etc. (Singer, Heb.-Eng. Prayer Book, p. 227). See further the present writer's Spiritual Teaching and Value of Jewish Prayer Book (Longmans), p. 48 f.
and *crush* us. But we, *thou people, whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy only begotten, thy beloved [most dear]* are given up into their hands. If the world has

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**Add Ecclus. 36** (Lord have mercy . . . upon Israel whom thou didst liken unto a first-born) : cf. Wisdom 18 (they [the Egyptians] confessed the people to be God's son) : Hos. 11 is cited in Matt. 2 .

† Justin here actually cites Ps. 22 (my darling or only begotten, in proof of the fact that Christ was the only begotten of the Father of the Universe.)
indeed been created for our sakes? Why do we not enter into possession of our world?" How long shall this endure?

III. THE DEBATE RENEWED: THE CORRUPTION OF THE PRESENT WORLD MAKES THE PATH TO THE FUTURE WORLD OF FELICITY NARROW AND DIFFICULT (S)

(a) vv. 1-16

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 reference may be to Is. 42 (Behold my servant whom I uphold; my chosen [Heb., ἡγαστήρ = LXX as cited in Mk. 11, ο γεννήτορς μου] in whom my soul delights). Probably, however, the Heb. epithet here used was יהי, "thy beloved." The term היה was applied to Israel; cf. T.B. Menah. 53a and b, where a passage is devoted to the elucidation of this expression. The proof-passage there cited for its application to Israel is Jer. 12 ("that the Beloved might be atoned for"—that is, the people of Israel, as it is written [Jer. 12] I have given the dearly-beloved of my soul into the hand of her enemies). The similarity in sound between the two words יהי and יהי should be noted. Cf. also Rom. 11 (Israel, beloved [ἡγαστήρ] for the father's sake), and Ap. Bar. xxi. 21 (because on account of thy name thou hast called us a beloved people). For the general sense and expression of vv. 57, 58 cf. Ap. Bar. v. 1 (Thine enemies, . . . will lord it over those whom thou hast loved) and 4 Ezra 4 (Why is . . . the beloved people to godless tribes given up?), and see further the note on that passage.

j (vs. 59): why do we not enter into possession of our world? Lat. (true reading) has quare non haereditatem possessus nostrum saeculum = διὰ τι συμ ηραδιτατημεν κυριων των αιωνα; so Ethiop. (quare non mundum possessus). Haereditatem possidere followed by an accus., was an early Latin rendering of ἡραδιτατημεν, followed by an accusative, as was ἡραδιτατημεν: cf. Bensly, M.F., p. 69 f., who says: "Among the early attempts to get a Latin equivalent for the Greek compound ἡραδιτατημεν, one was to resolve it into the two words haereditatem possidere, followed by an accusative; e.g., et semem ejus haereditatem possidebit terram, Ps. 25." Several other instances are cited by Bensly, and in all these, as he points out, a second and easier reading (confirmed by the authority of St. Augustine), viz., haereditate poss. (to possess something by inheritance) "succeeded ultimately in supplanting the other." In our passage haereditate is the reading of M; Cod. S. has quare non haereditatem cum saeculo (cf. A.V., why do we not possess an inheritance with the world?). The true reading is given by Cod. A alone (as above).

k (vs. 59): How long shall this endure? Lat., usquequo haec? = eos nunc tanta.

* The Beloved is a standing Messianic title (especially frequent in Ascens. Is.; cf. Charles on 1). For a full discussion of the term see Armitage Robinson in Hastings D.B. ii. 501.
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. 4 1-21, 4 18 f., 5 11 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. vs. 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. 5*); 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 vs. 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 vs. 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 (vs. 20 f.). Israel, however imperfect in

* Verses 12 and 13 as usually rendered (R.V., then were the entrances of this world made narrow and sorrowful . . . The entrances of the greater world are wide, etc.) do not harmonize with this explanation. But, in fact, this rendering is in direct contradiction to vs. 14 and to the drift of the whole passage. The probably right rendering in both passages is ways, the ways of this world became narrow and sorrowful, etc.). See the notes ad loc. below.
obedience and performance, had at least recognised 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. Kabisch (p. 64) rightly points out that these verses can only have the heathen in view—not Christians, as such, or Sadducees. The latter had ceased to be an effective factor in Jewish life after the downfall of the State in A.D. 70; the former—whether of Jewish race or heathen descent—would have been regarded by S as included within either the Jewish or the heathen world. He would not have treated them as a distinct class. The apocalyptist only recognises two divisions of men—Jews and heathen: on the one side he sees belief in God and acceptance of the divine Law, and on the other unbelief. Jewish Christians who accepted the Divine Law would be regarded as Jews; heathen Christians who rejected the Law would simply be reckoned with the heathen world.

It is remarkable that the angel, on his appearance at this point, plunges at once in medias res. There is no preliminary account, leading up to the substance of the reply, with a reminder of the difficult and exalted nature of the theme such as is found in the first and second visions, after the opening prayer by Salathiel (cf. 4 1-81; 5 81-44). Kabisch conjectures, with great probability, that such a section existed in this place in the original form of S, but has been cut out by the Redactor on account of the inordinate length of the third vision.

There is a well-defined break at vs. 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.

(a) vv. 1-16

1 And when I had finished speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel who had been sent unto me on the former nights. 2 And he said unto me: Up, Ezra, and hear the words that I have come to speak unto thee. And I said: Speak on, my lord. 3 And he said unto me: There is a sea lying in a wide expanse so that it is broad and

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a (vs. 1): on the former nights: Lat., primis noctibus = τὰς προηγεῖσθαι νύχτας (Hilg.). So Syr., but Ethiop. has before on the night that was past. Arab. omits.

b (vs. 3): there is a sea lying: Lat., mare positum est = θαλάσσα ἡγαται (Hilg.).

c (vs. 3): in a wide expanse: lit., in a wide place (in spatioso loco): εὐρύχωρον (Hilg.).

cc (vs. 3): so that it is broad and vast: Lat., ut esset latum et immensum: the Lat. Codd. have altum for latum (an obvious corruption). The emendation (latum, Hilg.) is confirmed by the Syr. (cf. Ethiop., ampium and Ar. 1): the clause = εὐεργεῖσθαι ἱπτεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτηνορ."
vast; "but the entrance thereto lies in a narrow space" so as to be like a river. 5 "He, then, that really desireth to go upon the sea to behold it or to navigate it, if he pass not through the narrow part, how shall he be able to come into the broad? 6 Again another (illustration): 7 There is a builded city which lies on level ground, and it is full of all good things; 8 but "its entrance is narrow and
lies "on a steep," having fire on the 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 footstep at once. If, now, this city be given to a man for an inheritance, unless the heir pass through the danger set before him, how shall he receive his inheritance? And I said: It is so, lord! 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, then that which
had been made was judged: and then "the ways" of this world became "narrow and sorrowful and painful [few and evil] and full of perils coupled with great toils." 

had been originally created by the hand of God—the world which when finished seemed "good" to the Creator. The whole creation has been "subjected to vanity" (Rom. 8)—has fallen lamentably short of its appointed perfection. Possibly, as Gunkel suggests, this conception has been influenced by the old mythical view of the ideal character of the primeval age, and this has been combined with a pessimistic estimate of the world as it is. St. Paul's formulation of the idea in Rom. 8 brings out the underlying truth in a profound and supremely inspiring way.

u (vs. 12): the ways (so also vs. 13): so Ethiop. (contrast vv. 4 and 7, where Ethiop. renders via introitus = a, oboi. The Lat. and Syr. have entrances (introitus = a, eisodoi): but this confuses the representation. It is not the entrances of this world that are narrow and difficult, but this world itself, considered as the way that has to be traversed in order to enter the next world. The reading of the Ethiop. renders the verses coherent, and makes it clear how the confusion arose (oboi and eisodoi, in a context where both have been used, might easily be confused). [Syr. adds at the beginning of vs. 12 and on account of this.]

v (vs. 12): narrow and sorrowful and painful [few and evil] and full of perils coupled with great toils: the text appears to have been glossed both in the form represented by the Latin and in that of the Syr. The latter has: angustis et pleni gemituum et defatigationis et periculorum multi et laboris magni [cum infirmitatibus et passionibus]. The Lat. has: angustis et dolentes et laboriosi [pauci autem et mali] et periculorum pleni et laborum magnorum fulli. If the bracketed words are omitted as glosses, the clauses will be seen to correspond, and the equivalent Greek would be, perhaps, as follows: [ai odoi tou tou aiwos] stoisai kai lutherai kai mophai kai kivoun thnai kai pollahn thnai eurourmai.† To this two glosses appear to have been added, viz., (a) olugai de kai poromai: cf. Gen. 47 (few and evil have the days of the years of my life been: this would illustrate the general idea of the painfulness of life, but hardly suits the expression ways of the world here); and (b) syn tais astheniais kai tois pathmai: which the Syr. found in the Greek text or incorporated into it. Here again the idea that the infirmities and passions of human nature are a source of danger and the cause of misery seems to underlie the gloss. Cf. Rom. 8. [The Ethiop. renders the vs.: viae hujus mundi factae sunt scabreae et angustae et paucae et mala et multa calamitata mala et plenas labore et molestia.]

w (vs. 13): But: so Syr., Ethiop.: the Lat. has nam (reading ai de for ai de, Volk.).

* As illustrating the thought and also the phraseology of our passage cf. Ap. Bar. xxiii. 4: When Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, etc.

† eurourmai = býrs, by the side of, in conjunction with.
"the ways" of the future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality. 14 "If, then, the living shall not have surely entered into these narrow and vain things, they will not be able to receive "what has been reserved for them." 15 but nowb

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?x

- (vs. 13): of the future world: so Syr. (cf. Ethiop., of that world): the Lat. has majoris saeculi (misreading τον μελλόντος αἰωνός αὐτοῦ as τον μεγάλον αἰωνός: so Volk., Hilg.).

- (vs. 13): yield the fruit of immortality: Lat., facientes immortalitatis fructum = καὶ πορφορίως αἰώναν (Hilg.): cf. Prov. 12 18 (in the way of righteousness is life, and in the pathway thereof is immortality [μετέρων, lit., not death]).

- (vs. 14): If then the living . . . vain things: Lat., si ergo montes ingressi fuerint qui vivunt angusta et vana haec = είναι ως εἰσερχόμενοι μη εἰσθαλθήναι οἱ σωτῆρα τα στέπα καὶ κενά ταῦτα (Volkmar).

- (vs. 15): but now = ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ = "By].

- (vs. 16): that thou art corruptible. . . because thou art mortal: so the Arm. which Gunkel follows here (quod mortalis es . . . quod corruptibilis). The Lat. has corruptibilis cum sis . . . cum sis mortalis = seeing that thou art, etc. 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 connection between death and sin cf. Charles' note on Ap. Bar. xxiii. 4. [According to one view man was originally destined for immortality, but became subject to death through Adam's sin: so in this book (4 Ezra) 37, and in St. Paul (Rom. 5 18; 1 Cor. 15 31): in the Rabb. Lit. this is the prevailing view. According to another view Adam's sin only brought in premature death; cf. Ap. Bar. liv. 15, lvi. 6.]

- (vs. 16): considered: Lat., acceptisti in corde tuo: cf. the Heb. phrase, שָׁאֲלָה, 1 Sam. 21 18.

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
17 Then answered I and said: ‘O Lord my lord, lo, thou hast ordained in thy law that the righteous 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’ the narrow things, but yet “shall not see” the wide! And he said unto me:

"Thou art not a judge above God
Nor wise above the Most High."

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 connection with it, the book is now mainly concerned.

f (vs. 17): O Lord my lord: Lat., Dominator domine (the regular address to God).

gh (vs. 17): in thy law: cf. Deut. 81.
h (vs. 18): therefore: Lat., ergo (Codd., C.M.): so Syr. (Codd. SA have autem).
i (vs. 18): can (will) endure: Lat., ferent = προσωπεύονται. The Oriental Versions read a present tense, wrongly (Syr., recte ferunt: Ethiop., bene ferunt).
j (vs. 18): after they hope Syr. adds that they will attain to (the wide). But Ethiop. supports Latin.
k (vs. 18): those, however: Lat. (A): qui autem (but S has qui enim [enim = de cf. 6 *]; CM have qui vero); Syr. and Ethiop. have autem (rightly).
l (vs. 18): endure: so Syr. (patiuntur): Lat. has have endured (passi sunt); but context requires present. The Lat. angusta passi sunt = τα στενα περισσαι. The last word was misread by the Ethiop. περισσαι; hence the rendering in Ethiop. angustis considerunt (Volkmar).
m (vs. 18): shall not see: Lat. (M): non videbunt; so Syr., Ethiop.; but Codd. SAC have non viderunt. [For the sentiment of the first part of the vs. cf. Ap. Bar. xiv.: For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with thee a store of works, etc. Cf. also 1 Enoch cii. 4 f., Wisdom 3, etc.]

n (vs. 19): Thou art not a judge, etc.: non es judex, etc.: es is the reading of Cod. C and is supported by all the Oriental Versions = Συ ου κρισεις αυτο τοι θεον (Hilg.). [The Thou is emphatic.] Most of the Lat. Codd. (ACM) read est = There is no judge . . . nor any that is wise. Cp. A.V. For a similarly constructed sentence expressing a somewhat similar sentiment Gunkel compares Apoc. Pauli 33: μη σου αληθειν ναρκασιν αυτο τοι θεον; [Here Arab. 1 takes as a question: Art thou a judge in place of God ?]
Yea, rather, let the many that now are perish than that the law of God which is set before them be despised. For God did surely command them that came (into the world), when they came, what they should do to live, and what they

o vs. 20): Yea, rather, let . . . perish . . . be despised: Lat., pereant enim multis praesentes quam anteposita dei lex = κοπλασθῶσαν γαρ πολλοὶ παροντες η ἀμελείσθω ο προκειμένος τον θεον (Wilamowitz, ap. Gunkel). Hilg. here takes the Lat. enim as = 8η (Syr., ergo); cf. 4 18: pereant is the best reading (SC): quam neglegatur is supported by SC. Syr. renders: peribunt ergo multi qui venerunt, quia neglecta est in eis lex, quae posita est a me (cf. A.V., which following inferior Latin readings, renders: For there be many that perish in this life, because they despise the law of God that is set before them).

p (vs. 21): For God did surely command: mandans enim mandavit deus.

q (vs. 21): them that came . . . when they came: Lat., venientibus qando venerunt = τοις παροντις πριν παρεστῶ (Volk.): the Ethiop. read this τοις παροντις (cf. Arab. 1); hence the rendering (in Ethiop.) praesentibus. To come (sc. into the world) = to be born; cf. John 1 9, 16 18 (11 27); cf. 4 Ezra 4 11 (note): cf. also Eccles. 1 (one generation goeth (= dies) another generation cometh (= is born)). The term is a general one and here includes the heathen world. In fact 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 Torah 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.). A passage in one of the early Midrashim (Mekillat 67a) is very instructive on this point. There we read that the other nations were asked by God to receive the Torah: first the sons of Esau; these asked, "What is written in it?" He said to them: "Thou shalt not kill." They said: "That is the heritage which our father handed down to us, as it is written (Gen. 27 46): By the sword shalt thou live. And so the sons of Esau rejected the Torah. In like manner the Ammonites, and the Ishmaelites were offered and rejected it; finally it was accepted whole-heartedly by the Israelites, who thus became its depositaries and guardians. In the same passage the seven commandments which had been given to and were obligatory upon the children of Noah* (and so upon the Gentile world) are referred to. The latter are reproached for their

* According to Maimonides six commandments were given by God to the first man (Adam), viz., prohibitions against (1) idolatry, (2) reviling the true God, (3) shedding innocent blood, (4) incest, (5) stealing, (6) perverting justice. A seventh was given to Noah (against eating flesh with the blood). All the inhabitants of the earth ought to acknowledge the seven commandments given to Adam and Noah.
should observe to avoid punishment. 23 Nevertheless they were disobedient, and spake against him;”

“They devised for themselves vain thoughts,”

“They proposed to themselves wicked treacheries;”

“They even affirmed the Most High exists not,” and “ignored” his ways!

non-observance of these laws. If the children of Noah could not remain faithful (παρακολουθήσαν) in only 7, how much less in the 613 commandments of the Torah! This conception may underlie the references in our passages to the breach by sinners of God’s laws (cf. also vs. 14).

r (vs. 22): nevertheless they were disobedient and spake against him:

Lat., Hi autem non sunt persuasi et contradixerunt ei = autem de πρεσβευτάκει ταύτα γιάγια 

the Ethiop. reading προσευχήσασαι for πρεσβευτάκει and κατέληξαν for κατέληξαν renders: sed abjuraverunt eum et reliquerunt eum.

s (vs. 22): they devised for themselves vain thoughts:

Lat., et constituerunt sibi cogitamenta vanitatis = kai κατέστησαν = et constituerunt (Hilg.). But the natural Greek equivalent for constitute would be συντάσσω (cf. Numb. 19, LXX and Vulg.): συντάσσω regularly = Heb. מָשַׁר. Possibly an original Heb. מָשַׁר (= and they formed or devised) was misread מָשַׁר = kal מָשַׁר. It should be noted, however, that constitute = irrigonis sometimes (cf. Ps. 89 (LXX 88)). If the Greek text underlying constitute here was καὶ εὐφυήμημα κατηθίασεν (= they formed or devised) was misread מָשַׁר = kal מָשַׁר (or else מָשַׁר = kal מָשַׁר). But Lat. and Vulg. suggests constituerunt sibi = kal Trpore&evroeavrots. Hilg. retranslates this καὶ προσέβουντας παραθασμεῖς πλημμελήματος: while Volk. suggests προσέβουντας as = circumventiones. A more satisfactory equivalent would be μεθοδεύσεις (crafts, artifices). Cf. the use of the verb μεθοδεύω = circumvenio in LXX of 2 Sam. 19 and in Ex. 21 (Aquila). But Ethiop. supports Lat. (et propoverunt sibi). For circumventiones delictorum (so Syr.) Ethiop. has fraudem et impietatem = μεθοδεύσεις καὶ πλημμέλημα.

t (vs. 22): they proposed to themselves wicked treacheries (lit., trickeries of transgression):

Lat., et proposuerunt sibi circumventiones delictorum: Hilg. retranslates this καὶ προσέβουντας παραθασμεῖς πλημμελήματος: while Volk. suggests προσέβουντας as = circumventiones. A more satisfactory equivalent would be μεθοδεύσεις (crafts, artifices). Cf. Ps. 94 (LXX 93) (which frameth mischief by statute).

u (vs. 23): they even affirmed the Most High exists not:

Lat., et superdixerunt altissimum non esse = καὶ εὐφυήμημα τον ψιθυρίον οὐκ εἶναι (Hilg.); cf. Ps. 141, 53: for the same sentiment cf. 4 Ezra 8.

v (vs. 23): ignored:

Lat., non cognoverunt (so Syr.) = non κατέληξαν. Ethiop., reliquerunt (Hilg., πρεσβευτάκει).
His law "they did despise," and "his covenants" they denied; "In his statutes they have put no faith," and have set at nought his commandments:

w (vs. 24): they did despise: Lat., spreverunt = ἐθνησαυ (Hiig.); Ethiop., desuerunt.

x (vs. 24): his covenants: Lat., sponsiones ejus = τας συνθηκας αυτου (cf. 5 note). So Syr.; but Ethiop. and Arab. have the singular. If the reading dispositionem (= διαταγη) in 7 is right, σφησια may be regarded as representing συνθηκη regularly, while testamentum = διαθηκη (for the latter cf. 3, 5).

Both σφησια and διαθηκη = Heb. נְשָׁב (except in 5). The pl. covenants (Heb., פְּרָשָׁב) does not occur in the O.T.; but it occurs in late Heb. (Talmud) and also in the N.T. (cf. Rom. 9, Gal. 4, Ephes. 2).

In 5 they who deny thy promises (sponsionibus tuis= τας συνθηκας αυτου). . . tread down those who have believed thy covenants (tuis testamentis= τας διαθηκας αυτου): here, of course, the two Greek words represent two Hebrew words, probably גִּמָּל and גָּם or הַגָּם: for sponsionibus tuis here Syr. has thy commandments; Ethiop., thy Law.

v (vs. 24): in his statutes they have put no faith: Lat., in legitimis ejus fidel non habuerunt = εις τοις νομοις αυτου πιασαν ουκ εμπιστευας (Volk.); in Heb. נְשָׁב וחָדָשׁ = cf. Ps. 119 (add Ps. 106, 78). The expression put faith in = to trust, believe in. The Gk. πιασαν εχω occurs once in LXX (Jer. 15, εις υπερ πεπηυς ουκ εχω πιασαν = νομα χριστου), but is not uncommon in N.T. (cf. e.g., Matt. 17, Rom. 14).

z (vs. 24): and have set at nought his commandments. So Arab. (sed abjecerunt praecepta ejus): but Syr. and Ethiop. have his works for his commandments (et opera ejus neglexerunt). This points to a Greek original και τα εργα αυτου εξουσιωσαν. The rendering τα εργα αυτου probably represents a Heb. נְשָׁב (Heb. נְשָׁב = both word [commandments] and deed, and in the pl. is rendered by τα εργα in 1 Kings 18; cf. πημα which has the same double meaning). Possibly the Greek here had τα πηματα αυτου and this was rendered by works (or misread ποιματα ?). In any case the reading adopted above is supported by the parallelism. The Lat. here has et opera ejus non perfeuerunt = and have not performed his works, i.e., the works demanded by the Law. But the parallelism does not support this; nor would the statement be appropriate in regard to the heathen. [The Lat. non perfeuerunt may, as Volkmar suggests, be a rendering of ουδενωσαν.]

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 lows, 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 Tora as unfit.†

* Also 2, 7.
† Cf. Schechter, Aspects, p. 59 f.
Therefore, O Ezra,
For the empty empty things,
And for the full full things!*"
remarks apply to the appearance of "the land which is now concealed," i.e., Paradise. These both belong to the incorruptible world which has yet to dawn.

These considerations make it probable that both verses (26 and 27) are the work of R. He has carefully modelled the phraseology on expressions that occur elsewhere in his sources. The appearance of the heavenly Jerusalem, which with paradise, is mentioned in 8:8 (S) plays a prominent and important part in a later section of the book which belongs to the Salathiel Apocalypse (9:38-10:57). It may very well have seemed surprising to the Redactor that no mention of so striking a feature should have been made in the present eschatological section; and hence the necessity for filling up the lacuna. Is, then, the older source (E) really resumed in vs. 28?

Here (7:25) it is announced that the Messiah, God's Son, shall be revealed, together with his immortal companions (cf. 6:6 note), and will set up the Messianic kingdom which is to last 400 years. At the close of this period the Messiah and all men shall die, and the earth return to primæval silence for seven days, after which the judgement is to follow (7:29-32). To this judgement, which is conducted by the Most High, all men are destined to rise. The furnace of Gehenna shall appear, and over against it the Paradise of delight (7:36). A description of the day of judgement follows (7:36-49).

The connection in thought between the opening verses of this section (7:25, 28) and its antecedent (6:11-28, which belongs to E), however, raises difficulties. These will appear from a summary review of the contents of the section. We read—

Behold the days come, and it shall be,
When I am about to draw nigh
to visit the dwellers upon earth.

Then . . . the books shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all shall see together. And the trumpet shall sound aloud, at which all men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear (6:17-24). This description introduces the last stage in the eschatological drama. The period of "woes" that was to precede the End, is past, and large numbers of the human race have already perished in the tumults and
confusions that have marked that time. Now the last act begins. The books of judgement are opened, and the trumpet announces the final consummation. Those who have survived the troublous times of the "woes" are now to witness God's salvation and the End of the world—

And it shall be whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee (i.e., the "woes"), he shall be saved and shall see my salvation and the End of my world (6 25).

But before the actual consummation there is to intervene a brief period of felicity—a sort of foretaste of the final blessedness—which is to be brought about by the return to earth of certain righteous ones who convert the surviving members of the human race, and the result of whose activity is the banishment of evil and the victory of faith and truth—

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 (of the world) be changed and be converted to a different spirit. For evil shall be blotted out . . . Faith shall flourish . . . and truth, which for a long time has been without fruit, shall be made manifest (6 26-28). Here the end of the last stage before the dissolution of the world seems to be reached. What room is left for the personal activity of the Messiah? His work has been accomplished by the return to earth and the missionary activity of the men who have not tasted death from their birth (i.e., Elijah, Enoch and the like). Nothing remains but to describe the End of the world and the final judgement. This is done in 7 20 1. It follows that the verses describing the 400 years' reign of the Messiah and his death (7 28-29) must be assigned (together with the two preceding verses) to the Redactor. Their brief summarizing character confirms this conclusion, and suggests that R is recapitulating a tradition derived from a parallel or different source. It is possible that the eschatological description embodied in 6 11-24 was known to R in two forms embodying varying conclusions. One form concluded with a description of the Messianic age without a Messiah (= 6 25-28); the other assigned a place in this period to the Messiah and his companions, and is reproduced in an abbreviated form here by R (= 7 27-29); cf. 13 28 (also R). But on the whole it seems more probable that this feature was derived from an independent source, probably a Rabbinical. The view that
the days of the Messiah would cover a period of 400* years appears in Rabbinical literature in the Pes. rab. (4a, ed. Friedmann), where it is attributed to R. Eliezer b. Hystqnos (c. 50–120 A.D.).† Further, the peculiar description of the Day of Judgement as a day without sun, moon or stars, etc., which follows in 7 29–43 may be paralleled in Rabbinic literature (see notes below). The whole of this section may therefore plausibly be assigned to the Redactor, who compiled it from Rabbinical sources. In some verses he appears to summarize, in others to cite from a source more fully; but, in any case, he is not using the older source (E), but is supplementing it. This view will also account for vs. 26, which is out of harmony with its context and owes its present position to R.

His governing idea seems to have been to make the eschatological description conform to a particular scheme which has the following sequence—

1. The period of the "woes" preceding the advent of the Messiah ( = 4 6–5 13a and 6 11–18,† both from E);

2. The advent and rule of the Messiah terminating in his death and that of all human beings (7 28–30); followed by

3. The resurrection and Day of Judgement (7 31–44).

The activity of the Messiah which is here (7 28–30) so briefly summarized is more fully described in ch. 13, which, apparently, has been amplified by R. There a principal part of the Messiah's mission is to destroy the assembled enemies of the divine rule (= the "wars of Gog and Magog"), and gather together the lost ten tribes. After the destruction of the last enemies the "survivors," who are defined as those that are found within my holy border (13 48; cf. 13 40b) and see very many wonders. It has been pointed out by Rosenthal (Vier apokryphische Bücher, p. 64 f.) that the eschatological scheme here followed,

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* For the method by which the number 400 was reached—in the characteristic Rabbinical manner—see notes on the text below.
† Cf. also T.B. Sanh. 99a, where the same tradition appears, but is attributed to another (contemporary) Rabbi.
‡ Here R has adapted what is really the first part of a description of the judgment (6 13–14, 31, 44) to a context which is intended to continue the description of the "woes" which herald the Messianic period.
as outlined above, agrees with that which was characteristic of the school of thought represented by R. Eliezer b. Hyrqanos, whose influence may be detected in other parts of this apocalypse.*

The conception of a temporary Messianic kingdom which closes the present age was widely accepted in Rabbinical circles, though many divergent views prevailed as to the length of time of its duration. One view agrees with that of our text that the period would be of 400 years. Another view, which attained a wide currency in early Christian circles is that of the millenium (1,000 years) represented in the Apocalypse of St. John (ch. 20).

A point to be noted in our text here is that the Messiah and all men (including, presumably, the men who have never tasted death from their birth) are destined to die, and rise again (after the week of years during which the world remains in primæval silence), with all souls.


(a) The (sudden) revelation of the Messiah; his 400 years' reign and death; the End of the age (R)

(7 36-30; parallel in part with 6 18 35-37)

In accordance with the results reached in the preceding discussion, this section may be assigned to R, who, however, depends upon an independent Rabbinical tradition which he here summarizes. But in vs. 26b R has introduced a feature which is here incongruous and out of place—the appearance of the heavenly Jerusalem and Paradise. These belong to the future age (cf. 8 44 note); whereas the temporary

* Cf. Mekilta to Ex. 16 30: R. Eliezer says: If ye keep this Sabbath, ye shall be delivered from three visitations—from the pangs (woes) of the Messiah, and from the day of Gog and Magog, and from the great day of Judgement (on 16 44 the same saying appears in a slightly different form and with the order: day of Gog and Magog, pangs of Messiah, etc. The former is certainly the right order).
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. 13, where vs 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.

But not improbably another motive may have been at work. One of the burning questions that agitated both Jewish and Jewish-Christian circles after the catastrophe of 70 A.D. was: What did the ruin of the Holy City portend? Was it a step towards the final catastrophe, and the end of all things? Or was it merely a temporary chastening, to be followed by the restoration of the earthly city, and a period of happiness? Some took the pessimistic view, and regarded the destruction as a sign of the impending End, and the return of primæval chaos, to be followed by resurrection, judgement and the future age. The opposite view (Jerusalem to be restored, and a happy age to return) is represented in Ap. Bar. iii. 5–iv. 1 (cited below on vs. 30). 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. Primæval 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 explicitly appears in other passages (cf. 4 Ezra 12 * 14 *; Ap. Bar. xxx, etc.). At the close of his reign, therefore, the Messiah ought to return in glory to heaven as he is made to do in Ap. Bar. xxx. But according to R, he and his immortal companions share the common fate with the righteous, and die with all men!

* For "behold the days come, and it shall be* when the signs which I have foretold unto thee shall come to pass.

["then shall the city that now is invisible appear,"]

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*a* (vs. 26): behold the days come, etc. (cf. 6 18): so Syr. and Ethiop.; but Lat., Arab. have behold the time shall come (ecce . . . tempus veniet).

*b* (vs. 26): then shall the city that now is invisible appear: (i.e., the heavenly Jerusalem): so Arm. (manifestabitur urbs quae nunc non apparet); Arab. 

[Ethiop. apparently misplaced the negative before rendering et abscondetur civilis quae nunc appareat: and the city which now appears (i.e., the earthly Jerusalem)
"And the land which is now concealed be seen."[27 And whoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see "my wonders."[28 For "my Son the Messiah"

shall be hidden: cf. Ap. Bar. xx. 2: (Therefore have I now taken away Sion, in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season)]. The Lat. misreading η πολις as η πολις (Gunkel) renders et apparebit sponsa [et] apparends (so CM; S apparends) civitas = and the bride shall appear even the city appearing (or coming forth); cf. R.V. So also Syr. (and the bride shall be revealed coming forth as a city). Perhaps this translation was influenced by the language of Rev. 21 (the new Jerusalem descending from heaven as a bride adorned for her husband). So Hilg. (Hilg. following the Lat. and Syr. here, retranslates: και ειρησθαι της μνησθαι και επιφανεις πολις: and the betrothed and glorious city shall appear. If this text be adopted the idea will be that of the heavenly Jerusalem being the spouse of Jahveh, just as Israel in the O.T. is sometimes represented as married to Jahveh. Cf. Rev. 19, 21. Ar. has et coronatam (i.e., sponsam) quae exsistit. See further additional note.

c (vs. 26): and the land which is now concealed be seen: Lat., et ostendetur quae nunc subducta terra (wrongly rendered under the influence of the corrupt text of previous clause; and she (i.e., the city) shall be seen that now is withdrawn from the earth, R.V.). Hilg. retranslates: και ειρησθαι της πολις. The heavenly Paradise is meant. For the juxtaposition (of the heavenly city and Paradise) cf. Ap. Bar. iv, Rev. 22; 4 Ezra 8 (and additional note there).

d (vs. 27): my wonders: so Lat. (v.l., mirabilia magnae: great wonders), Syr., Ar.: but Ethiop. has my glory; cf. Arm. (glory of the Most High). Ar. has shall be in expectation of my Son. The Greek original may have been τα παραδοθησα μου, read by Ethiop. την δοξα μου and by Ar., παραδοκει (παραδοκει: esxpectare). So Volk. The wonders of the Messianic Age, effected not by the Messiah but by God Himself, are meant.

e (vs. 28): my Son the Messiah: so Syr., Ar. 1; Ethiop., my Messiah; Ar. the Messiah; Arm., the Messiah of God. The Lat. reading, filius meus Jesus, contains an obvious Christian correction. This reading was already current in the time of Ambrose, who cites the passage.*

* This, as Violet suggests, may have arisen from a Greek text, η φαωομη, which was corrupted into φαωομη—an explanation that may also account for the Latin renderings (as an alternative to Gunkel’s given above).

shall be revealed," together with "those who are with him," and "shall rejoice" the survivors "four hundred years." And

ee (vs. 28): shall be revealed: Lat., revelabitur (cf. vs. 33). Cf. A p. Bar. xxxix. 7 (then the principate of my Messiah shall be revealed); T.B. Sukka 52b: Messiah ben David who shall be revealed (יָגוּר מָנוּז). f (vs. 28): those who are with him, i.e., the Messiah's immortal companions, the men who have never tasted death: cf. 6 note. Charles (Eschatology, p. 285 f.) wrongly understands this sentence to refer to "a preliminary resurrection or manifestation of the saints in the temporary Messianic kingdom." It is true that a first resurrection (of Christian martyrs) takes place at the beginning of the Millennial reign of Christ described in Rev. 20 4: but there is no hint of such a development here (cf., however, Ethiop. reading below). For the heavenly companions of the Messiah here cf. in the N.T. the "saints" or "angels" who are to appear with Christ at his parousia (1 Thess. 3 4; 2 Thess. 1 7).
g (vs. 28): shall rejoice (jocundabit): so Latin (S) and Oriental Versions. Some MSS. of the Latin text, however, (ACMN) read the passive [the survivors] shall rejoice (jocundabantur).
h (vs. 28): the survivors (qui relictis sunt). For the technical expression cf. 6 note. The Ethiop. here (interpreting) has those who are raised (from the dead): Arm., those who have remained in faith and patience. Only the surviving righteous share in the joys of the Messianic reign: cf. Ps. Sol. 17 40.
i (vs. 28): four hundred years. The versions are not consistent as to the exact number of years. The Lat. and Arab.  have the number 400; Syr. 30; Ar. 1,000; while Ethiop. and Arm. apparently omit. It seems clear, however, that the variations and omissions may be explained as deliberate changes, for dogmatic reasons, of the original number 400. This number can hardly be reconciled with a Christian application of the passage to Jesus. Perhaps the Syr. 30 was intended, as Violet suggests, to fit in with the supposed duration of Jesus' earthly life.

The classical Rabbinical passage on the subject is the following early (pre-Hadrianic) Baraitha (T.B. Sanh. 99a). R. Eliezer [ben Hyyqanos] says: The days of the Messiah will be 40 years, as it is said, "Forty years long was I grieved with this generation" (Ps. 95 10). R. Eleasar ben. Azaryå says: 70 years, as it is said: "It shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten 70 years according to the days of one King. Who is the King specially singled out? Answer: that is the Messiah. Rabbi Jose the Galilean* says: Three generations, for it is said, "They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, from generation to generation (lit., a generation, generations, i.e., three generations)."

* The text has Rabbi, i.e., R. Judah the Prince (end of 2nd cent.). But in the Midrash to Ps. 90 the dictum is ascribed to R. Jose the Galilean, a contemporary of the other Rabbis mentioned here (all pre-Hadrianic). See Klausner, p. 26n.

14—(24,30)
Hyrqanos] says: The days of the Messiah shall be 40 years; here it stands written, He humbled thee, suffered thee to hunger, and (then) fed thee (Deut. 8 4), and there it is written, "Make us glad according to the days thou hast humbled us and the years wherein we have seen evil" (Ps. 90 18). R. Dosa says: 400 years; here it stands written, "And they (Israel) shall serve them, and they (their oppressors) shall humble them 400 years" (Gen. 15 18), and there it is written, Make us glad according to the days thou hast humbled us (Ps. 90 18). R. Jose the Galilean* says: 365 years, according to the number of the days of the sun (solar year), for it is said, For a day of vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my redeemed is come (Is. 63 4).

When our text is compared with the above passage it becomes clear that it belongs to the same school of thought. The number 400 has been deduced by the combination of Gen. 15 18 and Ps. 90 18. The very phrase rejoice of our text obviously is derived from the Psalm passage. It should be noted that though the number 400 is associated, in the Talmud-text, with the name of R. Dosa b. Horkinas, in the Yalqut to Ps. 72 and 90, as well as in the Pesiqta, ch. 1 (end) the dictum is ascribed to Eliezer b. Hyrqanos. In any case the two Rabbis were contemporary (end of 1st cent. and first half of 2nd cent. A.D.). The numbers 400 and 40 refer of course to the wilderness-wanderings, and the bondage in Egypt respectively, and Rosenthal, who corrects the Talmud-reference on the basis of the Yalqut, points out that R. Eliezer was especially fond of framing his conceptions of the future on the events connected with Israel's sojourn in Egypt, regarded as a typical experience.

The conception of a temporary Messianic kingdom which belongs to the present age, and terminates with it, is also met with in Ap. Bar.; cf. xl. 3: And his (the Messiah's) principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end; only here, it should be noticed, no precise definition of the length of time assigned to it is given. The sudden revelation of the Messiah, as in our passage, is a feature in Ap. Bar. xxix. 3: And shall come to pass . . . that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. The Messiah appears suddenly, emerging from concealment. This idea, which probably underlies our passage and the parallel one, 4 Ezra 13 43, recurs elsewhere; cf. John 7 37 (when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is), and the Targ. Jon. on Zech. 3 4, 6 18. It should be added that the whole idea of a temporary Messianic kingdom, one characteristic expression of which is the doctrine of the millennium (Rev. 20 4), 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.

* Corrected from Rabbi as above.
† Here day is parallel, and therefore, according to the exegesis intended, equivalent to year: i.e., a divine day = 365 ordinary days, and a divine year = 365 ordinary years. So Gfrörer cited by Drummond, JM, p. 316. Contrast 2 Pet. 3 4 (one divine day = 1,000 years); cf. Ps. 90 4.
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it shall be, after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die and all in whom there is human breath.

j (vs. 29): after these years: so Lat. (Syr.): Ethiop., after this. The whole vs. is omitted (doubtless for dogmatic reasons) by the Arab. and Armenian versions.

k (vs. 29): my son: so Lat., Syr.: Ethiop., my servant, i.e., was = ἰησοῦς. The Lat. reading is undoubtedly right. Possibly Ethiop. points to an attempt to connect the death of the Messiah with that of the servant in Is. 53. With the latter conception, however, our text has nothing in common. Here there is no hint that the Messiah is to suffer in any way. His death is a purely natural one, following an unduly prolonged life of felicity.

kk (vs. 29): shall die. The death of the Messiah is, perhaps, a natural implication from the limited rôle assigned to him in a purely temporary Messianic kingdom; but it nowhere, so far as the present Editor is aware, receives such explicit expression as here. In Ap. Bar. xxx the Messiah at the close of his reign returns in glory to heaven, where he had pre-existed before his manifestation on earth: then follows the general resurrection and judgement. See further p. lvi.

That the passage was a source of difficulty on dogmatic grounds appears, not only from the fact that it is omitted by the Arab. and Armenian Versions, but also from the substitution in one Lat. MS. (L) of the reading ad sumetur for morietur; an assumption instead of death.

l (vs. 29): all in whom there is human breath: so Syr. and Lat., which has omnes qui spiramentum habent hominis (ACM); but Cod. S has homines, i.e., all men who have breath (life); Hilg., καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι. So Ethiop. reading sing. (every man who has, etc.) with support from some Lat. MSS.

m (vs. 30): Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days: Lat., et convertetur saeculum in antiquum silentium diebus se petem: so Syr. (silentium suum) and Ar. 1: Ethiop., and the world shall return to its first estate in which it shall be silent seven days: Ar. 3, and the world shall be in silence and rest as it was on that seventh day (viz., of the creation). The primaeval silence was unbroken (save for the creative voice of God) until man was formed: cf. 6 88 (darkness and silence were on every side; the sound of man’s voice was not yet before thee) and note there; cf. also Ap. Bar. iv. 7: shall the world return to its nature (of a foretime), and the age revert to primaeval silence? (Baruch asks God whether the ruin of Jerusalem is merely preliminary to the end of all things, and in iv. 1 is answered in the negative: Jerusalem is again to be restored: chaos is not to return; cf., however, xlv). Here again, as in 6 1-4, the controlling idea of the representation is that the End is a reversion to the Beginning: “Urzeit = Endzeit” (Gunkel).

Ar. 4, it is interesting to note, introduces the idea of the (millenial) Sabbath, consistently with its reading 1,000 years in vs. 28. With this may be compared one Rabbinic view, according to which the world would continue 6,000 years, and in the seventh (thousand) be destroyed. This was supported by the Babylonian Amora R. Qatina
world be turned into the primæval silence seven days," "like as in the first beginnings;" so that no man is left.

(b) The General Resurrection and Final Judgement: the Day of Judgement described (R)

(7 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 vs. 43 with the seven days of primæval silence mentioned in vs. 30. The numerous Rabbinic parallels have been indicated in the notes. 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 representation in vs. 33, according to which the Most High is revealed upon (i.e., seated upon) the throne of Judgement: cf. Dan. 7:1; 1 Enoch xc. 20; xxv, 3; and in the Similitudes (of the Elect One) 1 Enoch xiv. 3; lv. 4, lxii. 3, lxix. 27. In all these passages the divine Judge is spoken of as seated on the judgement-throne (sedes judicis, 4 Ezra 7 44), i.e., to judge in a forensic sense. When, on the other hand, the Heavenly One is said to arise from his royal throne (e.g., Assump. Mos. x. 3), this is the formula for the execution of retributive judgement (cf. Volz., p. 261). According to T.B. Pesah 54a and Ned. 39b 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 35; it finds its place between vv. 35 and 36 of the ordinary Vulgate text. These verses are numbered consecutively within square brackets in the following translation (as in R.V.) and form vv. [36]—[105]. The remaining verses (Vulg. 36–70) now appear as [106]—[140].

(Sanh. 97a) by the analogy of the Sabbatic year of release.* Thus Ar. (vs. 30): "like as in the first beginnings": Lat., sicut in prioribus initis; Syr., as it was in the beginning (= ev aρχα); Ethiop., as at first. Other versions omit. [The corrupt Vulg. reading judicis is reproduced by A.V., as in the former judgements.]

* R. Qatina said: For six thousand years the world shall continue, and in the seventh it shall be destroyed: as it is written (Is. 12:11), "And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day."

† A 1,000 year world-pause which should be a time when there is no computation, and no end; neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days nor hours is mentioned in 2 Enoch xxxii. 2; it separates between the old world and the new. Cf. Volz., p. 294.
And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake, shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish.

The earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein.

[And the chambers shall restore the souls that were committed unto them.]

The phrase “to sleep” (of death) must not be pressed in this connection, as if it implied that the body resting in the grave still retained a certain vitality. For the phrase cf. Cheyne, *OP*, p. 441. The expressions to rest and sleep in this connection are mostly used of the righteous dead; cf. Volz., p. 134.
reunited elements of the whole individual received the final judgement. This conception is well expressed in the ancient (liturgical) morning Benediction, which is attested in the Talmud (T.B. Ber. 60b): 

_Thou hast set within me is pure. Thou hast formed it, Thou hast breathed it into me: Thou preservest it within me, and Thou wilt take it from me, and restore it in time to come._ As long as the soul is within me, I will give thanks unto Thee . . . _O Lord of all spirits, who restorest souls to dead bodies._

*Cf. also the second of the Eighteen Benedictions (one of the oldest parts of the Synagogue Liturgy). Regarding the intermediate state of the soul the commonest form of belief among the Pharisees was that the souls of the righteous departed immediately into Paradise, those of the wicked to Gehenna where they awaited the final judgement. But another view, which harmonizes with the full description given in the Salathiel apocalypse of our book, was that "the souls of the righteous dwell beneath the throne of the divine glory, while those of the wicked wander about the world without repose" (cf. T.B. Shabbath 152b).† It may be assumed that R shares a view somewhat similar to this, and that in our text here he intends to describe the reuniting of soul and body in the general resurrection. The souls of the righteous are summoned from their chambers, those of the wicked from their aimless wanderings, to re-enter the dead bodies, and rise again for the judgement. Their final destiny is to be consigned to Paradise or Gehenna, which now are revealed (vs. 36).

On this interpretation it must be admitted that there is some difficulty about the last clause (the chambers shall restore the souls committed to them). Elsewhere in the book the chambers (promptuaria) are reserved for the souls of the righteous only. Another clause describing the return of the souls of the wicked from their wanderings is desiderated. The explanation may be that R is here (as elsewhere) borrowing from S, and does so in a rather loose and inaccurate way. He means to describe the return of all souls, good and bad. As the verse stands it might refer to a resurrection of righteous only; but the context negates this view.|| (Note that in Ap. Bar. xxiii. 4 a place is referred

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* Cf. Singer, _Heb. Engl. Prayer Book_, p. 5. This prayer is recited by the pious Jew every morning on awakening. The soul was believed to leave the body in sleep and return to it on awakening; so in the resurrection.

† Cf. also the Midrash Rab. to Qoh. 3:1: _There is a tradition: the souls of the pious as well as those of the ungodly all ascend into the height; only (with this difference) that the former are placed in the treasury (םן), while the latter are tossed about (держан) on the earth, as Abigail by the Holy Spirit said to David: The soul of my lord shall be bound up in the bundle of life . . . and the souls of thine enemies (i.e., of the ungodly) them shall he sling out as from the hollow of a sling._

‡ All the other passages referring to the chambers belong to S.

|| The difficulty would vanish if we could suppose that a clause referring to the souls of the wicked had fallen out. As the judgement concerns both righteous and sinners, and the resurrection precedes it, it is clear that a general resurrection of righteous and wicked is intended; not of righteous only.
And the Most High "shall be revealed" "upon the throne of judgement":

"(and then cometh the End,)
and "compassion shall pass away,"
"(and pity be far off,)"

To where the dead (good and bad) might be guarded: cf. Charles ad loc.) While there is, therefore, in this passage, which belongs to R, a clear reference to the resurrection of the body, it is by no means clear that this belief was shared by the writer of S. In the latter the intermediate state of souls is elaborately described (cf. 7 f.); and they are represented as awaiting the day of judgement; but there is no distinct reference to or suggestion of a resurrection of the body. From the fact that souls immediately after death suffer anguish or enjoy happiness in S it seems clear that they are already endowed with bodies suitable (cf. 7*) to their altered condition, which are of finer texture than and superior to the old corruptible bodies. They await, not a bodily resurrection, but the Final Judgement. (So 1 Enoch xxii; cf. Luke 16 f.) This conception apparently characterizes also 2 Enoch. It seems not improbable that R in compiling the present passage was consciously supplementing S. He missed an explicit statement of the bodily resurrection, and was at pains to supply the deficiency. The elaborate account of the bodily resurrection given in Ap. Bar. xlix-li may also have been designed to counteract views similar to those of S. Kabisch, who assigns the whole of this section to the older source E, regards the clause about the chambers restoring the souls committed to them as an interpolation by R. from S.

w (vs. 33): shall be revealed: so Lat., Syr. (reveal himself): Ethiop., shall appear: Ar. shall be seen sitting.

v (vs. 33): upon the throne of judgement: Lat., super sedem judicii = επι τον θρόνον της κρισίας (Hilg.): so Syr.; but Ethiop. Ar. and Ar. add his (throne of judgement); so one Lat. MS. (L) and Gunkel. For the representation, which was traditional in Apocalyptic, cf. Dan. 7 (I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit). It should be noticed that in our passage one throne is spoken of (as there is but one divine Judge) as in Rev. 20 (the great white throne); contrast Rev. 20 (θρόνοι).

u (vs. 33): (and then cometh the End) (cf. I Cor. 15): so Syr. The other versions, including the Latin, omit. Hilg. (και εἶλασαν η σωτηρία) and Gunkel adopt. End lit. (in the Syr.) consummation (σωτηρία = το End, Dan. 12, LXX).

x (vs. 33): compassion shall pass away: Lat., pertransibunt misericordiae = οι ανθρώπου (Hilg.) or τα ελπι ( = Vulg. misericordiae = Heb. צומח, Ps. 88 (89)).

34 But judgement alone shall remain,
truth shall stand,
and faithfulness triumph.

z (vs. 33): long-suffering: Lat., longanimitas = μακροθυμία (Prov. 15).
a (vs. 33): withdrawn: Lat., congregabitur = Heb., תַּחַת (Gunkel).
[Ethiop. has throughout the vs. his compassion, his grace, his long-suffering, i.e., God's.] The variants of the Versions can well be explained as arising from the following Greek text, which follows the suggestions of Volkmar mainly: καὶ διελεύσονται (misread by Ethiop. and Arab. ελεύσεται) οἱ ἐκτένεις, καὶ τὸ ἐλεός ἐπιχυρησθείη (misread by Arab. προχυρισθείς, shall approach), καὶ η μακροθυμία συγχυρισθείη (Lat., congregabitur = Ar., shall meet).
b (vs. 34): judgement: so Lat. and Ethiop.; Syr., my judgement (so Gunkel); Ar. 1, the judgement of God, and adds who accepts no person.
c (vs. 34): truth: Lat., veritas = η ἀληθεία =bane. Ar. 1, Ar. 2, righteousness.
d (vs. 34): faithfulness: Lat., fides = η πιστις = πιστή (e.g., Ps. 32 4). [Ethiop. appends his to all these attributes—his, i.e., God's.]
e (vs. 34): triumph: Lat., convalescet (wax strong, R.V.) = (?)

In vs. 33, which describes the Final Judgement, the attributes compassion, pity, long-suffering, must be understood of the Divine Judge. So the Ethiop., by inserting his after each, rightly interprets. In the same way truth and faithfulness in vs. 34 must be explained as divine attributes of God as Judge. This has been obscured by the rendering faith in the last clause (Lat., fides; Greek, μισθος). The underlying Heb. תַּחַת, however, has the passive meaning faithfulness, trustworthiness: cf. Deut. 32 4 (A God of faithfulness (בְּנַחֲשׁ בִּימ) and without iniquity: just and upright is he). Our text says that compassion, long-suffering, shall pass away; only judgement shall remain, and this shall be conducted in accordance with the strict requirements of perfect equity and justice. The combination of truth and judgement is common in Rabbinic: cf. e.g., the common Benediction: Blessed be the faithful Judge (Judge of truth: בְּנַחֲשׁ בִּימ): cf. also Aqiba’s saying in Pirqe ‘Abóth iii, 15 (ed. Taylor 25): And the judgement (i.e., the final sentence on man) is a judgement of truth (בְּנַחֲשׁ בִּי): and another (attributed to the same Rabbi) in Mek. 33a (on Ex. 14 18): He judges everything in truth and everything in justice (לְכָל אָכְלַת בִּי לְכָל אָכְלַת בִּי). Cf. Schechter Aspects, p. 304 f. An excellent illustration of the idea is to be seen in the Greek Esdras (1 Esdras) 4 41, the famous section in praise of “truth,” which is regarded as the highest of the divine attributes. Cf. especially 4 4 f. Truth abideth and is strong
And recompense shall follow, and the reward be made manifest; "Deeds of righteousness shall awake," and "deeds of iniquity shall not sleep!"

And then shall the pit of torment appear, forever; she liveth and conquereth forevermore. With her is no accepting of persons and rewards; but she doeth the things that are just... neither in her judgement is any unrighteousness... Blessed be the God of truth. Cf. further 6, 8 notes.

f (vs. 35): recompense: Lat., opus: so Syr.: Ethiop., his work: Ar., works. These point to a Heb. עֵלֶם, which has the meaning (a) work, and (b) reward for work, recompense. Here parallelism demands latter sense: cf. Is. 40:9 for הֵלֶם and תֵּבֵּא. There may be an allusion to this passage here. Ar., and works shall follow, and this (= these) shall the rewards follow which were given them.

g (vs. 35): Deeds of righteousness: Lat., justitiae: so Syr., Ethiop. (sing.) = αἰ̂ δικαιῶμαι = μη. In Rabbinic language this term would denote definite acts of charity such as those enumerated in Matt. 25:34-40 (cf. James 2:14, 15), and more specifically almsgiving (cf. Matt. 6:1-4).† Such acts, and the performance of religious duties generally, constituted the treasure of [good] works laid up with the Most High (7:1) or the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered (Ap. Bar. xxiv. 1). The pl. αἰ δικαιῶμαι occurs (in the same sense) in Ecclus. 44:14 (Greek) and in Ps. Sol. 9:6 (cf. Ryle and James ad loc.).

h (vs. 35): shall awake: Lat., vigilabunt: so Syr. Ethiop. (Ar.) = γρηγορεῖται (Hilg.), i.e., the good deeds of every man will no longer be concealed. Cf. (for the thought) Matt. 6:1-4.

i (vs. 35): deeds of iniquity: Lat., injustitiae = αἰ δικαιῶμαι = (perhaps) προφαθεῖσθαι.

j (vs. 35): shall not sleep: Lat., non dormibunt (notice unusual form of fut.; cf. Bensly, MF, p. 16) = οὐ καθευδηθῆσαι (Hilg., Volk.): all acts of wickedness will come to light.

k (vs. 36): the pit of torment: Lat. (emended text), lacus tormenti: so Syr. (emending παραποτίζω to παρατίζω), Ethiop.; Arab. (abyss of torment). In this way Bensly has brought the Versions into harmony = Gk., ο Λακων τῆς βασάνως. Cf. Lk. 16:24, 25 (ἐν βασάνως). Heb. (?) ὡς ἄδεια. For the representation cf. Rev. 9:8 (τὸ φρεαρ τῆς αβυσσοῦ —pit of the abyss).

* It seems to the present writer that this section may very well depend upon a Hebrew (or Aramaic) source.

† In Matt. 6:1 δικαιοσύνη = ἀληθινοτητή: here (vv. 1-4) the whole thought (secret aims, open reward by the Father) is parallel with that in our text. In fact Matt. 6:1-4, 25:31-44, and our passage have striking points of contact. The practice of acts of charity or benevolence (σεβασμός τῆς) was an essential part of Rabbinical ethics.
and over against it the place of refreshment; and the furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest, and over against it the Paradise of delight.

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]

* This passage (Is. 31 *) is interpreted of Gehenna in T.B. Erub. 19a. Hence Heb. equivalent of our text would be המות העון. For the seven names of Gehenna cf. the same passage. They are, according to R. Jehoshua b. Levi: Sheol, Abaddon, Well of destruction [אר דחא], roaring pit, miry clay (Ps. 40 *), shadow of death, and lower world [רומת נפש].
[38] 'Look, now, before (you) : —
here delight and refreshment,
there fire and torments!
Thus shall he speak unto them in the Day of Judgement.

[39] 'For thus shall the Day of Judgement be.'

[40] '(A day) whereon is neither sun, nor moon, nor stars,
 neither clouds, nor thunder, nor lightning;
Neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor cloud-rack,
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;

[41] neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold,"; neither hail, nor rain, nor dew; neither noon, nor night, nor 'dawn'; neither shining, nor brightness, nor light; neither heat, nor frost, nor cold; neither hail, nor rain, nor dew; neither noon, nor night, nor 'dawn'; neither shining, nor brightness, nor light;

three temperatures: so also Ethiop. (winter, summer, sowing; cold, heat, mist): Ar. ¹ has summer, autumn, spring, winter; Ar. ², cold, heat, shade: sowing, reaping, winter, summer. Lat. (Violet) has neque aestatem, neque verem, neque aestum, neque hiemem, neque gelum, neque frigus: neither summer, nor spring nor heat: neither winter nor frost nor cold. Apparently there is here a displacement, heat being transferred to the first line (to go with summer, etc.) and winter to the second (to go with cold, etc.). The verse is an expansion of Gen. 8 ²² (cold and heat, winter and summer), a third term being added to each pair to adjust the lines to the metrical scheme (three terms in each line). The equivalents for the terms used are as follows:

- summer = aestas = θερός = θυρ; 
- autumn = ver = εαρ = ηή; 
- winter = hiems = χειμω = ρή; 
- heat = aestas = καύμα = χή; 
- frost = gelu = τρέγχωσ = μπ; 
- cold = frigus = θύρωσ = ιπ.

The Hebrew term for autumn (γη) is rendered εαρ (= ver, spring) in Gen. 8 ²², LXX, as presumably here. The confusion of the seasons spring and autumn may be due to different reckonings for beginning the year: according to one it began in spring; according to another in autumn (Syr. here renders beginning of the year, i.e., autumn). It should also be noted that sometimes horef has a wider connotation, embracing autumn and winter; so in Gen. 8 ²²; but here where winter is specially mentioned it will mean autumn proper as distinguished from winter. [For the division of seasons among the months see further additional note on 7 ²¹, end.]

c (vs. 41): neither hail . . . rain . . . dew: Lat., neque grandinem neque pluviam, neque ros (vorem): so Ethiop. (but between hail and rain it adds snow and mist): Syr. inverts rain and dew. The equivalents are: rain = pluvia = veros = ρή; dew = ros = τρέγχωσ = μπ. Cf. Deut. 32 ¹ (Heb. and LXX).

d (vs. 41): dawn: Lat., ante lucem. A noun is desired by the context and by the other Versions (Syr., day; Ethiop., morning; so Ar. ¹); cf. vs. 40 above (mane). Bensly (MF, p. 57) considers that "it is not improbable that in the original text of the Latin there stood the rare word antelucium." The Greek equivalent would be op̣ηov = Heb. ἀνέλυ. [According to Bensly ibid., op̣ηov in Ecclus. 24 ²¹ (²² ²¹) is rendered antelucanum in O.L.]

e (vs. 42): neither shining, nor brightness, nor light: Lat., neque nitorem neque claritatem neque lucem: Gr., οὐδὲ αὔξην οὐδὲ λαμπρότητα οὐδὲ φως = ἐν αὐξήν οὐδὲ λαμπρότητα οὐδὲ φῶς = ἐν αὐξήν οὐδὲ λαμπρότητα (Is. 1 ⁸ and λαμπρότητα = νη, Dan. 12 ⁴, Heb. and LXX). The Syr. (cf. Ethiop.) adds torches (or torch) after shining (neither shining nor torches): this represents the Greek λαμπρότητα, which = flashes (of lightning) in
save only 'the splendour of the brightness of the Most High,' whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined (for them). \(^7\) Such is 'my' Judgement and its prescribed order: to thee only have I showed these things.

Ex. 20. This probably points to a reading lambda or lambadas, which may have been a gloss on aneu = lampas = i.e., shining = lighting-flash: cf. 4 Ezra 6, where aneu is used of lightning (niiores coruscum = rur anuas tum aerisaurum: lighting-flashes). The Arm. has neque lampas nocitis.

f (vs. 42): the splendour of the brightness of the Most High: Lat., splendorem claritatis Altissimi: Syr. has ray or splendour (phoebh) of the glory of the Most High = the actis the doxis ton phos ton (Hilg.) = perhaps φυλή τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. ἡ ἁπάντης ἡ φωτιά, splendour of the Shekinah: T.B. Ber. 64a actis = Syr., ἁρμία in Ecclus. 43): Ethiop. has the lightning (= η ἁρμία) of the glory of God.

g (vs. 42): whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined (for them): Lat., unde omnes incipiunt videre, quae anteposita sunt: = φανέρωσις ἡ εὐλογίας ὅπως ἐρχεται (cf. ἡ ἁπάντης ἡ φωτιά). But the Lat. phrase, quae anteposita sunt (cf. Ethiop., what awaits him) points possibly to a Greek reading, τα προκείμενα (αυτοῖς), the possible Hebrew equivalents of which might be (ἡ ἁπάντης ἡ ἐνωμία, or ἡ ἁπάντης ἡ ἐνωμία) perhaps the second of these is the best. The meaning is that the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will serve to reveal what is prepared for the judgement (cf. 4 Ezra 7 for judgement prepared). For the representation cf. Is. 60 1 f., Rev. 21; and cf. 4 Ezra 6 note. Gunkel remarks that the section breathes the spirit of the mystic before which all that hides the vision of God disappears.

h (vs. 43): and its duration . . . week of years: Lat., spatium enim habebit sicut ebdodama annorum = to be μηνες εἰκος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἐβδομάδα έννεα (Hilg.) = Heb., וּשְׁנֵי שָׁנָה וּשְׁנֵי שָׁנָה וּשְׁנֵי שָׁנָה. With the week of years, here, during which the Judgement lasts cf. the seven days' silence in vs. 30: but here each day = 1 year (cf. the dictum of R. Jose the Galilean cited in note i on 7 above). For week (or weeks) of years cf. Dan. 9 f. (the seventy weeks = seventy weeks of years). It should be noted that the word for week (shabb'a) in the Hebrew of the Mishna often has the technical meaning of year-week (seven years) in connection with the Sabbatical year. [In our passage Syr. and Ar. agree with Lat. in reading a week of years: but Ethiop. has seven years and Ar. seventy years.]

i (vs. 44): my: Ethiop., his.


* For הנעמה might be substituted חננה or חננקר in later Hebrew.
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

[CHAP. 7]

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON 7 ** f.

A paraphrase of verses (vv. 40–42) occurs in Ambrose de bono mortis, xii: [Ibimus eo ubi paradisus est jucunditatis . . . ] ubi nullae nubes, nullae tormenta, nullae coruscationes, nulla ventorum processa, neque tempesta, neque vesper, neque aetas, neque hyems vices variabunt tempora; non frigus, non grando, non pluviae, non solis iustus erit usus, aut lunae, neque stellarum globi, sed sola Dei fulgebiet claritas. [Dominus enim lux omnium.] There is also a reminiscence of a part of this passage in the Greek Ezra—Apocal. (ed. Tisch.), p. 26: η ημερα της κρισεως η ημερα της γης η ημερα . . . ( = vs. 38 end, 39 f.).

A remarkable parallel, which seems to have affinities with our text, occurs in the Sibyll. Oracles, iii. 89–92—

No night, nor dawn, nor many days of care,
Nor spring, nor winter, nor the summer time,
Nor autumn. And then of the mighty God
The judgement midway in a mighty age
Shall come, when all these things shall come to pass.*

The description given in our passage of the Day of Judgement is a remarkable one and may be regarded as classical. R almost certainly derived it from some current traditional form. It may, with great probability, be regarded as the product of two main ideas: (1) that the End of the World will mean a reversion to primitive conditions; "Urzeit = Endzeit"—τα σχηματα ως τα πρωτα (so Gunkel); and (2) the appearance of God in judgement is conceived as having a paralysing effect on all created beings and things; every activity is brought to a standstill; the old order dissolves and passes away. Many different representations of this idea meet us in the apocalyptic literature; cf. e.g., 1 Enoch i. 5 f. cii. 2; Sibyll. Oracles. iii. 672–681; v. 346 f.; Assump. Mos. x. 4 f., etc.; † but all are dominated by the conception that the world-judgement brings with it the collapse of the present order.

As has already been pointed out in the notes above our passage seems to have been framed with Gen. 8 ** in view; the verse containing the divine promise: while the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease (ναος ημερα). At first sight this seems to guarantee an eternal stability to the present order, and it is interesting to see how the apparent contradiction with the conception of a final collapse was overcome. In the Midrash rabbâ on the verse the following comment occurs—

"While the earth remaineth," etc.: R. Huna said in the name of R. Aha: How? The sons of Noah might have supposed perhaps that their covenant which had been concluded would stand for ever? Therefore

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* Ed. Milton S. Terry, p. 59 f. The Greek text is—

Ου νυξ, ουκ ημερας, ουκ ημερας πολλα μεριμνης,
Ουκ εφω, ουκε θερος ου χειμας, ου μεταφορων.
Και τοτε δη μεγαλου θου κρισι κει μεσον ημερας,
Αληθες μεγαλου, στω τας παντα γενηθαι.

Cf. also the passage 2 Enoch xxxiii. 2 cited in note m on 7 ** above.
† Cf. Volz., p. 282 f.
I have said: "While the earth endureth," etc.: Only so long as day and night endure shall their covenant endure; when, however, that day comes of which it is said (Zech. 14:7): "There shall come a day, it is known to the Lord, (when) there shall be neither day nor night," then shall their covenant be annulled.

In the same connection R. Eliezer (b. Hyyqanos) who, Rosenthal thinks, may be the source of the representation in our passage, is reported to have explained the words shall not cease in Gen. 8:22 (i.e., יִרְשָׁעִי יִרְשָׁעִי as meaning must not rest, have not rested. This rather forced exegesis may be explained as an attempt to reconcile the apparent contradiction already referred to. Other scriptural passages which probably influenced the expressions of our text are Is. 51:9 and Amos 5:18.

[In the Midrash ad loc. the seasons referred to in Gen. 8:22 are thus divided among the months of the year—

seed-time (ܡܵܐ) : half Tisri, Marîesvan and half Kislev (Oct.–Nov.);
winter (ܩܵܪ) : half Kislev Tebeth and half Shebat (Dec.–Jan.);
cold (ܐܘܢ) : half Shebat, Adar, and half Nisan (Feb.–March);
harvest (ܠܒ) : half Nisan, Iyyar, and half Sivan (April–May);
summer (ܡܪ) : half Sivan, Tammuz and half Ab. (June–July);
heat (ܠܒ) : half Ab., Elul, and half Tisri (Aug.–Sept.).]

V. THE DEBATE CONTINUED (FROM 7:28): ISRAEL’S ELECTION AND THE PROBLEM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

The rest of this long vision which, with the exception of one section (8:22–9:13), belongs to S, is mainly occupied with the problem which has already been touched upon in 7:17: 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 (7:21; cf. 8:18)? 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 finally 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. 7:22 and 7:28 f., and especially the note on 7:24). 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 8 § 1, but note the answer 8 § 7-46). 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,* but these few are infinitely more precious than the many who perish. The feeling of horror and pity for the lost, however, remains.

These are evidently the reflections of a mind tortured by doubts—doubts as to the sufficiency of human nature, even at its best, to live up to the divine requirements, which irresistibly recall the mental conflict so vividly described in Romans 7. St. Paul was clearly not the only Law-abiding Jew who underwent such spiritual struggles.

The whole section may be subdivided as follows—

(1) 7 45-74: The fewness of the saved justified: this followed by a lament over man's evil case: (S).

(2) 7 76-101: the state of the soul after death and before the judgement: (S).

(3) 7 102-111: No intercession on the Day of Judgement: (S).

(4) 7 112-131: What avails the promise to man who is born to sin? Yet, though tragic, the sinner's doom is deserved: (S).

(5) 7 132-8 § 8: 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) 8 § 8-9 § 11: The signs of the End reviewed and applied to the author's own times: (R).


(1) THE FEWNESS OF THE SAVED JUSTIFIED: THIS FOLLOWED BY A LAMENT OVER MAN'S EVIL CASE (S)

The Apocalyptist resumes the debate which was broken off at 7 § 8. He had raised the question (7 § 17) 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 rule that the most precious things are the rarest. Therefore, the few that are to be saved, inasmuch as they have made the divine

* The "few" are evidently Israel as a whole in contradistinction with the vast heathen world.
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 long-suffering (vv. 62–74).

The section falls into two sub-divisions—

(a) The fewness of the saved

(7 48–51) —

And I answered and said: ‘O Lord, I said even then and say now: Blessed are they who come (into the world) and keep thy commandments! 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...
thy covenant? 47 And now I see that the coming Age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto many. 48 For the evil heart has grown up in us which has estranged us from God, and brought us into destruction; and has made known to us the paths of death, and showed us the paths of perdition, and removed us far from life;

r (vs. 46): thy covenant: Lat., sponsionem tuam: so Ar. 1: but Syr. has commandment: so Ethiop. statute. The textual evidence suggests a difference of reading in the Gk. text: varying between διαθήκην and διαθήκην (Volk.). This is confirmed by the marginal reading dispositionem in Cod. C. For sponsio = εὐθύνη cf. 7 14 note x.

s (vs. 47): that the coming Age . . . many: so Syr., which renders: quia paucis futurum est saeculum venturum feras iucunditatem, multis vero tormentum = so Ar. * in this context introduces, for theological reasons, some additions of its own: The places of punishment are many; and many there are that go to them: because the Evil One hath put in our hearts all these evils, etc. As a matter of fact, the Evil One (i.e., the Devil) is never mentioned in the Apocalypse; the idea is alien to the theology of the book.

t (vs. 48): the evil heart: cor malum (elsewhere cor malignum: cf. 3 note).

u (vs. 48): has grown up: Lat., increvit: so Ethiop.; but Syr. has simply is [Ar. 1 in this context introduces, for theological reasons, some additions of its own: The places of punishment are many; and many there are that go to them: because the Evil One hath put in our hearts all these evils, etc. As a matter of fact, the Evil One (i.e., the Devil) is never mentioned in the Apocalypse; the idea is alien to the theology of the book].

v (vs. 48): has estranged us: Lat., nos abalienavit = অপরাধীপ্রযুক্তন মাত্র (cf. 6 8, note r) = (?) অপরাধীপ্রযুক্তন মাত্র; Syr., hath caused us to err or stray (যত্ন): so Ethiop. (errare nos fecit); cf. R.V., hath led us astray; cf. Ps. 58 1, where go astray (Heb., בֶּאַר; Syr., প্রযুক্তন মাত্র) is parallel with are estranged (Heb., רֵע; Gk., ἀποστειλαμενων).

w (vs. 48): from God. The Lat. text has from these (sc. commandments): so Syr. and Ethiop. Violet suggests that in the original Heb. text וַיְזָכָר וַיִּהְפָּךְ was misread וַיְזָכָר. This is highly probable, especially if the Hebrew word was written in an abbreviated form (וַיְזָכָר).

x (vs. 48): destruction: Lat., corruptionem = φθορα, or, better, διαφθορα = Heb., נַפְרָד (cf. Dan. 10 8; Heb. and LXX). For φθορα cf. Ps. Sol. 4 7; Ethiop., calamity.

y (vs. 48): and has made known to us . . . death: so Syr. (et vias mortis demonstravit nobis): Lat. has simply [in corruptionem] et itinerum mortis; R.V. [into corruption] and into the ways of death. The Ethiop. also has no verb with this clause.

z (vs. 48): and showed us the paths of perdition: so Lat., Syr.; but Ethiop. (and on the way of death] and on the way of destruction hath led (us). There may have been some confusion in the reading of the Greek
and that not a few only, but "well nigh" all that have been created!

49 And he answered me and said:

Hear me, and I will instruct thee, and a second time will admonish thee:

50 For this cause the Most High has made not one Age but two. 51 And whereas thou hast said that the righteous are not many but few, while the ungodly abound—hear (the answer) to this: Suppose thou have choice stones, in number exceeding few, wilt thou set (place) with them lead and clay?

52 And I said: Lord, how should it be possible?
And he said unto me: 'Not only so, but'
Ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
Speak to her, and she shall declare it unto thee.

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 clay than lead.'

Do thou, then, consider which things are precious and to be desired: that which is abundant or that which is rare?

And I said: O Lord, my Lord, that which is plentiful is of less worth, but that which is more rare is precious.

And he answered me and said: 'Weigh within thyself'

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i (vs. 54): *not only so, but.* The connection 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 recognises between them. But further, the earth also teaches the same lesson that 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.

j (vs. 55): *speak to her:* so Syr. and Ethiop. [the clause is absent in Ar.]; but Lat. has *adulare ei* (intreat her, R.V.), a rather strong word, which "seems to import a needless intensity into a simple appeal" (Bensly). Gunkel suggests that it may represent Heb. "address fair words to." 

k (vs. 55): *say to her:* so the Oriental Versions; the Lat. (best reading) is: *dices enim ei = for thou shalt say to her:* in some Lat. MSS. this has been corrected to *dicens . . . creatur* in order to make what follows the speech of the earth. Cf. Bensly, p. 60. For the representation (asking the earth) cf. 8*, Job 16*, etc.

l (vs. 56): *but silver ... lead:* this according to Ewald is to be regarded as the answer of the earth.

m (vs. 57): *Do thou, then, consider:* Lat., *aestima ergo tu:* cf. 4*, *aestima . . . apud te* (and note there). Ar. here weigh now with thyself = *aes. apud te.*

n (vs. 57): *which things are:* Lat. (some Codices), *quae haec sint:* Violet aptly compares Heb. *עֶבֶר רֹאִים = תִּזְמֹר ouros* (often in LXX): also אַלְכָּה נְכוֹזָה Zech. 1* = τις οὐρα ταύτα; the haec thus reflects a Hebrew idiom.

o (vs. 57): *is rare:* Lat. [*quod*] rarum nascitur. Here *nascitur* = probably γέγενσα (Gunkel).


q (vs. 58): *but:* Lat., *enim = et* as often.

r (vs. 59): *weigh within thyself:* Syr. renders as in 4* = aestima apud te = (?) ἀναλογιζομαι παρα σεαυτῷ or εἰς σεαυτόν. The Ethiop. and Ar. imply the same reading. The Lat. text is here corrupt and
what thou hast thought! For he that has what is rare rejoices beyond him that has what is plentiful.

60 So also shall be my promised judgement; I will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inasmuch as they it is that make my glory prevail now already, 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,
'counted as smoke,"
are comparable unto the flame:"
'They are fired, burn hotly, are extinguished!'

(b) The Apocalyptist's Lament over man's evil case
(7 63-74)

And I answered and said: 'O thou Earth, what hast thou brought forth,"'if the mind is sprung from the dust" as
and then vanisheth away). In the versions of Aquila and Synmachus
argus constantly = בָּנִ in Ecclesiastes: so also in the Ps. passage
cited above (144 [143] 4: αἰθρῶτος στόμι τοῦμομοσίῳ). The same
comparison is made in Ap. Bar. lxxxii. 3.

As (vs. 61): counted as smoke, are comparable unto the flame: so Syr.
= (?) kai ws karvos Aoyugdevres kal Ty pKoyi worw8evres. The Heb.
original might have been: σνεκοσνεκοσνεκοσνεκοσνεκοσνεκοσ.
For τυ = χνοσσοι cf. Ps. 88 (89) : τις νεκανει λαοθεται την κρίσιν;
[in this passage χνοσσοι is rendered by the same Syr. word (חרב)
as in our text]. For the two complete clauses as rendered above the
Lat. text has et flammae ac fumo adaequati sunt (and become as flame
and smoke, R.V.). The Syriac text makes three clauses with three
predicates; this text is confirmed by the parallelism; the Syriac
order also (vapour, smoke, fire) is better than the Latin, and suits the
last line of the verse, which corresponds in reverse order (are fired, burn
hotly, are extinguished). The Ethiop. however, supports Latin.
If the Lat. represents an imperfect text we may suppose that ac fumo
has been misplaced. Restored to its proper place in the second clause,
the latter might run: et sic ut fumus aestimatisunt: the last clause is
now et flammae adaequati sunt. For smoke in this connection cf.

ς (vs. 61): they are fired, burn hotly, are extinguished; Lat., et
exarserunt et ferverunt et extincti sunt = (?) και έξεκαυθησαυ και
έθερμαυθησαυ και έκβασθησαυ = (?), και ένωκατ ένωκατ ένωκα; Cf. Is. 43 17;
Ps. 118 1. For the sentiment of the former part of the verse,
cf. Job 7 7, Wisdom 2 4; also 4 Ezra 13 10, 11. The flame which, as
it were, consumes itself, is here a figure, apparently for evanescence.
[The comparisons (passing away as smoke, etc.) of our text are applied
definitely to the Gentiles in Ap. Bar. lxxxii. 3 f.]

τ (vs. 62): O thou earth, what hast thou brought forth: Lat., O tu terra
quid peperisti. The Syr. expands: Ο, what hast thou done, O earth,
that these have been born from thee and go into destruction! [the Syr.
begins a new sentence with what follows: Ι, now, the mind, etc. Violent
punctuates the Latin in the same way: quid peperisti! Si sensus, etc.]

υ (vs. 62): if the mind (sensus = vous*) 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.

* Or perhaps διανοια; cf. 10 31, note h.
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.*

*But, as it is,* the mind grows with us, and on this account we are tormented, *because we perish and know it.***

Let the human race lament,* but the beasts of the field be glad!

Let all the earth-born mourn,* but let the cattle and flocks rejoice!

*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 we shall be preserved alive, but yet suffer great torment?

[68] For all the earth-born are defiled with iniquities, full of sins, laden with offences.

[69] And if after death we were not to come into judgement, it might, perchance, have been far better for us!

[70] And he answered me and said: When the Most High made the world, and Adam, and all that came of him,
"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 they set at naught that which they received.*

* cum eo (all that came with him): but correct with versions to ex eo, and cf. 3 31, 6 44, 7 118. [The Syr. is ambiguous: it may be rendered as above, or also for Adam, etc., he prepared first of all.]

o (vs. 70): he first prepared the Judgement . . . Judgement. 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. 4 41 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. 3 4 note k). Cf. 8 43 (praeparatum est tempus futurum); also Aboth iii, 16 (ed. Taylor iii. 25).

p (vs. 72): the sojourners in the earth: Lat., qui . . . commorantes sunt in terra = (?) oι παροικίαν εν τῷ γῆ: lit., those who sojourn in the earth: cf. the synonymous expressions, qui habitant in saeculo (3 43) qui habitant terram (3 43) and qui super terram inhabitant (4 41), and see note pp on 3 4 (where the other instances are cited). Here the expression is a general one, connoting a bad ethical sense (the heathen world generally regarded as sinners).

q (vs. 72): (shall) suffer torture: cruciabuntur.

r (vs. 72): because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity . . . they received. Cf. the parallel in Ap. Bar. xv. 5, 6: Man would not rightly have understood my judgement, if he had not accepted the Law, and if his fear had not been (rooted) in understanding. but now, because he has transgressed though he knew—you, on this account also he shall be tormented because he knew (cf. also xix. 3, xlviii. 40, where this conscious transgression is imputed to the inhabitants of the earth): cf. also Ep. Barn. v. 4: a man shall justly perish, who, having the knowledge of the way of righteousness, forceth himself into the way of darkness (cited by Charles). For the idea that the Gentiles had been offered and had rejected the Law cf. 7 40, 81 and note q there; and Weber, pp. 57 f.

s (vs. 72): having obtained the Law they set at naught which they received: the Lat. text is: legem consecuti fraudaverunt eam quam (accepserunt) (for fraudaverunt [A] CMV have fraudatis sunt). The Syr. (נודלים) = θετηροιω, which suggests rather frustraverunt; cf. Ps. 131 (132) 11, where LXX αβηροιω ανηρ = Vulg. frustrabitis eam, and in the Syro-Hex. the same Syriac equivalent as here occurs (Bensly). In 7 43 spreverunt probably = θετηροιω, as often in Vulg. In the
What, then, will they have to say in the Judgement, or how shall they answer in the last times?

For how long a time hath the Most High been long suffering with the inhabitants of the world—not for their sakes, indeed, but for the sake of the times which he has ordained!

The Syr. here has etiam legem quae posita futurum iste relexerunt. Combining the Lat. and Syr. renderings an original Greek text seems to be suggested as follows: καὶ οἱ νόμοι τοὺς θερμοὺς. For νομοῦντες = consecuti cf. Ps. 5:1 (ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομοῦσας ΛXX = πρὸ εα quae hereditatem consequitur). The Syr. apparently read the Greek: καὶ νόμοι θετήσαν τοὺς θερμοὺς, rendering the last two words θετήσαν = which was ordained or appointed (cf. eréôν = I was appointed, 1 Tim. 2:1, rendered by same Syriac word) for them. Cf. with this quae anteposita est dei lex (4 Ezra 7:8 and note ad loc.).

The Greek as restored in our passage will mean: and those who had obtained the Law set at naught the commandments: cf. with this νομοὶ επιτελέσαν τοὺς νόμους. The original Heb. may have been: מָשְׁמַרְתָּם (vel שְׁמַר יָם) מִן הָעֵת בּוֹדַעָתִים. For מָשְׁמַרְתָּם in this connection cf. Ezek. 23:30, Heb. and LXX. It will be noticed that in the Greek rendering there is an obvious assonance intended. It is for this reason, probably, that the rare word θερμοῦν was chosen, which was misunderstood by both the Latin and Syriac translators. Ethiop. has et discentes ejus quæ státuta quæ accipérunt. This points to a conflation: καὶ οἱ νόμοι μαζωντες (for νομοῦντες) θετήσαν τοὺς θερμοὺς auton θερμοὺς.

1 (vs. 73): what, then, will they have to say . . . times? 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. While the righteous come forward with confidence and joy (cf. 7:8, Ap. Bar. xiv. 12 f.), sinners will be dumbfounded and silent. In 7:8 the godless are represented as consumed with shame and fear in the intermediate state at the prospect of appearing before the divine Judge whose ineffable glory they now behold. In T.J. Berak iv.3 one of the prayers cited runs: that God may put in the hearts of the petitioners to make a perfect repentance before him that we may not be put to shame before our fathers in the world to come (i.e., at the bar of judgement). Cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 10, lxiii. 11, lxvi. 6; xviii. 10, xcxi. 1, 6: cf. Volz. p. 264 f. (who cites Rom. 10:11 in this connection). Cf. also the representation in 7:8, where the divine Judge upbraids the resuscitated nations for their unbelief (cf. Matt. 25). [In T.B. Yoma 35b God is represented as asking the poor, the rich, and the ungodly why they have not occupied themselves with the Law.]

u (vs. 74): the inhabitants of the world: Lat., qui habitat Sanctuæ: cf. vs. 72, note p. For the idea of God's long suffering cf. 4:87.
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 recognise 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 agonising remorse, confusion, and shame. (7 75-101).

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 realise 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” (7 7888).

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 Enoch xxii). No such detailed description of the state of the soul occurs in the Baruch-Apocalypse.

At the end of the section (7 105-101) one other detail is added. The souls shall be free for seven days immediately after death that they may realise the things which have been described, after which they enter into their habitations. Apparently this only applies to the

* The above excellent summary is derived from Maldwyn Hughes' Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Lit, p. 305 f.
souls of the righteous, as it is explicitly stated in vs. 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 Ap. Bar. xxx, however, there is a description of the manner in which this is accomplished. It is there stated that the Messiah, at the end of his reign on earth, shall return to heaven; then follows the resurrection: And it shall come to pass at that time that the treasuries shall be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice, and the last shall not be grieved. . . . But the souls of the wicked when they behold these things shall then waste away the more. For they shall know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived. Here the same conception of the intermediate state of wicked souls prevails as in our passage. They have been wandering about (in Sheol) in torment; but their sufferings hitherto are as nothing to what they have now to endure after the Judgement. See further the discussion in Volz., p. 135 f., and Charles' Eschatology, p. 294 f.

[76] And I answered and said: "If I have found favour in thy sight," O Lord, 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 "forthwith"?

[76] And he answered me, and said: I will show this also

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a (vs. 75): if I have found favour in thy sight: Lat., si inveni gratiam coram te (cf. 6 11, si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos).
b (vs. 75): O Lord: Syr., O Lord my lord (= δοξολόγησεν κυριε), cf. 6 11, 12 7, 8 (dominator, domine); so Bensly would correct here: but other Versions support the text-reading domine (so Gunkel, Violet). For other instances of the same divergence of reading cf. 6 28, 32, 7 44.
c (vs. 75): we shall be kept: Lat., conservavi conservabimus: so Syr. Notice Hebraism.
d (vs. 75): thou shalt renew the creation: Lat., incipies = μελλέω), creaturam renovare: so Syr. (υπερ τον οίκον της ζωής). For the expression cf. καινή κτισίς (= νωπός οίκος), Gal. 6 15, 2 Cor. 6 17, and for the idea of the renovation of the world, Matt. 19 28: in the regeneration (εις την παλιγγενεσίαν); 2 Pet. 2 11; Rev. 21 1. The same phrase occurs in Ap. Bar. xxxii. 6: when the Mighty One shall renew his creation (cf. xlv. 12: the new world which does not turn to corruption; lvii. 2: the world that was to be renewed). The incorruptible world which is to succeed the present order, at the final judgement, is meant. Cf. 5 48.
e (vs. 75): forthwith: Lat., amodo = at apri.

* Cf. xxxvi. 10 f.
† Cf. 4 Ezra 4 41, note d.
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 'the
decisive decree has gone forth from the Most High that the man should die,
as 'the soul' from the body departs
"that it may return to him who gave it."
"to adore the glory of the Most High first of all." [7] if it
be one of those that have scorned
and have not kept 'the ways' of the Most High,
that have despised his law;
and that hate those who fear God—
[80] 'Such souls' shall not enter into 'habitations,' 'but

For these equivalents cf. 1 Kings 30 28, where סמלון פנה is rendered
by Symm. εἰς οἴρον καὶ κραυμ. Cf. terminum Dei 10 18.
l (vs. 78): the soul: Lat., inspirations = εὐφρενεῖς = וֶּשֶׁה:
cf. e.g., Ps. 18 (17) 19, Heb., LXX, Vulg.
m (vs. 78): that it may return to him who gave it: cf. Eccles. 12 1.
For return the Lat. has ut dimissit ut iesum: Syr. has mitterat (דיתא).
[Iterum = ruxiv: for dimittatur in this connection cf. Luke 2 29
(nunc dimittis = υπέρ αὐτοῦ). The other versions have return.]
For return the Lat. has ut dimittatur iterum: Syr. has mittatur (דיתא).
[Iterum = ruxiv: for dimmittatur in this connection cf. Luke 2 29
(nunc dimittis = υπέρ αὐτοῦ). The other versions have return.]
n (vs. 78): to adore the glory of the Most High first of all: 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. (12 1)
is understood by the author in the 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.
The Lat. text reads adorare (infin. expegeget.): the Versions adorat,
which Bensly regards as the true reading (προσκυνεῖ for προσκυνεῖ).
In this case the apodosis begins with the last line of vs. 78—then it
adores: if the Lat. reading is kept vs. 79 forms the apodosis.]
o (vs. 79): the ways: so Syr., Ethiop., Ar. 1. The Lat. has viam.
p (vs. 79): that have despised his law: Lat., et eorum qui contemptserunt
legem ejus: so Ethiop. (and have despised his law): Syr. omits. Cf. 7 24.
q (vs. 79): and hate those that fear God: cf. 5 28.
r (vs. 80): such souls: Lat., haec inspirations: On the form haec
(= nom. pl. fem.) cf. Bensly, p. 64. For inspirations = here dis-
embodied souls, cf. vs. 78 above (recedente inspiratione) and note there.
ינָשֶׁה is used of the disembodied soul in Rabbinic Hebrew: cf. e.g.,
T.B. Shab. 152b: מַעְרָךְ מִיִּשְׁרֵי, the souls of the righteous
(in reference to the souls being deposited beneath the throne of glory).
For the theological controversies regarding inspiration in this connection
of Bensly, p. 64.
s (vs. 80): habitations: Lat., habitations: Elsewhere in this con-
nection habitacula (7 28, 181; cf. 7 181) or promptuaria (cf. 4 28, note p)
are used of the abode of spirits.
t (vs. 80): but shall wander about henceforth in torture (Lat., in
 cruciamentis : Syr., sing. in supplicio). In T.B. Shabb. 152b 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 (ומֶשֶׁה)
shall wander about henceforth in torture," ever grieving and sad," in seven ways."

[81] "The first way" (is) that they have scorned the Law of the Most High; the second way, that they are now unable to make a good repentance for life;" [82] The third way is: they shall see the reward laid up for those

soon after death. Cf. further the passage cited from Qoh. rabba on 7 note f.

u (vs. 80): ever grieving and sad: Lat., dolentes semper et tristes = (?) axyovaal aei kai Avrovueva (Syr., ἀχοῦντες αἰῶνα καὶ κατακόμμενοι).

v (vs. 80): in seven ways: i.e., seven modes or kinds (= Heb., 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 תנייה of Hell). Our passage may be a refinement of this idea, as also may be the following dictum ascribed to R. Jēhoshua b. Levi (T.B. Sukka 52a): R. J. ben Levi said: The evil nature (yeser hā-rā') has seven names; the Holy One, blessed be he, called it "evil" (ra), as it is said: "the nature of man's heart is evil from his youth" (Gen. 8 21); Moses called it "uncircumcised," as it is said, etc. (Deut. 10 16); David called it "unclean," as it is said, etc. (Ps. 51 15); Solomon called it "a hater," as it is said, etc. (Prov. 25 21); Isaiah called it a "stumbling-block," as it is said, etc. (Is. 57 14); Ezekiel called it a stone, as it is said, etc. (Ezek. 11 19); Joel called it "northern one" [the north the evil quarter], as it is said (Joel 2 28): "And the northern one I will remove far from you." A reference to the seventh hell may possibly be seen in 2 Enoch xl. 12 (I have written down the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and down to the lowest hell; but cf. Charles' note ad loc.).

w (vs. 81): the first way: i.e., the first kind (of torture), the first torture; a Hebraism (derek way = kind manner. See Oxf. Heb. Lex., s.v. 4. This meaning rare in Bibl. Heb. is common in new Hebrew).

x (vs. 81): they have scorned: Lat., spreverunt: but Syr., they have resisted (ṣyr). The same Syr. word (ṣyr) renders non persuasi sunt (They were disobedient) = παρειδοθησαν in 7 81; cf. Pesh. Deut. 32 81 (.TextAlignment) LXX, παρειδοθησαν τω ρηματι μου (Heb., "ב דברי"). There seems to be a difference of reading: Syr. = παρειδοθησαν: Lat. = παρειδοθησαν (an easy confusion). Ethiop., they have denied.

y (vs. 82): to make a good repentance for life (lit., that they may live). Repentance denied brings bitterest anguish. The Lat. text is: rever- sionem bonam facere ut vivant = επιστρεφομεν αγαθην τοιων. Heb., הבטחון והבטחתו תושב. Syr. has convertit et bona facere (= επιστρεφον και αγαθονως), which Bensly (MF) considers original.

* The seven departments came to represent seven degrees of intensity.
who have believed the covenants of the Most High;* the fourth way: *that* they *shall regard* the torture laid up for themselves in the last days;* the fifth way, that they shall see how *the habitations* of the other souls are guarded by angels in profound quietness; [86] the sixth way: that they shall see how from now henceforth they must pass over into

* Cf. the Greek text, *ap.*, Bensly, p. 64.
torture. [87] The seventh way, which exceeds all the aforesaid ways, (is):

that they shall pine away for shame,

and be consumed with confusion,

only of the whole number of the evil spirits. None of the other versions suggests this. Probably στ στοιχεῖον is due to dittography with στοιχεῖον in the Greek MS. used by the Latin; and so de eis should be struck out. Syr. has [quod vident] supplicium quod ab hoc nunc paratum est = (?) τον στ στοιχεῖον ηταιματον Βασανιμων. It should be noticed that the sixth way is not a mere repetition of the fourth. The latter speaks of the torture reserved for the evil spirits after the judgement; the former of the torture immediately to be entered upon (in the intermediate state) and lasting till the judgement. The sixth way of torture thus has its counterpart in the first half of the fourth order of blessedness (present enjoyment of happiness and quietude, vs. 95a), while the fourth way of torture corresponds to the blessedness described in vs. 95b.

The Ethiop. here understands the verb in a causative sense, the agents being the angels: [the sixth step is] that they (sc. the angels) compel them to go about and to see what tortures shall henceforth happen to them. Thus the angels fulfill a twofold office: they guard and care for the righteous, and force the wicked into torment. These conceptions are worked out in detail by Hippolytus (op. cit., pp. 68, 69) as follows—

This locality (i.e., Hades, which is placed beneath the earth) has been destined to be as it were a guard-house for souls, at which the angels are stationed as guards, distributing according to each one's deeds the temporary (or meet: Gk., προκαταφυά) punishments. . . . For to this locality there is one descent, at the gate whereof we believe an archangel is stationed with a host. And when those who are conducted by the angels appointed over the souls have passed through this gate, they do not proceed on one and the same way; but the righteous, being conducted in the light toward the right, and being hymned by the angels, stationed at the place, are brought to a locality full of light. . . . But the unrighteous are dragged toward the left by the angels who are ministers of punishment, and they go of their own accord no longer, but are dragged as prisoners. And the angels appointed over them send them along, reproaching them and threatening them with an eye of terror, forcing them down into the lower parts. And when they are brought there, those appointed to that service drag them on to the confines of hell (Gehenna). (See Gk. text, ap., Bensly, p. 65.)

16—(2430)
'and withered with fear;
'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 "the order," when they shall be separated
from this vessel of mortality.

[88] "What time they dwelt therein" they "painfully" served the Most High, that they might observe "the Law of
the lawgiver" perfectly.

[88] "Wherefore the matter as it relates to them is as follows:"
[89] First of all they shall see with great joy the glory "of him"
"who receivesthem;" and they shall rest in seven orders."

[92] The first order (is): that they have striven much and painfully to overcome the innate evil thought, that it might not lead them astray from life into death; [93] The second order (is): that they see the round in which the souls of the ungodly wander, and the punishment that awaits them. [94] The third order (is): they see the witness which their Fashioner attests concerning them, that while they were alive they faithfully observed the Law which was given to

w (vs. 91): who receivesthem: Lat., qui suscipiteas: suscipio = προσλαμβάνω = προβάλλω: e.g., Ps. 72 (Heb. 73): Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterwards receiveme with glory (Vulg., et cum gloria suscepistime). Syr. uses the same verb in the Ps. as in our passage (ס髻).

x (vs. 91): and they shall rest: Lat., requiescentenim: Syr., they rest and come (into): Ethiop., they are brought (into).

y (vs. 91): in seven orders: i.e., orders or dispositions of mind (or emotion)—here of joys. The Lat. here and throughout the following verses uses ordo (= τάκτις) consistently; so Ethiop. and Ar.; but Syr. Ar. 3 and Arm, use the same word as in the former series, viz., δῆμος. A good Heb. equivalent for τάκτις would be יִצְעֵק or נַעַשׁ which is used (in late Hebrew) in the same way of a disposition of the mind.

z (vs. 92): the first order: Gunkel, "the first joy" (correctly interpreting).

a (vs. 92): much and painfully: lit., with much toil (cum labore multo).

b (vs. 92): the innate evil thought: lit., the evil thought which was fashioned together with them (R.V.), cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum malum. Cf. 3 2 note. On Rabbinic ideas as to overcoming the yeser ha-ra' cf. Schechter, Aspects, ch. xvi.

c (vs. 92): from life: so Lat., Syr., Ar.; but Ethiop., in their present life.

d (vs. 93): the round (or circuit). The Lat. has complicationem = συμπλοκή. This Greek word renders פָּרְסָה in Ezek. 7 16, and the latter may be the original Heb. word here. In New Hebrew פָּרְסָה (among other meanings) = circuit, e.g., a circuitous route as opposed to a straight road; cf. T.J. Erub. i. end 18d, פָּרְשָׁה, פָּרְשָׁה, פָּרְשָׁה. And why were they to return by a circuitous route? So the word might well be used of wild, erratic motion, as here Syr. renders the whirl whereby the souls of the ungodly are whirled and driven about.

e (vs. 93): the punishment that awaits them: Lat., quaes eis (rather than in eis) manet punitio. Syr. has torture for punishment here (as in previous verses). Lat. = κολασής. [Syr. renders et supplicium reservatum illis: cf. Ethiop.]

f (vs. 94): they faithfully observed the Law which was given to them. The Lat. text has servaverunt quae per fidem data est lex (R.V., they kept the law which was given them in trust); cf. Ethiop. = (?) θηρίοι τον εν πίστει δοθέντα νόμον: per fidem = en pistei or eis pistei,
The fourth order (is): "they understand the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness guarded by angels, and the glory which awaits them at their latter end."

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 straightness and "painfulness" from which they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are destined to receive with enjoyment.

and as Bensly (p. 68) points out it is doubtful whether these words in the original were intended to qualify observed (with faithfulness: so Arm.) or which was given (i.e., given in trust for safe keeping): so Lat. and Syr. In this case illustrate from Rom. 3 (they were entrusted with [προφητεία] the oracles of God), 1 Tim. 6, 2 Tim. 1, 14. See further Bensly ad loc. and cf. 7 note s.

The Greek word fruniscences occurs in Tob. 3 (MS. Regin Suec.) as equivalent to ὄντας, thou hast had profit: the verb ὄντας (which is rare in the Greek Bible) means to have satisfaction of, enjoy (cf. Lightfoot on Philem. 20). Thus the Greek equivalent to fruniscences might be ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν. But Ar. 1 (that they may attain..."
and immortality. The sixth order: "that 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," henceforth incorruptible. The seventh order, which "exceeds" all the aforesaid (is): that

They shall rejoice "with boldness,"

"be confident without confusion,"

"be glad "without fear;"

everlasting immortality) points, perhaps, to a double reading, ἀβατατον ἀβατατας (cf. Ethiop.). The true Greek reading may, then, have been: ας ἡπωναμας καί ἀβατατας = those who enjoy immortality [the καί which produced the false reading arose probably by ditto-graphy from καί of the previous word]. The sentence will therefore run: the spacious liberty which they are destined to receive who enjoy immortality. A possible Heb. equivalent for the last words would be (vel? י省教育) שיע "ניאה. Cf. Ecclus. 19.18, Prov. 3.18.

r (vs. 97): that: so Ethiop, but Lat., quando (so Syr.): quando = ότε, mistake for or. s (vs. 97): how: Lat., quomodo = ότε (Syr., יעש). t (vs. 97): their face . . . as the sun . . . like the light of the stars. The language is based on Dan. 12:4, and is similarly applied to the righteous (in an eschatological connection) in Matt. 13:41; cf. also Ἄρ. Bar. li. 3, of the transformation of the righteous at the resurrection (As for the glory of those who have now been justified in my Law . . . then their splendour shall be glorified in changes), li. 10 (they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars); cf. 1 Enoch 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 7:18.

In 1 Cor. 15 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. 22:30; cf. 1 Enoch li. 4 (they shall all become angels in heaven), civ. 6 and Ἄρ. 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.

u (vs. 96): henceforth, reading amodo (or quomodo): cf. Syr., Ethiop.; so Bensly, Violet.

v (vs. 98): exceeds: Lat., est major; cf. vs. 87 above.

w (vs. 98): with boldness: Lat., cum fiducia. The Greek word here is παρεκτε (Syr., פארטיה). Cf. (of the righteous), Wisd. 5:1 (ἐν παρεκτε πολυται) and see Volz., p. 264.

x (vs. 98): be confident without confusion: Lat., confidebunt non confusi: cf. Ps. 25 (LXX. 24) 8, which is rendered by Jerome in te confusum sum non confundar. Our text = וְיַחַשְׁבֵו אָֽתָּה אֲדֹנָֽי. y (vs. 98): without fear: reading (with Bensly, so Violet) non
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."

[*] This is the order of the souls of the righteous as from now henceforward is announced; (and) the aforesaid ways of torture (are) those which they suffer henceforth who would not give heed.  

[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?

reverentes (for reverentes read by the MSS.) : so Ambrose paraphrases et sine trepidatione laetentur : cf. Ps. 34 (Heb. 35) 4, where Vulg. has confundantur et reverentur : the latter word = ἐντραπέζεως in LXX (Heb. וְעַדֶּ). So here the Heb. would be וְעַדֶּ. The Oriental Versions either omit or obscure the clause.

a (vs. 98) : to behold the face of him : cf. Matt. 5 (the pure in heart ... shall see God).


aa (vs. 99) : This is the order : Das sind die Freuden (Gunkel).

b (vs. 99) : is announced : reading adnuntiatur (Bensly, so Violet). MSS., annuntiantur. [The whole clause is rendered by Wilamowitz (ap. Gunkel) as follows: αὐτὴ ἡ ἡγεῖς τῶν ψυχής τῶν δύκων ὁδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων τηλετήν.]  

c (vs. 99) : (and) the aforesaid ways of torture (are) those which they suffer henceforth who. The Lat. text is imperfect. Perhaps the missing words (bracketed) may be thus supplied: (et) praelictas viae (sunt) crucius quas (so A) paizuntur amodo qui. The Syr. yields a text as follows: et praelictas viae crucius paizuntur amodo qui. See Bensly, p. 71.

d (vs. 99) [who] would not give heed : Lat. [qui] neglexerint = oi παρακελτομένες. Cf. Bensly, p. 56. [At the end of this vs. the Syr. has the following addition (= substantially vs. 80) : such souls ascend not into chambers but from henceforth shall be afflicted with tortures and be grieved and lament in seven ways. None of the other Versions has this addition.]

e (vs. 100) : time : so Lat., Ethiop., Ar. 1; but Syr., place or time (unnecessary addition).

f (vs. 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. vs. 80).

g (vs. 100) : what thou hast described to me : Lat., do quo mihi dividisti.
And he said to me: ‘Seven days they have freedom,’ that during these seven days they may see ‘the things aforesaid,’ afterwards they shall be gathered together in their ‘habitations.’

(3) No Intercession on the Day of Judgement

The previous section (7:101-103) 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 sleeping or eating: everyone in that Day must bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness.

h (vs. 101): seven days they have freedom: Lat., septem diebus erit libertas eorum. According to the dictum of R. Hisda, cited in T.B. Shabb. 152a, the soul of a man mourns for him the first seven days after death. It is also said in the same context (152b) 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. [A remarkable parallel to this idea occurs in the work known as *Bios Adai* (43). Here it is said: You shall not mourn beyond six days, but on the seventh day rest and be joyful, for on that day God and we angels rejoice with the righteous soul that has departed from the earth. Here the conception that the righteous soul enters into the enjoyment of bliss (by coming into the divine presence) only on the seventh day after death is clearly implied. Elsewhere it is said that the soul hovers in the neighbourhood of the body during the three days immediately following death. See further Bousset, R. J., p. 341 f., note.]

i (vs. 101): the things aforesaid: qui praedicti sunt sermones = τα ρηματα τα προηγηματα (Volkmar). Ar. 1, misreading ουκηματα (for ρηματα) renders all the habitations of which I have spoken to thee before. For ρημα = τον (word, thing) cf. 7:14, note 2. For sermones cf. 10. 4.

j (vs. 101): habitations: Lat., habitaculis: (Syr., their chambers = promptuaria). So Ethiop. In T.B. Shabb. 152a it is said that every righteous man is given a habitatio (Heb., madbor) in the world to come according to his merit. Here, of course, the reference is, however, to the intermediate state.
The seer again pleads the many examples of intercession that are recorded in the Scriptures (Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, etc.) 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. Then shall no man be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the judgement, nor overwhelm him who is victorious.

With the present passage should be compared Ap. Bar. lxxxv. 12: *For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things there shall not be there again an opportunity for returning...nor place for prayer nor sending of petitions...nor place of repentance...nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.*

It would appear from the emphatic way in which it is insisted that intercession by the living for the living is alone possible while the present order lasts, that the apocalyptist is aiming at some counter-doctrine of intercession for the dead. Certainly no room seems to be left in his theology for prayers for the dead. The eternal destiny of the soul is fixed by the course of the earthly life. Those who die immediately enter upon an existence of bliss or woe which but anticipates the final doom of the Judgement: and this doom, according to our present passage, is fixed and unalterable.

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. 4 *) 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, 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 departed soul no mediatorial or mitigating agency is allowed to stand.† It is interesting to note that 2 Enoch—a book which, like the Salathiel-Apocalypse, knows of a final Day of Judgement and an intermediate state for souls, but, apparently, does not accept the doctrine of a resurrection of the body—also repudiates the idea of intercession in the Day of Judgement; cf. lii. 1 (And now, my children, do not say: Our father stands before God and prays for us (to be released) from sin; for there is no person there to help any man who has sinned).‡ Here we may detect the influence

* In this passage children who have been cut off in the midst of life owing to the sin of their fathers are represented as pleading that their fathers (who have suffered the condemnation of sinners) may come to them (who are reckoned among the righteous) in the other world. In the end the plea is successful. The fathers are delivered by the merit of their children, and return from Gehenna (Zech. 10 * is cited: *they shall live with their children and shall return*). Every man is thus bound to teach his son Torah that the latter may deliver him from Gehenna. For the Rabbinical doctrine of merit (zachuth) cf. Schechter, Aspects, ch. xii (pp. 170 f.).

† Cf. the strong repudiation of all mediatorial agency, in 6.‡ It is possible to interpret this passage of the intercession of departed saints for the living (cf. Charles’ note ad loc.), but the context suggests that there (no person there) = at the last Judgement.
of Alexandrine theology, which tended to lay all stress upon the present life as determining the eternal fate of every man (cf. Bousset, RJ *, p. 337 f.). On the other hand, the orthodox Rabbinic theology of Palestine recognised three classes of people who pass at death into the other world, viz., the fully righteous, who enter into bliss, the fully wicked who are consigned forthwith to Gehenna, and the large intermediate class (כְּעֵין) who are neither wholly wicked nor wholly righteous. This class—which, of course, includes the large majority—according to the School of Shammai passed for a time (twelve months) into Gehenna to undergo a purgatorial process by fire, and were then released; * according to the School of Hillel, however, the divine mercy could be appealed to successfully to mitigate this trial (cf. Tosef. Sanh. xiii. 3, T.B. Rosh ha-Shānā 16b), either by means of the intercession of the fathers or by the piety of children. To this last idea is to be traced the widespread custom that still prevails in the Synagogues of the sons who have lost a parent publicly reciting the Qaddish prayer during the twelve months after the death, and on the anniversaries afterwards. The recital of the prayer is regarded as a proof of the piety of the deceased as shown in the action of the son (cf. the passage from Qoh. rabba cited above).

Kohler (in J.Q.R. vii., 587 f.) cites an interesting Haggadic illustration of intercession for the dead which is apposite in this connection. In the Testament of Abraham, which he regards as embodying an early Jewish haggadistic work, a striking description is given of the arrival of a soul in the other world whose righteous deeds and sins both in number and weight are exactly equal. What is to be done? The soul can neither be handed over for chastisement nor consigned to bliss. "If," says the archangel, "she could but possess a single righteous act above her sins, she would enter salvation." "Then let us offer a prayer on her behalf, and see whether God will hear us," said Abraham, and fell on his knees, the archangel joining him; and when they rose from their supplication, behold the soul was no longer in the middle state (the Purgatory). "She has been saved through thy righteous prayer," said the angel to Abraham. A light-encircled angel had brought her into Paradise, whereupon Abraham exclaimed: "I give praise to the name of God the Most High, and to his mercy, to which there is no bound."† [In Hag. 15b the fate of the famous heretical R. Elisha b. Abuya (Aḥer) in the other world is discussed, and it is

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* The description (in Rosh ha-Shānā) runs: they (the כְּעֵין) go down into Gehenna, but when they scream (in prayer) (כִּהֶם) [about one hour: so Yalqut on Zech.] they are permitted to come up again, as it is written (Zech. 13 ᵃ): And I will bring the third part through the fire . . . they shall call on my name and I will hear them. For the period of twelve months cf. R. Aqiba’s dictum, Eduy. ii. 10.

† Volz. (p. 146) points out that in the passage cited above (from Rosh ha-Shānā 16b) regarding the temporary sojourn of the intermediate class in Gehenna, this is not to be regarded as taking place in the intermediate state before the Judgement; the conception rather is that it follows the Judgement, and is the punishment there awarded. The Judgement was sometimes regarded as taking place immediately after death.
related that efforts at intercession on his behalf were made by some of the later Rabbis.

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 simulibus tuis legitur: ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis 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.]

[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 intreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers.

\[j (vs. 102): \text{Ethiop. adds } O \text{ Lord.}\]
\[k (vs. 102): \text{this also } (= \text{eri Touro}): \text{so Syr., Ethiop.; Lat.}\]
\[l (vs. 102): \text{to intercede for the ungodly: Lat., impios excusare = } \text{paraitevai tou } \text{asebhs } (\text{dunatai}): \text{so Syr. (cf. Bensly, p. 72, who cites in illustration Luke 14 18, 19, ex } \text{me paraiteymen, habe me excusatum.}\]
\[m (vs. 103): \text{fathers for sons, sons for parents (Lat., filiis } \ldots \text{filiis).}\]

It may be noted that in the Synagogues the Qaddish prayer is recited on behalf of dead parents (father or mother) by the sons only (women taking no public part in the worship), though, of course, the custom has no connection with what is described here (it grew up in the Middle Ages probably).

* In justice to orthodox Rabbinic theology it should be remembered that it has never laid any special or undue stress upon such ideas. In fact the Rabbis seem to have made special efforts to divert the popular mind from dwelling upon the details as to what happens after death. By investing the New Year's Festival (Rosh hā-shānd) with the associations of the Day of Judgement (the Judgement Day thus became an annual event), it transferred the sanctions of the dogma in the most direct manner to the domain of the present life, and thus gave it a high ethical value. The belief in a future life was none the less strongly insisted upon, and given a fundamental place in religion and worship.

† See the passage cited in Bensly, p. 76.
"kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest." [104] 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 "decisive," 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 "he may be ill," or sleep, or eat, or be healed; [105] so shall "none then" pray for another on that Day, neither shall one
lay a burden on another; for then everyone shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. [106] And I answered and said: How is it that we now find that first Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, and Moses for our fathers who sinned in the wilderness; [107] and Joshua after him for Israel in the days of Achar; [108] and Samuel in the days of Saul, and David for the plague, and Solomon for those that (should worship) in the sanctuary; [109] and Elijah for those who received the rain, and for the dead, that he might live; [109] and Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib and (others) many for many?

* * *

onus (cf. Gal. 6 4). The Lat. omits the clause. The whole passage is a development of Ezek. 18 28 (The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him).

f (vs. 106): we now find (Lat., invenimus modo); sc. written in Scripture: the reference is to Gen. 18 28 (for Abraham).

g (vs. 106): first: Lat., primus = πρῶτος (? πρῶτος; cf. Job 15 7): so Ethiop.: first = first of the series following, but Syr. formerly πρῶτος = (?) πρ ores.

h (vs. 106): for our fathers: Lat., pro patribus (for the fathers).

i (vs. 106): in the wilderness: Syr. takes this with Moses (Moses in the wilderness for the fathers when they had sinned). The reference is to Exod. 32 11.

j (vs. 107): after Joshua Syr. adds the son of Nun: so Ar. 8.

k (vs. 107): Achar (so Lat. Codd., MNA: vs. 1, Achas S): Syr., Achar: Ethiop. (best MSS.), Achas. The LXX (B) (Josh. 7 1, 18, etc.) has Αξαρ for ΜΤ Ἰερ (but MT 1 Chron. 2 1, 129): [LXX (A) has however Αξαρ in Josh. 7 1]: the Pesh. has Αχαρ (so Syr. here). The reference is to the narrative in Josh. 7.

l (vs. 108): in the days of Saul: so Syr., Ethiop., Ar. 1: Lat. Codd. (SACM) omit. The reference is to 1 Sam. 7 4, 13, 24.

m (vs. 108): for the plague: Lat., pro confractione (A.V., for the destruction): confractio is a wrong rendering of θέρασις (= θέρας), which in LXX = plague. The reference is to 2 Sam. 24 14 f. Ethiop., Ar. 1, render correctly plague.

n (vs. 108): for those that (should worship) in the sanctuary: Lat., pro eis qui in sanctificationem = (?) νερ τῶν εν τῷ νερῷ: Syr. and Ethiop. have for the sanctuary (= νερ τῶν μεσοῦ): Ar. 1, for the consecration of the house which he built for the Lord: Ar. 8, on the day of the consecration of the Temple. The reference is to 1 Kings 8 61 f., 80 f.

o (vs. 109): Elijah for those who received the rain: so Lat., Syr.; but Ethiop., for the rain (cf. Ar. 1). The reference is to 1 Kings 18 43.

p (vs. 109): for the dead . . . live: the reference is to 1 Kings 17 17 f.

q (vs. 110): Hezekiah . . . Sennacherib: the reference is to 2 Kings 19 14 f.
[111] 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 is not the End; the glory of God abides not therein continuously; therefore have the strong prayed for the weak.

[113] But the Day of Judgement shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come, wherein corruption is passed away, weakness is abolished, infidelity is cut off,

\[f (vs. 111): \text{after why Syr. adds O Lord.}\]
\[g (vs. 111): \text{then: Lat., tunc; so Syr.; but Ethiop. adds at that time.}\]
\[h (vs. 112): \text{is not the end (non est finis); Syr., has an end: Ethiop., the end of this present world is not yet: Greek [o paron aion] ouk evi to telos (Volk.).}\]
\[i (vs. 112): \text{the glory of God abides not therein continuously: so Syr., Ethiop. Lat., gloria in eo [non] frequens manet (the full glory abideth not therein, R.V.). ( [Non] is supplied by Bensly from the other Versions.) The Greek text was, perhaps: θην αιρεται αυτην εν αυτην ou εσχατος μεναι. For the various causes (idolatry, blasphemy, pride) which cause the removal of the Shekinah (= the divine presence and glory) from the earth, according to Rabb. theology, see Schechter, \[k (vs. 112): \text{the strong: so Syr., Ethiop.; Lat., qui potuerunt (they who were able, R.V.).}\]
\[l (vs. 113): \text{of the eternal age that is to come: Lat., futuri immortalis temporis = (?) τον μελλοντος της αθανασιας χρονων (Volk.): for χρονων, however, the other Versions suggest aion.}\]
\[m (vs. 114): \text{weakness is abolished: Lat., soluta est intemperantia: Syr.; solutur incontinentia: which = (?) ελυθη η ασελγεια: but Ethiop. for intemperentia has weakness (mortalitas) = (?) η ασθενεια. This is, perhaps, right and affords a fine contrast to vs. 112 end (for the weak): ασελγεια and ασθενεια might easily be confused [Ar. has evil = ? ασθενεια]. Soluta est (cf. also Syr.) = ελυθη: cf. e.g., Ps. 101 (Heb. 102) \[n (vs. 114): \text{is cut off: Lat., abscissa est = ἀπεκορωτ}= τας [anωτατων abscindere, Ps. 76 (Heb. 77) ]; and translates μα, Deut. 23 1, etc., in LXX).}\]

* Cf. (in a similar context) 8 \[n (vs. 114): \text{infirmitas extincta est a vobis.}\]
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 "overwhelm" him "who is victorious." [7]

(4) What Avails the Promise to Man who is Born to Sin? Yet, though Tragic, the Sinner's Doom is Deserved (7 115-131) (S)

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] 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) to have

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\[ m \text{(vs. 114): is grown . . . is sprung up} = \text{Lat., crevit . . . orta est} \]
\[ n \text{(vs. 115): is condemned} = \text{Lat., qui . . . victus fuerit} = \text{martym}, \text{i.e., pronounced guilty, condemned. (Heb. ? ?n.)} \]
\[ o \text{(vs. 115): overwhelm} = \text{Lat., demergere} = \text{kararovriçew (cf. e.g., Ps, 68 (Heb. 69) *, LXX and Vulg.): the Heb. equivalent may be y?: ; cf.e.g., Eccles.10*, Heb. and LXX.} \]
\[ p \text{(vs. 115): who is victorious} = \text{Lat., qui vicerit} ; \text{cf. 7 * (to overcome ut vincerent the evil thought): also 7 118. (Heb. ? ?n.)} \]
\[ q \text{(vs. 116): Ethiop. adds for us.} \]
\[ r \text{(vs. 116): that the earth had not produced} = \text{Lat., non dare terram (R.V., that the earth had not given [thee]) : cf. 3 * (thou commandedst the dust so that it gave thee Adam).} \]
\[ s \text{(vs. 116): or else having once produced him (for thee) to have restrained him from sinning} = \text{Lat., vel cum jam dedisses coercere eum ut non peccaret = (?) ? ?? δοῦναν κατακρίνω αυτων των μη αμαρτάνων. The unexpressed subject is God; cf. 3 * (every nation behaved wickedly . . . but thou didst not hinder them): Syr. has that thou hadst instructed him not to sin = κατακρίνω αυτων των μη αμαρτάνω (Violet). So Ethicp. (agreeing with Syr.): cf. Ar. 1. For the thought cf. 7 48.} \]
restrained him from sinning.† [117] For *how* does it profit us all that in the present we must live in grief and after death look for punishment? † [118] O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, *the fall was not thine alone, but ours also* † [119] For how does it profit us that *the eternal age* is promised to us, whereas we have done *the works that bring death?* † [120] And that there is foretold to us *an imperishable hope,* † whereas we so miserably are brought to futility? † [121] And that there are reserved habitations of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly? † [122] And that the glory of the Most High *is to defend* them who have

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† (vs. 117): *how does it profit us all that in the present we must live:* Lat., *quid . . . prodest omnibus in praesenti vivere* (one codex [L] adds *seculo after praesenti*). The Syr. has *how does it profit all who have come* (i.e., all who are here) = *τι γαρ ὤφελος παρι τοις παροι.* (Hilg.). Ethiop. has nothing corresponding to *in praesenti*.

u (vs. 118): *the fall was not thine alone, but ours also:* cf. Syr., *non fuit malum tui solius sed et nostrum* = Lat. (Bensly, Violet) *non est factum solius tuae causae sed et nostram* = our *ενεργον μονον σου το πτωμα, αλλα και ημων* (Hilg.). Adam is here charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race; cf. 7 † † and notes, also 4 30–31, and contrast Ap. Bar. 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 (cf. Charles' notes on liv. 15 and 19).

v (vs. 118): *who are thy descendants:* Lat., *qui ex te advenimus.*

w (vs. 119): *the eternal age:* Lat., *immortale tempus* (an immortal time, R.V.): so Syr. (*tempus*).

x (vs. 119): *the works that bring death:* Lat., *mortalia opera* = (? *μακρα γηρύα* (Hilg.)); cf. *μειρα γηρύα, Heb. 6* (Heb. ? ποι φη).

y (vs. 120): *there is foretold to us:* Lat., *praedicta est nobis = η απειρωτατη ημων* (Hilg.). Syr., *there has been made known to us:* so Ethiop.

z (vs. 120): *an imperishable hope:* Lat., *perennis spes* = η αναρρας ελεις (Hilg.). *αναρρας* = σιή, Deut. 33 18 LXX, and *η in Job 19 44.* Thus the Heb. equivalent here might be *η απειρωτατη* ελεις (a living hope), 1 Pet. 1 5.

a (vs. 120): *whereas we so miserably are brought to futility:* Lat., *nos vero passime vani facti sumus = ημως δε καιετα εγγισθαμεν* (Heb. ? μω με την ημεριναν). (R.V., *whereas ourselves most miserably are become vain*): Ethiop., *but we follow the evil.*

b (vs. 122): *is to defend:* Lat., *incipiet . . . proteger = (?) και στι μελετε [η δολα του νυμτου] ναπορατειν [τους αγγει αναγιαφθαις].* 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. 31a, etc., of one acknowledging God). Moses when dead lay in its pinions. (Sifre, 355).
led a pure life, whereas we have walked in ways most wicked? [132] And that Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and healing, shall be made manifest, [134] but, we cannot enter it because we have passed our lives in unseemly manners. [135] And that the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars, whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness? [136] For, while we lived and committed iniquity we considered not what we were destined to suffer after death!

[137] And he answered me and said: 'This is the condition

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c (vs. 123): Paradise: i.e., the heavenly Paradise (described in 2 Enoch viii). See 8 * note.
d (vs. 123): whose fruit endures incorruptible: Lat., cujus fructus incorruptus perseverat = ov o karpos afharos diamen (Hilg.). Syr., cujus non marcescunt fructus: so Ethiop. (?) both omitting diamenu.
e (vs. 123): wherein (i.e., in which fruit) is delight and healing: Lat., in quo est saturitas et medella = ev w eart rpvpm kal 6epareia = ? (vel ἐμμ) Revol Imy anyx; cf. Syr., deliciae et sanitas: Ethiop., delight and life: for the representation cf. Ezek. 47 (of the trees whose leaf shall not wither, neither shall their fruit fail... and their fruit shall be for food, and the leaf of them for healing), and Rev. 22 (based on Ezek. 47).
f (vs. 124): because we have passed our lives in unseemly manners = ἀκαθασίας γαρ τροφος ἀνεστραφήμεν. This was probably the original reading, and may be implied by the Ethiopi.; but Lat. and Syr. (by confusion of τροφος and τρόφος) have in unseemly places (Lat., ingratis enim locis conversati sumus: Syr., quia ingrata loca coluimus). The same confusion has occurred in 8 nos... [mortalibus] moribus egimus; the other recension reads, however, nos corruptum locum egimus: cf. Violet. [R.V. renders here for we have walked in unpleasant places.]
g (vs. 125): of such as have practised abstinence: Lat., qui abstinentiam habuerunt = των κεραυνευμένων (Hilg.): Syr., of the holy ones (saints): the ascetic note here is discernible. For ascetic tendencies in Rabbinic theology cf. Schechter, Aspects, pp. 277-8.
h (vs. 125): shall shine above the stars: cf. Dan. 12 (Syr. translates the strong future, μελανω). Ethiop. omits above the stars: this phrase = as the sun; cf. Matt. 13 46
i (vs. 125): whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness: so Syr. and other Oriental Versions = ἡμών δὲ τὰ προσωπα υπὲρ αὐτὸς μελανω (Hilg.). Lat., nostrae vero facies super tenebras nigræ. 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. 8 11, etc.). The conception of hell as a place of fire is a distinct and more developed one.
j (vs. 127): this is the condition of the contest: Lat., Hoc est cogitamentum certaminis = ou tos ο ειδος των αγωνιων. The
of the contest which every man who is born upon earth must wage.\[188]\] that, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said:\[189]\] but if he be victorious, he shall receive what I have said.\[189]\] For this is the way of which Moses, while he was alive, spoke unto the people, saying: Choose thee life that thou mayest live\[189]\] Nevertheless they believed not him, nor the prophets after him, nor yet me who have spoken unto them.\[189]\] Therefore shall there not be such grief at their perdition,\[189]\] as there shall be joy over the salvation of those who have believed.\[189]\]

Syr. and Ethiop. render meaning (thought, lit.): so Gunkel, der Sinn des Kampfes (cf. R.V. marg., intent): but διαλογομένας = πν, especially in Aquila: so here probably = condition (law). Ethiop. has [the meaning] of this world, reading αἰῶνος for αἰὼνος.


\[l\] (vs. 128): as thou hast said . . . what I have said: Lat., quod dixisti . . . quod dico (but for the latter read past tense with Syr.; Ethiop., Ar.\[1\] = dixi). In the preceding dialogue the seer speaks consistently of the fate of the sinners (with whom he identifies himself; while the angel speaks of the reward of the righteous. Both Syr. and Ethiop. are uncertain as to the first I have said—they may = as thou hast said: for what I have said two MSS. of Ethiop. read what thou hast said (at end of the verse).

\[m\] (vs. 129): choose thee life that thou mayest live: so Lat., Ethiop.; cf. Ar.\[1\] (choose thee the way of life): Ar.\[1\]; cf. Deut. 30\[18\] (I have set before thee life and death . . . choose life that thou mayest live). 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. [The Syr. combines Deut. 30\[18\] with vs. 19: See I have set before you to-day life and death, good and evil; choose you, then, life that you may live, you and your seed.] The same passage is cited in Ap. Bar. xix. 1. For life (to live) in this pregnant sense cf. 7\[14\], 8\[4\], and see further 14\[8\] notes.

\[n\] (vs. 130): Syr. adds they resisted and (before they believed).

\[o\] (vs. 130): nor yet me, etc. The angel here, as sometimes elsewhere in the book, speaks directly as God.

\[p\] (vs. 131): therefore: so Syr. Lat., quoniam.

\[q\] (vs. 131): shall there not be such grief at their perdition: Lat., non erit [for esse] tristitia in perditionem eorum = non est tristitia in apoteleia auton.

\[r\] (vs. 131): as there shall be joy over the salvation of those who have believed: Lat., sicut et futurum est gaudium super eos quibus persuasum est salus = καθὼς οὕτως χαρὰ ἐπὶ τῶν πειθωσίων σωτηρίας. [πειθομαι, persuassus est = I believe.]
(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**

(7 188-8 8) (S)

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 (7 188-8 8). 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 (8 4-19). For them and for himself he utters a beautiful prayer, appealing to God to have compassion on those who are destitute of good works (8 20-24). The angel briefly replies (8 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 (8 41-45). The divine reply that follows (8 46-68) 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) **Will God—so merciful and compassionate—suffer so many to perish?**

(7 188-8 8) (S)

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 connection, Ex. 34 6-7 (Jahveh ... a God compassionate and gracious, long-suffering 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. Neh. 9 17, Joel 2 18, Jonah 4 2, Ps. 86 15, 103 8, 145 1; also 111 4, 112 4; cf. also Ecclus. 2 11 (For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy; and he forgiveth sins, etc., R.V.), and Wisdom 15 1 (χρηστός καὶ αληθής μισέρος καὶ ελεόν δικαιοῦ τα πάντα).

In our passage the descriptive epithets occur in the following order—

1. misericors (= ουκαυτίμων = ὁμήρης), compassionate;
2. miserator (= ελεημωρ = ὕπη) gracious;
3. longanismis (= μακροθυμίας = εἄρε τῷ) long-suffering;
4. munificus (= ? χαριτωμας = ὁδῆ) bountiful;
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5) multae misericordiae (= πολλάς μεταλλευς = רָבָה בָּרִי) of great mercy:
in [Ex. 34 4 רָבָה בָּרִי];
6) donator (= ἀνθρωπός, a mistake for ἄνθρωπος = ἄθυτον), 
good, kind*: see notes below);
7) judex (= ἅγιος = ἅγιος), judge, a mistake for ἁγίος, one who 
remits or forgivest; see notes below.

The seven epithets, which are more or less synonymous, are strung 
together so as to form one long sentence. Not improbably the number 7 
was fixed upon by the writer to suggest perfection (so Volkmar): the 
logical connection will then be: God, according to holy Scripture, is 
pre-eminently compassionate and merciful; how, then, can the Holy 
One suffer such multitudes of his creatures to perish?

In the Jewish (Synagogue) Liturgy and in the later Rabbinical 
literature this formula is made the basis of many prayers and statements 
as to the divine character. From the passage in Exodus thirteen 
attributes (middóth)—which, however, are variously reckoned—have 
been deduced (cf. T.B. Rosh ha-shānā 17b; and see JE. viii. 546, 
s.v. Middot shelosh-esrekh).

See also Bousset R.J.*, p. 439 f., where further detailed ref. for the 
ocurrence of each term in biblical literature are given. [Since the 
above was written a valuable monograph on this passage has come into 
the present writer's hands: Ein Midrasch im IV Buch Esra, von D. 
Simonsen (reprinted from the Festschrift issued in honour of the 70th 
birthday of Israel Levy: Breslau, 1911). Simonsen holds that our 
passage is based upon or interweaves a Midrash on Ex. 34 *, *. It 
will be seen from the former part of this section (written before the 
appearance of Simonsen's essay) that the conclusion reached by the 
present writer accords with this view. It may be pointed out that this 
is by no means the only Midrash embodied in our Book. Another 
clear case is 6****; and there seem to be others. Simonsen's textual 
conclusions and exegesis have been noted in the commentary on the 
text that follows.]

[*] And I answered and said: I know, Lord, that the Most 
High is now called 'compassionate' in that he compassiates'

s (vs. 132): compassionate: Lat., misericors = οὐκερίμωρον = רָאשׁ: 
cf. Ex. 34 4, Heb., LXX and Vulg. Simonsen thinks that the original 
Hebrew underlying [scio domine quoniam] nunc vocatur est Alissimus 
misericors contained an address in the second person, which has been 
obscured by mistranslation, and textual corruption: nunc = Heb. 
ינא, which has arisen from יָנָה (Thou): and Alissimus misericors = 
ינא (cf. Ar., The Lord Most High is called the mighty compassion-
ator). Thus the sentence would run: I know, Lord, that thou art called 
a compassionate God (ינא יָנָה) in that thou art one who compassiates, 
etc. The transition to third person in the following clauses facilitated 
the confusion.

t (vs. 132): in that he compassiates: Lat., in eo quod misereatur = 
ינא (Hilg.).

* In Ex. 34 7 יָנָה.
† In Ex. 34 7 יָנָה יָנָה (Hilg.).
“those who have not yet come into the world;” [185] and "gracious," in that he is gracious towards those "who return to his law;" [184] and "long-suffering" because he shews long suffering to sinners as his creatures; [185] and "bountiful" since he is ready to bestow favour rather than
exact; \[^{136}\] and of great mercy,\[^{d}\] because he multiplies mercies so greatly\[^{e}\] to those who are in existence, and who have passed away, and who are to come;\[^{f}\]—\[^{137}\] for if he did not multiply mercy\[^{f}\] the world with its inhabitants\[^{c}\] could not attain unto life—\[^{138}\] \[^{138}\] and good (?), for if in his

Acts 20 \[^{138}\] (more blessed to give than to receive). For the general thought cf. e.g., the following: God bestows gifts on those who know him and those who know him not and do not deserve his gifts (cited from Seder Eitahu, p. 135, in Schechter, Aspects, p. 202). [The verb ṭm has the meaning graciously bestow in later Hebrew: cf. e.g., in the Synagogue Liturgy the fourth of the Eighteen Benedictions, Thou graciously endowest man (Heb. ‘attah hōn n ḍadām) with knowledge, Singer, p. 46. ] Simonsen understands the clause to mean: God is ready to forgive guilt rather than exact punishment (pro exigere = Heb. ṣerēm): cf. Pesiqta (ed. Buber), p. 161 b: where it is stated that God is long-suffering, seeing that in this world he removes guilt from the pious, who then pass into eternity with their good works; while in the other world he releases sinners from their guilt.

d (vs. 136): of great mercy: Lat., multae misericordiae = θολωδεος (Heb. רח אוג).

e (vs. 136): he multiplies mercies so greatly: Lat., multiplicat magis misericordias = μαλλον (πλειον) περισσωσει (πλεουσαι) = הָרָבָּה (רָבָּה).

f (vs. 136): to those who are in existence, and who have passed away, and who are to come: Lat., his qui praesentessunt et qui praeterierunt et qui futuri sunt = ος παροιμια και οι παρελθωσι και οι γεννηθηκοιν (Heb. וְיִתְנְו לְאָדָם וּקְנִי נָעָה). [Simonsen is convinced that the Heb. equivalent of multae misericordiae in vs. 136 is מְלָאָה מִרְכָּדָה מֵאֲוָלִים = of great mercy and faithfulness (מֵאֲוָלִים often joined in the O.T.). God’s love, according to the apocalyptist, is not only all embracing (reaching those alive, dead and yet unborn), but also true and faithful, unchanging and unchangeable.]

f (vs. 137): so Syr. Ethiop. (his mercy): Lat. omits.

h (vs. 137): could not attain unto life: Lat., non vivificabitur ου (μονοκολαφονηθης) = Heb. רח אוג: 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).

i (vs. 138): and good (?), for if in his goodness he were not gracious: Lat. has et donator (so Bensly, Violet) quoniam si non donaverit = (?), καὶ δωρητος, στὶ καὶ μὴ δωρητεία (Hilg.). Both Syr. and Ethiop. render the first word here exactly as in vs. 135 (and the giver): while the Lat. has two different words, viz., munificus (vs. 135) and donator (vs. 138). If munificus = χαρισμος in vs. 135, then presumably the Syr. and Ethiop. read this word in both verses. In that case we
goodness he were not gracious, so that evil-doers might be eased of their iniquities; the ten thousandth part of mankind could not attain unto life; and 'forgiving,' may, perhaps, assume that in vs. 138 χαριστικος is a misreading of χριστος = Heb. צי; and some support for this may be found in the words that follow de bonitate sua = en τη χρηστουτη αυτων. Then the sequence would be similar here to the late paraphrase (cf. Ex. 34 6) which is embodied in Ps. 144 (Heb. 145) 8, 9 (αυτωριων και ελεημων ο κυριος, μακροθυμος και πολυελεος χριστος κτλ.: Gracious and compassionate is the Lord, long-suffering and of great mercy. Good (is the Lord), etc.). In any case munificus and donator = χαριστικος and δονατικος are variant renderings of a single Hebrew word (? כנף) and this can hardly be original in both places. Possibly the recurrence of the word χαριστικος in the Greek produced a variant or gloss, δονατικος, which was known to the Latin translator, and hence the double Latin rendering. We conclude, therefore, that there is some probability that the original Greek rendering here was χριστος (= צי). [An alternative explanation is suggested by Simonsen. The verse is based on the phrase keeping mercy to thousands ( chai Eliav) in Ex. 34 9. Simonsen suggests that the idea of bountiful giver (donator) may have been deduced midrashically from צי by connecting it with the similar sounding word for treasure (צאת). Then the idea will be that God shows his mercy to thousands of sinners by supplying freely from his own inexhaustible treasure of love the merit needed to weigh down the scales in the sinner's favour at the Judgement of souls: cf. T.J. Pea i.1: (when a man possesses too little merit (to outweigh his sins), God gives him of his own). Cf. also Rosh ha-shana 17a.]

j (vs. 138): so that evil-doers might be eased of their iniquities: Lat., ut alieventur hi qui iniquitates fecerunt de suis iniquitatis = (?) ina κονφιςωναι (Hilg., εκκονφιςωναι) οι ανομοστες ακο των ανωμων αυτων. A possible Heb. original would be: בקעון יכ אונומאוס שיגשיג, i.e., that sinners might be spared the consequences of their guilt (viz., in the future life, cf. note i, end, an excellent sense): for κονφις = "πτ. cf. Ezra 9 11, Heb. and LXX (κονφις διωμας τας ανομιας): or שיעם (misread שיעם) שיעם שיעם which would mean to lighten the iniquities of evil-doers. Cf. Ex. 18 16, 1 Kings 12 4, Heb. and LXX. [Thus the original Greek of the verse would have run: και χριστος, οτι εκ μη χαιριται εν τη χρηστουτη αυτων οι κονφιςωναι οι ανομοστες ακο των ανωμων αυτων κτλ. = (?) εκ μη χαιριται εν τη χρηστουτη αυτων και καιριται εν τη χρηστουτη αυτων κτλ.] k (vs. 138): the ten thousandth part . . . not attain unto life (i.e., unto eternal life): this looks like a midrashic expansion of Ex. 34 1 (keeping mercy for thousands).

l (vs. 139): forgiving: the Lat. has judex, judge: so the other versions; but this may be an error. The mistake probably arose in the original Heb. text, where the reading shofet, judge, would be an easy corruption of shomret, one who remits or forgives. The noun should, in accordance with the structure of the previous verses, correspond with the contents of the verse: the reading judex certainly does not cohere with what follows as the text stands (cf., however, note q below).
"for" if he did not "pardon" "those that were created by his word," and blot out the multitude of their iniquities," there would, perchance, be "very few" left in an innumerable multitude.

1 And he answered me and said: This age the Most High has made "for" many, but the age to come "for" few. 2 "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

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m (vs. 139): for = ori; so Syr., Ethiop.; but Lat. MSS. omit.

n (vs. 139): pardon: so Lat. (ignoverit) and Syr.; but Ethiop., preserve.

o (vs. 139): those that were created by his word: Lat., his qui creati sunt verbo ejus = ? rous rq' pmuari avtov roundelai; so Syr.; but Ethiop., his work which he made = (?) rip rotmuari avrov Trouméevri.

p (vs. 139): of their iniquities: the Lat. has contemptionum = των αδικημάτων (Hilg.): Syr., of their sins = (?) των αδικημάτων: but Ethiop. misread, apparently, των αδικων.

q (vs. 140): very few: Lat. (non) . . . nisi pauci valde = (ouv ar) . . . ei μη αλητοί λιαν (Hilg.). [Simonsen proposes a brilliant solution of the difficulties of vs. 139 (140): following Ar. 1, he proposes to read: and the righteous Judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon, etc. (Heb. τοις προσώποις θρησκευόμενοι. This affords a fine paraphrase of Ex. 34 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 Ex. 34 cited above, viz., ἀπλά νίν τὸν: i.e. (according to the interpretation referred to): He will not utterly extinguish.

[r (vs. 1): for: Lat., propter, on account of, for the sake of.

s (vs. 2): I will tell thee: Lat., dicam coram te = epw evariov= ? τῶν ἀνθρώπων σου ? τῶν ἀνθρώπων: I would declare before thee: so Syr., Ethiop., &r 1: Ethiop. adds at beginning and behold.

r (vs. 2): as when: Lat., quomodo autem = (?) καθὼς δὲ [? for καθώς]: Syr., quomodo alone; Ar. 1, sicut: Ethiop. omits. Gk. (?) καθως = πώς. [Hilg., καθώς ἢ] u (vs. 2): much more mould: Lat., terram multam magis = χθονα πολλὰς μαλλον (Hilg.).

from which gold comes; so also is the course of the present age. Many have been created, but few shall be saved!

(b) Can God’s creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite skill and labour, perish finally?

(8 4–10) (S)

4 And I answered and said:

O my soul, drink thy fill of understanding, And, O heart, feed on wisdom!

5 Unasked thou camest (into the world), and when thou willest not departest:

w (vs. 2): the course: Lat., actus = πρᾶξις (Heb., dereh: cf. 2 Chron. 13 11, Heb. and LXX). Syr. and Ethiop. render the work = η πρᾶξις [of this world].

x (vs. 2): of the present age: so Lat. (Hilg., τὸ παροντός αἰωνός): Oriental Versions of this world.

y (vs. 3): many . . . created . . . few . . . saved: cf. Matt. 22 14 (many are called but few are chosen). [The illustration in vv. 1–3 is parallel both in thought and expression with 7 46–41.]

a (vs. 4): I answered and said: so Lat. and all the other versions except Ar.1, which has Then spake he unto me.

b (vs. 4): O my soul, drink thy fill of understanding: so Syr., absorbē anima mea sensum = η ψυχὴ μου ἀπολαῦσῃ τὸν νουν, which is rendered by Ethiop., let the soul delight itself with understanding. The Lat. misreading the Greek, η ψυχὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν νουν, renders absorbē ergo anima sensum [absolve is read by SACM: later MSS. absorbē, so Bensly]. The Heb. original may have been: והי נש י: for απολυνω = י: cf. Prov. 7 18, Heb. and LXX.

c (vs. 4): O heart: Syr., cor meum = י: Ethiop. has the ear (let the ear, etc.) = το οὖς (ι from τον νουν: cf. Violet). Lat. omits.

d (vs. 4): feed on wisdom: Lat., devoret . . . quod sapit = καταφαγε το φρονημ (Hilg.) = (? ἐσκιτε ἐκεῖ). Syr. and Ethiop. render drink (for devour) = (?) γη, which is rendered by καταφαγειν (LXX) in Hos. 8 17. [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.]

e (vs. 5): unasked (without thy will) thou camest . . . and when thou willest not departest: so Syr. (for thou camest without thy will, etc.): without thy will = ακουσα: this was misread ακουσα by Lat., which has (in BJ and Violet’s text): convenisti enim obaudire et projecta es volens: Hilg. renders the sentence: συγκλίθης γαρ ακουσα και σπουδης ακουσα. For a parallel both in idea and expression cf. Ap. Bar. xlviii. 14 f. (Be not, therefore, wroth with man . . . For what are we? for lo! by thy gift do we come into the world, and we depart not of our own will. For we said not to our parents, “Beget us,” nor did we send to Sheol and say “Receive us”); also xiv. 11 (men who depart not
for permission has been given to thee only to live a brief time. 
if thou wouldest but suffer thy servant to pray before thee; and wouldest give unto thee the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding, whence fruit may come, whereby every corruptible one may be able to

according to their own will). Both in our passage and in the Prayer of Baruch (Ap. Bar. xlvi, which should be compared generally) man's weakness and dependence upon the divine will in all things is made the ground for an appeal to the divine mercy. Cf. also Is. 65:14.

*O Lord above us,* if thou wouldest but suffer thy servant to pray before thee; and wouldest give unto us the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding, whence fruit may come, whereby every corruptible one may be able to

for permission has been given to thee only to live a brief time.

Lat., nec enim tibist datum spatum nisi solum modicum vivere = (?)

ov5e yap arol e500m rvyxopmoris et un uovov oxvyov (mw= (?)

m'n' byp pn N58 men 15mini851; cf. Syr., non enim data est tibi potestas.

For phrase and idea cf. Ap. Bar. xlvi. 12 (*For in a little time are we born, and in a little time do we return,*

**vs. 6**: O Lord above us: Lat., O Domine super nos: cf. also 8 *.

In both passages there is nothing exactly corresponding to super nos in the other versions. Syr. in both passages has O Lord my Lord = Δεσπότα κυριε (= O dominator domine). Does super nos here represent a paraphrase of dominator (Δεσπότα)?

if thou wouldest but suffer: Lat., si permittes = eav emitpeyms: eav = EN expresses a wish in such connections: if thou wouldest but = O that thou wouldst! (utinam): cf. e.g., Ps. 81:6 (*):

if thou wouldest but hearken unto me! (ἐμπνευσον ἐν)

(cf. Violet).

to pray before thee: the Syr. has orabo coram te: the Lat., ut oremus coram te. Probably the sing. (that I may pray before thee) is correct: so Ar. 1 (cf. Ar. 4). Hilg. renders: προσευξάμενος υπεύθυνος σου.

the seed of a new heart, and culture to our understanding:

the Lat. renders semen cordis et sensui culturam = σέρμα καρδίας καὶ τρ Gamma θεραπείας (Hilg.) = seed of heart and culture to our understanding. Syr. renders semen et culturam cordis novi. Possibly seed of a new heart is right. In this case the seer asks for that transformation by the renewing of the mind (τρ νοιανεμον του νου), of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. 12:2; cf. Ephes. 4:20), and which amounts to ἀνέγερσις.

The cor malignum is to be replaced by a cor novum, and the granum semeninis mali (4:20) by the semen cordis novi. Volk. renders culturam by γεωργιαν. Ethiop. renders as thou hast given to us understanding and thought whereby we sow and where we plow and sow (that it may bring fruit to us). This paraphrase certainly suggests that γεωργιαν was the reading in the Greek.

whereby every corruptible one may be able to live, who bears the form of man: so Syr. = οδηγεις των δικαιων γεωργιαν των ἀνθρωπων (Hilg.): the Lat. (misreading τονον as τονα) renders unde vivere possit omnis corruptus qui portavit locum hominis. The Ethiopic, apparently found τονα and altered this to κορμος, rendering dum mundus portat homines (cf. Violet). The meaning of the whole vs. is well paraphrased by Volkmar: "O that thou wouldest grant unto thy human children not merely physical life, but also the seed of spiritual
live, who bears the form of man! For one art thou and we are all one fashioning, the work of thine hands, as thou hast said. And when thou quickenest the body which thou fashionest in the womb, 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 life and understanding to be cultivated (by them) so that thereby they might attain true life!"

l (vs. 7): For one art thou, and we are all one fashioning, the work of thine hands: so Syr. and Lat. (partly) (solus enim es = ? alithe) the work of thine hands. But Ethiop. has but we are all alike = (alike) the work of thine hands. Ethiop. does not represent first clause (For thou art one). Ar. 1 agrees with Ethiop. The Heb. may have been: Here may be given rise to a false reading, producing a variant in the Greek followed by Ethiop. Lat. omits work but otherwise agrees with Syr.

m (vs. 7): as thou hast said: Is. 45 11, 60 11; cf. 65 14 1. 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. 6 1-6.

n (vs. 8): and when: Lat., et quoniam = kai orī = 2): kai orī may be a mistake for kai orī (so Hilg.). Ethiop. represents orī only (so some Lat. MSS. and Arm.). Syr. has and only (so Ar. 1).

o (vs. 8): thou quickenest: Syr. has vivificans vivificas (so Bensly would emend Lat.): Lat. MSS. (mainly) vivificas. Syr. adds nobis.

p (vs. 8): the body which thou fashionest in the womb: the Lat. (Violet) has nunc in matrice plasmatum corpus = (?) tota ev της μητρης πλασθεν σωμα (the body that is fashioned now in the womb, R.V.): this may represent a Hebrew text: this is the true reading being (confusion of ? with ?). Syr. has nunc in matrice corpus quod plasmasti. [Ethiop. reads first part of vs.: nunc enim in matrice creas eum et facis ei corpus ejus et membra ejus et das ei cor]: here [das] ei cor is an addition (which, however, Volkmar considers original reading): thou endowest it with members and a heart.

q (vs. 8): thy creature is preserved in fire and water (creature here = creatio [that which has been created]. Creatio alternates with creatura as an equivalent of ? creta). 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 4 19. cf. note w 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.

r (vs. 8): and nine months . . . bear thy creature which thou hast created within it: i.e., the womb bears the child. So Syr., which reads thou hast created (so Ethiop., Ar. 1); but Lat. has quae in eo creatum est (cf. vs. 9). Hilg. renders: kai enne πολλα ἀντιχεῖται το πλάσμα σου του κτεριμάτος του εν αὐτῷ κτεῖθεντος.
creature which thou hast created within it." But "that which keeps and that which is kept are both kept by thy keeping." And when the womb gives up again "what has been created in it," thou hast commanded that out of the members themselves, "that is out of the breasts," milk, the fruit of the breasts, "should be provided," that what has been fashioned may be nourished "for a time."

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."
18 /Thou wilt kill it—as (it is) thy creature, and quicken it—as (it is) thy work!

16 If, then, with a light word thou shalt destroy him who with such infinite labour has been fashioned by thy command, to what purpose was he made? But now I will say: Concerning man in general, thou knowest best; but concerning

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— and for intellectus = *a cf. 5* (note x): corripio occurs again in 7 = *? vovetwv there). For ṣ and ה in parallelism cf. Prov. 9.

/ (vs. 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. 2 (*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 5, Deut. 32.

g (vs. 14): with a light word: Lat., facili ordine = (?) κοφρ ταφεί: Ἑβ. (?) ἐπὶ ἤλο (Gunkel). Syr., suddenly and quickly.

h (vs. 14): him who with such infinite labour has been fashioned by thy command: Lat., qui tantis laboribus plasmatus est tuo jussu. Cf. Ps. 139.


j (vs. 15): I will say: Lat., dicens dicam.


l (vs. 15): thou knowest best: Lat., tu magis scis = σὺ μαλλον ὀδος (Hilg.).

m (vs. 15): but concerning thy people on whose account I grieve: Lat., de populo autem tuo quod mihi dolet: the quod suggests that the Greek had έθνος (so Volk. renders: τό ἔθνος σου ο αχθομα): so Gunkel. Hilg. renders περι ὑ του λαου σου, ὑ αν των. Violet suggests that quod may, perhaps, be taken as a conjunction.

n (vs. 16): thine inheritance: cf. vs. 45; Ps. 28* (save thy people and bless thine inheritance).

o (vs. 16): for whom I am sad: Lat., propter quem tristis sum = (?) δι ὑν ἔπειξαν εὑμε: cf. e.g., Ps. 41 (Heb. 42), quare tristis es (Vulg.) = ὅτι ἔπειξαν εὑμε: Hilg. renders here δι ὑν εὔανμαι.

p (vs. 16): Jacob's seed (de semine Jacob): cf. 3* (same expression).

q (vs. 16): for whom I am dismayed: Lat., propter quod conturbor = δι ὑν σύνστασαν (Hilg.) = (?) εὑρέθη (cf. Ἑβ., LXX, Vulg., Ps. 82 (Heb. 83)†).
Therefore I would fain pray before thee for myself and for them! For I see the falls of us that dwell in the land, and now also have heard the decree of judgement that is to come!

Therefore hear my voice, and consider my words, and let me speak before thee!

(c) The Seer's prayer for compassion on his people, and the divine reply

The beautiful prayer which follows (8:19b-30-40) 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 long-suffering 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. vs. 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. 7 17 f., and the introduction to the section above (p. 98 f.): cf. also 7 44 compared with 7 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 (see further the discussion in the introduction to 7 44 f., pp. 129–130). The beauty of the prayer itself has led to its being excerpted and used for liturgical and devotional purposes. As a consequence the Latin MS. 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. 94). 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 state of the case is thus described by Dr. James (BJ, p. lxvi): "The whole situation is a curious one. In a section of the book which has been excerpted and used apart from its context for liturgy or private devotion, we find two widely differing forms of text. But we do not find, as we might have expected, that one form is represented in the liturgical MSS. and another in the MSS. of the continuous text; but that the liturgical MSS. agree with three of the continuous MSS. [viz., SAC], and that one of the latter [viz., M] has the divergent text. The geographical distribution [of the MSS.—viz., Spanish and French] does not help us." The inference to be drawn from these phenomena is, probably, that the liturgical recension has affected the MSS. of the continuous text, and that the other recension [represented especially in M] is the one that belongs to the text of the book proper. The two recensions have been reconstructed (with the aid of fresh MS. evidence) by Violet; and these are referred to below as text a (= the normal text of the liturgical MSS. and of SAC) 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. lxvi–lxxvi; also Violet, Introduction, § 13 (pp. xxvi–xxix). There is a prayer in Ap. Bar. which similarly has a separate title (Prayer of Baruch), ch. xlvi. The prayer in Constit. Apost. viii. 7 should also be compared,
THE PRAYER

(8 (19b) 20-30)

a [19] b The beginning of the words of the Prayer of Ezra before he was taken up. And he said:

20 O Lord "that dwellest eternally,"

whose are the highest heavens,

whose chambers are in the air;"

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a (vs. 19b): this superscription is, of course, no part of the original text of the book; but it must have come into the text very early, as it is attested by the Syr. and Ethiop., as well as by both recensions of the Latin. Its presence shows clearly that the passage was early singled out for separate use for liturgical or devotional purposes.


c (vs. 20): that dwellest eternally: Lat., quae inhabitas saeculum (text b habitas): o katoikov tov owpov: Heb., y p (cf. Is. 57 18, Heb. and LXX). Syr. renders as above that abidest (dwellest) for ever, which is a good rendering of the Hebrew; so Ethiop. (cf. Ar.), and cf. the v.l. in saeculum (aeternum) in S.A. R.V. renders that abidest for ever (marg., that inhabiteth eternity). Apparently awv sometimes = heaven; cf. 3 18 (note i on spheres), and 6 1 (note): hence Gunkel renders here thou that dwellest in heaven. So the Targ. of Is. 57 15 interprets y p, that dwells in the heavens (Aram., 9 29). In later Judaism, as Gunkel points out, in Heaven as applied to God (e.g., the Father in Heaven: cf. Pirq. Ab. V. 30, ed. Taylor) is an expression of God's transcendence.

d (vs. 20): whose are the highest heavens: so Lat. text b cujus altissimi celii sunt: the curious form celii (for cela) may be due to the influence of the Greek: for similar instances (mistake in gender due to influence of the Greek) cf. Bensly, MF, p. 18 (cf. also p. 16 under substantives). Syr. renders whose heights (= heavens) are exalted. The Lat. text a has cujus oculi elati (R.V., whose eyes are exalted). Not improbably two Greek words have been confused: perhaps o oph = oculi and ta oph: the original text of the Greek may then have been: ta oph ophos (= 9 29, heights of heaven, i.e., the highest heaven; cf. Job 11 8, Ps. 103 (LXX, 102)11, and for the general thought Ps. 95 (LXX, 94): in his hand are the deep places of the earth: the heights (LXX, tv oph) of the mountains are his also: Deut. 10 14 to J., belongeth the heaven and the heaven of heavens). This yields a better parallelism than Lat. text a (whose eyes are exalted parallel to whose chambers). For the exalted eyes of God cf. Is. 2 11, LXX: o oph ophos ophos kai oph: the divine eyes which look down from heaven upon the deeds of men is a higher religious modification of the older view of the stars.

e (vs. 20): whose chambers are in the air: Lat. text a, et superna in aerem (text b, in aerum) = kai ta ophos en aerum (Hilg.): so Syr. For the (upper) chambers of God cf. Ps. 104 3. The figure is derived from
Whose throne is beyond imagination, whose glory inconceivable; before whom (heaven's) hosts stand trembling, and at thy word change to wind and fire; 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.

The Gk. equivalent of inextimabilis was probably aveukarros (Volkmar); this will explain the Ethiop. rendering invictus (by itacism avikagros which = avikmros). The Heb. original may have been בָּשָׂלְחַן יְהֹוָה וּמַנַּחֶה יִשֶּׁר פָּיו (in Ps. 48 (LXX, 47), εἰκάζει = ἡ γλώσσα in Symm.) Syr. renders immensus (= οὐκ ἔζηδο ἐκ θρόνος which is often parallel to אֱלֹהִים). The mystery of God's throne is the theme of Ezek. 1 (the chariot), and it is worth noting that תֵּבַע (Ps. 89) constantly recurs in that chapter.

Where his glory inconceivable: Lat., et gloria incomprehensibilis: cf. e.g., Rom. 11, where ανεξαρτησια = (unsearchable) = incomprehensibilia in Vulg. God's glory would suggest to the Jewish mind the ineffable light of the divine presence which pervades Heaven: cf. Rev. 21, where θεάματα θρόνων. The Heb. text of the passage can be rendered in this way, though it is not usually so rendered (cf. Driver, Heb. Tenses, 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. [The difference between Lat. text a [quorum] servatio and...
whose word is sure, and behest constant, whose commandment is strong and enactment terrible; whose look drieth up the depths, whose indignation melteth the mountains; whose faithfulness standeth eternal —

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23 whose word is sure, and behest constant, whose commandment is strong and enactment terrible; whose look drieth up the depths, whose indignation melteth the mountains; whose faithfulness standeth eternal —
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[CHAP. 8

24 * Hear the voice of thy servant, and attend to my words! * For so long as I live must I speak, and while I possess understanding, answer—

26 * Think not upon those that have walked in devious ways before thee; faith witnesseth: so Syr. (cf. Ethiop.). (Cf. R.V.) The Greek translator wrongly rendered the Heb. text γεύσται ἀμήν = standeth for ever, misreading the second word as γεύσαται = for a witness.

A similar mistake often occurs in LXX: cf. e.g., Prov. 29 14, where his throne shall be established for ever (Heb. הָיִתָהוֹן) is rendered by LXX his throne shall be established for a testimony (εἰς μαρτυρίαν = γεύσαται): (cited by Violet). The opposite mistake occurs in Is. 19 10, LXX and Heb. The citation in Ap. Const. given above renders rightly εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.

24: the voice: so Lat. text b, Syr., Ethiop., Ar.; Lat. text a and Ar. read prayer.

24: give ear: Lat. text a, auribus percipe = εἰσηκοσία (often in LXX, e.g., Ps. 5 9): text b, intende = προσοχῆς: in both cases rendering the Heb. יַעֲשָׂה.

27: the deeds [of the godless]: Lat. text a [impie agentium] studia = [τῶν ἀδικήσων] τὰν ἐπιτήδευμα (Hilg.): so other Versions.

28: that have kept thy covenants in tortures; the voice: so Lat. text b, Syr., Ethiop., Ar. 1; Lat. text a and Ar. read prayer.

a (vs. 27): the voice: so Lat. text b, Syr., Ethiop., Ar. 1; Lat. text a and Ar. read prayer.

b (vs. 27): them that have kept thy covenants in tortures: so Lat. text b, eos qui tua testamenta cum cruciatibus servauerunt = τούς τὰς διαθήκας σου εν βασιλείᾳ (or ἀλήθεια) φυλακάσας: Lat. text a has cum doloribus = in oris (Hilg.) for cum cruciatibus: the Heb. word was probably צָאצָא. Such witnesses for the faith as the famous seven Maccabean Martyrs are probably referred to.

c (vs. 28): think not: Lat., neque cogitatis = μὴ οργίζου (Volk.): so Syr.; but Ethiop., be not angry = μὴ ὀργίζου (so Ar. 1).

d (vs. 28): that have walked in devious ways (perversely) before thee:
but remember "them that have willingly recognised [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,*

* Lat. text b, *qui coram te perverse conversatis sunt* = θυμοθετησαν και παρεταισιν τους νους σου αδίκους; text a, *qui in conspectu tuo false conversati sunt* = τους ευαίσθητους του υπουργον; k.t.l. Syr. = κακοί αναστραφηται (κακοί, loud); so Ethiop. The Heb. may have been (?) κακός ὑπαρχων; and εὐθειάς has been confused with ἀδίκος = false: for other instances of the confusion of these two words cf. Is. 59 18 (M.T., ἀδίκος = LXX, ἀδίκος; but read ἀδίκος), Is. 30 11, Ps. 62 11 (?). In Prov. 28 6 εὐθείας = ὑπαρχων; possibly therefore both Greek renderings go back in our passage to the same Heb. (εὐθείας). By those that have walked in devious ways (lit., crookedly, i.e., not straight) before thee are meant, no doubt, unreal (hypocritical) adherents of the Law. Note the contrast in the next line.

f (vs. 29): *thosethat have lived like cattle (lit., that have the manners of cattle):* Lat. *eos qui jumentorum (text a, pecorum) mores habuerunt* = ἐμπρόσθεν τοι διαβολοματα; Syr., *qui assimilatis sunt jumentis:* cf. Ethiop. (who are like the cattle in their actions). Ar. understands the heathen to be meant, but probably Jews who live like heathen (the "am ha' areg) are in the author's mind. These are contrasted (next line) with the teachers of the Law. The point of the comparison lies in the fact that they have no conscience for religion, no thought of coming judgement; cf. 7 44 f.

g (vs. 29): *those that have gloriously taught thy Law;* i.e., the orthodox scribes. Lat. text a, *qui legem tuam splendide docuerunt* = [τρεχέντα] τους τοιούτους νομον σου λαμβάνων διδάσκων (Lat. text b [super] nos qui claram legem tuam demonstravunt); Syr., *qui accepserunt:* reading διακατακόμους = διακατακόμου, splendorem legis tuas: cf. Ethiop. In Dan. 12 3 it is said that the wise (i.e., the teachers of the Law) shall shine, etc. (LXX, λαμποῦν). Here there seems to be a clear allusion to this passage. Cf. also Matt. 5 14-18.

h (vs. 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*
but love 'them that have always put their trust' in thy glory—

31 For we 'and our fathers' have passed our lives in ways

the previous verse); Lat., qui bestiis pejus (text b, peiores) sunt judicati = oi tov thewv χειρῶν εἰς κεκρυμμένοι (Volk.). Syr. apparently read κεκρυμμένοι, rendering who have behaved worse than the beasts. This may possibly be right. Is there an allusion here to Jewish informers, who betray their own countrymen to heathen officials?

i (vs. 30): them that have put their trust: Lat. text a, qui . . . confiderunt = τοὺς . . . πιστεούσας: text b, qui sperantes fuerunt: oi . . . εἰκοστες ἡσα: both renderings of the same Hebrew (אשאשא). The petitions in vv. 26–30 amount to a plea that God will be merciful to the many unrighteous in Israel on account of the righteous few. Notice the five classes distinguished in each case: sinners, godless, hypocrites, 'am ha'ares (?), informers (?); true servants of God, loyal to the Law, zealous, active teachers, faithful adherents. Many Jews undoubtedly lapsed into indifference, or even heathen life after the destruction of Jerusalem. See Introduction, p. xlv.

j (vs. 31): and our fathers: Lat. text a, et patres nostri (Hilg., καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν); but text b has and those who were before us (et qui ante nos): so the Oriental Versions.

k (vs. 31): have passed our lives in ways that bring death: Lat. text a has mortalibus [so read for MSS. talibus] moribus egimus = ταῦτα πορεύσαμεν: text b has corruptum locum egimus = (?) φθάρον τροποῖς διήχθησαμεν (Violet). For the confusion between τρόποις and τροποῖς cf. 7* (note j). Syr. has opera corruptionis egimus et insanivimus = (?) φθάρα [ἐργα ἑπαξαμεν καὶ] ἀ φταξαμεν: from this would easily arise by homoioteleuton the readings (a) φθάρα ἀτοπα ἑπαξαμεν (hence Lat. text b, φθαρον τροποι; and then text a, φθαροι τρωτοι); and (b) φρατρα ἐργα ἑπαξαμεν (last clause omitted by homoioteleuton) = Ethiop. opera mortalia fecimus). Thus as the Syr. will explain the other renderings it may represent the true text. In LXX of Job 34* a rowa rowev (or ἑρπατροῦ = to do what is unseemly or strange, to behave in an unseemly manner) = Heb. ἐραμεν = to behave as a sinner: thus the Heb. here would be ἐραμεν, which actually occurs in the prayer in Dan. 9*. The Heb. of the entire clause may have been ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν τῶν [For we and our fathers] have practised the works of death, and have behaved as sinners. This suits the connection admirably: the last phrase (behaved as sinners) is taken up in the next sentence (because of us sinners), and the clause have practised the works of death (i.e., the works that bring death; cf. 7* [mortalia opera] and Heb. 6†, νέκρα ἐργα) is taken up in the sentence that follows: [us], who have no works of righteousness. [BJ. are responsible for the emendation mortalibus in text a for talibus: so Violet.]
that bring death. for if thou hast a desire to compassionate us who have no works of righteousness, thou shalt 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—

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.

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
(vv. 37–40)

Then he answered me and said: "Some things thou hast spoken aright," and "according to thy words shall it come

s (vs. 35): of the earth-born: Lat. text a, de genitis; text b, eorum qui nati sunt = raw yevvm6evrov (Volk.); text b, evyn6et6ov = raw yevvmtow (Hilg.): on the latter word cf. 4 * (note j).

i (vs. 35): dealt wickedly: Lat. text a, qui . . . impie gessit; text b, qui . . . iniquitatem fecerit = maegmaev.

u (vs. 35): among those that exist: Lat. text a, de confitentibus: this must be a mistake, possibly (as Gunkel suggests) for confientibus = ruvearnkoray: so Volk. substantially. The Heb. might be (?) E"Rap! To: Lat. text b, horum qui increverunt(? row av$76evrov = (?)

v (vs. 35): O Lord: so Lat. (both recensions), Ar. 1; Syr., O Lord my Lord (= Δεσποτα ευρει); Ethiop. omits.

w (vs. 36): [shall] be declared: Lat. text a, adnuntiabitur: text b, ostendetur: a = (?)μυμηθησεται (Hilg.); b = (?) δειχθησεται.

x (vs. 36): them that have no wealth of good works: Lat., qui non habent substantiam operum bonorum (text b omits bonorum) = τους μη εχοντας νυστασιν εργων αγαθων (Hilg.). Another possible equivalent of substantiam would be τα υπαρχοντα ("substance," "goods," "wealth"): cf. e.g., OL Matt. 25 14 (cf. Burkitt, Tyconius, p. cii). Behind this may lie the Hebrew טנ, wealth (wealth of good works). Cf. Job 15 8, Heb. and LXX. Another possibility is that substantia = νυστασις = ὑπον (hope or expectation) (cf. Ps. 39 [LXX, 38] 8, Heb., LXX, Vulg.). No expectation of good works. Syr. has power (ϒην): Ethiop. omits the word. [The passage recalls the Pauline teaching regarding the righteousness which is imparted by the divine grace to sinners; cf. Rom. 3 21 f. Cf. also Ap. Edrae (ed. Tisch) p. 25: αυτως και ο δικαιος απελάθην του μαθου αυτου εν οφανοι, αλλα τους αμαρτωλους ελεησον. οδηγεμ γαρ οτι ελησον ει (cited by Gunkel).]

y (vs. 37): some things thou hast spoken aright: Lat., recte locutius ex aliqua = ὀρθος ἔλεγχα τινα (Hilg.). Some things is omitted by Ethiop. and Ar. 1 and 2; but Syr. represents the word by ex parte (?νω).

z (vs. 37): according to thy words . . . shall it come to pass. The
to pass. For indeed I will not concern myself about the creation of those who have sinned, or their death, judgement, or perdition; but I will rejoice (rather) over the creation of the righteous, (over) their pilgrimage also and 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. 7 * , * f. 

zz (vs. 38): I will not concern myself about: Lat., non cogitabo super. So Syr. (σε βλέπω): Ethiop., I do not desire (the death, etc.) : both Hilg. and Volk. render ων μετηρησαν [την]: cf. Ps. 38 [LXX, 37] 13, LXX, Vulg., Heb. (μετηρησαν = cogitabo = θαυμα). So the Heb. here may have been [c]*****: I will not concern myself [regarding].

b (vs. 38): the creation: Lat., plasma [eorum qui peccaverunt] = [το] το πλαιμα [των αμαρτησαν] (Hilg.) των αμαρτησαν (Volk.) το πλαιμα = θαυμα and may mean (1) the creation fashioning (of those who have sinned); or (2) the disposition, nature (so θαυμα is often used in NH. e.g., the yāser ha-ra = the evil nature or impulse). It is difficult to choose between these meanings in our passage—perhaps the author had both in mind in using the word. On the whole (1) is perhaps preferable; cf. 8 * (tua plasmatio = that which thou hast fashioned, thy creation): so R.V. here (the fashioning).

c (vs. 39): their death, judgement or perdition = m 6avarov m kptuam arwAelav (Hilg.); Ar. * adds sive corruptionem = μ φθοραν (?). a [v.l. to ασωλειαν (so Volk.): the three stages meant are physical death, the future judgement, and final perdition: see the next verse for three contrasted terms applied to the righteous. For the sentiment cf. 7 131.

d (vs. 39): over the creation (framing) of the righteous, (over) their pilgrimage also and their salvation and their recompense: Lat., super justorum figmentum perigrinationis quoque et salvationis et mercedis receptionis: the genitives perigrinationis and following are a difficulty here, and have been corrected in some MSS. to the plural (perigrinationes, etc.; so Hilg. It is better, perhaps, to assume that a wrong construction has arisen under the influence of the gen. justorum, the following words being attracted into it: doubtless the error is due to copyists either in the Greek or Lat. text. The Greek would be: ἐν τῇ τῶν διανων πλαιματι, τῇ τε ασωλείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ μεθανόησιν. It should be noted that figmentum expresses the same Greek and Hebrew words as plasma in the previous verse (viz., πλαιμα, "θαυμα"); perhaps the Lat. translator deliberately chose a different word in order to mark the distinction between wicked and righteous. The three words, pilgrimage, salvation, recompense, form contrasted expressions to death, judgement and perdition in the previous verse: so pilgrimage (= ασωλεία) must mean departure from this life to a better, a return home to God; cf. 2 Cor. 5 * f. for the idea. Salvation here may mean the state of safety, security and peace of the righteous dead in the
their salvation and their recompense. 40 As thou hast spoken, 41 then, so shall it be!

(d) Mankind is like the seed sown by the husbandman:

41 For just as the husbandman sows much seed "upon the ground" 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 root;" so also they that are sown in the world shall not all be saved. And I answered and said: If I have found favour before thee, let me speak! intermediate state: recompense = the final reward. [Gunkel both in verse 38 and 39 understands the genitives after plasma (eorum) and pigmentum (justorum) as objective = [I will not concern myself about that which sinners have fashioned for themselves [viz., death, judgement, etc.]] and I will rejoice rather [over that which the righteous have framed (gained) for themselves, viz., return (to God), etc., but such a construction is highly doubtful and improbable.]

41 as thou hast spoken: so Ethiop. (notice the irony): Lat. and other versions have first person (as I have spoken). For a similar ambiguity cf. 7 128.

41 upon the ground: Lat., super terram: so Ar. 1 (cf. Ar. 9): Syr. and Ethiop. omit.

41 a multitude of plants: Lat., plantationis multitudinem = ἐπειδὴ ἐπηγεῖθος (Cod. S has multitudinis). Ar. 1 has trees for plants: so Ar. 9.

41 shall be saved: Lat., salvabuntur = ἱσταμέναι: Syr., Ethiop., Ar. 1 have live (? confusion of ἱσταμέναι and ἔμεναι: cf. 7 4 note n and 7 47, note h).

41 in due season: Lat., in tempore = εἰ σωματεῖς (Volk.);

41 take root: Lat., radicabunt = ῥίζας: Ar. 1 remain alive = (?) ἐν σώματα: so read by translator.

41 they that are sown in the world: Lat., qui in saeculo seminati sunt = οἱ εἰς τὸν κόσμον σπαραττοῦσιν (Volk.); Syr., who have come into the world (?) reading παρατείνοντες = who are born: Ethiop., qui in hoc mundō sunt (?) reading παρατείνοντες, cf. Ar. 1.

41 be saved: so Lat., but Syr., Ethiop. live. Cf. note g above.

42 before thee: Lat., coram te = εἷς ὑμῖν = ἐν γενεσι (in thy sight); cf. e.g., Ps. 51 (LXX, 50) 6: so Syr., Ar. 1, render here in thy eyes.

42 let me speak: so Lat., but Syr. adds before thee; cf. Ethiop. (to thee): Ar. 1 omits (with Lat.).
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48 "The husbandman's seed, if it come not up—because it has not received thy rain in due season"—or if it be ruined by too much rain, perisheth; but the son of man who has been fashioned with thine own hands, and is made like thine own image, for whose sake thou hast fashioned all things—hast thou likened him to the seed of the husbandman?

45 'Nay, Lord God! but

n (vs. 43): Lat. begins the verse with quoniam = ori (Hilg.) following Λάβω at end of previous verse (and introducing the direct speech); so apparently the Oriental Versions, which do not translate it. R.V. renders (wrongly) forasmuch.

o (vs. 43): The husbandman's seed . . . season: the Lat. has [quoniam] semen agricolaes si non ascenderit—non enim acceptit pluviam tuam in tempore—= [ori] o strophos tou γεωργον εαυ τη ανατελη—ον γαρ ελαβη του υετον σου εν καιρυ—(Hilg.). The Syr. renders: will then the husbandman's seed, if it does not receive thy rain in its season, live? The Ethiop., with some paraphrase, supports Latin (so Ar.1).

p (vs. 43): [or if it be ruined with too much rain] perisheth, but the son of man: Lat. has [etsi corruptum fuerit multitudine pluviae] hic pater et filius [so SAC.; but M., sic pat et filius]. For the corrupt words hic pater et filius B.J. restore hic perit sed [homo]: so Hilg., who renders: [και εαυ φθαρη τη πληθι του υετου] οντος απολλυται. Gunkel, however, on the basis of M. (sic pat) restores sic patitur [et filius homo] = οντος πασχει και ονιοσ αυθρωνος. But hic perit sed filius homo = οντος απολλυται και νιοι αυθρωνος = (?). ὁ δὲ υετος ἐκ της ἀνατελης του του ουρανου. But hic perit sed filius homo = οντος απολλυται και νιοι αυθρωνος = (?). ὁ δὲ υετος ἐκ της ἀνατελης του ουρανου. The Syr. apparently does not represent the words it perisheth but the son, rendering also from much rain moreover will it be ruined: cf. Ethiop., Ar.1.

q (vs. 44): who has been fashioned with thine own hands = os ras χρετε (ου χαιλεθ (Hilg.) ); cf. 3 4 (it, i.e., Adam's body) was the formation of thy hands. It is characteristic of S. to emphasise God's sole responsibility for what has been created. Cf. 3 4, note f.

r (vs. 44): and is made like thine own image: Lat., et tuas imaginis [nominatus quoniam] similatus est: the bracketed words are not represented in the Syr. and are regarded by Violet (probably rightly) as an ancient addition to the text = και τη εικονι σου εμοιωθη [R.V., and is called thine own image because he is made like (unto thee) : for the various readings in the Lat. cf. Violet]. Both the Ethiop. and Ar.1 confirm the omission of the clause.

s (vs. 45): Nay, Lord God! but: Lat., non [domine] super nos sel: (domine is to be restored here with B.J.) : domine super nos : O Lord over us probably = dominator domine (Δεσπωτα κυρι) cf. 8 4 note ;
'spare thy people,
compassionate thine inheritance,'

"for thou compassionatest thine own creation!"

(e) 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

(8 46-63) (S)

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 9 18-21, 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 (see further the introduction to 9 18-21).

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.

the Greek here may have been μηδαμίας Δεσπότα κυριε αλλα (?) μη γην κυριε: Syr. renders No, I pray thee, O Lord my Lord, which probably represents the same Greek (?) reading μη δεσπότα for μηδαμίας: Ethiop., be that far from thee ( = μη γην κυριε). [Codd. MN add irascaris (non supere nos irascaris = μη άργην επ ημας (Hilg.), be not angry with us. But this is probably not right.]

t (vs. 45): spare thy people, compassionate thine inheritance = θεοι του λαου σου και ελεησων την κληρονομια σου (Hilg.): cf. Joel 2 17 (spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach). An echo of this passage occurs in the Greek Αρ. Εσδρας (ed Tisch., pp. 25, 26): ελεησων την σου πλασμ, οικτιησων τα σφα σου. (See Violet, p. liii.)

u (vs. 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.
And he answered me and said:

"Things present (match) them of the present,
Things future them of the future!"

For "thou comest far short of being able" *to love my creation more than I*

Thou, however, hast "many times" *ranged thyself with* the ungodly. *This must not be!*

But *even on this account* "thou shalt be honourable*
before the Most High; because thou hast humbled thyself, as it becomes thee, and hast not assigned thyself a place among the righteous; and so thou shalt receive the greater glory. 

For with many afflictions shall they be afflicted; that in the last times, because they have walked in great pride.

But do thou (rather) think of

(Volk., θαυμάστως) ἐσή (Hilg.); Syr., glorificaberis: Heb. (?), ἡμῶν; Ethiop., laudaris.

d (vs. 49): and hast not assigned thyself a place: Lat., et non judicasti te = καὶ οὐκ ἐκρώσας σε (Hilg.): Syr., hast not compared thyself with: (κατὰ τὸν θάνατόν σου). So Ethiop. (cf. Ar. 1); perhaps a better Gk. equivalent would be: καὶ οὐ συνεκρώσας σεαυτόν; cf. 1 Cor. 2 18, where συνεκρώσεις = Pesh. πρέπει = Vulg., comparantes.

e (vs. 49): and so thou shalt receive the greater glory (so as to be much glorified, R.V.): Lat., ut plurimum glorificeris = ωστε πλείων δοξάσῃσθαι (Hilg.).

f (vs. 50): For = ori (so Syr.); Lat., propter quod = διοί (?).

g (vs. 50): with many afflictions shall they be afflicted: the Lat. has miseriae multae miserabiles efficientur = (?) ταλαπωριαῖς πολλαῖς ταλαπωρησοντεσ (cf. Ethiop.). The Lat. miserabiles efficientur probably renders a single verb in the Greek (see above) as the Syr. and Ethiop. suggest: cf. Ep. James 4 9, where ταλαπωρήσατε is rendered in Vulg. miseri estote and in the Harkl. Syr. by the same word as in the Syr. of our passage (στάφυλον). The original Heb. may have been: יְשַׁע יְנָעֲרִים וְיעָרְדָם. R.V. renders many grievous miseries shall befall.

h (vs. 50): in the last times: Lat., in novissimis = ev τοις σχώνοις (Hilg.): cf. vs. 63 below (E). 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. 6 14-15), while according to R. the final period is the (temporary) Messianic one of 400 years (7 24-28).

i (vs. 50): because they have walked in great pride: Lat., quia in multa superbia ambulatoriunt (so Ethiop.) = οὕτω εἴνα τελείως ὑπερβολὴν περιπάτησαν: Syr., propter superbiam multam quia superbius erant. 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 1st century (cf. Mark 12 16 f., Matt. 23 1 f.; cf. also for a more general reference Luke 14 21-22); and the present passage seems to be directed by the author against some of his contemporaries (end of 1st cent. A.D.).

j (vs. 51): think of thine own case: Lat., pro te intelleges = νυκτὶ σεαυτον συνε = Heb. (?) γνώριμα (consider thyself) or γνώριμον οὐκ ἔχει.
thine own case, and of them who are like thyself search out the glory.

59 For for you is opened Paradise, planted the Tree of life; the future Age prepared.

k (vs. 51): of them who are like thyself: Lat., de similibus tuuis: i.e., those whose destiny is like thine own—the righteous dead who in the intermediate state enjoy happiness and peace, and who are to enjoy even greater glory after the Judgement. Here Salathiel is the subject: contrast 14, where Ezra is the subject and is told that he is to remain henceforth with God's Son and with such as be like thee (cum similibus tuuis), i.e., with those who like Ezra escape death (Enoch, Elijah, etc.).

l (vs. 52): for you is opened Paradise: cf. Ap. Sedrach 13: o ταμασίαν συν προδρόμη. In vv. 52–54 the glory spoken of in vs. 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 L Pet. 1 ενα διαδοχον άσκολα αθικόν και αδικαίον, ἀνακεκλήθη εἰς οὐρανόν γιὰ τὸν αὐτὸν; Heb. 11, etc. 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 at the end of the present section (p. 195 f).

m (vs. 52): planted is the Tree of Life. The idealised Tree of Life is one of the striking features of the heavenly Paradise on which the apocalyptists love to dwell: cf. the reference to the fruits of Paradise in 7:18 (Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible wherein is delight and healing shall be made manifest), also Rev. 2:7 (To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life in the Paradise of God [note that Paradise in this passage = the final state of felicity in heaven]); its leaves are described as for the healing of the nations (Rev. 22:2, cf. Ezek. 47:13). The earliest reference to it in connection with the heavenly Paradise appears to be in 1 Enoch xxiv. f. (And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt . . . it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance: its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever . . . xxv. 4): no mortal is permitted to touch this tree till the great Day of Judgement. . . . By its fruit life shall be given to the elect; cf. also 2 Enoch viii. [In Rev. 22:2, the tree of life is apparently collective (= trees); cf. Swete ad loc.]

n (vs. 52): the future Age prepared: Lat., praeparatum est futurum tempor = προγεμαθή εἰς μελλόν χρόνο (Hilg.) or perhaps better εἰς μελλόν = μεμειχθείς. The future Age in contradistinction to
"plenteousness made ready;"

*a City builded,"

*a Rest appointed;"
"Good works established,"
"wisdom preconstituted;"

53 '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.  
Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish;  
for having received liberty  
scoimed the Most High;  
and forsook his ways:  
Moreover his saints they have trodden under foot;  
and have said in their heart that there is no God—yea,  
though knowing full well that they must die.  

x (vs. 53): corruption forgotten: so Syr. [the Lat. has 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.); so Hilg., Volk. (wrongly)].  
y (vs. 54): and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest: so Syr. (rendering life for immortality): Lat., est ostensus in finem est thesaurus immortalitatis = καὶ ἐπεξείπθη εἰς τέλος οἱ θεσμοὶ τῆς αἰωνιότητος (Hilg.). 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 revealed (the treasures of immortality).  
z (vs. 55): ask no more concerning: , Lat., noli adhuc adjicere, inquirendo de = μη προσθησθε εἰς τινα περί = ἐπ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρετῆς.  
b (vs. 56): scorned: Lat., contempserunt = (?) κατέβαι (Hilg.) = Heb. מַעֲדֵּה: for the whole verse cf. 7:26. Syr. has has scorned much.  
c (vs. 56): forsook: so Lat., Ethiop.; but Syr. cessare fecerunt (reading κατέβαι for κατέλησαν [Violet]).  
d (vs. 57): moreover: Lat., adhuc autem = eti δε = ὡς. [Volk. προστε δε.]  
e (vs. 57): his saints: so Syr. (יִשְׂרָאֵל) = (?) τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ = Heb. יִשְׂרָאֵל; Lat., justos ejus = τοὺς δικαίους αὐτοῦ: so Ethiop.  
f (vs. 57): they have trodden under foot: cf. 5:19.  
g (vs. 58): have said... there is no God: cf. 7:32 (they even affirmed he Most High exists not): cf. Ps. 14:1.  
h (vs. 58): yea, though knowing full well that they must die: Lat., et quidem scientes quoniam moriuntur = καὶ μην εἰδοὺς εἰς ἀποθανοῦτας: Syr. has the verbs strengthened with infin. absol. (cum scientes scient quoniam morientur morientur).  
i (vs. 59): therefore as: so Syr. (Ethiop.): Lat., sicut enim = (?) ὡσπερ δὲ (Volk.).
as the things aforesaid abide for you, so thirst and anguish await them. For the Most High willed not that men 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 life for them. 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.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON PARADISE (8 **)

Paradise—always called the Garden of Eden (Heb., gan 'āden) in the Talmud when the earthly or heavenly Paradise is meant—is variously conceived in the later Jewish writings. Sometimes its earthly character

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* The term Paradise (Heb., גן עדן) is occasionally used in the Rabbinical Literature in the sense of park (e.g., Sota 10a [reference to Gen. 21 34]); in the pl. = pleasure gardens; but as a technical term it = esoteric or mystical philosophy or speculation: cf. the famous passage in T.B. Hag. 14b (four men entered into Paradise); cf. also 2 Cor. 12 4 (of ecstatic experience). For the earthly Paradise (of Adam) or the heavenly Paradise (of the righteous) the term employed is Garden of Eden (Gan 'Eden; Dr. Swete’s note on this point in Apocal. 2 7 [p. 29, col. 1] requires correction) for other names of Paradise cf. Volz., p. 374.

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is emphasized, and it ranks among the other works of creation, those of the third day according to Jub. 2, 2 Enoch xxx. 1 (cf. note on 4 Ezra 6): at other times its transcendental and unearthly character is brought into prominence: in this case it has a place among the six or seven things created before the world (viz., Tora, Repentance, the Garden of Eden [= Paradise], the Throne of Glory [= Kingdom of God] (the Temple) and the Messiah: T.B. Pesah 54a, Ned. 39b, Ber. rabb. xx; cf. Schechter, Aspects, p. 128). Its locality is also differently conceived, sometimes being placed on earth, sometimes in heaven, and sometimes between heaven and earth (cf. 1 Enoch lx. 8, and Charles' note). The representations of Paradise have certainly been influenced by the popular belief in the existence of a wonderful Garden of God in the Golden Age which was placed in the remote primeval period. It was here, according to the myth, that primeval man enjoyed bliss; and here, too, were placed the pious of the early ages. The return of Paradise at the end of the present Age was an expectation that profoundly influenced the popular eschatology. The transcendent view of Paradise appears also to have been influenced by the mythical representations of God's heavenly dwelling-place, and to have been, to some extent, identified with this (thus Paradise came to be equated more or less with heaven). In the later literature Paradise is usually conceived as a heavenly locality: cf. Ap. Bar. li. 11, 10 (in a description of the condition of the risen righteous): there shall be spread before them the reaches [extents, broad places] of Paradise... For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, and they shall be made like unto the angels, etc. In 2 Enoch viii f. this Paradise is definitely placed in the third heaven.

The conception of a heavenly Paradise naturally re-acted on that of the earthly garden where Adam at first dwelt. By the Rabbis the two conceptions were kept distinct, though to some extent combined. They asserted the existence of two Gardens of Eden, a terrestrial and a celestial, and regarded the former as modelled on and as a reflection of the latter. Part of Adam's punishment when he fell was that he lost the vision of the heavenly, as well as the actual possession of the earthly, Paradise.† On the other hand, the author of the Salathiel apocalypse (S.) in our book apparently makes the heavenly and the earthly Paradise identical. Except in the doubtful passage 6:† where in any case he is probably following an independent (midrashic) source, the language of which he occasionally modifies (see notes ad loc.)—S. consistently represents Paradise as created before the world; cf. 4 Ezra 6:†, 3:†. The latter passage is especially striking as it clearly refers to the Paradise where Adam was first placed: And thou leddest him (Adam) into Paradise which thy right hand did plant

* For the exegesis of Gen. 2:† by which the idea of pre-existence was deduced for Paradise cf. 4 Ezra 3:† (note k). According to Ap. Bar. iv. 3, the heavenly Jerusalem also was with Paradise, created before the world: see next (additional) note.
† This seems to be the most natural interpretation of Ap. Bar. iv. 3.
‡ The description here may originally have referred to the beauties of Paradise (a creation of the 3rd day); but it is significant that S. carefully refrains from mentioning Paradise,
before ever the earth came forward (i.e., before the creation of the world).
It would thus seem that S. conceived Paradise as essentially heavenly
and transcendental in character, and that it was this Paradise (?) tempor-
arily in contact with the earth, but afterwards withdrawn; cf.
2 Enoch xlii. 3*), which Adam for a while enjoyed. From the time
of Adam's fall it has been locked and guarded (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 8;
xlii. 4), and no mortal is permitted to touch the tree of life (which is in
the midst of the garden) till after the final judgement (1 Enoch xxv. 4).
But after the Judgement it will be opened (so in our passage 4 Ezra 8
55; cf. also the eschatological passage in Test. Levi (Test. XI, Patriarchs),
10 f., where it is said that the priestly Messiah shall open the gates of
Paradise, remove the threatening sword against Adam, and give to the
saints to eat of the tree of life). It is this Paradise which, according to
R., appears at the final judgement over against Gehenna (7 30-33; so
also S. 7 132). Thus according to the conception of S., Paradise is
essentially transcendental in character, and is to be the final abode of
the righteous after the Judgement. It is not the abode of righteous
souls between death and judgement (these souls are kept in chambers: cf. 4
53, note d, and 7 33, note i). It was prepared by God before the creation
of the world and was Adam's first abode (3 4); but after Adam's sin
it was withdrawn from contact with earth, and remains in heaven,
reserved by God for the righteous. [According to 2 Enoch xlii. 5,
Adam with the forefathers will only be conducted into Paradise after
the Judgement; this accords with the conception of S. So in Rev. 2
Paradise = the final abode of the righteous (after judgement). On the
other hand, in Lk. 23 32, Paradise = the state to which the righteous
pass immediately after death: so also sometimes in Rabbinical litera-
ture: cf. T.B. Ber. 28b, where the dying Johanan b. Zakkai (1st cent.
A.D.) says: There are two ways before me, one to the Garden of Eden
(Paradise), and one to Gehinnom—and I know not which of the two ways
I shall have to go. See further 7 33, note i.]
It should be noted in conclusion that in S. Paradise appears to be
regarded rather as a boon than as a place of salvation.† [See further
Volz., pp. 374-379; Bousset, R.J.*, p. 324 f.: art. Paradise in JE.]

* I went out to the East, to the paradise of Eden, where rest had been
prepared for the just, and it is open to the third heaven, and shut from this
world. This Paradise is apparently the original Garden of Eden
withdrawn (?) from the earth to the third heaven, of which it forms
a sort of outskirt.

† Some confirmation of the view that S. identified the Garden of
Eden in which Adam at first dwelt with the heavenly Paradise may
perhaps be found in the interesting fact that this idea is expressly
refuted in a passage in T.B. Sanh. 99b (and, therefore, was presumably
current). With reference to the passage No eye hath seen, etc. (Is. 64 8):
Resh. Lagish (died latter half 3rd cent. A.D., Palestinian) said: That is
the Eden which no eye has ever seen. And if one should say, Adam was
there? He dwelt (only) in the Garden. And if one should say the Garden
was Eden (i.e., both are one and the same): the Scripture teaches: A
river went out of Eden to water the Garden (Gen. 2 10): i.e., the two are
not to be identified.
ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE HEAVENLY CITY (THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM)

Closely related to, though quite distinct from, the conception of the heavenly Paradise is that of the heavenly City. The roots of this conception, as Bousset* points out, are to be sought not in the myth of the beautiful garden of God, which was placed in the primeval Golden Age, but more probably in ideas suggested by the over-arching vault of Heaven—the wonderful creation of the divine Architect—which rests upon unseen pillars, is adorned with glittering jewels and a golden street (Rev. 21 22) and has twelve gates (corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac), and walls with foundations of twelve kinds of precious stones (Rev. 21 14).

It is only after the destruction of the Holy City in A.D. 70 that the conception of the pre-existent heavenly City (applied to Jerusalem) becomes clear and prominent in Jewish eschatology. It is described as having been created in the beginning of creation, and preserved by God in heaven. It is regarded as an actual city with its own buildings and its own proper equipment, which, according to Rev. 21 16, descends from heaven bodily to the renovated earth after the final Judgement. Perhaps the clearest representation of the idea is given in Ap. Bar. iv. 2-6, where the seer is warned not to imagine that the ruins he sees before him (i.e., the earthly Jerusalem in ruins) is the city of which God said: "On the palms of my hands have I graven thee" (Is. 49 16): it (sc. the heavenly City) is that City which shall be revealed with me (God), 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 also Paradise. And after these things I showed it to my servant Abraham by night among the portions of the victims (Gen. 15 15). And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. And behold it is preserved with me, as also Paradise. Here the city's pre-existence is explicitly stated. It is coupled with Paradise, and is destined to be revealed after the final Judgement; and, in the meanwhile, is being reserved by God in heaven. In 4 Ezra 10 14 f., (S.) a vision of the heavenly Sion is given to the seer (see introduction to the section); but the city itself belongs to the future not to the present Age (4 Ezra 7 22 and 13 25, where the heavenly Sion is brought into connection with the appearance of the Messiah, who belongs to the present Age, are interpolations of R.; see notes ad loc.).

In the O.T. after the first destruction of the City (by Nebuchadnezzar) the hope of its restoration soon emerged, and, with this, of its purification. The restored city of Ezekiel's imagination will be a new and purified Jerusalem. (Cf. also Is. 52 1: Ps. Sol. 17 22, 28.)

Henceforth this expectation becomes an integral part of the Messianic hope: the visions of the restored city are painted in ever increasingly gorgeous colours (cf. Is. 54 11, 13, 60 19-14; Hag. 2 7-9; Zech. 2 1-8; 3 18-21).

* (R.J.², p. 328, following Gunkel.)
Tobit 13 14-18, 14 5), but its earthly character is not transcended. It is not till the first century A.D. that the conception of the heavenly City emerges clearly.

"In the New Testament the conception appears in at least two different forms. In Hebrews 11 10-14, 12 22, 13 14 it is not a heavenly city which is to descend to earth . . . as in Revelation 21 3, 21 9 f., 3 17, but it is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly city, the eternal reality of which the literal city is but a shadow; it is, in other words, spiritualised, and has become a name of the heavenly world itself. Perhaps S. Paul's idea in Galatians 4 32 is rather that of Hebrews than that of Revelation."

In Revelation, as we have already seen, the conception of the pre-existent heavenly city, which descends from heaven, is clear, and agrees with the representation in 4 Ezra and Ap. Baruch.

It seems clear that S. did not look forward to a new Jerusalem on earth. When the author of S. wrote the earthly Jerusalem was in ruins, never, as the seer believed, destined again to be rebuilt. The vision vouchsafed to him in ch. 10 is intended to console for the death of all such earthly hopes.

[See further Volz., p. 336 f., 334 f.; Charles' note on Ap. Bar. iv. 5; Bousset on Rev. 21 1, 8; and F. C. Porter op. cit., p. 284 f.]

(6) THE SIGNS OF THE END REVIEWED AND APPLIED TO THE AUTHOR'S OWN TIMES:

(8 68-9 12) (R) (E)

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. (4 68-5 14, 6 11-28). It has been inserted in its present position by R. who, as in 7 28-44, 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 (9 5). A short enumeration of the Messianic "woes" follows—describing a time of physical, social and political convulsions (9 9). 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 (9 4-5). 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 9 7, 8. The verses that follow (9 8-13) 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 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. In ch. 4 S. has already been assured that the evil of the world has almost run its course; but little time remains before the Judgement and the end of the present age—if he (S.) live long, he may see it come to pass (4 **; cf. 4 **). The very question When shall these things (be coming to pass) ? has already been asked by S. in 4 **; how then can he say here (8 **) : 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 ? Moreover the situation implied in S. is different. The heathen are oppressing God’s people apparently without check. Wickedness flourishes amid great outward prosperity (3 **); but here great catastrophes have already overtaken the world (9 *), and in them R. reads the signs of the times. Moreover, we have already seen that the representation of S. does not allow of any Messianic Age intervening before the final Judgement such as is here contemplated (9 *, 8 ; cf. 6 **). According to S., this Age is full of sorrow and impotence, it is unable to bear the things promised in their season to the righteous; the evil sown must come up, and the promises can only be realised in the Age which is to come (cf. 4 27); whereas in our section the Holy Land, which has been sanctified by the Most High from the beginning, is to be the scene of the Messianic salvation before the End of the present Age (9 *). The whole section is thus a compilation from the hand of R., who has drawn partly upon E. (9 *, 7, 8), and partly upon S. (9 *). It thus exhibits phenomena essentially the same as 7 ** (cf. introduction to that section).

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.

And he answered me and said: Measure (the matter) carefully in thy mind, and when thou seest that a certain part of the predicted signs are past, then shalt thou understand that

\[a (vs. 63): \text{at what time: Lat., quo tempore = τωι καιρω (Hilg.): cf. 7 22 (quando hae) and contrast Acts 1 7, It is not for you to know times or seasons (χρονοι η καιροι).}\]

\[b (vs. 1): \text{measure (the matter) carefully in thy mind (lit., measure carefully within thyself): Lat., metiens metive in temetipso = μετρεων μετρησαιν εν σαυτῃ (Hilg.) = (?) for this fig. use of the word cf. T.B. Berak. 30b, A man should always measure himself (take stock of himself, ολυπναι ὂν); if he is able to direct his mind let him pray, etc.}\]

\[c (vs. 1): \text{a certain part: Lat. (best reading), pars quaedam = μισθος τι (Hilg.): so Syr., Ethiop.}\]
"it is the very time when the Most High is about to visit the
world which he has made." 2 When in the world there shall
appear

'thawings of places,'
'tumult of peoples,
'schemings of nations,
'confusion of leaders,
'disquietude of princes;

then shalt thou understand that it is of these things the

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d (vs. 2): it is the very time when the Most High is about to visit the
world which he has made: cf. 6:18 when I am about to draw nigh to
visit the dwellers upon earth. [The Lat. text at the end of the clause
is noticeable: saeculum qui (for quod) ab so factus est—a case of the
Greek (ο αιων) affecting the gender of the Latin word: cf. Bensly,
M.F., p. 18.]

e (vs. 3): quakings of places: Lat., motio locorum (cf. Syr., motiones
locorum) = κυρήσεως τοιών (Volk.) (Ethiop. apparently reading κατα or
κατά (κατάς) : see Violet). The Heb. may have been (?) πεταλῶν οὐρανοῦ:
In P.B.H. οὕρανος = earthquake: κυρήσεως = οὐρανος in Jer. 29:16, LXX.
Earthquakes are doubtless meant here: cf. in 5:1 in a similar context:
and the earth o'er wide regions shall open (Syr., et hiatus fient per loca
milia). [Ball renders stir of places; Gunkel excitement in the lands.]

f (vs. 3): tumult of peoples: Lat., populorum turbatio = λαοῦ
θορυβος (Volk.) = (?) θορυβός: cf. Is. 17:18. [In Is. 17:16 turbatio
(Vulg.) = θυρύβως LXX, τρονός.]

g (vs. 3): schemings of nations (Ball's rendering): Lat., gentium
cogitationes = ενθοι πολέμων (Volk.) : cf. Syr., fraus populorum;
Gunkel suggests πολέμον as the Heb. word, and compares Ezek. 38:16
(thou shalt devise an evil device—of the scheme of Magog): or if cogitati-
tiones could be read for cogitationes—disturbances—this would suit
the parallelism, but is unsupported by the Versions (cf. however
vs. 20 note).

h (vs. 3): confusion of leaders: Lat., ducum inconstantia = ημερων
ακαταστασια (Volk.): so Syr., reading plural (the Syr. word here
(pl.), ἀκαταστασια = the same Greek word, e.g., in 2 Cor. 12:18). The Ethiop.
paraphrases inter se pugnabunt principes: a state of confusion and
dissension is implied. The Heb. word may have been היסר.

i (vs. 3): disquietude of princes: Lat., principum turbatio. (The
Lat. uses turbatio also above in the clause populorum turbatio; but the
Syr. probably rightly uses two different words) = ἀρχωντῶν τοραχαί
(Volk.).

j (vs. 4): then shalt thou understand . . . these things the Most High
has spoken . . . 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
primæval age: see The Relig. and Worship of the Synagogue, p. 34 f.
(2nd ed., p. 36).
Most High has spoken since the days that were aforetime from the beginning. For just as with respect to all that has happened in the world the beginning is obscure (?), but the end (issue) manifest; so also are the times of the Most High: "the

h (vv. 5–6): For just as ... marvels. For the justification of the text so reconstructed see the notes that follow. 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.

l (vs. 5): with respect to all that has happened in the world: Lat., omne quod factum est in saeculo = πᾶν τὸ γεγομένον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι (Hilg.): so Syr., Ethiop. The nominative at the beginning of the sentence may be a casus pendens (a favourite Heb. construction) = As to all that, etc.; or the Gk. may have been πάντως [τοῦ] γεγομένου (misread πω ὅ, etc.): Heb., נָחַל לְלֵש. The Versions treat the words as a casus pendens: Hilg. supplying a verb (εὑρίσκω) in following clause, makes the words a nominative to this; so Volk.

m (vs. 6): the times: Lat., tempora: so Syr., Ar.; but Ethiop., the world.

n (vs. 6): the beginnings: so Lat., initia: Syr., their beginnings: Ethiop. the beginning.
beginnings\textsuperscript{a} are [visible]\textsuperscript{b} in portents and secret signs,\textsuperscript{c} and the end in effects and marvels.\textsuperscript{d} And every one that shall (then) be saved, and shall be able to escape \textsuperscript{e} on account of his works or his faith by which he has believed,—\textsuperscript{f} \textsuperscript{g} such shall survive\textsuperscript{h} from the perils aforesaid, and shall see my salvation in my land, and \textsuperscript{i} within my borders \textsuperscript{j} which I have sanctified.

\textsuperscript{a} (vs. 6): are [visible]: so Lat. (manifesta) and Syr. Ethiop. (as before), in verbo: the Greek εμφανις (or εν φως, Ethiop.) seems to be implied, and may be due to erroneous repetition from the corresponding clause in vs. 5. Ar. \textsuperscript{1} here has the remarkable double reading inimium quod non apparuit apparebit = (?), \textsuperscript{2} η αρχη αμφανς εμφανις, which confirms the conjecture that the first εμφανις in vs. 5 above is corrupted from αμφανς. Here both words are probably misplaced.

\textsuperscript{b} (vs. 6): in portents and secret signs: Lat., in prodigiis et virtutibus = εν τεταγμένοι και δυνάμεις (Hilg.). In Job 11 \textsuperscript{4} δυνάμει in LXX = Heb. מخاص, secret; and not improbably here some derivative from \textsuperscript{c} to conceal lies behind the same Greek word, meaning secret things (signs); Heb. (?), מַצְלָה מְנוּנָה (or was the original text מַצְלָה מְנוּנָה, in hidden portents ?). Syr. apparently read εν τεταγμένοι και δυνάμεις; but Ethiop. supports Latin.

\textsuperscript{c} (vs. 6): in effects and marvels: cf. Ethiop., in actione et miraculo = (?), εν ενεργεία και δυνάμεις. The Lat. apparently read ομοιασίας for the last word (in actu et in signis): Heb. (?), מַצְלָה מְנוּנָה. [Syr., in vindicta et in signis.] \textsuperscript{[Gunkel renders vs. 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 vs. 4) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels (αι αρχαι εν φως και εν ενεργείας, και η συντέλεια εν ενεργεία και δυνάμεις). 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.]

\textsuperscript{d} (vs. 7): on account of his works or his faith by which he has believed: Lat., per opera sua vel per fidem in qua credidit (so read with B.J., Hilg.: MSS., credidisset [A(C)MN] credidissetis [S.]= δια των εργων αυτο εις τον πιστεύον (Hilg., but Volk. εις την πιστευθη, on which he has put his trust). \textsuperscript{4} R. here combines the statements of S. regarding faith and works; cf. 6 \textsuperscript{1}, note \textsuperscript{2}, and 7 \textsuperscript{1}, note \textsuperscript{g}.

\textsuperscript{e} (vs. 7): such shall survive: Lat., is (so BJ., separating from credidi[s]t-is) relictur = ontos περίλεφθοντα (Hilg.). For survive—a technical term in this connection—cf. 6 \textsuperscript{1}, note 7 \textsuperscript{1}.

\textsuperscript{f} (vs. 8): my salvation: Lat., salutare meum = το σωτηριον μου: cf. 6 \textsuperscript{1}. The Messianic salvation is meant.

\textsuperscript{g} (vs. 8): within my borders: Lat., in finibus meis = εν τοις οριοι μου: Ar. \textsuperscript{1}, εν τω ορει μου (in my [holy] mountain); cf. 13 \textsuperscript{1}. \textsuperscript{h} (vs. 8): which I have sanctified for myself eternally: Lat., quae sanctificavi mihi a saeculo = a γενεα μου εκ αιωνων (Hilg.). The Holy Land as sacro-sanct—chosen by God—will be the scene of the Messianic salvation: cf. 12 \textsuperscript{13}, 12 \textsuperscript{14}, 13 \textsuperscript{14}, \textsuperscript{14} Ap. Bar. xxxix. 2 (For at that time I will protect only those who are found . . . in this land); xl. 2, lxxi. 1. The idea of the specially privileged and sacro-sanct character
for myself eternally." * Then "shall they be amazed" that now
* have abused* my ways; "they shall abide in the torments which
they have spurned and despised." 10 For *all who* failed to
recognise me* in their life-time,* although I dealt bountifully
with them*; and all who *have defied my Law,* while they
yet had liberty.* 11 and, 'while place of repentance was still

of the Holy Land lived on in various forms even after the destruction

w (vs. 9): shall they be amazed: Lat., mirabuntur = (? 8avuagovoriv
(Hilg.), "lernen Ehrfurcht" (Gunkel): so Syr., but Ethiop. affligentur:
hence Volk. conjectures a double Greek reading, viz., κατακαταγγειλομενοι:

y (vs. 9): They shall abide in the torments which they have spurned and
despised: the Lat., in cruciamentis commorabuntur hic qui eos profe-
serunt in contemptu = εν βασανοις διαστρεβομενοι οι απορριφομενοι αυτους
en κατακαταγομενοι (but Syr. and Ethiop. have two verbs at end:
Those who have cast away and despised). The eos of the Lat. text (so
Heb. MSS.) must refer to cruciamentis (8agavois): the v.l.eas would

z (vs. 10): all who: so Syr., Ethiop. = Lat., quotquis (οον).

a (vs. 10): failed to recognise me: Lat., non cognoverunt me; cf.
Is. 1 8, LXX (ισραηλ δε με ουκ εγνω). Heb. יְהוָה.

b (vs. 10): in their life-time: Lat., viventes.

c (vs. 10): although I dealt bountifully with them: so Syr. (quando
benefaciebam eis): cf. Ethiopic. The Lat. has beneficia consecutis=

\[\text{evφερετομενοι} \begin{cases} \text{for evφερετομενοι μου} \text{ (alltos)} \end{cases}\]
Heb. (? 8ευφερετομενοι μου.

d (vs. 11): have defied my Law: Lat., fastidierunt legem meam=
υπερφανησαν τον νομον μου (Hilg.) = (?) ου προτεσ πονεις ελευθεριαν.
Syr., quibus erat (? ου ωρ γω ων; cf. Violet).

f (vs. 12): while place of repentance was still open to them: Lat.,
cum adhuc esset aperiunt paenitentia locus = (?) οτι \text{apειρετομενοι}
αυτως της μετανοιας τοσου (Hilg.). For the phrase place of repentance
cf. Wisd. 12 10 (also 12 10); Heb. 12 17: the expression also occurs in
open to them," gave no heed; but scorned (it); these must be brought to know after death by torment.

(7) The Divine Reply concluded: final justification of the fewness of the saved

(9:18-22) (S)

The first vs. of this section forms the immediate continuation of 8. 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. 8:8). 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 (9:18-19). 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 that 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.

18 So, then, 'be thou no longer curious as to how the
ungodly shall be punished, but inquire (rather) how the righteous shall be saved—"they to whom the world (belongs), and for whose sakes, also, the world has come into existence."

And I answered and said: "I have already said, and say now, and shall say (it) again: "There are more who perish than shall be saved," even as the flood is greater than a drop!

And he answered me and said:

"As is the ground, so the sowings, 
"as are the flowers, so are the colours;"

or ἄφθον, to what purpose?; Cf. the parallel passage in Ἀρ. Bar. xlviii. 48 (But now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous).

I (vs. 13): shall be saved: so Lat., Ar. 1; but Syr., Ethiop. have live (or shall live) as often elsewhere.

m (vs. 13): they to whom the world (belongs) (lit., whose is the world) and for whose sakes, also, the world has come into existence: so Syr. = (?) οὐ καὶ εὐγενεῖο ο οὐν (so Violet). The Lat. has et quorum saeculum et propter quos saeculum [et quando]. The bracketed words at the end of the sentence are unsupported by the other Versions, and should be omitted probably.

[For the general idea of vs. 13 cf. Ἀρ. Bar. xlviii. 48 f.: But now let us dismiss the wicked, and enquire about the righteous. And I will recount their blessedness, and not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them (? a speech of Baruch).]

n (vs. 14): I have already said, and say now, and shall say (it) again: Lat., olim locutus sum et nunc dico et postea discam: the Syr. has now I say again (repeat) and will afterwards say again: Ethiop., I have said already and say also now (notice Syr. + Ethiop. = Lat.).

o (vs. 14): There are more who perish than shall be saved: cf. 7 47 (the coming Age shall bring delight to few but torment unto many).

p (vs. 16): even as the flood is greater than a drop: Lat., sicut multipli cat fluctus super gutam = καθε πλωνα τυ κυμαν ιπ σταγονα: so Ethiop., but Syr. has pl. (vaves = κυματα, δβλ, perhaps rightly). Syr. also has small drop for drop. The comparison is a favourite one with S.; cf. (in another connection) 4 45-46.

q (vs. 17): as is the ground, so are the sowings: i.e., out of good ground issue good crops: Lat., qualis ager talia et semina: Syr., qualis locus, talia et semina ejus = οι η η ουντα τα σφορα (Volk.) or (τα σφορμα = ? ὑμη).

r (vs. 17): as are the flowers, so are the colours: Lat., et quales flores, tales et tincturae = και οι τα ανθη, τουντα και τα βαλμα (Hilg.) Volk. gives χρωματα for tincturae. Ethiop. omits clause: Ar. 1: apparently read θαλη (θαλη), branches for ανθη, flowers: cf. Violet (and Volk.) ad loc. The meaning apparently is: brilliant colouring betokens a beautiful flower.
"As is the workman, so is the work;"
as is the husbandman, so is "the threshing-floor"—

18 "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;" and "then" none gained me—for none existed. 19 But now they that have been created in this world—"(a world) made ready with both an
unfailing table and an unexplorable pasture—have become corrupt in their manners."

Then "I considered my world; and lo! it was destroyed," and "my earth; and lo! it was in peril—on account of the tumults of those who are (living) in it." And I saw, "and spared (some) with very great difficulty," and saved me a grape out of a cluster, and 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!"

fruits (an unfailing table) which its trees bear without cessation (cf. 8 additional notes). The banquet which the righteous are to enjoy in the future world is often referred to (sometimes also in Messianic passages): cf. Rev. 2 (hidden manna) and see Bousset, R.J., p. 327: the Greek of the phrase an unexplorable ( = mysterious) pasture = (eis) νομον ἀνεξαφανενον (Volk.). The Versions read νομον, law, for νομον, pasture (or ? νομη): hence unsearchable law (R.V.).

Then "I considered my world . . . it was destroyed": cf. Gen. 6 (destroyed = morally corrupt).

my earth: Lat., orbem meam = την ουκουμενην μου (Hilg.).

it was in peril: Lat., erat periculi (Violet): Hilg. retranslates εκεκουμενην = (?) ἡγεσις. So Syr.

the tumults: so possibly Syr. (חונן חונן) = perversiones eorum: Hilg. (Dia τας) συστασεις = Lat. cogitationes (for cogitations); but the Syr. may mean conversations, mores. The Lat. text has [propter] cogitationes = [because] of the devices (R.V.); cf. 9. [Preferably evera raw rvararew should be read; see next note.]

of those who are (living) in it = ? των εν αυτω παραγωγ (or παραγωγων); cf. Ethiop. which has misread the participle παραγωγιον. The Lat. also has rendered the clause wrongly as an adjectival one, qualifying ἑν κα των συστασεων (or λογισμων): propter cogitationes quae in eo advenuerunt (because of the devices that were come into it, R.V.).

and spared (some): Lat., et peperci eis: Syr., and I spared: so Ethiop. (corrected text).


out of a great forest: so Syr., Ethiop. (cf. Ar. !) = αφ υπερ πολλης: Lat., de tribu mulla out of a great people, A.V., = φιλης for φωλης.

which: so Syr., Ethiop.: Lat., quia (because).

I have perfected: so Lat., perfeci: but Syr., Ethiop. have passive (have been created, made strong or great).
VI. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION

(9 23-25) (S)

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 (6 28) 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 (10-14), though contexts occur in which such might have been expected (cf. 11 1, 13 1, 14 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 70 A.D. 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 primeval age, and the age of man’s innocence. According to one well-known view flesh-eating came in only after the Flood, and marked a retrograde step in human development. Still this amounts to practically the same thing as the half-fast.† The seer is about to

∗ This fact affords a strong confirmation of the correctness of the critical analysis which separates these chapters from the Salathiel Apocalypse.

† Among the orthodox Jews still certain days (the first nine days of Ab, and with some the period from the 17th of Tammuz to the 10th of Ab) are reckoned as half-fasts, the eating of meat and the drinking of wine alone being forbidden.
receive a glorious revelation of the heavenly city. It is necessary that he should be brought into a condition of holiness which will enable him to be in a fit state to receive the vision when it comes: but it is desirable to dissociate this preparation from the strict fast, because of its associations with grief at the desolation of the earthly Sion: hence the choice of this particular method. Kabisch (p. 79 f.), indeed, propounds a very different view. He points out that the eating of herbs and flowers assumes a high religious significance only or mainly in those religious systems which accentuate a dualistic view of the essential opposition between this world of darkness and the region of heavenly light (heaven). This view of things was current among the Essenes, the Ebionites (according to the description of Epiphanius), and in certain Gnostic systems. Of all that exists on the earth, the herbs, and especially the flowers, approach most nearly the heavenly substance which pervades the world of light (their delicate, insubstantial character indicates this). Hence to partake of them, is to partake, in a sense, of heavenly food. By strict fasting the body is, to some extent, emptied of gross material elements. But this is not sufficient in this case. The seer is about to be confronted with the actual presence of a purely heavenly substance—the heavenly Sion itself—and it is necessary that his mortal and corruptible human body should be infused with heavenly elements, and animated with a heavenly life. Hence the banquet of flowers. Though this view fits in with the undoubted tendency of S. to a dualistic conception of body and spirit—the body being the corruptible vessel—yet it seems rather forced and artificial here. Its adoption certainly seems to involve reading a great deal into the passage, and is, moreover, unnecessary.

23 But if 'thou wilt separate thyself' yet seven more days—thou shalt not, however, fast in them, yet shalt go into 'a field of flowers,' where no house has been built, and eat only of the fruit of the field;* and 'thou shalt taste no flesh

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i (vs. 23): thou wilt separate thyself: cf. Syr. (σωματικός may be either act = separate, or passive = separate thyself), i.e., for consecration and preparation for the further revelation: Lat. [si] intermittas = (?)

j (vs. 23): a field of flowers: Lat., campos florum = (?) χειμάνων (Hilg.): so Syr. and Ar. (essentially): Ethiop., field only [Heb. ? χειμάνων: χειμάνων in P.B.H. = flowers].

k (vs. 24): of the fruit of the field: so Ethiop. (= ? αυτο του βλαστου του χειμάνων: Ar. 1, herbs and Lat., flowers (de floribus) may (?) = βλαστους (cf. Gen. 40 10, LXX, Heb. flos): the Heb. may have been το ανάστρωμα γής = growth of (what grows in) the field: for the expression cf. Ezek. 16 7; and cf. the use of βλαστανόμος = ανάστρωμα (often in LXX). [In Gen. 40 10, βλαστανόμος (LXX) = ? flores (Vulg.) = Heb., ανάστρωμα]

l (vs. 24): thou shalt taste no flesh: eat only the fruit: i.e., eat only what grows in the field: Ethiop., fruit of the tree: Ar. 1, herbs: Lat., flowers (flores): so Syr. So Daniel and his companions ate only vegetable food (Heb., מנה, LXX σπείρων, Vulg. legumina)
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
(9 88–10 59)

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 (10 88–89). 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 (9 88–89). 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 (9 88–87). 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 (9 88–10 34). Then suddenly the scene changes: the woman vanishes, and in her place appears a great and splendid city—the heavenly Sion (10 88–88). 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 (10 88–57 followed by the conclusion 10 88–89).

The whole section thus falls into the following divisions:—

I. Introduction (9 88–88);
II. The abiding glory of the Law and Israel: a contrast (9 88–87);
III. The vision of the Disconsolate Woman (9 88–10 34).

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 (12 88–88 and 14 88–88); these will be discussed later in connection with their present contexts.

and drank water, rather than suffer danger of defilement: cf. 2 Macc. 5 87 (Judas and his companions fed on grassy food [γεύσασθαι τροφήν] rather than suffer defilement).


* With, however, far-reaching effects on the application and significance of the vision: see further below.
I. INTRODUCTION

(9:26-28) (S)

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 = נַחַל, desert) is a symbolical name for the Holy Land generally, which might have been represented at the end of the 1st cent. A.D. as a veritable wilderness to the Jews (Volkmar), may be at once dismissed. More plausible is the suggestion put forward by Prof. 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 Ap. Bar. as one of the seats of prophetic inspiration (xlvii. 1).† Prof. Harris concludes that the scene of the fifth vision in 4 Ezra (ch. 11) 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 connection 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 14:1 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 (9:10, 10:8) 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 3:4). The scene of the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem recalls the scene of the building of the tower in the mountain-encircled plain of Arcadia in Hermas, Sim. x. 1, 4 (Then he led me away to a certain domed mountain in Arcadia and he showed me a great plain, and round about the plain twelve mountains... and in the midst of the plain he showed me a great white rock which rose up from the plain, etc. Then follows the building of the

* For the various forms of the name cf. the note on the verse below.
† But the present form of the text of chapter xlvii seems to be very composite (cf. Charles ad loc.).
‡ Cf. the name Arsareth in 13:44.
# There was still a considerable Jewish population in Jerusalem long after 70 A.D. The Jews were not finally expelled till the reign of Hadrian.
Tower = the Church). On the basis of this comparison Violet, indeed, thinks that the name Ardat is to be connected with Hermas' Arcadia. [Note also the parallel in Vis. iii of the Shepherd, chap. I: When I had fasted oft and prayed the Lord to declare to me the revelation which He had promised to show me through that aged woman, she appeared and said unto me ... go, now, into the country where thou farmest, and about the fifth hour I will appear unto thee and will show thee the things which thou must see. ... Then I chose out a goodly retired spot, etc.]

One slight indication (cf. 10 **, note p) 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.

** So I went, "as he commanded me," "into the field which" is called *Ardat;* and there I sat among "the flowers," and "did eat of the herbs of the field," and the eating thereof

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* Gunkel suggests that the locality may rather (if not eschatological) have been in the neighbourhood of Babylon. He points out that 'ardab is the name of the oriental dry measure, and might possibly be applied to a field. אַרְדָּבַּת = mushroom.
satisfied me.' And it came to pass after seven days, 'as I lay upon the grass' that 'my heart was again troubled as before.' Then "I opened my mouth," and began to address the Most High.

II. THE ABIDING GLORY OF THE LAW, AND ISRAEL: A CONTRAST

(9 29-37) (S)

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 (9 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 that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was 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.

Taken in conjunction with the sections that follow the point of this characteristic allocution is not difficult to divine. The essential notes of the theology of S. are emphasized throughout—the dualistic contrast between what belongs to the corruptible present Age and that which belongs to the eternal order. The Law belongs to the latter; it has been sown in the corruptible vessel of the human heart of Israel, which perishes. But the union is not fruitless. This can only mean that after the body and heart have perished—belonging as they do to the present corruptible order—the result of the acceptance of the Law by Israel will be realised in a blessed immortality in the incorruptible world—and this, in spite of the shortcomings of the fathers, and the failure of the chosen people to live up to the divine requirement.

But 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 (9 * ff.).

29 And I said: "O Lord," "thou didst verily reveal thyself unto our fathers" in the wilderness when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they walked through the untrodden and unfruitful wilderness;" 20 and "thou didst say:" 22

**tt (vs. 29):** O Lord: so Lat. domine: (φῦ κυρίε): but Syr., Ethiop.

**u (vs. 29):** thou didst verily reveal thyself: Lat., ostendens ostensus est = φανερῶν φανερωθής (Hilg.): so Syr., Ethiop.: cf. revelans revelatus sum 14 *. (The reference is to such passages as Ex. 19 *, 24 *, etc.)

**v (vs. 29):** unto our fathers: so Syr., Ethiop., Ar. *, Ar. *: but Lat. adds in nobis (R.V., among us). This certainly seems to be pleonastic and awkward with to our fathers (in nobis . . . patribus nostris). Volk. retranslates: ημῶν φανερομένος εφανής τοις πατράσι ημῶν = revealing thyself to us (thy people) thou didst appear to our fathers [in the wilderness]. Probably the words are an explanatory gloss: "God revealed himself to our fathers, and therefore among us." Some emphasis seems to be intended on our fathers: the divine revelation was made not only to Moses and the prophets, but to the entire nation at the beginning of its national history.

**w (vs. 29):** in the wilderness: so Lat., Ethiop., Ar. *, Ar. *: but Syr. adds of Sinai.

**x (vs. 29):** when they went forth . . . when they walked: Ethiop. omits (by homoioiteleuton): but Lat., Syr., Ar. *, Ar. * represent the clause [when they walked, etc. = Lat., quando veniebant (in deserto): Heb., ז γַם; cf. Judg. 11 14 (when they came up from Egypt, and Israel walked through the wilderness, etc.).]

**y (vs. 29):** through the untrodden and unfruitful wilderness: Lat., in deserto quod non calcatur et infructuoso = (?) eis ερήμου αβατον και ακαρπον (Hilg.): better εν τῇ ερήμῳ κ.τ.λ. (Volk., ερήμῳ μη πενατηματη): so Ar. *; Syr. has [when they went through the wilderness] a land in which are no fruits and through which no man has come. For last clause Ar. * has where there is neither water nor fruit: Ethiop. has [in deserto] in terra vastata (= ? γῇ πενατηματῇ, Volk. for μη πενατηματῇ), ubi non fuit silva et herba (= Lat., infructuoso). Illustrate from Jer. 2 4: Where is J. that brought us up out of the land of Egypt; that led us through the wilderness, through a land of deserts and of pits, through a land of drought and deep darkness (LXX, η ερήμῳ εν γῇ απειρώ και αβατω, εν γῇ ανάμω και ακαρπο): a land that none passed through and where no man dwelt?

**z (vs. 30):** thou didst say: Lat., dicens dixisti.
"O Israel, hear thou me;  
O seed of Jacob, attend unto my words!"

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.  
But our fathers, who received the Law observed it not, and the statutes they did not keep; and yet the fruit of the Law did not perish nor could it—because it was thine; but they who received it perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them.  
Now, it is a general rule that, when the ground has received seed, or the sea a ship, or any
other vessel food or drink, and when it happens that what is sown, or what is launched or the things that have been taken in come to an end,—these come to an end, while the receptacles remain; but with us it has not been so. 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.

III. THE VISION OF THE DISCONSOLATE WOMAN
(9 38–10 34) (S)

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. 3 17). It has already been declared

\[ j \] (vs. 34): food or drink: Lat., escas vel potus (cf. Ar. 1): βρώμα η πομα (Hilg.): Syr., quae reponitur in ea escam (cf. Ethiop.): (apparently quae reponitur in ea has come in from the next clause and η πομα been accidentally omitted).

\[ k \] (vs. 34): and when it happens that what is sown: Lat., etcum fuerit . . . quod seminatum est; omitted in Syr.

\[ l \] (vs. 34): what is launched: Lat., quod missum est: Syr., quod repositum est = το νυκτεθμενον (Hilg.) (cf. Ethiop.).

\[ m \] (vs. 34): the things that have been taken in: Lat., quae suscepta sunt = τα υποθετα (Hilg.) (Syr., quod custoditum est. Ethiop. and Ar. 1 omit).

\[ n \] (vs. 35): these come to an end: Lat., exterminentur haec (dependent on consuetudo est ut, vs. 34).

\[ o \] (vs. 35): the receptacles: Lat., receptoria: Syr., illa vero quae susceperunt illa: ταυτα δε τα νυκτεθαμενα (Hilg.) (vv. 35–37 are missing in Ethiop.).

\[ p \] (vs. 36): We: Lat., nos guidem = οικες μεν (Hilg.).

\[ q \] (vs. 36): and sinned: Lat., peccantes: Syr., et peccamus.

\[ r \] (vs. 36): must perish: Lat., peribimus (cf. Rom. 3 17).

\[ s \] (vs. 36): together with our heart: Lat., et cor nostrum. The heart according to S., is essentially a corruptible vessel, belonging to the present order.

\[ t \] (vs. 37): the Law however: Lat., nam lex = o δε νομος: Syr., thy Law. The Law does not perish because it comes from heaven: it is spiritual (πνευματικος, Rom. 7 14): cf. also 2 Cor. 3 17. [With vv. 36, 37 cf. Ap. 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.]
(cf. 8 * *) 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.

The singularly vivid description of the desolation of the earthly Jerusalem, given in 10 * f., shows clearly enough that the author is living in a time subsequent to the destruction of the city in 70 A.D. We have already seen† that the 30th year of 3 must be understood to be the thirtieth year after 70 A.D., i.e., 100 A.D. The situation presupposed will, as Kabisch points out, suit the circumstances of Salathiel, living in the middle of the exile; the author intends this to be applied by his readers to the position in which they find themselves at the end of the first century A.D. It is impossible to imagine him placing such a description as 10 * f. in the mouth of the historical Ezra.

The story of the woman who, after rearing an only son, loses him (by death) on his wedding day, is a well-known one and was derived by S. from popular sources. He merely adapts it to his special purpose. This will explain the fact that the interpretation does not account for all the details, and also for the somewhat strange representation of the earthly Jerusalem as a son, rather than a daughter. For a detailed discussion of the interpretation adopted see introduction to the next section (10 ****).

And when I spake "thus" "in my heart" "I lifted up my eyes," and saw a woman "upon the right"; and lo! she

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u (vs. 38): thus: Lat., haec (these things).

v (vs. 3): in my heart: to speak or say in the heart is Hebrew idiom for "to think": cf. e.g., Ps. 14.

w (vs. 38): I lifted up my eyes: so Syr., Ar., Arm.; but Lat. has et respexi oculis meis (R.V., I looked about me with mine eyes): υπεθηκα τοις οφθαλμοις μου (Hilg.): cf. Ethiop.

x (vs. 38): upon the right: Lat., in dextera parte = εν τω δεξιω μερει: cf. 4 Ezra 47: Luke 11 (there appeared to him an angel . . . standing on the right side of the altar of incense); Mark 16. Volkmar remarks that the right side signifies to Semites good fortune. It is also the position of honour; cf. Shepherd of Hermas, Vis. III. i. 9 (then when I would have sat on the right side she suffered me not, etc.). The woman's approach had been noiseless—sudden and mysterious like all heavenly things (Gunkel).

y (vs. 3): lo! so Lat. ecce): other versions do not represent this word.

* If the woman = the earthly Jerusalem, whom does her dead son represent? Note also the way in which the fate of Sion and the grief of the woman are contrasted (10 7, 10 88, etc.).

† See introductory section to ch. 3.
was mourning and weeping with a loud voice, and was much
grieved in mind, and her clothes were rent and there were
'ashes upon her head.' Then I dismissed my thoughts
in which I had been preoccupied, and turned to her and said:
Wherefore weepst thou? And why art thou grieved in
thy mind? And she said unto me: 'Suffer me, my lord,
to indulge my sorrow and continue my grief, for I am
embittered in soul and deeply afflicted.'

And I said unto her: 'What has befallen thee?' tell me.
She said unto me: 'I, thy servant, was barren, and
bore no child, though I had a husband thirty years. Both
hourly and daily during these thirty years I besought the
Most High!'
And it came to pass "after thirty years" 45 God "heard thy handmaid"
and "looked upon" "my affliction"; 46
He considered "my distress," 47
and gave me a son.

And I rejoiced in him greatly, I and my husband and "all my fellow-townsfolk," and "we gave great glory" unto "the Mighty One." 48

So when
he was grown up, "I came" to take "him" a wife, and "made" "a feast day." 49

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45 (vs. 45): after thirty years: so Lat. and all the versions except Syr., which has after these thirty years.
46 (vs. 45): heard thy handmaid: so Lat. and all the versions (Ethiop., Ar. 1, his for thy: Ar. 2, me): this, as Gunkel remarks, is a Gr. ek construction; the Syr. therefore may be right in reading: heard the voice of thy handmaid.
47 (vs. 45): looked upon: Lat., pervidit (v.l., praevidit): Hilg., προσέβλεψ. cf. 1 Sam. 1 in a similar context: (If thou wilt indeed look upon [i.e., look kindly upon] the affliction of thy handmaid).
48 (vs. 45): my distress: Lat., tribulationi meae = της θλυμεί μου (Hilg.): so Syr., Ar. 1; Ethiop. (most MSS.) adds my trial and before my distress (humiliation).
49 (vs. 45): all my fellow-townsfolk: so Syr. (lit., all the sons of my town), Ethiop., Ar. 1, Ar. 2. The Lat. has omnes cives mei: so Arm.

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v (vs. 47): I came: Lat., et venissem (this is to be taken as the apodosis; cf. 3 28); so Syr. (Eth. omits).
w (vs. 47): him: reading ei (Violet).
x (vs. 47): made: Lat., feci = ἐτοιμασά: Ethiop., prepared.
And it came to pass when my son entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down and died. Then I removed the lights, and all my fellow-townsmen rose up to comfort me; but I remained quiet until the night of the next day. And it came to pass when they were all quiet (and desisted) from consoling, as I remained quiet, I rose up by night, and fled, and came to this field, as thou seest. And I purpose never again to return to the city, but here to stay and

z (vs. 1): and died: again, as Gunkel points out, a favourite motif for popular stories: when joy and festivity are at their height direst calamity befalls. With the death of the bridegroom here cf. the story in Tobit (esp. ch. 8). Kabisch thinks this points to a knowledge of the Bk. of Tobit by S.; but this does not necessarily follow.

a (vs. 2): I removed the lights: cf. Syr., ego autem everti lucternas. The Lat. has pl. evertimus omnes lumina: we all overthrew the lights (R.V.). The Greek word behind everti may have been καταπέμπω (= Heb., רשה): then removed all the lights would be the right rendering [Violet is inclined to suspect that an original Heb. יתכן I extinguished was misread ותכן, I ended, finished off, destroyed = (?) everti: Ethiop. renders we extinguished our lamps: Hilg. retranslates נבאהת פארות תא פורה. [For the wedding lights cf. Matt. 25 7. Here again note the violent contrast between the brilliant illumination of the wedding feast and the sudden darkness following on the death of the bridegroom.]

aa (vs. 2): 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 which is so strongly marked a feature of Jewish piety.

b (vs. 2): I remained quiet: Lat., quievi = סוחסה (Hilg.). A mother’s grief would normally show itself in loud lamentation, but here she remains dumb.

c (vs. 2): until the night of the next day: so Ethiop. The Lat. has usque in alium diem usque in noctem = וס וה ימים הקדומים והימים הבאים (Hilg.): (for ב רח = next cf. 2 Kings 6 9) = until the next day at night: the articulation of the sentence is according to Hebrew style.

d (vs. 3): And it came to pass when they were all quiet (and desisted) from consoling, as (because) I remained quiet: Lat., et factum est cum omnes quievissent ut me consolarintur ut quiescerem = (?) καὶ εγενετο οτε ουρανον παρει συν ουρανον παρει συνιστησαι ουρανον: the Syr., understood ουρανον as meaning slept, and renders us as opt. and et putarent quod: the bracketed clause it apparently omits (et postquam obdormissent omnes et putarent quod ego obdormirem): the Ethiop. apparently omits the last clause (et postea cum omnes tacissent et desinerent reprehenderem): The original Heb. perhaps ran somewhat as follows: ותכן נבאהת פארות תא פורה, i.e., when they were all silent from consoling, because I kept silent: for סוחסה + כ cf. Jer. 38 7.

e (vs. 4): never again to return: Syr., has never (not) again, etc.
'neither eat nor drink,' but continually to mourn and to fast till I die. 7 Then I left the thoughts in which I was still occupied, and answered her in anger; and said: O thou above all other women most foolish! Seest thou not our mourning, and what has befallen us? 7 Now Sion the mother of us all is in great grief and deep affliction? It is right now to mourn seeing that we all mourn, and to grieve,
seeing that we are all "grief-stricken;" thou, however, art
grief-stricken for one son." 9 **But** ask the earth, and she
shall tell thee, that it is she who ought to mourn *the fall of
so many* that have sprung into being upon her. 9 **10** Yea,
from the beginning all who have been born, and others who
are to come—lo! they go *almost all into perdition,* and the
multitude of them *comes to destruction.* 11 **Who, then,
should mourn the more?** Ought not she that has lost so
great a multitude? or thou who grievest 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—
"but as regards the earth, (it is) according to the course of nature; namely, the multitude present in it is 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.

Now, therefore, keep thy sorrow within, and bear gallantly the misfortunes that have befallen thee.

For if thou wilt acknowledge God's decree to be just, thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time, and shalt...
be praised among women. 

17 Therefore go into the city to thy husband. 

18 And she said unto me: 'I will not do so.' I will not enter the city, but here will I die. 

19 So I proceeded to speak further unto her, and said: 

20 No, woman! no woman do not do so; but suffer thyself to be prevailed upon by reason of Sion's misfortunes, be consoled by reason of Jerusalem's sorrow.

21 For thou seest how

*our sanctuary is laid waste,*
*our altar thrown down,*
*our Temple destroyed,*
*our harp laid low;*

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.

f (vs. 18): I will not do so: so Syr. (non faciam ita); Ethiop. (cf. Ar.²) = ov poyepou outras; Lat., non faciam.

g (vs. 19): so I proceeded to speak further: Lat., et adposui adhoc logui = καὶ προεθυμηκα τι ολεων = ἐν γε την σκηνην.

h (vs. 20): no, woman / no, woman / So Syr., but Lat. and other versions omit.

i (vs. 20): do not do so (lit., do not do this thing): Lat., noli facere sermonem hunc = μη ποιηση τουτου των λογων (Hilg.) or τουτο το μηα (Volk.) = της της σκηνης.

j (vs. 20): Suffer thyself to be prevailed upon by reason of Sion's misfortunes: so Syr., Arm. = (?) σωσυδοκει πειθεθαι νεθ ών αγομων Ιωω: the Lat. has consenti persuaderi quid enim casus Sion: BJ. rightly emend quid enim to propter (cf. next clause); the mistake has arisen probably from a misreading of νεθ as τηγαρ (Violet). [For casus cf. note c on vs. 15 above.]

k (vs. 21): our sanctuary: Lat., sanctificatio nostra = το αγιασμα ημων (Heb., miqdashēnā); cf. I Macc. 1 38 (her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness); Syr. has plural, our sanctuaries (holy places).

l (vs. 21): our altar: so Lat., Ar. ³ (cf. Ar. ⁴), Arm.; but Syr., altars.

m (vs. 21): thrown down: Lat., demolitum est = καθρεθη (Hilg.): Heb., יונ (cf. Judg. 2 ³).

n (vs. 21): our Temple: Lat., templum nostrum = η ναος ημων (Heb., hēkal; i.e., the Temple building proper, exclusive of the outer court).

o (vs. 22): our harp is laid low: Lat., psallerium nostrum humiliatum est = το ψαλτηριον ημων εταξευθη (Heb. יננ חן). The Heb. equivalent for ψαλτηριον is נבל, which may have been a portable
our song is silenced; * our rejoicing ceased; * the light of our lamp is extinguished; * the ark of our covenant spoiled; *

harp, or lyre; * as distinguished from the more common hinnór, it was used in religious worship. On some of the Bar-kokba coins a conventional design of a nebel is, apparently, emblematic of the Temple-service, which it was proposed to restore in the re-built Temple. So here the harp symbolizes the service of praise, which has ceased in the ruined sanctuary. So the Syr. seems to interpret (rather than translate) here: ministerium nostrum abolitum: cf. Ethiop., abolitum est psalterium nostrum (? does abolitum in Syr. and Ethiop. point to a variant, ἀποκράτη [for ἐκκενωθή] = ? nav: this may be right). Gunkel inserts a line here corresponding to the Syr.:—

[our service is abolished]
our harp laid low:

but, in this case, there is nothing in the Syr. to correspond to the second line; and the addition of a line disturbs the parallelism; Lat., Syr., and Ethiop. give an equal number of lines, and none of the other versions suggests that an additional line was read.

*p (vs. 22): our song is silenced: Lat., hymnus nostrer conticuit = o νῦνος ημῶν εὐαγγελεῖ: so Ethiop.: but Syr. (vides) hymnum nostrum sublatum (= ? απεκρήθη).

q (vs. 22): our rejoicing ceased: Lat., exultatio nostra dissoluta est = (!) το αγαλλιάμα ημῶν διελθή: for the phraseology cf. Is. 24 4 and 9. Volk. renders our boast (καυχήμα), our pride, i.e., the service of sacrifice.

r (vs. 22): the light of our lamp . . . extinguished: the extinction of the continual lamp marked the cessation of the functions of the Temple services and sacrifices. One of the first steps taken by Judas Maccabæus at the re-dedication of the Temple in 164 B.C. was to re-light the "continual lamp." The memory of this was perpetuated in the Feast of Dedication (Ḥanukkah): cf. I Macc. 4 24-29 (esp. vs. 50).

s (vs. 22): the ark of our covenant spoiled. The Lat. for spoiled is direpta est = διπραγμασι (Hilg.): (?) ἡ (Pual): cf. Jer. 50 37: i.e., taken as spoil (carried away). 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. 36 19); according to the other, the ark was concealed within the Temple

* See the Bible Dictionaries, and especially Driver's note in his edition of Joel and Amos (Camb. Bible) p. 234 f.

† According to Josephus the Holy of Holies in Herod's Temple was empty.
'our holy things are defiled,' "the name that is called upon us" "is profaned;" "our nobles" are dishonoured, "our priests burnt," "our Levites gone into captivity;"

cf. 2 Macc. 2 (containing a legendary account of the concealing in "a chamber in the rock" of the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense by Jeremiah), also Ap. Bar. vi, where it is said that the contents of the Holy of Holies were committed to the earth by an angel at the destruction of the city until the last times: cf. Rev. 21 and Swete's note. Cf. T.B. Yoma 53b, where both representations are discussed. 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 Ap. Bar. respectively. It should be noted that no explicit mention of the ark occurs in the enumeration of things carried away, in 2 Chron. 36 (cf. Jer. 52)

(t vs. 22): our holy things are defiled: Lat., sancta nostra contaminata sunt = ra ayla muwy eutavón (Hilg.), 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 70 A.D. e.g., the great candelabrum fell into the hands of Titus.) Cf. Ps. Sol. 2: they [the sons of Jerusalem] defiled the holy things of the Lord, i.e., not the Temple buildings, but the sacrifices and worship and their accompaniments (cf. Ryle and James, ad loc.). In the LXX ra ayla muov = my sanctuary (cf. e.g., Ezek. 5): so Ethiop. understands here our sanctuary (cf. Ar. 4, Ar. 5).

(u vs. 22): 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. 32).

(v vs. 22): is profaned: so Syr., Ethiop. (cf. Ar. 1); Lat. has paene profanatum est = σχεδον εφεβηλωθή (Hilg.): is almost profaned (A.V.).

(w vs. 22): our nobles: Lat., libri nostri = oi ελευθεροι ημων: Heb. ἀμέθυμος, a late word, common in Neh., and there used of the magistrates and chief officials of the city (cf. Neh. 2:14, etc.): it is from a root meaning to be free.

(x vs. 22): our priests burnt: an allusion to the destruction of the Temple by fire. Josephus (War vi, 5, 1) specially mentions two priests of eminence who threw themselves into the fire "and were burnt together with the holy house."

(y vs. 22): gone into captivity: so Lat., in captivitate: abierunt = ἡχυμαλατισθησαν (Heb., nishbē, taken captive).
our virgins are defiled,
our wives ravished;
(\textsuperscript{a}) our righteous are seized,
[our saints scattered]\textsuperscript{c}
\textsuperscript{d}our children are cast out\textsuperscript{d} (\textsuperscript{b}).

\textsuperscript{a} (vs. 22): are defiled: Lat., coiinquitae sunt = (?) ευμαθήσεως (cf. 8 \textsuperscript{a}); Heb. וְאַלְמָע. Hilg. retranslates here שָׁאֵם רַעֲנָיָמוֹן (but in 8 \textsuperscript{b} εὔμαρα = ? νησι). The Ethiop. has trucidatae sunt: Hilg. suggests that εὐθαράσχων (destroyed or corrupted) will explain the divergent renderings.

\textsuperscript{b} (vs. 22): ravished: Lat., vim passae sunt = εὕμαράσχων = (?) noa (Root 'anas common in P.B.H. in this sense).

\textsuperscript{c} (vs. 22): our righteous . . . [saints] . . . children . . . cast out. All the versions give only two clauses here, except Ar. \textsuperscript{b}, which has three (our elders . . . our saints . . . our children). Clauses 1 and 3 are attested by Lat., Ethiop. and Ar. \textsuperscript{b}; but Syr. (in an emended form) supports clause 2 and omits clause 3 (for details see below).

\textsuperscript{d} (vs. 22): our righteous are seized [our saints scattered]: Lat., justi nostri capiti sunt = οἱ δικαίοι ἡμῶν ἐγκαθίσθησαν (Hilg.) (Heb. ? וֶאֶלֶף; cf. Ps. 10 \textsuperscript{b} LXX. 9 \textsuperscript{b}, Heb. and LXX); so Ethiop. Cf. Ar. \textsuperscript{b} (Ar.\textsuperscript{b}). The Syr. has our seers (\textsuperscript{a} προφέται) are seized, our watchmen (\textsuperscript{a} προφέται) are scattered. By slight emendation (suggested by Violet) our pious [saints] (\textsuperscript{a} προφέται) can be read for our seers, and our righteous (\textsuperscript{a} προφέται) for our watchmen; the two clauses now run—

\textsuperscript{d} our pious are seized,
[our righteous scattered]:

Transposing pious and righteous, we reach the text translated above, and bring clause 1 into harmony with Latin. It should be noted that the paraphrase of Ar. \textsuperscript{b} seems to have read the two clauses as they stand in the Syr. only in the reverse order. It has: the shame which has befallen our elders (= ? our righteous are scattered), and the seizing of our pious (= our pious are seized). Volkmar remarks that the righteous here (οἱ δικαίοι) can only be the teachers of righteousness (οἱ διδασκάλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης) the scribes (οἱ γραμματεῖς): cf. Mark 2 \textsuperscript{b}. This is supported by Ar. \textsuperscript{b} (elders), which has, perhaps, interpreted δικαίοι: or, possibly, διδασκάλοι was actually read. Perhaps there is an allusion to the banishment of the Rabbis after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.—the scattered leaders being permitted only to find a rendezvous in Jamnia, where a Rabbinical School had been established and was presided over by the famous Johanan b. Zakkai.

In any case, as already remarked, Ar. \textsuperscript{b} attests the existence of an additional clause.

\textsuperscript{d} (vs. 22): our children are cast out: cf. Ethiop. (parsului nostri abrepti sunt) = ? οἱ γυναῖκις ἡμῶν παρωδήσαν τίς (Lat. has proditi sunt = (?) εὑμαράσχων: (Heb. ? νησι driven away, cast out); Ar. \textsuperscript{b} renders stipped our children. The place of this clause is uncertain. In Lat. and Ar. \textsuperscript{b} it is put before and in Ethiop. and Ar. \textsuperscript{b} after the clause about our youths: Syr. (ex hyp.) omits it. It would find a more appropriate place before the clause about our righteous,
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our youths are enslaved,
our heroes made powerless:

and, what is more than all—

*Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured,**
and given up into the hands of them that hate us.

*e (vs. 22): are enslaved: Lat., servierunt = εδούλευσαν.
*f (vs. 22): made powerless: Lat., invalidi facti sunt = ηθοπνοοῖς (Hilg.): or the Gk. might be ὀδυμημωναί: Syr., miseri facti sunt (ἐνεργοῖ): cf. Lam. 1 14, Heb. and LXX. Heb. (?) εἰστί ημᾶς.
*g (vs. 23): Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured (lit., is sealed up now away from its honour): Lat., signaculum Sion quoniam resignata est de gloria sua nunc = η σφαγίς Σίων οτί ἄναφρογεγένθη ἡ τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς ἦν (resignata in the Lat. (also tradita in next clause) is dependent on σφαγίς: hence the ungrammatical fem.): there is a play on the words in the Hebrew, as Gunkel points out: "maer Enril2 ns Emm. The phrase sealed up away from its honour = robbed of its honour. The seal (or signet-ring) used for state purposes, attested the royal authority (cf. Esther 3 10, 8 3, 1 Macc. 6 14), but was not confined to royal personages. The possession and use of such an emblem marked high personal dignity and importance. As tokens of personal liberty and independence, "seals were highly valued and carefully guarded (cf. Hag. 2 25)."† The seal of Sion may, therefore, be a symbolical representation of Sion's independence: that this had been given up into the hands of Sion's enemies symbolizes the loss of Sion's independence. † The representation would apply equally to the national catastrophes of 586 B.C. and 70 A.D. In the latter case Jerusalem's short-lived freedom from heathen domination (66–70 A.D.) was brought to a tragic end. Possibly, however, a more specific reference is intended. The recognised means of expressing sovereign freedom and national independence was by the issue of a national coinage. And this was actually done in 66–70 A.D. in Jerusalem. The native coinage was the emblem and, as it were, the sealed product (σφαγίς means both the seal and the impression of the seal) of national freedom. After the debacle in 70 A.D. this was suppressed, and Roman coins were struck containing emblems of the Jewish defeat and inscribed Judaea devicta, etc.; and, worst of all, the willing tribute, in the form of the Temple-tax, which had flowed in to Jerusalem from all parts of the Jewish Dispersion, for the maintenance of the Temple-worship, was diverted by Vespasian, and devoted to the purposes of heathen worship. Is it not possible that our text contains a covert allusion to these painful evidences of lost national freedom and independence? Volkmar understands Sion's seal to refer to her chief glory, the sacrificial worship.

* Have these two Greek words been confused in Is. 40 25, LXX (cf. Heb.) ?
† Cf. JE. xi. 134.
‡ In modern language "flag" or "banner" is often used in a similar metaphorical way.
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. Sion's glory: the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem

(10 34-35) (S)

And it came to pass, while I was talking to her, lo! her countenance on a sudden shone exceedingly, and "her aspect became brilliant as lightning."

This had now ceased, and glory had given place to dishonour, in that the holy site was desolate and in the possession of enemies. [In vv. 22–23 the utter ruin of Israel is set forth in detail—

(a) The ruin of the Sanctuary is complete (the holy site is laid waste, the altar on it demolished, the Temple-building over it destroyed);

(b) The service of the sanctuary has ceased (the harp laid low, the song of praise silenced, the lamp extinguished, the ark of the covenant carried off as spoil, the holy vessels defiled (by heathen hands), the God-given name of Israel profaned);

(c) the people have lost their freedom (nobles dishonoured, priests burnt, Levites taken into captivity, virgins and wives ravished, religious leaders scattered, youths enslaved, fighting men disarmed).

(d) Sion—the centre and symbol of the national life for the scattered people—has been shorn of every mark of independent dignity, and is occupied by foes].

h (vs. 24): shake off; Lat., excuta = ἀφορίζον (Heb., וְעָשֵׁר): Syr. adds from thyself; so Ethiop., Arab., and Armenian.

i (vs. 24): abandon: Lat., depone abs te = ἀφορίζεις απὸ σου (Heb. וְעָשֵׁר).

j (vs. 24): thy much sorrow: Lat., multitudinem dolorum (lit., the multitude of sorrows) = τὸ πλήθος τῶν πονηρῶν (Hilg.) or, perhaps better, οἴνου (Heb. וְעָשֵׁר v. מְעַשְׁר). [Syr. accidentally omits the obj. of 1st clause and verb of second (the bracketed words following): shake off thy great grief abandon the multitude of sorrows].

k (vs. 24): The Mighty One: a title of God; cf. 9, note t.

l (vs. 24): may again forgive thee: Lat., ut tibi repripietur Fortis = ἐν αὐτῷ παλιν ἔλασσαι ὁ σωτήρ (Hilg.). The Gk. verb = Heb. פֶּרֶשׁ, forgive. The death of the son manifested God's wrath; therefore divine forgiveness was necessary.

m (vs. 24): a respite: Lat., requietionem = ἀνασταυρίων (Hilg.). Syr., Ethiop. omit.

n (vs. 25): her aspect became brilliant as lightning: Lat., species coruscus fiebat vultus ejus, lit., her look became a flashing appearance, (Ball); Syr., as the appearance of lightning became the look of her face; Greek, ὡς εἶδος ἀστρατης (ἀστρατομοιδῆς, Volk.) εὐενετο ὡς ὡς αὐτῆς.
so that I was too much afraid (to approach her and my heart was terrified exceedingly): so and while I was debating what this might mean, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the earth shook at the noise. And when I looked, lo! the woman was no longer visible to me, but there was a City built, and a place shewed itself of large foundations. Then I was afraid, and 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 "my prayer" is made futile,
and "my request" disappointed!

V. INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION
(10:29-57) (S)

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, the Messiah! But how can the Messiah
have been pictured as being born when the Temple was founded by
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bewilderment: Hilg. retranslates: οτι αυτος με σκοτισας αλδευ εις την
τολην εκστασιν ταυτην. The Lat. has: quoniam ipse me fecit venire
in multitudoem excessus mensis hujus, i.e., adding diavosis after
εκστασιν (influenced by the occurrence of this expression elsewhere
in the Book; cf. 5:3, note a, and 13:38 = perplexity of mind). Syr.
renders quoniam, etc., in multitudoem terroris hujus: cf. Ar.1 (Arm.).
Ethiop. renders: quare ita me fecisti ut ingrederer in hac multa inves-
tigations (reading probably εκστασιν for εκστασιν). The Heb. for εκστασιν
here is probably tismahon, bewilderment; cf. Zech. 12:4, Heb. and LXX.

w (vs. 28): my prayer: Lat. has finis meus (R.V., mine end): so
Syr., Ethiop., Ar.1 (Arm.). Gunkel renders meine Absicht; Hilg.
retranslates o σκοτισας μου. Probably, as Violet suggests, there was a
corruption in the Heb. text here; the parallel line desiderates some
such word as νημ, my prayer, which might easily have been corrupted
to ιηνευ, my end (so Violet).

z (vs. 28): is made futile: Lat., factus est... in corruptionem =
γεγενοτο... ετι φωραει (Hilg.); Heb., הָיְתָה [יָדֶל] הנִימָא.

y (vs. 28): my request: Lat., oratio mea; Hilg., η ανθης μου =
νημ. (Hilg.)

z (vs. 28): disappointed: Lat., in inproperium, εις ονειδος
(Hilg.) = πετησαι or εδεση.

The seer hastily concludes that the revelation regarding Israel’s
future glory—how it was to be attained (cf. 9:29-37)—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 bewilder-
ment 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 trans-
figuration of the woman is a feature derived, doubtless, from the actual
experience of such ecstastics; cf. similar features in Hermas.

* Shiszen vi., p. 219 n.
A more promising interpretation is that of Volkmar (and others) that the son stands for the Temple. In this case the death of the son means the destruction of the Temple; and the mourning mother represents the desolate and bereaved Sion. But in the interpretation itself the death of the son is expressly identified with the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass (10 *). If it be urged that Temple and City are more or less identified in the writer's thought, how is the sharp contrast between the mourning mother and the dead son to be explained? Both, on this interpretation, represent the same thing, viz., the fall of the earthly Jerusalem! It is true that not all the details of the story are accounted for in the interpretation; but it is clear enough from the interpretation itself that the original writer conceived of the mother and the son as representing two distinct, though closely connected things. The only explanation that does justice to the contents of the section is to regard the two distinct but closely connected things intended as the heavenly and earthly Sion.

This view accords with the transcendental conceptions of S, who finds his only consolation for the miseries of the present Age in the glories that belong to the Age to come. Among the realities of the eternal order is the celestial Sion, which is regarded not as something that is to come into being later, but as already in existence (cf. 8 * f.). Consequently the transfiguration of the woman cannot be explained as symbolizing the glorification of the earthly Sion into the heavenly (this would imply that the heavenly Sion is not a present and eternal reality, but is yet to be), but as a revelation of the true character of the woman: the weeping mother, bewailing the loss of her son, suddenly throws off the mask and reveals herself in her true character, and her ineffable glory. She is the eternal heavenly Sion. The 3,000 years of unfruitfulness mark the period in the world's history (from Adam to David; cf. vv. 45-46) when no earthly counterpart of herself—a place where regular oblations could be offered to God—as yet existed. The birth of the son represents the establishment of the City and the cultus therein by David (cf. vs. 46 notes); the years of the son's life symbolize the period during which the holy City on earth was sanctified with the divine presence and the regular sacrificial worship; and the death of the son marks the fall of the city, and the cessation of sacrifice. As the story breaks off significantly with the death of the son—it is not stated that he was restored to his mother—we have evidence here again that S. did not look for the restoration of the earthly city and cultus.

The original meaning of the vision has been obscured by two slight alterations in the text from the pen of R: in vs. 45, in it (ἐν αὐτῷ, i.e., in the world) has been changed to in her (= ἐν Σίων, 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 vs. 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), etc.; while the transfiguration of the woman is a prophecy of the future glory of the earthly Sion. The difficulties involved in this interpretation have already been pointed out. It cannot be harmonized with the theology of S. Another indication that it is not the earthly city that is the subject of the
revelation may be found in the scene of the vision. This is not on the ruined site of Jerusalem or in its neighbourhood, but in the mysterious field of Ardat. The selection of a locality which has never been touched by human hand can only have been suggested by the idea that the subject of the vision belonged not to the present corruptible order, but to the eternal and incorruptible world. 

And while I was speaking thus, lo! the angel came to me, who had come to me at the first; and when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead, my understanding being confused, he grasped my right hand and set me on my feet, and said to me:

What aileth thee?

Why art thou so disquieted?

Wherefore is thy understanding confused, and the thoughts of thy heart?
And I said: Because thou hast forsaken me! Yet I did as thou commandedst, and went into the field, and lo! I have seen—and yet see—that which I am unable to express.

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.

For I have seen what I did not know and heard what I do not understand.

Or is my mind deceived? and my soul in a dream?

Now, therefore, I beseech thee to shew thy servant concerning this perplexity!

\[\text{diavouia τῆς καρδίας σου = ἄρα γνώσω}: \text{cf. 1 Chron. 29:18, Heb. and LXX [diavouia usu. = ἄρα in LXX: so probably in vs. 36 below: sensus = probably diavouia here and in vs. 36; also possibly in 74 i. in 5 (= ἀνερίσκετες (Volk.))].}

\(i\) (vs. 32): thou hast forsaken me: Lat., derelinquens derelinquisti me.

\(j\) (vs. 32): yet I: Lat., egoquisim = καρτά μου (Hilg.).

\(k\) (vs. 32): as thou commandedst: Lat., secundum sermones tios (according to thy words, E.V.).

\(l\) (vs. 32): the field: so Lat., Syr., Ethiop.; but Lat. this field (cf. Arm.).

\(m\) (vs. 32): and yet see: Lat., et video: so Syr., but Ethiop., Ar.1, and Arm. omit. The vision of the City is still before the seer's eyes. Cf. 10 44 notes.

\(n\) (vs. 32): that which I am unable to express: cf. 2 Cor. 12:4 (also of an ecstatic experience).

\(o\) (vs. 33): stand up like a man: Lat., sta ut vir = στώθε ws ανηρ: so Ethiop. (diff. order), Arm.; cf. Ar.1; but Syr., stand upon thy feet: cf. 6:18 (also 5:18, 6:17). p (vs. 33): I will advise thee (so E.V.): Lat., commonebo te = ἀναγνωρίζω σε (Hilg.) or (?) νοερεῖν σε. Syr., I will show thee = αναδείξω σοι (cf. 4:41): Ethiop., alloquar te: so Arm. (loquar lectum).

\(q\) (vs. 34): to no purpose: [Lat., frustra = μακαρ (Heb., תן): E.V., frustrate of my hope; (Gunkel renders "schuldlos").

\(r\) (vs. 35): what I did not know...what I do not understand: so Syr. (qua non sciebam...qua non cognosco), cf. Ethiop. = a onk ἀνερίσκεται...a onk ἀνερίσκαται; so Ethiop. (cf. Ar.1). Lat. has same verb repeated (qua non sciebam...qua non scio).

\(s\) (vs. 35): and heard: Lat. (SA.) has audio (but CM. audivi) = καὶ ακούω (Hilg.): so Syr.; but Ethiop., Ar.1, Ar.8, Arm. support audivi.

\(t\) (vs. 36): my mind: Lat., sensus mens = η diavouia μου (or o nous μου): cf. note \(h\) (on vs. 31) above. (Arm., mens mea).

\(u\) (vs. 36): deceived: Lat., fallitum = ἀνατρέπει: but Syr., fallit me.

\(v\) (vs. 37): this perplexity: Lat. [de] excesso hoc = [ταύτα] τῆς...
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.

For he hath seen *thy righteous conduct,*

*how thou hast sorrowed* continually *for* thy people,

and mourned greatly *on account of* Sion—

The matter, therefore, is as follows. *The woman who appeared to thee a little while ago, whom *thou sawest* mourning and begannest to comfort: whereas now thou seest no likeness of a woman any more, *a builded City* hath appeared unto thee: and whereas she told thee of
the misfortune of her son—this is the interpretation:

44 This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion, whom thou now beholdest as a builded City; 45 And whereas she said unto thee that she was barren thirty years: 'the reason is that there were three thousand years before any offering was offered in (it) (i.e., in the world).

And

\[ g \ (\text{vs. 43}) \ : \text{this is the interpretation:} \ Lat., \ haec absolutio est = αυτη η επιλογει ιστιν (επιλογει = interpretatio [of dreams], Gen. 40, Aquila). \]

\[ gg \ (\text{vs. 44}) \ : \text{Sion, whom thou now beholdest as a builded City: i.e., the heavenly Sion (see introduction to section): beholdest, i.e., in vision: Lat., conspicius = tempesta (Heb. ? nn R8).} \]

\[ h \ (\text{vs. 45}) \ : \text{unto thee: so Lat., Ethiop., Ar., Arm.; but Syr. has concerning herself.} \]

\[ i \ (\text{vs. 45}) \ : \text{the reason is that (lit. [it is] because that: Lat., propter quod = propter quod = 310T. (Hilg.): this is the Hebrew method of introducing the explanation (of a dream, etc.); cf. Gen. 41 (And for that the dream was doubled . . . it is because, etc.).} \]

\[ j \ (\text{vs. 45}) \ : \text{three thousand years: so all the Versions except the Arm.} \]

\[ k \ (\text{vs. 45}) \ : \text{before any offering was offered in it (i.e., in the world): the Lat. has quando non erat in ea adhuc oblatio oblatae = when as yet there was no offering offered in her (i.e., in Sion: so all the other Versions).} \]

\[ l \ (\text{vs. 45}) \ : \text{for in ea [ev aueg] for in ea] the difficulty of the text-reading can be removed. In her can only mean in the civilitas aedificata, which for 3,000 years was without a son, i.e., the heavenly Sion: but the statement that no offering was as yet offered in the heavenly Sion is meaningless. The unfruitfulness of the heavenly Sion consisted rather in the fact that for 3,000 years there was on the earth—in this aeon—no corresponding reality, no aedificata civilitas where the cultus of the sacrificial worship was established. (So Kabisch.) It is true altars had been erected and sacrifices offered before the time} \]

\[ * \text{Cod. A** has tria milita: Cod. L has a gloss (over the line): etates que sunt triginta generationes. Ab adam usque ad salomonem.} \]

\[ \dagger \text{The confusion between 3,000 (\(\gamma\)) and 3 (\(\gamma^1\)) might very easily arise in the Greek MSS.} \]
it came to pass 'after three thousand years' that "(David)" built the City, and offered offerings: then it was that the

of David, (e.g., by Abraham, Gen. 22, 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 world's history in ch. 3 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. 3 **.

l (vs.46): after three thousand years. (As in the previous verse Lat. has three, other versions except Armenian, 3,000). 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. Ex. 12), 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 7 ** the reckoning 400 for the years of the oppression, in accordance with Gen. 15, is implied (see notes there): but that passage belongs to a different source.

m (vs.46): (David) built the city: all the Versions read Solomon; but this is inconsistent with 3 ** (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. 24, 18f.; 1 Chron. 21, 22) 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. 3 ** and note w there).

* As cited by Kabisch, p. 89.
barren bare "a son." 47 And whereas she told thee "that she reared him with travail:" that was the (divine) dwelling in Jerusalem. 48 And whereas she said unto thee: ‘My son, entering into his marriage-chamber died,’ and that misfortune befell her —this was 'the fall of Jerusalem that has come to

n (vs. 46): a son, i.e., according to the interpretation here adopted, the earthly Jerusalem (the heavenly Sion 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. The well-known story of the unfortunate son who dies on his wedding day has been utilised by the writer for his special purpose (cf. its use for a different purpose in the Book of Tobit). The story was so well known to the readers that they would at once understand and see the propriety of the reference to the misfortunes of the earthly Jerusalem in the figure of the unfortunate son.

o (vs. 47): that she reared him with travail: so Lat. and Syr.; but Ethiop. and Ar. 1 have the direct speech (I have reared him, etc.). 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.

p (vs. 47): that was the divine) dwelling in Jerusalem: Lat., hae erat habitatio Hierusalem = (?) η ουκησε της Ιερουσαλημ: a reading with inferior attestation (which may be right) is habitatio in Hierusalem (so Vulg.) = η ουκησε ευ Ἰερομ = Heb., ס OTHERWISE: 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. 1 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 70 A.D.).

q (vs. 48): and that misfortune befell her: so Lat. (probably) Ar. 1: Ethiop. has direct speech (this grief befell me). Syr. omits the clause. [The Lat. ει is ambiguous = either him or her: two MSS. have ευν: Hilg., ευν.] The juxtaposition of direct and indirect speech is certainly awkward. The clause may be a gloss. In any case 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 rather than the Temple as distinct from the city. If the woman = the earthly Jerusalem, and her son = the Temple (so Volkmar), how can her son's death be identified with the fall of the City ( = ex hyp. the woman herself)?

r (vs. 48): the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass: Lat., quae
pass. 49 "And lo! thou hast seen 'the (heavenly) pattern of her,' "how she mourned her son," and thou didst begin to comfort her for what had befallen."

50 Now, the Most High seeing that thou art grieved "deeply" and art distressed whole-heartedly on account of her; 2 hast shewed thee the brilliance of her glory, and 'her majestic beauty.'

facta est ruina Hierusalem = η γενομενη πτωσις Ιερουσαλημ (Volk., Hilg.). For ruina cf. 3 (ruinae civilitatis).

s (vs. 49): and lo! thou hast seen : so Lat., Ethiop., Ar.; but Syr., Ar. Arm. omit and lo /

\( t \) (vs. 49): the (heavenly) pattern (or model) of her : Lat., similitudinem ejus = Heb. הָעֵד (for the equivalents cf. e.g., Ps. 144 (LXX, 143)). The heavenly pattern or model of the earthly city is the heavenly Sion. The concept is similar to that which is met with in the Ep. to the Hebrews (11 10, 13 [The City which hath the foundations whose builder and maker is God] 12 21; 13 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 (pattern : Lat., similitudo or exemplar = Greek ὁμοιωμα, παραδειγμα, or τυπος = Heb. tabmith) cf. Heb. 8 6, Ex. 25 9 and 46 (Heb. and LXX).

This vision of the heavenly reality is the culminating point in the disclosures made to the seer.

u (vs. 49): how she (i.e., the heavenly City) mourned her son (i.e., the ruined earthly Jerusalem) : the Syr. strangely has her sons : so Ethiop. (her children).

v (vs. 49, end): the Lat. adds here: haec erant tibi aperienda = thes were the things to be opened unto thee (R.V.) : so Ar. 2, but all the other versions omit (also Lat. Codex M). The clause is doubtless a (?) Latin marginal gloss, which has come into the text.

w (vs. 50): deeply : Lat., ex animo (of soul) : Syr., with thy whole soul (so Ethiop. ; cf. Ar. 1); Hilg., εκ της ψυχης.

x (vs. 50): and art distressed whole-heartedly on account of her : Lat., et quoniam ex toto corde patetis pro ea = και οτι εξ ολης της καρδιας πασχεις υπερ αυτης (Hilg.) = (?). γενομαι . . . γενομαι (cf. Ruth 1 13 for constr.): for the equivalents cf. Ecclus. 38 16, where δινα πασχειν = (?) ταπεινων, embitter oneself (suffer grievously). The seer shares the grief of the Heavenly Sion for her son.

y (vs. 50): her majestic beauty : Lat., pulchritudinem decoris ejus = το καλος της ευκρυβειας αυτης (Hilg.), or, perhaps, better μεγαλουκρυβειας αυτης (Heb. ? ותא ותא).
Therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house has been builded; for I knew that the Most High was about to reveal all these things unto thee. Therefore I bade thee come into the 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.

Therefore be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be terrified; but go in and see the brightness and vastness of the building, as far as it is possible for thee with the sight of thine eyes to see.

Then shalt thou hear as much as the hearing of thine ears can hear.

It is obvious that vv. 53–54 repeat the substance of vv. 51–52 in an otiose manner. The two pairs of verses are clearly doublings, of which vv. 53–54 seem to be the more original. All four verses are attested by all the Versions, except Ar. *, which omits all but a single clause, and affords no help. The doublet clearly existed in the Greek text.

Therefore: so Syr., Arm.; but Lat. *propter enim* = *And therefore* (Ethiop. and Ar. *have both readings in different MSS.)*.

remain: Lat., *ut maneres* = *va usivp* (Hilg.); so Ethiop., Ar., *but Syr. has *wait me* (= *wa eue ueivns*).

was about to: Lat., *incipiebat* = *ημέλλε* (Hilg.).

all these things: so Syr., Ar. *has* (cf. Ethiop., Arm.): Lat. has *hac* only (Hilg. *ταύτα ταύτα*).

the field: Lat. *[in] agrum*: = *εις αγρον* (a different word [in campo = *ev rebiq.*) is used in vs. 51]: Syr. has *in a place* (so Arm.).

where no foundation of any building is: Lat., *ubi non est fundamentum aedificii* = *εφ' ουκ εστι θεμελιων ακοδομης* (Hilg.).

building-work of man: Lat., *opus aedificii hominis* = *εργον ακοδομης ανθρωπου* (Hilg.).

endure: Lat., *sustinere* (sustinere) = *υφισταται* (Volk.) *υποτεναι* (Hilg.).

let not thy heart be terrified: Lat., *neque expavescat cor tau* = *ν η καρδια σου* (Heb., *נլ תlandır*): cf. for phrase and equivalents I Sam. 28 *Heb., LXX., Vulg.

dispositionem (misreading *των*) confirms this. Heb. (?) *nāgah* (cf. Is. 59 *Heb., and LXX.): Syr., *the light of the glory*: Ethiop., *her light* (so Ar. *): Hilg., *την λαμπροτητα* (= *Heb., καθαρ*).

and: so all the Versions except the Lat., which has or (vel) and Arm. (*sive etiam*—a conflation).

as far as it is possible for thee with the sight of thine eyes to see: Lat., *quantum est capax tibis visu oculorum videre* = (?) *ενον δυνατον σου ουν οφθαλμων οφαν* (Volk.). This in Heb. might be: *מְרֵךְ שֶׁיֶרֶךְ לָדֶךְ לִ֑י הַיֶּ֖רֶךְ הַיֶּ֑רֶךְ*. This permission given to the seer
For thou art blessed above many, and art named before the Most High as but few!

(The true sequel should be 12 8b, 13 57-58 and 12 40-48 (14 39-35); see introductions to the two latter sections. The sequence is shown by the following verses:)

[(12 8b) And he departed from me. (13 87) 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; (13 88) and because he governs the times, and the things which come to pass in due time. (12 40b.) And it came to pass when all the people heard, etc.]

VI. Redactional Transition to the Fifth Vision
(10 58-58) (R)

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 implies that he saw and heard (see next vs.) 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. the unutterable words (or things) which St. Paul heard in ecstasy (apprαρματα: 2 Cor. 12 4).

With vv. 55-56 cf. 1 Cor. 2 9 (Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him); and Is. 64 9. It should be noted that the City is conceived as still standing before the eyes of the seer.

m (vs. 57): For: so Syr. (τυ enim) : so all the other Versions except Lat. and Ar. 9, which have τυ autem (interchange of autem and enim).

o (vs. 57): art named before the Most High: i.e., as Ar. 1 rightly paraphrases thy name is known (recognised) before the Most High: To be called by name = to be honoured and marked out for distinction. Great importance was attached to the name by the ancients. Its influence was thought to be potent on character and destiny.

* The night of to-morrow (vs. 53) = the night that follows the coming night (see notes ad. loc.).
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 But on the night of to-morrow thou shalt remain here; 59 so will the Most High reveal to thee in dream-visions what the Most High will do unto the dwellers upon earth in the last days.

p (vs. 58): on the night of to-morrow (lit., on the night which shall be to-morrow): Lat., nocte . . . quae in crastinum futura est = τῷ νυκτὶ τῷ η δι σεμεδον μελισσῷ (Volk.). The night of to-morrow means 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.]

q (vs. 59): in dream-visions: Lat., eas visiones somniorum = ταύτα τα οραματα των ενυπνων = those visions of dreams [which the Most High will do, etc.]. All the Versions seem to have read the direct accusative here; but a preposition is desiderated. Volk. suggests that κατά has been corrupted to ταύτα. This is probably right.

r (vs. 59): unto the dwellers upon earth: Lat., his qui inhabitant super terram = ρουκαροιξοαριβει αρμ ινες (Hilig.).

s (vs. 59): in the last days: Lat., α (v.l. in) novissimis diebus = απ ο των σκηνων της γεν γεν, i.e., as Volk. explains from the last days to the End (το τελος)—from the beginning of the last period that precedes the End.
PART II

The chapters that follow are drawn from three main independent sources, viz.—

A ( = Adlergusicht), the Eagle-Vision, ch. 11–12;
M ( = Menschensohn), the Son of Man Vision, ch. 13;
E = the Ezra-legend, ch. 14.

THE FIFTH (EAGLE) VISION
(10 60–12 35) (A)

(a) THE VISION AND ITS INTERPRETATION

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 upon 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

* See further below. The Eagle-Vision has been excerpted by R. from a book of dream-visions, which is otherwise not extant.
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, which, with a man's voice, upbraided the Eagle for his tyranny and cruel oppression, and announces his coming destruction:

\begin{quote}
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!
\end{quote}

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. (11:45-48)

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 (12:19, 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 (12\(b\)-\(n\)).

(b) **THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VISION.**

As Kabisch has pointed out, the characteristic conceptions that come to expression in A mark it out as distinct from the other sources embodied in our Book. Its outlook on the world, and its special interests are altogether different. The outstanding fact that engages and obsesses the apocalyptist's thought is the overwhelming might and extent of the Roman Empire. The entire world is groaning under its oppressive yoke, and its overthrow will mean the refreshment and liberation of creation. Whereas S regards the present world as essentially corrupt, and fixes his gaze and his hopes on the incorruptible Age that is to succeed it, and is to bring in life and immortality, the hopes of A are essentially political, and concentrated on the present world. The decisive moment will strike when the oppressive world-power shall shortly be overthrown. In S. it is according to God's ordinance that the present evil world remains under the dominion of the unbelieving and godless; goodness can only triumph after the dissolution of the present order. But to the author of the Eagle-Vision the subject of judgement is not the godless among mankind in general, but the Roman Empire in particular. The divine judgement will be consummated by its overthrow and dissolution. The author of A is no cosmopolitan philosopher, but, as Kabisch rightly points out, a Jewish particularist. The unit in his conception is not the individual man, but the people, the nation; it is the divinely chosen nation of Israel that is confronted by the panoplied wickedness and godlessness of imperial Rome.

Another point that arises in this connection is: what is the original significance of the Lion in the Vision? It might be argued that if the Eagle symbolises an Empire, the Lion also, on the analogy of Daniel, ought to symbolise the Messianic Kingdom, rather than the Messiah. But in the interpretation of the Vision the Lion of Judah is expressly said to be the Messiah . . . who shall spring from the seed of David (12 \(n\)). If the Messianic Kingdom were intended, the symbolism (after the analogy of Daniel) would demand a man rather than an animal. Moreover the Lion does not devour the Eagle here, but annihilates him, apparently with the breath of his mouth, which suggests the personal Messiah, for whom Lion of the House or tribe of Judah was a traditional designation (cf. Gen. 49 \(^9\) and Rev. 5 \(^8\), Heb. 7 \(^14\), etc.). It is the Messiah here who judicially reproves and rebukes the Eagle for all his unrighteousness and oppression, and who destroys him and then sets up the kingdom of righteousness (12 \(n\), \(n\)). Herein lies an important difference between A and those parts of the book (E and R), where the Messiah appears at the end of a long period of stress and travail, during which the forces of wickedness largely destroy themselves or are destroyed by great physical and natural convulsions; when, after all this, the Messiah does appear to set up a temporary Messianic kingdom and "rejoice" the survivors, his rôle is essentially a passive one. His part is unimportant, and all might have happened without his intervention. Moreover in E the apocalyptist is thinking of the world at large rather than of the Roman Empire in particular.
But in the Eagle-Vision attention and hope are concentrated on one course of action which is essentially political. Rome is to be forced to give up the hegemony of the world to the Messiah; the other nations of the world do not, as such, take any active part in the contest; Messiah’s victory simply means the annihilation of imperial Rome.

Another important question that arises at this point is: what view of the End is taken or implied in the original Vision? Is a future Age of felicity and incorruption following the final Judgment contemplated by the original writer? A close examination of the language makes it clear that the critical division which marks the transition from the present Age (תֵּחַלֶּה) to the future Age (תֵּחַלֶּה נַחֲוָה), as these are conceived by the original writer, comes with the annihilation of the Eagle. Thus in 11* we read: And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgment and mercy of him that made her. Now, as Kabisch has pointed out, judgement and mercy here cannot denote the last Day of Judgement, which, according to the eschatology of S. and E., is to terminate the present order, but the term here is probably a translation of the Heb. mishpāṭ, and suggests the just and mild rule of the theocratic king, i.e., God himself. The overthrow of the Roman Empire by the Messiah is to be followed by the Rule of the Sovereignty of God. To suppose that this theocratic kingdom is itself to be terminated by a world-catastrophe and the final Judgement is a natural inference, perhaps, for one who desires to combine the different eschatological elements into one system. This, in fact, is what R. has done in 12**. But it does not accord with the language and conceptions of the original vision. In A the End of the present evil Age is expressly identified with the disappearance of the Eagle (cf. 11* f.):

Then the Most High regarded his times—
and lo! they were ended;
and his ages—
(and) they were fulfilled.
Therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle).

Thus, according to A, the end of the first or present Age marks the downfall of heathen rule; the Age that follows is that of the Jews under the rule of God. This eschatological view was cultivated in Zealot circles among the Jews of the 1st cent. A.D. in opposition to the dualistic and transcendental view (represented in S).

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. 12* and notes). 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 12* and 12** (see notes ad loc.). 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. One indication of this is that the interpretation embodied in 12* of 19** does

*Cf. with this the description of the fall of Rome at the hand of Christ in the Apocalypse of St. John (Rev. 19*).
not always harmonize with the contents of the Vision itself. Thus the allegorical interpretation (in 12 17-18) of the voice proceeding from the midst of the Eagle's body is somewhat artificial, and was probably evolved at a time subsequent to the composition of the vision itself. Further the distribution of the eight under-wings (four to be kept till the dissolution of the Empire approaches: 12 43) is different from that in the original Vision (cf. 11 44-51). These phenomena plainly point to revision. It was necessary as time went on to bring the original vision up to date. All interpreters practically are agreed that the three heads represent the three Flavian Emperors, Vespasian and his two sons Titus and Domitian. The Vision in its original form may therefore have been produced either at the end or shortly after the close of Domitian's reign (96–97 A.D.). If, as seems probable, the Editor (R.) did not compose and publish his book till the reign of Hadrian (say not before A.D. 120), some revision and re-adjustment would, obviously, have become necessary. It is possible that this process had already begun in the text of the vision and its interpretation before these were incorporated by R., and was carried still further by R. himself. It is not improbable then, as we shall see, that to R. some of the work of readjustment may plausibly be attributed.

The whole vision is clearly much influenced by, if it is not actually based upon, Daniel 7. The identification of the Eagle with the fourth kingdom of Daniel 7 is an interesting case of the re-interpretation of prophecy. It is also interesting to note that this identification is spoken of in our vision as something new. Cf. 12 11, 18: the Eagle . . . is the fourth Kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel: but it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee, or have interpreted—though, as Violet remarks, this last clause about its interpretation certainly reads like an old gloss. The same interpretation of the fourth kingdom is given or implied also in Josephus (Ant. x. 11, 7), in Ap. Bar. xxxix (And after these things a fourth Kingdom shall arise whose power shall be harsh and evil far beyond those that were before it, etc.), in Rev. 13, and in the Talmud (Ab. zara 1b: where Dan. 7 22 is cited by R. Johanan (bar Nappaha) (? 180–279 A.D.), who says "Rome is thereby meant"). In Mekilta 71b (cf. Sifre 135a) it is said that the four kingdoms (Babylon, Media, Greece and Rome) were revealed in trance to Abraham (Gen. 15 18).

With the Eagle-Vision should be compared the fountain and forest vision of the Ap. Bar. (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.

* So, too, according to the Targ. Jerus. in Gen. 15 18, the four kingdoms of the world which were to arise were revealed (in trance) to Abraham (in Targ. Jer. I these are identified with Babylon, Media, Greece, and Persia; in Targ. J. II with Babylon, Media, Greece and Rome). The division into four epochs was one of the traditional ways of dividing the history of the world. Cf. also I Enoch. lxxxi. 59 ff.; and see further Volz., p. 168; Bousset 2, p. 283 f.
As already mentioned, the internal evidence—on the assumption that the three heads represent Vespasian and his two sons—suggests some time in the reign of Domitian as the date for the composition of the original Vision. Kabisch suggests a date soon after the introduction of the fiscus judaicus in 90 A.D.; others prefer a somewhat later year, 96–97 A.D. It is, however, possible that the original vision was composed in the reign of Vespasian (69–79 A.D.). The three heads in the Vision are represented as, in a certain sense, reigning together. This would be a natural representation during the reign of Vespasian with whom Titus was associated as a colleague in the government of the Empire, while the younger son, Domitian, was constantly in the public eye. It is true the latter did not share the responsibilities of government with his father as his brother Titus did. But he took a prominent part with his father and brother in their joint triumph, after the close of the Jewish war. The language of the vision regarding the disappearance of the middle head is vague (11 *) and may originally have been pure prediction; and the same remark applies to the language of vv. 34–35, which may merely reflect the popular expectation that Domitian would ultimately get rid of his brother by foul means. It may be noted that Rev. 17 which in veiled language predicts the approaching fall of Rome (by an assault conceived as led by the beast that is to ascend out of the abyss, i.e., Nero, risen from the underworld, who will come and, with the aid of the Parthians, take vengeance on the City that has forsaken him) may date from Vespasian's reign (cf. Rev. 17 *10: five of the seven kings are already fallen, i.e., the Emperors from Augustus to Nero are already dead). The reign of Vespasian was a time especially distinguished by portents of various kinds, which corresponded to a widespread feeling of forebodings of crisis. An interesting symptom of the prevalent feeling and unrest may be seen in the fact that in the last days of Vespasian there arose in Asia Minor a pseudo-Nero, Terentius Maximus, who found many adherents in the region of the Euphrates. He was supported by the Parthians, who actually contemplated reinstating him in Rome by force, but at length surrendered him, after long negotiations, about the year 88, to Domitian.*

I. THE VISION
(11–12 *) (A) (R)

60 So I slept "that night and the following" as he had commanded me.

1 And it came to pass the second night that I saw

a (vs. 60): that night and the following (so Lat., Ethiop.) = εκείνην τὴν νύχτα καὶ τὴν αλλήν: Syr. (? omitting εκείνην . . . καὶ): the other night.

b (vs. 1): I saw a dream := εἶδον εὐνυμίαν: same phrase Dan. 7 *(Aram. ἰδεῖς ἡμέρας): a dream-vision (not merely a dream) is meant: cf. in the dream-visions of Enoch i. the phrase I saw with mine eyes as I slept (lxxvii. 1).

A DREAM: AND LO! THERE CAME UP FROM THE SEA AN EAGLE WHICH HAD "TWELVE FEATHERED WINGS," AND "THREE HEADS." AND I BEHELD, AND LO! 'HE SPREAD HIS WINGS OVER THE WHOLE EARTH, AND ALL THE

bb (vs. 1): from the sea: cf. Dan. 7 (and four great beasts came up from the sea): Rev. 13 (And I saw a beast coming up out of the sea): 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 apocalypticist's thought here. It is clear that the (perhaps contemporary) apocalyptic writers of Rev. 13 and our chapter both identified the fourth beast of Dan. 7 with Rome: cf. esp. 4 Ezra 12.

c (vs. 1): an eagle. The eagle of the following vision undoubtedly represents the Roman Empire: in Ezekiel's riddle (Ezek. 10) the King of Babylon is symbolized by a great eagle with great wings and long pinions, full of feathers: cf. Jer. 48, 49. The symbolism was particularly appropriate to Rome whose military emblem was the eagle.

c (vs. 1): twelve feathered wings: Lat., duodecim alae pennarum = ἐφευρύσας φτεράς (Volk.): all the other versions have wings only, and this may be right. For the twelve wings cf. additional note at end of chapter.

d (vs. 1): 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. 7.

e (vs. 2): And I saw, and lo: so Syr. Lat., and I saw (so Ar.): Ethiop., Ar. Arm. omit (throughout Ethiop. usually omits vidi et ecce).

f (vs. 2): he spread his wings: Lat., expandebat alas suas = ἐφευρύσας φτεράς: so Syr., Ar. But Ethiop. interprets he flew with his wings (cf. Arm., ἐπλησσάς αὐτοῖς τος ὀριφάδεα): cf. Jer. 48, 49 [of King of Babylon]. There is a possible, but doubtful reference to the wings of the Eagle (= Rome) in Assump. Mos. x. 8 (And thou Israel shalt be happy and shalt mount upon the neck and wings of the eagle) Cf. Charles' note ad loc.

g (vs. 2): over: so Ar., Arm. but Lat. has in (omnia terram) = in (the whole earth): so Syr., Ethiop. The context, however, shows that the translation over is right.

h (vs. 2): all the winds of heaven blew on him: cf. 13 and Dan. 7 (the four winds of heaven forth upon the great sea).

* The eagle is not the traditional monster (θηρίον) associated with the sea in myth. This suggests that its ascent from the sea here is intended in a purely historical sense. It must, of course, not be forgotten that the sea had mythological associations, which belonged to the Apocalyptic tradition in its most ancient forms (see Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos passim).

† In Dan. 7 the lion with eagle's wings = the Babylonian Empire.
WINDS OF HEAVEN BLEW ON HIM, AND (THE CLOUDS) WERE GATHERED TOGETHER (UNTO HIM). AND I BEHELD (AND LO!) OUT OF HIS WINGS THERE GREW ANTI-WINGS; AND THEY BECAME WINGS PETTY AND SMALL. "BUT" HIS HEADS "WERE AT REST;" THE MIDDLE HEAD WAS GREATER THAN THE OTHER HEADS, "YET IT" RESTED WITH THEM. AND I BEHELD, AND LO! THE EAGLE FLEW WITH HIS WINGS "TO REIGN OVER THE EARTH AND OVER THEM THAT DWELL THEREIN. AND I BEHELD "HOW" ALL THINGS UNDER

i (vs. 2): (the clouds) were gathered together (unto him): Lat. (nubes ad eum) colligeabantur: the bracketed words have accidentally fallen out of the Latin, but are attested by all the other Versions except Arm. (Ar., nubes caelo, unto him (φιλο αυτος) may be against him.

j (vs. 3): (and lo!): so Ar.⁴, but other Versions omit, probably by mistake (so Volk.).

k (vs. 3): out of his wings there grew anti-wings: Lat., et de pennis, ejus nascenbantur contrariae penna = και στην πτερυγα (Volk. πτερων) αυτου αντι φυση πτερυγα (Volk. εγγυμναντο αντιπτερα); for contrariae penna the other versions have little wings = πτερυγα, which Ethiop. renders heads (cf. πτερυγαν = summit, extremity. Matt. 4: and so head). The Syr. has out of his wings there grew small and little and petty wings (running last part of the vs. into the first clause: so Ar.⁴). If the Lat. is right the Greek may have been antipterion = ? ἡλικης πτερον (the Heb. may have distinguished between the two sets of wings by using כב and רון, with the suggestion that the latter were inferior and subordinate): as πτερον = βασιλευς, so antipterion would = antibasilus (so Volk.). Usurpers or military commanders who might prove to be dangerous rivals to the Emperors are apparently meant.

l (vs. 3): and they became wings petty and small: Lat., et ipsae sesebant in penna = και αυτα συνηγμα εις πτερυγα λεπτα και μικρα (Hilg.) ελαχιστα και μετρα (Volk.) = ? μη μεγα της αντι πτερα (εις εις P.B.H. = little, petty, small): they are short-lived and powerless.

m (vs. 4): But = [ει] de [κεφαλη]: so all the Versions except Lat., which has nam (cf. 4: note for nam = δε); cf. also 11:12; 12, 16, 17, 24; 13:46.

n (vs. 4): were at rest: Lat., erant quiuescentia = ηνων κεναζωναι (Hilg.).

o (vs. 4): yet it = Lat., sed et ipsa = αλλα και αυτη (sc. η κεφαλη).

p (vs. 5): flew: Lat., volavit = errat (Hilg.): so Ar.⁴: Syr. has commanded (misreading φη: so Hilg.): As.⁴, spread out (his wings): cf. Arm. and Ethiop.

q (vs. 5): with his wings: Lat., in pennis suis = τοις πτεροις αυτου (Hilg., who remarks that penna in this version = πτερων).

r (vs. 5): to reign: Lat., ut regnaret: so all the other Versions (but Ar.¹ doubtful): Hilg. (strangely) και εβασιλευεν.

s (vs. 6): how: Lat., quomodo = τως (Hilg.): ? original reading ως (= ? ως).
HEAVEN WERE SUBJECT UNTO HIM, AND NO ONE SPAKE AGAINST HIM—NOT EVEN ONE OF THE CREATURES UPON EARTH.⁷

⁷ AND I BEHELD, AND LO! THE EAGLE "ROSE" UPON HIS TALONS, "AND UTTERED HIS VOICE" TO HIS WINGS, SAYING:⁸

⁸ "WATCH NOT ALL AT ONCE: SLEEP EVERYONE IN HIS PLACE, AND WATCH BY COURSE:"⁹ BUT LET THE HEADS BE PRESERVED FOR THE LAST. ¹⁰ AND I BEHELD, AND LO! THE VOICE PROCEEDED NOT FROM HIS HEADS, BUT FROM THE MIDST OF HIS BODY. ¹¹ 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.

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¹ (vs. 6): not even one of the creatures upon earth: Lat., neque unus de creatura quae est super terram = οὐδὲ εἷς τῆς κτίσεως τῆς ἐν τῇ γην (Volk.): i.e., one of the beings created (Violet, οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων).

¹¹ (vs. 7): rose [upon his talons]: Lat., surrexit [super unges suos], i.e., erected himself. Cf. the phrase, rose (stood up) upon the feet, 5:16; 6:15, 17; 10:30, 33.

v (vs. 7): uttered his voice: Lat., misit vocem = ἀφηκε φωνή = ὄρην (Gunkel).

vv (vs. 7, end): Syr. (against all the other Versions) adds: Go rule over the whole earth. But remain quiet now (? an explanatory gloss).

w (vs. 8): Watch not all at once: sleep everyone in his place, and watch by course (lit., by season): 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 καιρὸν) and in succession; all are not to be awake at once.

x (vs. 11): his anti-wings: Lat., contrarium penas ejus: Syr., the little wings: Ethiop., those heads (= τὰ πτερυγια): see note k above.

l (vs. 11): eight. Gunkel remarks that the special mention of the number at this point is strange; why not before (in vs. 3)? But the eight anti-wings seem to have belonged to the original vision (see introduction to the section).

m (vs. 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: cf. also 11:10, note h.

n (vs. 12): one wing: Lat., una penna = έν πτέρυγα: if pairs of wings were in the original writer's thought here we should expect the first wing (Heb. ? אֲהַבָּל צְפַל). Possibly something like this
AND IT CAME TO PASS THAT, AFTER IT HAD REIGNED, IT CAME TO ITS END AND DISAPPEARED, SO THAT THE PLACE 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 FIRST. AND LO! A VOICE SOUNDED WHICH SAID TO IT: HEAR, THOU THAT HAST BORNE RULE OVER THE EARTH SO LONG A TIME: THIS I PROCLAIM UNTO THEE BEFORE THOU SHALT DISAPPEAR— AFTER THEE SHALL NONE BEAR RULE (THE LENGTH OF) THY TIME, NAY NOT EVEN THE HALF OF IT! THEN THE THIRD LIFTED ITSELF UP AND HELD THE RULE.
NOTHING WAS LEFT IN THE EAGLE’S BODY 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: but four remained in their place.  

And I beheld, and lo! These under-wings thought to set themselves up and to hold the rule.  

And I beheld, and lo! One was set up, but immediately disappeared; a second also, and this disappeared more quickly than the first.  

And I beheld, and lo! The two that remained thought also

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 68 A.D.) and Nymphidius (a few months later) is referred to. Both were active in the last months of Nero’s reign.

k (vs. 24): detached (or divided) themselves: Lat., divisa (v.l. divisae) sunt = ομορρυθσαν (Hilg.), ομορρυθσαν (Volk.). This representation is inconsistent with the gloss (upon the right side) in vs. 20.

l (vs. 24): and remained: so Lat. (et manserunt), Ethiop. (cf. Arm.): but Syr. went and were set up (Gunkel adopts this). The following clause, however (but four remained in their place) confirms the correctness of the Latin.

m (vs. 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, (69 A.D.). 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). Frörer suggests Agrippa II and Berenice, who went over to the Romans and were in favour with the Flavian family.

n (vs. 25): these under-wings: Lat., hae subalares = ῥαυτα τα υποπτερυγια (cf. Volk.): or, possibly, τα αντίπτεργια (= contrariae penae; cf. vs. 3): Syr., those four little wings.

o (vs. 26): one was set up . . . disappeared: probably Galba is meant.

p (vs. 27): a second . . . disappeared more quickly than the first: perhaps Galba’s colleague (for a short time) is meant, viz., Piso. Both perished on the same day. Or Galba and Otho (perhaps more probably) are meant.

q (vs. 27): the two that remained: perhaps Civilis (died June, 69) and Vitellius (died Dec., 69).
IN THEMSELVES TO REIGN; AND WHILE THEY WERE THINKING THUS, LO! 'ONE OF THE HEADS THAT WERE AT REST'—IT, NAMELY, THAT WAS IN THE MIDST—AWOKE; FOR THIS ONE WAS GREATER 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 TO HAVE REIGNED. THIS HEAD 'BARE RULE OVER THE WHOLE EARTH,' AND 'EXERCISED LORDSHIP OVER' THE DWELLERS THEREIN WITH MUCH OPPRESSION; ['AND 'IT WIELD MORE POWER' OVER THE INHABITED WORLD THAN ALL THE WINGS THAT HAD BEEN'.] AND AFTER THIS

r (vs. 29): while they were thinking thus: Lat., in eo cum cogitarent = ev τῷ λογιζομένῳ αὐτῷ (Hilg.). Ar. omits: Syr, adds to rule over the earth, I beheld.

s (vs. 29): one of the heads that were at rest: Lat., unum de quiescentium capitum (Violet): imitating the Greek construction with ἀναίω = de (Violet).

t (vs. 30): how: Lat., quomodo: cf. note s on vs. 6.

u (vs. 30): it allied with itself (lit., joined with itself): Lat., complexa est...secum = συνεπελεξα...μεθ' αυτης (Volk.) Heb. היבאר 'ים.

u (vs. 32): bare rule over the whole earth: Lat. (Violet), percontenuit omnem terram = διεκρατησεν νασαν την γην. The other versions seem to have read ἐκρατησε (= bare rule, Heb. מושל; cf. vs. 13, note r). [The reading percontenuit has a number of variants in the MSS.; viz., percontervit (n altered to r), perterruit (MN.), etc.: (see Violet): Volkmar adopts percontervit and retranslates συνεφοβησε*: but all the other versions imply ἐκρατησε.]

v (vs. 32): exercised lordship over: Lat., dominavit = εκείνωες: so Ar. : but Syr. humiliavit, Ethiop. υσανις (cf. Ar. and Arm.) = ἐκείνωσε, i.e., afflicted, oppressed, ground down. This may be right (it is adopted by Gunkel, who renders "drangsalierete ").

w (vs. 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.

x (vs. 32): it wielded more power...than (lit., it held the power [over the inhabited world] more than): Lat., potentatum tenuit...super = δυναστευειν σειστη...συνειν (Hilg.).: συνεστειν (Volk.).

* A.V.: put the whole earth in fear: Hilg, suggests that the Lat. read ἐκφοβησε, beat, struck, smote = percontrivit (conteruit = contrivit). This is decidedly ingenious.
I beheld, and lo! the middle head **suddenly** disappeared, y even as the wings. But there remained the two heads which also reigned over the earth, and over the inhabitants therein. And I beheld, and lo! "the head upon the right side devoured that which was upon the left." * Then I heard a voice, which said unto me: * "Look before 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: * "Hear thee Eagle*—I will talk with thee; the Most High saith to thee: * Art thou not it that remainest of * the four beasts * which

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**xx (vs. 33):** suddenly: so Lat., Syr.; but other versions omit.

**y (vs. 33):** even as the wings: Lat., et hoc sicut alae = καὶ τοῦτο καθὼς οἱ πτερυγεῖς (Hilg.): so Syr., but other versions omit καὶ τοῦτο apparently.

**z (vs. 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.

**a (vs. 36):** look before thee: Lat., conspice contra se = θεωρήσων εἰς τὸν σου (Hilg.) or εἰς τὸν σου.

**b (vs. 36):** what thou seest: so Lat., Ethiop., Ar. 1, Arm.; but Syr. adds (at the end, apparently reading τι βλέπεις το τέλος.

**c (vs. 37):** roused out of the wood: Lat., suscitatus de silva = εἰσέρχεται ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆς (Hilg.): εἰσέρχεται = Heb. נָּקָדֵר.

**d (vs. 37):** roaring: Lat., mugiens = wovouevos (Hilg.). Cf. 12: against: Lat., ad = πρὸς (cf. vs. 2, note 1 above).

**e (vs. 37):** he uttered a man's voice: Lat., emisit vocem hominis: cf. 11, note v.

**f (vs. 37):** against: Lat., ad = πρὸς (cf. vs. 2, note 1 above).

**g (vs. 38):** thou Eagle: so Syr.; but Lat. and other versions omit (Ar. 1 and Arm. add me after hear).

**h (vs. 39):** the four beasts: cf. Dan. 7: the Eagle here is identified with the fourth beast of Daniel 7, as in the interpretation below (4 Ezra 12:11).

**i (vs. 39):** which I made to reign in my world: Lat., quae feceram

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* Up to this point the vision has been concerned, in veiled language, with the past; from vs. 36 onwards it is a prophecy of what is expected to take place in the near future (though it is possible that the language of prediction really begins with vs. 33: see p. 249 above).
I made to reign in my world, that the end of my times might come through them. Thou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome all the beasts that are past;

Thou hast wielded power over the world with great terror,

and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression;

Thou hast dwelt so long in the civilized world with fraud,

and hast judged the earth, but not with faithfulness.

For thou hast afflicted the meek, and oppressed the peaceable.

regnare in saeculo meo = a θυταισα μισελευνη. The Greek is ambiguous; the words made to reign may be simply causative, or interpreted which I created in order that they might reign (so Ar. cf. Syr., Ethiop.). Gunkel renders: "die ich bestimmt hatte, dass sie . . . herrschte." Violet suggests αρχην του αιωνον μου as Greek.

j (vs. 39): the end of my times: so Lat., but Syr., Ethiop., Ar. and Arm., of the times (Ar. of all times).

k (vs. 40): Thou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome: cf. Syr., Thou, however, art come as the fourth and hast overcome: the second person (vocative of address) is supported also by Ar. Ar. and Armenian: Ethiop. has third person: and when he came as the fourth, he overcame: so Lat., et quartus veniens devicit (v.l., dejecti): Violet emends to devicisti (R.V. renders = and the fourth came and overcame, etc.).

l (vs. 40): thou hast wielded power over the world: so Syr. (cf. Ar. Ar. Arm.) = και ετυμωσενας τον αιωνα: Lat. has, et potentatum tenens saeculum. (Ethiop. also has third person.)

m (vs. 40): and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression: Lat., et omnem orbem cum labore pessimo = και αρχην τον κοσμον συν πονης μεσχιστη (Volk.); or orbem may = κυλων.

n (vs. 40): Thou hast dwelt: so Syr. (cf. Ar. Ar. Arm.) = θησυνησεν τον αιωνα: Ethiop., third person: Lat., inhabitabamti, to be emended to inhabitabas with Violet.

o (vs. 4): (but) not with faithfulness: Lat., non cum veritate = ουκ εν αληθει.

p (vs. 42): thou hast afflicted: Lat., tribulasti = ἐθλψει : Syr., thou hast plundered and robbed (cf. Ar. prædasti : Arm. diripuisti): Ethiop. has third person (he has oppressed).

q (vs. 42): oppressed: Lat., laessisti = ἦθυναιas: Ar. hast punished (Ethiop. keeps third person).

r (vs. 42): the peaceable: Lat., quiescentes = ἦσυχον (Volk.).
THOU HAST HATED "THE UPRIGHT,"
AND LOVED LIARS;
THOU HAST DESTROYED "THE STRONGHOLDS" "OF THE 
FRUITFUL,"
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."
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.

And it came to pass, while the lion spake these things:

a (vs. 45): shalt thou disappear: Lat., non appares; non appareas = अपारणि (अपारणि) अपारणि (अपारणि); Arm., pereundo peribis (cf. Ar.): a possible Heb. equivalent would be יָבֹא יָבֹא (Yaboa Yaboa). [Appareas is an old form of the fut. indic. like doceam, etc. Cf. Bensly, M.F., p. 16.]

b (vs. 45): thy horrible wings: Lat., alae tuae horribiles = αυτικρυπτα (Heb., sha'aroth or sha'arurah): Syr. has thy highest wings (as opposed to the little evil wings that follow): Ethiop., thy sinful wings (Arm., alae inutiles): (all paraphrasing).

c (vs. 45): thy little wings most evil: Lat., pennacula tua pessima = παντοκράτυς (Hilg.). According to the course of the vision, as previously described, only two little wings now remain.


e (vs. 45): thy hurtful talons: Lat., ungues tuæ pessimi = ἐνασφαλέτα (Hilg.). The other versions paraphrase: hateful and wicked (Syr.), unrighteous (Ethiop., Arm.), wicked, evil (Ar. 1, Ar. 2).

f (vs. 45): and all thy worthless body: Lat., et omne corpus tuum = και το σώμα σου το αφρόν (Heb. יָבֹא יָבֹא (Yaboa Yaboa)): ominous = αφρόν (Volk.) probably. The other versions paraphrase: hateful and wicked (Syr.), unrighteous (Ethiop., Arm.), wicked, evil (Ar. 1, Ar. 2).

g (vs. 46): And so: lit., in order that (Lat., ut).


i (vs. 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 Heb. mishpat and means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is condemned and destroyed.

j (vs. 1): the lion (= o λέων); so all the versions except the Ethiop. which has the Compassionate one (= o ελεον).

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TWELVE WINGS

It has been assumed, as the result of the long critical discussion that has arisen on the point (see the introductory section to the Interpretation of the Vision that follows this note), that in the original vision the twelve wings of the Eagle represent the six Julian Emperors. One of the surest results of the critical discussion is that in the original vision the greater wings must represent the six Julian Emperors, beginning with Julius Caesar. The identification of the second ruler with Augustus (cf. II 14-17) is unmistakable, and makes the reckoning from Julius Caesar certain. Now if the rulers from Julius Caesar to Domitian are to be grouped into three divisions, the first division will inevitably include the six Julian Emperors down to Nero. With the death of the latter a period of anarchy begins marked by the rapid rise and fall of...
rulers, who failed to establish their power, and pretenders of various sorts. These will naturally form a well-defined group by themselves, and be denoted by the little wings. The powerful dynasty that followed (the Flavian) is confessedly represented by the three heads. To add to the first group any who naturally fall into the second, only leads to hopelessly obscuring the symbolical distinctions that stand out in the original vision itself. But how can twelve wings be made to represent six Emperors? Many scholars think that the wings were originally intended to be reckoned in pairs, and this may well have been the case in reference to the twelve large wings. In the case of the seraphim of Isaiah’s inaugural vision each seraph is represented as furnished with three pairs of wings, only one pair being used for purposes of flight. The representation by pairs is, therefore, quite a possible and natural one. If the language of the vision regarding the erection of the individual wings each rising (to reign), in turn, and then disappearing be held to exclude this view, another possibility has to be considered, viz., that the number of the large wings was originally six, and, when the vision was re-interpreted, was increased to twelve.

If, as some may be inclined to suspect, the number twelve was fixed in some way by tradition which the apocalyptic writer felt unable to alter, then the motive for interpreting the wings in pairs (in the original vision) would be a very strong one. In this way the apocalyptist could make the traditional number fit the numeration (six) he required. Such procedure could easily be paralleled from other parts of apocalyptic literature. But there seems to be no evidence which suggests the existence of such a traditional number of wings in connection with the Eagle. The number twelve often, of course, symbolizes completeness or perfection (e.g., the twelve tribes of Israel). But there is no reason to suspect that the choice of it in connection with our vision was due to anything but the manipulation for symbolical purposes of the writer of A or a later Reviser of A’s work.

II. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION

(Revised by R)

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 re-adjustment. 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. It is unnecessary to traverse this ground again, especially as the best elements in former solutions re-appear, with necessary modifications, in more modern discussions which have appeared since Dr. Drummond wrote. Three of these call for some mention here.

(1) In his valuable monograph, published in 1906 with the title

*If Galba, Otho and Vitellius are added (as later became traditional, and as, in fact, R. seems to have reckoned) we only secure a total of nine, not twelve.*
Le problème eschatologique dans le I Ve Livre d'Esdras, M. Léon Vaganay suggests that the present form of the vision has been interpolated by a late (3rd cent.) redactor, in order to bring its details up to date. In its original form the vision consists of 11 1-3, 4-8, 10-21, 33-44. The six wings on the right side (11 18-19) are Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero; the six wings on the left side (11 10-21: cf. Lat. and Ethiopic) are: Galba, Otho and Vitellius (whose reigns were short), and the three usurpers, Vindex (March, 68), Nymphidius (July–Oct., 68), and Civilis (June, 69). The three heads are Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.

The 3rd century redactor has added all that concerns the eight little or anti-wings (11 8, 10-11, 13-15, 12 1-3); and in this revised form the vision has been brought down to the year 218 A.D. The three heads are Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. The two little wings that survive the last head are Macrinus and Diadumenianus, the latter of whom was defeated by the general of Elagabalus in 218 A.D. In this form the hypothesis is a revival of that originally put forward by Le Hir and then by Gutschmid, and is open to the same objections. The omissions from the line of Emperors are arbitrary. But the fatal flaw is the hypothesis of large interpolation. Such an interpolation could only have been the work of a Christian editor; but it is impossible to suppose that a Christian redactor would have placed the appearance of the Messiah in 218 A.D. If revision by a Christian hand at all took place, it would have been far more distinctively Christian.

(2) Gunkel, on the basis of the doubtful reading upon the left side in 11 18, and understanding the wings there referred to to be six of the twelve greater wings, identifies the twelve wings with: Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero (these six on the right side): then (six on the left side), Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vindex, Nymphidius, and Piso. The three heads are the three Flavian Emperors. Gunkel does not attempt to identify the eight little wings—though the two last, he thinks, may be the governors of Syria and Egypt, Mucianus and Tiberius Alexander.

The fatal objection to this hypothesis is that it destroys the essential difference between the greater wings and the little wings: if Vindex, Nymphidius and Piso are reckoned among the former, what becomes of the distinction between great and small?

(3) A masterly discussion of the critical problems of the Vision is given by Wellhausen in his Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Heft VI (1899), pp. 241 f. Wellhausen rightly attributes the difficulties of historical interpretation offered by the present text to later revision. He accepts the hypothesis, first put forward by Volkmar, that the wings were originally intended to be reckoned as pairs.* Thus the twelve

* This reckoning by pairs is also accepted by Renan and Dillmann. In illustration of the representation Wellhausen compares Is. 6 1 f, Ezek. 1 4, 11. According to Philo the El of Byblos had six wings: in the extant sculpture they are three pairs. There is nothing forced or unnatural about such a representation. Moreover it seems to be implied as a possible method of interpretation by an old gloss in the Latin text of 12 3, where duae alas has preceding it quattuor (? to suggest two pairs of wings, i.e., four).
wings = the six Julian Emperors from Caesar to Nero: the three heads are the three Flavian Emperors. The little wings ought to represent rulers who exercised some authority during the interregnum between Nero (68 A.D.) and Vespasian (70 A.D.), i.e., Galba, Otho and Vitellius. It is in the case of the little wings that confusion has arisen, owing (as Wellhausen thinks) to the endeavour of an editor to prolong the period covered by the vision to a date later than Domitian. Originally there were six little wings which represented three pairs, viz., Galba, Otho and Vitellius. But the editor increased the number to eight, in order to allow of two to follow the disappearance of the last head. Hence he inserted two at the end of vs. 22 (And after this I beheld, and lo! the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings), and inserted vs. 11 (And I numbered his anti-wings and lo! there were eight). Thus the eight wings are reduced to six: in vs. 23 it is stated that now only the three heads and six little wings remained on the body of the Eagle. This vs. is in its original form. The following verse (vs. 24), which reduces the six wings to four by removing two to the right-hand head is an interpolation.

This theory of reckoning by pairs has been severely criticized by Kabisch, who points out that in the vision the Eagle is represented first of all as flying with all his twelve wings, and that it is only after he has taken a standing position—standing erect on his feet—that the wings erect themselves in succession. As this process is not for purposes of flight, but merely symbolical, the idea of the wings erecting themselves in a succession of pairs is out of place. But the difficulties of this reconstruction are especially apparent in the case of the little wings. Ex hypothesi the Editor who re-arranged the text intended these still to be reckoned by pairs. But in detail this breaks down. Thus in the present form of the text one pair disappears with the twelve wings (i.e., presumably at the end of Nero's reign): of the three pairs remaining one detaches itself and goes over to the right-hand head: this might represent Nerva. There are now two pairs (= four wings) left. These ought to represent ex hypothesi two rulers or usurpers. But in the text as it lies before us these four wings are, on any possible interpretation, made to represent explicitly at least three (and probably four) distinct individuals. The passage runs thus:

11 And I beheld, and lo! from the six little wings two detached themselves and remained under the head that was upon the right side: but four remained in their place. 12 And I beheld, and lo! these under-wings thought to set themselves up and to hold the rule. 13 And I beheld, and lo! one was set up, but immediately disappeared: 14 a second also, and this disappeared more quickly than the first. 15 And I beheld, and lo! the two that remained thought also in themselves to reign.

The passage goes on to describe how the middle head then awoke, and uniting with itself the two other heads did eat up the two under-wings that thought to have reigned. But though Wellhausen's solution thus breaks down in its application to the details of the little wings, it yet is essentially on right lines.
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 re-adjustment 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 120 A.D., 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 symbolic 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 (11*). 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. The present writer was at first inclined to suspect that the little wings had been added to the original vision. But in view of the fact that they have been grouped differently in the interpretation (cf. 12**: four to be kept for the time when its [i.e., the Empire's] time for dissolution approaches; contrast 11**), it is necessary to regard them as an integral part of the original vision. In its original form, then, the vision may date from the closing years of Domitian's reign (circa 95 A.D.).* But if the Editor did not incorporate it into his book—our Ezra-Apocalypse—till 120 A.D. 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

* Or possibly in some part of Vespasian's reign. (cf. p. 249).
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 re-interpreted 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 11 the words on the right side if not a gloss, are probably due to R. so also in 11 in turn (singulatim). In 11 the words on the right side (they are omitted in the Arabic Version) may be a gloss: and in 11 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. 12 the marks of revision are naturally more in evidence. Thus vs. 14 (in it twelve kings shall reign one after the other) we have the later interpretation clearly expressed. Coming to the 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].

The 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 12, 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 re-interpretation already set forth.

3 b Then I awoke by reason of great perplexity of mind 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.

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 affrighted this night. 6 Therefore will I now beseech the Most High, that he will strengthen me "unto the end."

7 And I said: O Lord, my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, "if I am justified with thee above many," 8 if my supplication in truth be come up before thy countenance'—9 strengthen me, and shew me, thy servant, the interpretation and distinct explanation of this fearful vision, that thou mayest completely comfort my soul! [9 For thou hast judged me worthy to shew me the end of the times and the last of the periods.]
10 And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. 11 The eagle whom thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. 12 [But it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted it]. 13 Behold the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth, and it shall be more terrible than all the kingdoms that were before it. 14 [In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other]; 15 And the second that shall reign he shall bear rule a longer

therefore, to the end of the world is out of place, and is due to R. (So Kabisch.)

e (vs. 10): of the vision: so one recension of the Lat., and the Syr., Ar. 1 and Arm.; another recension of the Lat. adds hujus, cf. Ethiop. (of this thy vision).
d (vs. 11): the eagle whom thou sawest: Lat. aquilam quam vidisti = ov eide aerov (Hilg.).
e (vs. 11): is the fourth kingdom that appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel: cf. Dan. 7 7 f.: so Syr. Ethiop. has in the dream for in vision (Ethiop., Ar. 1 omit in vision: Ar. 1, which thy brother Daniel the prophet saw; so Ar. 2, omitting the prophet). This is a particularly clear and interesting case of the way in which apocalyptic prediction was reinterpreted and re-applied. It is interesting to note that in the Talmud (T.B. Abódá Zārā 1b), Dan. 7", (i.e., the fourth kingdom) is interpreted of Rome.
f (vs. 12): but it was not interpreted unto him . . . it: so Lat. and Syr., on which Violet remarks: "this sentence in Syr. and Lat. looks like an ancient gloss." Ethiop. has but I did not interpret it unto him as I will now interpret it unto thee (cf. Ar. 1, Arm.).
g (vs. 13): Behold the days come: the exilic (or post-exilic) standpoint assumed for the seer is maintained.
h (vs. 13): a kingdom: Lat., regnum = here Βασίλεια.
i (vs. 13): and it shall be more terrible: Lat., et erit timoratio (so read with Bf. MSS., timoratio A., timor acritor S., timor CM.) = φοβερότερα (Hilg.) agreeing with Βασίλεια.
j (vs. 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 Cæsar 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.
k (vs. 15): and the second that shall reign: Lat., nam secundus qui incipiet regnare = o ο Βασίλειως η μελλων Βασίλειων.
l (vs. 15): he shall bear rule: Lat., ipsa tenebit = autes κρατησει (Hilg.): cf. 11 12, note r; also 11 14.
TIME "THAN (ANY OF) [the twelve]." 16 THIS IS THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TWELVE WINGS WHICH THOU DIDST SEE, 17 AND WHEREAS "THOU DIDST HEAR A VOICE" WHICH SPAKE, GOING OUT NOT FROM HIS HEADS, BUT FROM THE MIDST OF HIS BODY, THIS IS THE INTERPRETATION: 18 IN THE MIDST OF THE TIME OF THAT KINGDOM THERE SHALL ARISE "NO SMALL CONTENTIONS," AND IT SHALL STAND IN PERIL OF FALLING; NEVERTHELESS IT SHALL NOT THEN FALL, BUT SHALL BE RESTORED AGAIN TO RULE. 19 AND WHEREAS THOU DIDST SEE "EIGHT UNDER-WINGS GROW UP WITH HIS 

m (vs. 15): than (any of) [the twelve]: Lat., prae XII: prae here = prae (Volk.). The number 12 here reflects an hypothesis, the later interpretation.

n vs. 17: thou didst hear a voice: Lat., audistivocem (so Arm.): but Syr., Ethiop., Ar. have strangely thou didst see for thou didst hear (?) the immediately preceding which thou didst see accidentally repeated instead of the true reading: or it may be a recensional alteration to secure uniformity of diction. The detailed interpretation usually refers to some feature which has been seen [so Volk.].

o (vs. 17): from his heads: Lat., de capitibusejus: Syr., out of the head (read heads) of the eagle: Ethiop., Ar. (cf. Arm.) have sing. (out of his head).

p (vs. 17): this is the interpretation: so Lat., haec est interpretatio: but Syr., Ethiop., Ar. and Arm. have hoc est verbum = oveov εις: the matter is thus: cf. 10 *, note b: the same variation between the Lat. and the other versions occurs in vs. 19 below. Also in 13 33.

q (vs. 18): in the midst of the time of that kingdom: the Lat. has quoniam (= or Heb. ki before direct speech) post temporis regni illius: here post = after is a mistake resting on the confusion of uera with Aeratu (so Violet): the atter (ueraçu) is supported by the Syr. (cf. Ethiop.) and Arm., and is required by the context: Ar. 1, Ar. 3 have in the time. 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 (68–70 A.D.).

r (vs. 18): no small contentions: Lat., contentiones non modicae = epides ou μπρα (Hilg.): Syr., many divisions: Ethiop., much uproar: Ar. 1, confusion, upheaval, division: Arm., separations non paucae.

s (vs. 18): it shall stand in peril of falling: Lat., perichilabitur ut cadat = κυθνουσει πασει (Hilg.): Ar. 1, Arm. paraphrase.

t (vs. 18): to rule: Lat., in sumum initium = εις αρχην αυτης (misunderstood by the Lat.): so rightly Ethiop.: cf. Ar. 1, Arm. (in prima potestate): Syr., to the first beginning. [As Gunkel remarks this allegorical explanation of the voice proceeding out of the body of the Eagle does not altogether fit the material of the vision itself.]

u (vs. 19): eight under-wings grow up with his wings: Lat., subalares octo coherentes dis ejus = αυτης αυτης, ejus suum (or ναυστεργυς, cf. 11 33, note m), octo sumturta τας πτερυξιν αυτου (cf. Hilg.): cf. Arm. (pullulantes
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE [CHAP. 12

WINGS," THIS IS THE INTERPRETATION: 20 IN IT THERE SHALL
ARISE EIGHT KINGS, "Whose times shall be transient and
Years swift": 21 AND "Two of them shall perish when
The middle time (of the kingdom) approaches;" 2 AND
Four shall be kept for the time when its time for dis-
solution shall approach: 2 BUT "Two shall be kept
For the end." 22 And whereas thou didst see three
Heads resting, "This is the interpretation:" 23 In the

circa magnas alas ejus); cf. for the phraseology 4 10 (quae . . . tecum
coadulescuntia = τα συμφωνευα σου [Hilg.] but σα . . . συμβλαστήσαται
accord. to Wilamowitz): the Syr. also supports συμφωνευα here; but
Ethiop., Ar. 1 (cf. Ar. *) have go out = ἔξελθοντα (? another recension
due to revision).

v (vs. 20): whose times shall be transient and years swift: Lat.,
quorum erunt tempora levia et anni citati = ὥν εσοντα ει χρονοι
ελαφοι (or ψυλοι) καὶ οἱ καρποι (so Hilg. but Volk. τα ετη) ταξεις (but
Volk., οξα).

w (vs. 21): two of them shall perish when the middle time . . . ap-
proaches: i.e., two shall perish in the last days of Nero (? Vindex and
Nymphidius; cf. 11 23, note 1).

x (vs. 21): and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissol-
sion shall approach: Lat., quattuor autem servabuntur in tempore, cum
incipiet ad propriumquare tempus ejus ut finiamur = τεσσαρες δε τηρηθησονται
eis τον καιρον στε (or οποτε, cf. Syr. and Violet's note) μελλει εγγεζειν
ο καιρος αυνης τον συντελεισθαι (cf. Hilg.). Apparently four usur-
pers 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."* 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. 11 27 note p.). In the re-interpretation Galba, Otho
and Vitellius are included in the twelve large wings (Civilis could be
omitted as unimportant), thus involving the re-interpretation of the
four anti-wings.

y (vs. 21): two shall be kept for the end, i.e., till after the disappearance
of the third head: cf. 11 24, note m.

z (vs. 22): this is the interpretation: cf. vs. 17, note 8 above.

a (vs. 23): in the last days thereof (i.e., of the kingdom): Lat., in
novissimis ejus = ἐν τοις εσχατοις αυνης Hilg.).

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. I. ch. iii.
LAST DAYS THEREOF the Most High will raise up three kings; and they shall renew many things therein, and shall exercise lordship over the earth and over the dwellers therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them. Therefore are they called the heads of the eagle: for these are they that shall bring to a head his wickedness, and consummate his last end. 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

b (vs. 23): three kings = τρεῖς βασιλεῖς: so all the versions except the Lat., which has three kingdoms (τρεῖς βασιλείς—a misreading).

c (vs. 23): they shall renew many things therein: so Syr., Ethiop., Arm. (the latter omits therein): cf. Ar. 3, Ar. 4. The Lat. has sing., et renovabit in ea multa (and he, i.e., the Most High) will renew many things, etc.); but this must be corrected to the plural renovabunt = καὶ ανακαίνουσιν εν αὐτῇ πολλὰ (Hilg.). Therein (ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς βασιλείας) = in the rule or government (of the Empire). The statement would apply equally to the new period inaugurated by Vespasian or Trajan; in both cases the new régime consolidated and strengthened the Empire generally.

d (vs. 23): shall exercise lordship over the earth: Lat., dominabunt terram = καὶ κυριεύσουσι τῆς γῆς: cf. 11 33.

e (vs. 24): with much oppression above all those that were before them: this would apply with special point to Trajan and Lusius Quietus, who suppressed with great severity the Jewish rebellions of 116 A.D. and later; and also to Hadrian later.

f (vv. 24–25): Therefore are they called the heads (αἱ κεφαλαί) of the Eagle; for these are they that shall bring to a head (αἱ ανακεφαλαίωσιν) his wickedness: the word-play (head and bring to a head) is noticeable in the Greek; but there is no single equivalent in Hebrew of ανακεφαλαίωσιν, though the word-play might be secured with some expression combining ה_with a verb. The Syr. has renew = ανακαίνουσιν. Gunkel remarks that ανακεφαλαίωσιν is certainly an apocalyptic technical term: it serves to express the apocalyptic conception that both the wicked and good elements and forces that are now scattered and isolated will be concentrated each into a single force at the last crisis of the world's history. [Ethiop. paraphrases: for these the heads of the rule (or Empire) are also the ends of the rule.]

g (vs. 25): and consummate his last end: Lat., et qui perfectum novissima σῶμα = καὶ οἱ κυριεύσουσι τα σχῆμα αὐτοῦ (Hilg.).

h (vs. 26): one of them: Lat., quoniam unus ex eis: here quoniam = οὗ = Heb. ki before direct speech.

i (vs. 26): shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain: Lat., super lectum suum morietur et lamen cum tormentis = εἰς τὴν κλίμα αὐτοῦ απεθανεῖν καὶ ὀμοίος εν βασιλεία (Hilg.): Syr. and other versions render the last words as a circumstantial clause: while he is tormented. This
two who remain the sword shall devour them. 38 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. 39 And whereas thou didst see two under-wings passing over to the head that is upon the right side; "this is the interpretation." 30 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 hast seen. 31 And as for the lion whom thou didst see roused from the wood and roaring, and speaking to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness and all his deeds, as thou hast heard:" 32 This explanation of the description of the great head at rest is somewhat artificial, and may be due to R. It would certainly better suit the circumstances of Trajan's end than Vespasian's. Trajan died in Cilicia in 117, mortified by his half-successes and by the unrest in the East.

...
of the tribe of Judah is identified with the Root of David and = the Messiah. The Lat. has *hic est unctus = ovros eariv 0 xpiatos (so Syr., Arm.); Ethiop., *this is he whom*, etc. (So Ar. 1): *Ar. 3, this is the King.*

**ss (vs. 32):** *whom the Most High hath kept unto the end [of the days]:* i.e., the Messiah is already pre-existent in heaven (= the heavenly Messiah); but according to the next clause (in Syr. and other Oriental Versions) he is to spring (i.e., be born) of the seed of David (= the earthly Messiah). The heavenly Messiah *appears* or is revealed suddenly, but is not born. Prob. the clause is due to R., and is a harmonizing interpolation: see, however, Volz., p. 218 f.

**t (vs. 32):** *[of the days... and speak]:* there is a lacuna here in the Latin, which is supplied from the Syr.; cf. also Ethiop., Ar. 1, Ar. 3, Arm.

**u (vs. 32):** *who shall spring from the seed of David:* cf. Ps. Sol. 17 **8** (Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their King, the son of David). The mention of the Messiah's Davidic descent is characteristic of the national Messianic hope. Contrast the heavenly Messiah of the Similitudes of 1 Enoch.

**v (vs. 32):** *he shall reprove them for their ungodliness:* Lat., *et impie tates ipsorum arguet illos = kai taz asebias auton elughei autous:* cf. Syr. (*et arguet illos de impieitate eorum*), and Ethiopic, which also has sing. (*= twn asebian*); but Arm. has pl. (*impieties*), cf. Ar. 1, Ar. 3.

**w (vs. 32):** *rebuke them for their unrighteousness:* so Syr. (*et super maleficio eorum exprobabit illos*) = kai eti tη κακουργία αυτών επιμεικρηνία αυτοις (Hilg.): cf. Arm. 1 (*et de injustia ejus loquetur*). The Lat. (A) has *et de injustitis* (without a verb), taking the words with the previous clause [*he shall reprove them for their ungodliness*] and their *unrighteousness* (cf. R.V.): so Ar. 1; cf. Ar. 3. Other MSS. omit et; *so* Violet. Cf. 13 **7**.

**x (vs. 32):** *reproach them to their faces with their treacheries:* the Lat. has *et infliget coram ipsis spretiones eorum = και επιθυμει ενωσιν αυτων τα καταφρονματα αυτων* (Volk.): cf. 13 **7** (where *improperabit coram ipsis* has the same meaning). The Syr. has *set in order before them* = *εταπει την ενωσιν αυτων*: Ethiop., *heap up before them* = *επιθυμει ενωσιν αυτων* (cf. Volk.). The Greek equivalent of *spretiones eorum* is according to Volk., *ta καταφρονματα αυτων*, i.e., their contemptuous dealings (acts of defiance) against God (cf. R.V.).

But *τα αθετηματα αυτων* is also a possible equivalent; and in either case the Heb. original may have been *ma' at = act of treachery, unfaithfulness* (*αθετημα = ma' at,* 2 Chron. 36 **14**, LXX; *and καταφρονης = ma' at* in Ezek. 17 **80**, Symm.).
33. For at the first he shall set them alive for judgement; and when he hath rebuked them he shall destroy them."

[34. 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 Judgement, of which I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.\textsuperscript{25} This is 'the dream that thou didst see,' and this is its interpretation. \textsuperscript{26} Thou alone hast been found worthy\textsuperscript{27} to learn 'this mystery\textsuperscript{28} of the Most High.' Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book,\textsuperscript{29} and put 'them' in a secret place;\textsuperscript{30} and thou shalt teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest are

\textsuperscript{e} (vs. 35): the dream that thou didst see: cf. 11 \textsuperscript{1}, note b.

\textsuperscript{f} (vs. 36): thou alone hast been found worthy: Lat., tu ergo (v.l. autem) solus dignus jussisti = σὺ ἀρά μονος ἄξιος ἔθα (Hilg.): v.l. καὶ σὺ (so Syr., Ethiop., Ar. \textsuperscript{*}, Ar. \textsuperscript{*}).

\textsuperscript{g} (vs. 36): this mystery: Lat., secretum hoc = τὸ μυστήριον τούτῳ.

\textsuperscript{h} (vs. 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 (ἀποκρύφως) = 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. 8 \textsuperscript{28} (but thou, shut thou up the vision), 12 \textsuperscript{4} (seal the book even to the time of the end), cf. 12 \textsuperscript{5}; 1 Enoch lxxxi. 1, civ. 11–13: Assump. Moses I. 16, x. 11, xi. 1: cf. also 4 Ezra 14 \textsuperscript{28}, \textsuperscript{47} and notes there.

\textsuperscript{i} (vs. 37): them, i.e., the things so written (in a book).

\textsuperscript{j} (vs. 37): in a secret place: Lat., in loco abscondito = εἰς τὸν αὐτοκρόφων (Hilg.).

\textsuperscript{k} (vs. 38): thou shalt teach them to the wise of thy people. This statement implies that the apocalyptic tradition was consciously treasured in secret within apocalyptic circles long before the publication of the writings which gave literary expression to it. "These mysteries" are at first reserved for the elect only who are capable of comprehending them.

[As Kabisch points out, vv. 36–38 clearly form the conclusion of the Vision, which has been excerpted by R. from an earlier writing and embodied in our Book. The Vision was the last of a series of night (or dream) visions, which originally had no connection with S. and E. The phraseology is appropriate to dream-visions—e.g., the dream that thou didst see, all these things that thou hast seen. In the other visions of the book the disclosures are given mainly in the form of dialogue, and through the medium of the angel. The phrase employed is to be shown: cf. e.g., 8 \textsuperscript{44} (Thou hast already shown me a great number of the signs), and often. The Vision is also independent of ch. 14, because there Ezra is specially inspired to dictate the contents of 94 books, the writing down being accomplished by scribes. The book referred to in our passage was thus an independent apocalyptic writing which has been used by R. for the purposes of one excerpt only.]
ABLE TO COMPREHEND AND KEEP THESE MYSTERIES. \[39\] *But do thou remain here yet seven days more, that there may be shewn unto thee whatsoever it may please the Most High to shew thee.*

III. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION

(12 39b-48) (S)

The section that now forms the conclusion of the fifth vision is plainly a fragment of S.—it belongs to the framework of S.; clearly it has been placed in its present position by R. As will be seen, it forms the true conclusion to the former vision, that of the Heavenly Sion.

The opening words and he departed from me (vs. 39b) form the immediate continuation of 10 87, where they are appropriate as applied to Uriel. They cannot belong to the Eagle Vision (A), because there the seer receives the revelation direct from God, without any angelic intermediary. The following verses also are appropriate to the situation of Salathiel, living in the period of the exile when memories of Jerusalem and her last days were still vivid; they are equally inappropriate to the age of the historical Ezra who lived a century later. That the passage is the sequel to the fourth vision is also shown by the opening words of vs. 40: *And it came to pass when all the people saw that the seven days were past:* this must refer back to the direction given to the seer at the beginning of the fourth vision (9 88) to separate himself seven days, and go into the field of Ardat. It was after these seven days had elapsed and still Salathiel had not returned to the city (i.e., Babylon),* that the people became alarmed, and went out to seek him (i.e., prob. on the eighth day). Meanwhile at the end of the seventh day (cf. 9 87 i.) there followed the vision of the heavenly Sion. But according to 10 88-89, two more nights must have elapsed for the Eagle Vision, and the seer must have still been in Ardat on the ninth day—another proof that the Eagle Vision has been interpolated into the framework of S. by R.

\[1\] (vs. 39). The phraseology and contents of this verse clearly reveal the work of R. If it belonged to what precedes, the command in vs. 37 to write down the vision would be meaningless—the writing down would naturally come at the end of the series of revelations, as in fact it does in the original context and meaning of vv. 37-38. In vs. 39, however, the seer is bidden to remain here (i.e., in the field of Ardat) seven days more. This again is unsuitable to the representation of the vision of the heavenly Sion in S (9 88-10 87), which is obviously the climax of the Salathiel Apocalypse, no room being left for further revelations. This verse, then, is the work of R., who has composed and inserted it here in order to provide an interval of seven days between the fifth and sixth visions, in accordance with the scheme that prevails elsewhere in the Book.

\[8\] This fact shows that Ardat was thought of as in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon (cf. p. 6).
The passage is parallel to another which belongs to the framework of S., viz., 514-15: the similarity both in style and conception between the two passages is obvious. In both the people evince the greatest anxiety at the seer's continued absence from their midst: they fear that the last of the prophets left to them may have forsaken them: cf. in Ap. Bar. xxxiii, xxxiv, and similar passages, where Baruch reassures the people, who are uneasy at his proposed departure from them (to meditate in the ruins of the sanctuary at Jerusalem), by promising that he will return.

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, "all" "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 *alone* art left to us,
*as a cluster out of the vintage,*
*as a lamp in a dark place,*
*as a haven of safety for a ship in the storm.*

43 Are not the evils that have befallen us *sufficient (that thou shouldst forsake us also) ?* 44 If thou shalt forsake us, *how much better* had it been for us if we also had been consumed in the burning of Sion! 45 For we are not better than they who died there. And *they wept* with a loud voice.

46 And I answered them and said:
*Take courage,* *O Israel;*
be not sorrowful, *O House of Jacob!*
For you are remembered before the Most High, the Mighty One hath not forgotten you for ever. 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 our Sanctuary's humiliation.

Originally it is probable that 14 immediately followed 12 (see introductory section to 14 27-34). The section is as follows—

Our fathers were at the beginning strangers in Egypt, and they were delivered from thence. And (then) they received the Law of life, which they kept not, even as you also after them have transgressed (it). Then was a land given you for an inheritance in the land of Sion, but ye and your fathers have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which the Most High commanded you.

*f (vs. 47): for you are remembered before the Most High: Lat., est enim memoria vestri coram Altissimo = eis τον υμων εμεμνησθην του ουρανου (Hilg.). This indirect mode of expression (= God remembers you) is in accordance with the usage of later Jewish Literature, which strove to mitigate as much as possible anthropomorphic expressions as applied to God (so Gunkel). In contentiones (A.V. in temptation) = eis αγωνα (Hilg., Violet).

*g (vs. 47): hath not forgotten you: so Lat., non est oblitus vestri: Syr. renders doth not forget = ? ω μη επηλθη υμων (Hilg.).

*h (vs. 47): for ever: so Syr. = eis αιωνα: Lat. has in contentiones (A.V., in temptation) = eis αγωνα—an easy mistake. (So Hilg., Violet.)

*i (vs. 48): I have not forsaken you: so Lat., Syr., Arm.; but Ethiop., I will not forsake you (cf. Ar. 1).

*j (vs. 48): neither will I depart from you = ουδε μη εξελθην αφ υμων (Hilg.): cf. Ethiop., Ar. 1; but Syr., neque deserierunt vos. The Lat. has neque excessi a vobis (neither am I departed from you, R.V.).

+k (vs. 48): our: so Syr., Ethiop. (cf. Arm.): Lat., your (change of υμων to νυμων). [Some interesting variants occur in the Versions of this clause (to supplicate mercy for our Sanctuary's humiliation). For mercy (ελεος) Ar. 1 read τελος (to seek after the end and the fulfilment of its humiliation); and for sanctuary (αγωνα) Ethiop. read έοι (αγιαλιαμα).]

* One Ethiop. MS., forget you.
forasmuch as he is a righteous judge he took from you in due time that which he had bestowed: 33 And now ye are here

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.
For after death shall the Judgement come, and then shall the names of the righteous be made [manifest and the works of the godless declared.]

IV. REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SIXTH VISION
(12 49-51) (R)

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. 13), 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 vs. 49 (see notes below) the expression after these days must be due to R.

49 And now go every one of you to his own house, and 'after these days' I will come to you. 50 So the people went 'into the city,' as I had told them. 51 But I sat 'in the field' seven days, as he had commanded me: and I did eat only 'of the flowers of the field,' my food was of the herbs in these days.

i (vs. 49): after these days: viz., those mentioned in 12 29; 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.
m (vs. 50): into the city: so all the versions except Ethiop., which has into their houses.
n (vs. 51): in the field: sc. of Ardat (see ch. 9).
o (vs. 51): of the flowers of the field: so Lat., Syr. (Arm., of the flowers and herbs): Ethiop., of the fruit (of the field). Ar. paraphrases; cf. 9 31, note k.

THE SIXTH VISION
(The Man from the Sea)
(13 1-58) (M) (R)

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 peace-
able host, all who—whether from friendliness or fear—had not attacked
him.

The seer, awaking from his dream, prays that the vision may be inter-
preted 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.
The material employed by the apocalyptists is often extremely old,
and has been derived by the apocalyptic writer from a tradition which
was already ancient when he wrote. The meaning of certain details in
the fixed tradition which he uses is not always clear to the apocalyptic
writer himself. Hence the lack of adjustment in details between certain
features in the vision and the interpretation. We have already met
with a similar phenomenon in the case of the Eagle-Vision (ch.11–12).*
Thus here the rising of the Man from the sea is explained (vs.52) as
symbolical of the mysterious origin of the Messiah (my Son), and the
peaceable multitude as the lost ten tribes. There are also features in
the interpretation which have nothing corresponding to them in the
Vision itself—viz., the internecine war of the nations before they band
together against the Messiah (vs.31 f.) and the mention of the survivors,
who are found within my holy border, and whom the Messiah shall defend
(vv. 48–49). Some of these features may be interpolations by R.,
but it is more probable that he found them in the written source which
he used, and which contained the original vision together with a (later)
interpretation attached to it.† Thus the first point to be noted is that

* Cf. also Dan. 7: here the vision (vv. 1–14) only partially fits the
interpretation (vv. 17–18, 23–27). The possibility of the visions having
been actual experiences must not be excluded. See an excellent dis-
cussion of this point in F. C. Porter's, The Messages of the Apocaytptical
Writers (1909), p. 37 f., 127. The influence of an old tradition may
still have been powerful by way of suggestion in actual trance
experiences.

† The source which contained both the Vision and the original form
of the interpretation is denoted in this volume by M. (= Menschensohn,
the Son of Man Vision).
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 re-interpret the latter to suit later conditions.

**ORIGINAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VISION**

The Vision (vv. 1-13a) in its present form is clearly in a fragmentary state. The Man who rises from the heart of the seas (or the sea) immediately flies with the clouds of heaven. What is the significance of his rising from the sea? In what manner does he ascend and fly with the clouds of heaven? No answer to these questions is given in the Vision itself. The sea may here—as elsewhere in the Old Testament—be an echo of the old chaos (Tehom) myth, according to which the watery dragon of chaos Tiamat (= Heb. tehôm, the Deep) was overcome by the Divine Hero—by Jahveh himself, according to one form of the myth.* The rising of the Man from the troubled sea may then symbolize his victory, after conflict, over the watery dragon.† But this explanation hardly accords with the representation of other apocalyptic passages depending upon old tradition which speak of the sea as the home of the monster that is to be overcome by the divine power, and depict the monster itself as rising from the Sea. Thus in Dan. 7 the four great beasts come up from the sea (cf. Rev. 13 1, 4 Ezra 11 1). A more promising suggestion is Gunkel's that we have here a fragment of a star-god myth. The star-god; rises from the Sea, ascends to the heavenly mountain, annihilates his enemies with his scorching rays, and then founds his kingdom of peace. This may have been one form of the myth, though no positive evidence can be adduced in support of it. On the whole it is best to suppose that the Vision embodies a mixture of two originally distinct traditions: one of a Saviour who should rise out of the Sea; and another of one who should come in the clouds.| With the representation of the Messiah who, rising from the water, annihilates his enemies by fire may be compared Sib. Oracles iii. 72.

* Cf. e.g., Is. 51 10 with the introduction and notes in the writer’s Book of Isaiah, p. 256 f. See also Oesterley's Evolution of the Messianic Idea (1908), passim. The principal authority on the subject is Gunkel (Schöpfung und Chaos).
† So Oesterley, op. cit., p. 186 note.
‡ So Volz, p. 220 f. Gressmann (Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie, p. 354) regards the rising of the Man from the Sea as a secondary feature, borrowed from Dan. 7 1.
|| It is tempting in this connection to quote Numb. 24: 17 as it stands in LXX: a star shall arise out of Jacob and a man shall rise up out of Israel. Here the rising of the star and of the Man (= ? the Messiah) are juxtaposed.
where a fiery power is depicted as coming through flood to the land, and burning up Beliar (= Antichrist).*

But, further, what is the significance of the figure who is like unto a man and who flies with the clouds of heaven? At first sight it might seem probable that this figure is borrowed from the one like unto a son of man who flew with the clouds of heaven, cf Dan. 7:18. But a closer examination reveals the essential independence of the text of our Vision. It is noticeable that the descriptive term used in our passage is one like unto a Man or this Man (ille or ipse homo = the Man in Aramaic), not Son of Man (bar nāšā) as in Daniel.

This would be inexplicable if borrowing had taken place. Probably the use of both terms (in Daniel and 4 Ezra) depends upon old tradition. The author of Daniel apparently used the term one like unto a son of man, in contrast with the beasts who represent the world-empires, as a symbol for the people of Israel. But it does not follow that the figure like a Man (or Son of Man) has no individual or personal significance. On the contrary, it seems probable that one like unto a Son of Man is really a descriptive term for an angelic being—presumably Michael in the thought of the author of Daniel—who acts as Israel's representative and counterpart. The figure is thus both a symbol and a person. The author of Daniel probably borrowed this figure from tradition, from one form of which the Man of our vision was also derived. This Man or one like unto a Man is a heavenly being or an angel, who has been invested with attributes proper only to Jahveh himself. Thus, like Jahveh (Is. 19′), he rides upon the clouds, all beings tremble (cf. Ps. 104 32), or melt like wax (cf. Micah 1 4) before him. The carving out of the mysterious mountain recalls the eschatological cleaving of the Mount of Olives referred to in Zech. 14— an act appropriate only to a theophany, as there described. The fiery stream and flaming breath by which the Man destroys the attacking host may be paralleled by the mythic description of the Name of Jahveh in Is. 30:17 f.,† while the violent storm and the war against an innumerable host of men are conventional features in theophanic descriptions of Jahveh's coming in the end of the days;‡

The Man who has thus attained so fixed and secure a place in old tradition is originally the Cosmic Man—the "Urmensch"—who, endowed with supernatural gifts, fights and overcomes the monster of Chaos, and so liberates the Cosmos from the tyranny of Chaos. [See further, besides Gressmann as cited below, Volz., p. 214 f., 216 f.]

* But when the threatenings of the mighty God
Shall draw near, and a flaming power shall come
By billow to the earth, it shall consume
Both Beliar and all the haughty men
Who put their trust in him.

—(Terry's translation.)

† Behold the Name of Jahveh comes from far with
burning anger, and with heavy uplifted clouds
. . . and a tongue like a devouring fire;
His breath is like an overflowing torrent, etc.

‡ Cf. Gressmann, op. cit., p. 353, and his full discussion, pp. 349–358.
THE MESSIANIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MAN (SON OF MAN)

The idea of the heavenly being, who thus comes to view as a feature in old apocalyptic tradition, is the source of the conception of the heavenly Messiah—the Son of Man—of the similitudes of the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch xxxvii-lxx). We have already seen that the heavenly Son of Man of Dan. 7 was probably identified by the author of Daniel with Israel’s angel-prince, Michael; this angelic figure was later, it would seem, invested with Messianic attributes, and so became the pre-existent, heavenly Messiah of the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch, who is to judge both men and angels. It must be remembered, however, that there is no evidence to show that this Messianic conception was at any time widely known or popular among the Jews. It was apparently cherished in certain (probably small) apocalyptic circles, to which probably some of the earliest generation of Christians belonged. It is to this circle, presumably, that Our Lord owed his knowledge of the idea as shown by his appropriation to himself of the title the Son of Man. But in his hands the original conception was profoundly modified by being combined with the idea of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. In the idea so modified, and embodied in the term Son of Man, Christ seems to have found the most adequate expression of his Messianic consciousness.

It is, therefore, the heavenly pre-existent Messiah with which our Vision is concerned. His pre-existence is affirmed in the interpretation (vs. 28): This is he whom the Most High is keeping many ages (and) through whom he will deliver his creation (cf. also vs. 32).* On the other hand, in the Eagle-Vision the Lion who shall spring from the seed of David, and destroy the Roman Empire, is the earthly Messiah of orthodox Rabbinic theology. It is true that passages do occur in Rabbinical works (cf. e.g., Pesiq. Rab. xxxiii, xxxvi), which affirm the actual pre-existence of the Messiah in heaven i.e., the heavenly Messiah); but these are rare, and do not represent the orthodox Rabbinic view, which accepts an earthly national Messiah, the Son of David, and sometimes affirms for him an earthly pre-existence (e.g., that he has already been born, but is in concealment awaiting the time of his manifestation).† It is noticeable that the idea of the Messiah’s pre-existence and heavenly character often receive striking expression in the LXX: cf. Ps. 109 (= Heb. 110), where the Messiah is spoken of as begotten by God, ἐκ γαστρός πρὸς Ἐωσφόρον: his name is called the Angel of great counsel (Μεγαλὴς Βουλησ ἄργελος: Is. 9 *) : his name endures before the sun (πρὸ τοῦ ηλίου: Ps. 71 [Heb. 72]††: i.e., pre-exists).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION

As has already been pointed out, the written source used by R. included not only the Vision proper (vv. 1-13a), 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 (v v. 13).

* Apparently, however, there is a mixture of the two conceptions in this verse (12 *); cf. notes ad loc.
† See further JE. viii. 512 (s.v. Messiah).
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 (vs. 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 vs. 12. These, it is significant to notice, are identified (vs. 40 f.) with the ten tribes (= Israel’s exiles), who now are led back and together with the two tribes already in Palestine (vs. 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 (vs. 12). Possibly, however, proselytes were intended to be included.

Attention has already been called to an interesting feature of the original Vision which has been, to some extent, allegorized, viz., the fiery stream, the flaming breath and the storm of sparks that proceed out of the mouth of the Man (13 n; see note x): these are allegorized in the interpretation (13 **) as follows: the fire = the Law, the flaming breath = the tortures with which the ungodly are to be tortured, and the storm of sparks = the rebukes which the Messiah is to heap upon them. The rebuke and condemnation of the ungodly pronounced by the Messiah destroys them: cf. Rev. 19 *, *, where the sword that proceeds out of the Messiah’s mouth is a figure for judicial condemnation (see also Is. 11 *, Ps. Sol. 17 *, and 1 Enoch lxii. 2, cited in note c n 13 * below). The judicial word of God is strikingly personified in the Book of Wisdom 18 * (Thine all powerful Word leaped from heaven out of the royal throne . . . bearing as a sharp sword thine unsealed commandment, and standing it filled all things with death).

From the previous discussion it will be clear that the interpretation is, as is so often the case in apocalyptic, a later adaptation and adjustment of older traditional material.

M. AN INDEPENDENT SOURCE

No very close examination of the Vision and its interpretation is required to show that in its leading conceptions and general outlook it is independent of the other sources embodied in our Book. It was probably derived by R. from an independent Ezra-apocalypse, and added, for the sake of completeness to our present Book. As Kabisch points out its general theme—the annihilation of hostile powers, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom—is identical with that of A. But the outlook on the world is different. In A. there is one hostile power—Rome. The other nations of the world, as such, take no part in the contest. They are, it is true, involved in the universal slavery which the yoke of Rome imposes, and will share in the liberation won by the Messiah (11 **); but their part is a purely passive one. In M., however, the representation is otherwise. No single dominant world-power comes to view; it is the peoples of the world who assemble from all quarters to oppose the Messiah. The latter has to deal with foes North, South, East and West—not merely from the West. The
representation of the Messiah also is, as we have seen, different. In M. we have, not the national Messiah of Israel (the Lion sprung from the House of David) but the pre-existent heavenly Son of Man, who is endowed with supernatural powers.

The programme set forth for the Messianic deliverance in the interpretation is significant. After annihilating the assembled peoples, he brings home—the ten Tribes. The nation is clearly not exiled from its own land; all that is necessary, to complete the Messianic salvation, is to bring back to Palestine the remote Dispersion (represented by the ten Tribes).

As Kabisch points out, this implies a historical situation for the interpretation of the Vision before A.D. 70; when the nation (= the two tribes) is in peaceful possession of Palestine. After A.D. 70 the situation of the two tribes is always represented as that of exile (a Babylonian exile); so the different parts of the Baruch Apocalypse, and so also S. Herein lies one of the great differences between M. and S. In the latter the city and state are in ruins (cf. e.g., 3 33). Another, of course, is the representation of the Messiah. S. has no Messiah, and the whole Messianic programme of M. is altogether foreign to the outlook of S. The main difference from E. is also in the representation of the Messiah. In E. it is God who destroys the hostile powers, the Messiah only appearing (if he appears at all) when this has been accomplished. In E., too, the Messianic interim is merely a stage preparatory to the real blessedness which is to come after the dissolution of the present order. In M., however, the consummation is reached with the establishment of the Messianic kingdom on earth, which is, apparently, to go on indefinitely.

THE REDACTION OF M

The redactional adjustments 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 13 13b-24 (see introduction to this); his hand is also apparent in 13 13, 13 23, 13 34, 13 40 (see notes on these passages). The Vision and its interpretation fall naturally into the following divisions: I. The Vision (13 1-13a); II. The Apocalyptist’s reflections on the Vision (13 13b-24); III. The interpretation of the Vision (13 24-43a).

I. THE VISION

(13 1-13a) (M)

1 AND IT CAME TO PASS AFTER SEVEN DAYS THAT *I DREAMED A DREAM* BY NIGHT: 2 *[AND I BEHELD]* AND LO! THERE

---

a (vs. 1): *I dreamed a dream*: Lat., somniavi somnium = euφνιασαμην euφνιασην (Hilg.); so Ethiop.; but Syr. has *I saw a dream* (cf. Ar. 1, Ar. 3, Arm.): see 11 1, note b.

b (vs. 2): *[and I beheld]*: so Lat. (cf. Arm.): Syr. omits, so Ethiop., Ar. 3, Ar. 4.

c (vs. 2): a violent wind: so Syr. (ventus magnus = μεγάς ανέμος, Hilg.), Ethiop., Ar., Arm.; Lat. has a wind.
d (vs. 2): from the sea: cf. 11 1, note bb.
e (vs. 2): and, lit. so that (it): Lat., ut = wore.
f (vs. 3): the bracketed words are represented in the Syr. (cf. Ethiop., Ar., Arm.). They have been omitted accidentally in the Latin (by homoioteleuton).
g (vs. 3): flew: so all the Oriental Versions. The reading of the Lat. MSS., convalesebat (grew strong, R.V. margin) must be corrected to convolabat, with B.J. and Violet. For the clause (flew with the clouds of heaven) cf. Dan. 7 18.
h (vs. 3): everything seen by him: Lat., omnia quae sub so videbantur = καθαρτα τα ποιειται (Hilg.).
i (vs. 4): whithersoever the voice went out of his mouth: Lat., ubicumque exiabat vox de ore ejus = όπου αεικλη η φωνη απο του στοματος αυτου (Hilg.).
j (vs. 4): that heard his voice: qui audiebant vocis (so read with B.J. for MSS. voces, v.l. vocem). ejus = οι πεισων της φωνης αυτου (the Greek genitive after the verb is copied in the Latin).
k (vs. 4): melted away = εκανθαι: so Syr. (cf. Ar., Arm.): Lat. has ardessebant (R.V., burned) = εκανθαι (Hilg.).
l (vs. 4): as the wax melts when it feels the fire: a standing figure in the O.T., esp. in theophanic descriptions: cf. Ps. 97 5, Micah 1 4 (cf. also Judith 16 18, 1 Enoch 1, 4); also more generally Judges 5 5, Is. 64 1 and 4.
m (vs. 5): to make war against: Lat., ut debellarent = τον κατακελμητησα (Hilg.).
n (vs. 6): he cut out for himself: Lat., sibimetipso sculptit montem magnum = εκατης εξεκοψων ορος μεγα (Hilg.): so Syr. (but it has a lofty mountain): Ethiop., built a great mountain (cf. Ar., Arm., percutebatur). For the conception cf. Dan. 2 46 (the stone cut out without hands).
AND FLEW UPON IT. 7 BUT I SOUGHT TO SEE THE REGION OR PLACE FROM WHENCE THE 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. AND LO! WHEN HE SAW THE ASSAULT OF THE MULTITUDE AS THEY CAME HE NEITHER LIFTED HIS HAND, NOR HELD SPEAR NOR ANY WARLIKE WEAPON; 10 BUT I SAW ONLY HOW HE SENT OUT OF HIS MOUTH AS IT WERE A FIERY STREAM, AND OUT OF HIS LIPS A FLAMING BREATH, AND OUT OF HIS TONGUE HE SHOT FORTH A STORM OF SPARKS. 11 AND THESE WERE ALL MINGLED
Messian's] mouth slew all the sinners, and all the unrighteous were destroyed before his face). It is a striking feature of this eschatology that the Messiah, without the aid of weapons or allies destroys the opposed nations by supernatural means. See further Volz. 224 f. (so also in ch. 12).

x (vs. 11): the . . . storm. We should expect scintillas tempestatis (σκινθηρας θεωλης) to be repeated here; instead the Lat. has multitudi tempestiatis (= to πληθος της θεωλης, Hilg.) = the great storm (R.V.), the storm mass (πληθος χειμωνος, Volk.). A later form of the text seems to be represented by the Ethiop., sparks as storm: cf. reading of Lat. Cod. L., multitudo scintillarum tempestatis (πληθος σκινθηρων ως χειμων, Volk.). Volk. explains the description as 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, like the eruption of Vesuvius, in 80 A.D.

y (vs. 11): fell: Lat., concidit: the sing. (foll. the Greek σωκερον) depends upon pavta taota.

z (vs. 11): the assault of the multitude: reading multitudinis impetum (cf. Violet).

a (vs. 11): which (sc. multitude): Lat., quod depends upon πληθος = multitudo.

b (vs. 11): burned: so Lat. (succeedit): so Ethiop., Arm., but Syr. annihilated.

c (vs. 11): I was amazed: so Lat., Syr. (cf. Arm.) = εξεφοβηθην (Volk.), but Ethiop., Ar. 1, I awoke = εξεκομισθην (Volk.).

d (vs. 12): and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable: the Messiah first destroys his enemies, and then gathers his subjects. Cf. Ps. 26 17 18 (And he shall gather a holy people) following the destruction of the ungodly nations (vs. 27). Cf. Ryle and James, ad loc. Cf. also Is. 11 10.

e (vs. 13): the faces of many men: Lat., vultus hominum multorum = προσωπα ανθρωπων πολλων: so Syr., Ar. 2 (Arm., ad eum videndum): Ethiop. (Ar. 1) omit faces. The faces betray the moods (joy, sorrow, etc.) described in the following clause.

f (vs. 13): some of whom were glad, some sorrowful: Lat., quorundam gaudensium quorundam tristianium = ων μεν υδομενων, ων δε ανθρωπων (Hilg.): Jews and heathen, pious and godless are meant (Gunkel).
II. THE APOCALYPTIST'S REFLECTIONS ON THE VISION

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. 13b–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 vs. 25, as the form of that verse clearly indicates. The whole passage exhibits essentially similar features to those of 8:48–9:18. 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. 13b–14, but if so it has apparently been revised by R. (Vs. 13b may be original, and there was probably something more or less corresponding to vs. 14 in the source, which may have included 21a also (and he answered me and said): thus originally the passage may have run somewhat as follows: vs. 13b: Then through great fear I awoke. And I supplicated the Most High and said . . . . . (vs. 14b) Oh, show me now the interpretation of this dream! (Vs. 21c) And he answered me and said: (vs. 25) These are the interpretations of the Vision, etc.]

THEN 'THROUGH GREAT FEAR' I AWOKE. 'I AND I SUPPLICATED THE MOST HIGH' AND SAID:

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The Bible text is cited as follows:

1. **g (vs. 13)**: while some were in bonds (lit., bound): Lat., aliqui vero alligati = rives 3e3euevo. (Hilg.): Jews in captivity are meant (Gunkel).

2. **h (vs. 13)**: some brought others who should be offered: Lat., aliqui adducentes ex eis, qui offerebantur = rives rporpepouevous (Hilg.) or ex row rporpepowevov; i.e., the heathen bring in Jews as an oblation to the Messiah; cf. Is. 66:22 (And shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations as an oblation to jahveh). So also in Ps. Sol. 17:44 one of the results of the Messiah's victory over his enemies is that the nations . . . come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her sons that had fainted (a condensation of Is. 66:18-19). [Cf. with this passage Philo de proem. et poen. xvi, where it is said of the Messiah that the people subject to him become so whether out of good will, or out of fear, or out of shame: cited by Volz.]

3. **i (vs. 13)**: through great fear: Lat., a multitudine pavoris = aro Tov rAn60vs rms ekrAméea's (Hilg.).

4. **j (vs. 13)**: And I supplicated the Most High: the prayer is addressed.
Thou from the beginning hast shewn thy servant these wonders, and hast counted me worthy to receive my prayer.

For as I conceive in my mind, woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that do not survive!

For they that do not survive must be sorrowful, knowing as they do what things are reserved in the last days, but not attaining unto them. But woe unto them also that survive, for this reason—they must see great perils, and many directly to God. [What here followed originally has, it seems, been worked over by R.]

From the beginning hast shewn thy servant these wonders: cf. 8.* R. here alludes to the disclosures which have been made in the former visions.

Hast counted me worthy to receive my prayer: cf. 9.*, * and what follows.

Oh, shew me now moreover: Lat., et nunc demonstra mihi adhuc = καὶ μου εἰς τί (Hilg.).

The reflective tone of these verses as well as their position do not harmonize with the original vision. They presuppose knowledge of a particular interpretation of the Vision, and are therefore plainly unsuitable in a passage which is intended to be a prayer that the Vision may be explained. They are clearly the work of R. The Redactor is aware from the following interpretation that a time of fearful stress and tribulation must precede the coming of the Messiah (so E); at the same time the felicity of the Messianic time here delineated appeals to him with irresistible force. It would be a blessed experience to live in it, but a terrible one to have to pass through the "woes" that must precede it.

As I conceive in my mind: Lat., sicut enim existimo in sensu meo = καθὼς γὰρ νομίζω ἐν τῷ νοτί μου (Hilg.): ἐν τῷ νοτί μου = Heb. בְּלִבָּבִי (in my heart): perhaps ἐν τῷ διανοίᾳ μου would be a better rendering: cf. 10*, note h [for the technical term survive (derelicti) cf. 12*, 6*], note f. Cf. also 1 Thess. 4*.

Must be sorrowful: Lat., tristes erunt (ACM., but S. erant) = άντρεποι εὐοινάι.

What things are reserved in the last days but not attaining unto them: quae sunt reposita in novissimis diebus et non occurrunt eis = τὰ ἀποκλειόμενα ἐν ταῖς εἰκασίαις ημείς καὶ μὴ απεκτείνονταί αὐτοίς (so Hilg.; Volk. renders the last words: μὴ δὲ φθανταί αὐτών); the last days here = the temporary Messianic kingdom that precedes the End. This view harmonizes with the eschatology of E. and R.; cf. 7 28–44 and 8 28–9 13 with the introductions.

For this reason—(the reason follows): Lat. sed et his qui derelicti sunt] propter hoc [vae]. See vs. 19 (cf. also vs. 20) = Heb. ραʹ, to experience.

Many distresses: Lat., necessitates multas = ἀναγκαὶ πολλαίς.
distresses 'even as these dreams do shew.' 30 Yet "it is better to come into these things' incurring peril, than "to pass away as a cloud out of the world" and not to see what shall happen in the last time. 31 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 thou hast spoken. 32 Whereas thou hast spoken of those who survive (and of those who do not survive)—'this is the interpretation:' 33 "he that shall bring the peril in that time will himself keep them that fall into the peril, 'even such as have works and faith' toward "(the Most High and) the Mighty One. 34 Know, therefore, that those who survive (to that time) are more blessed than those that have died.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION

(13 35-52 63a) (M revised by R)

The general character and significance of the interpretation have already been pointed out in the introductory section to the whole vision, where also the redactional additions of R. have been enumerated.

a (vs. 19): even as these dreams do shew: by these dreams R. here means the whole series of preceding visions.

b (vs. 20): it is better: so Syr., Ethiop. (melius); cf. Arm. Lat. has easier (facilius for which Hilg. conjectures felicius) := evχειστερον (Hilg., but Volk. παν ευτι)

c (vs. 20): thesethings: reading in the Lat. haec (MSS. hanc or hanc) so Syr., Ethiop.

d (vs. 20): to pass away as a cloud out of the world: Lat., pertransire sicut nubem a saeculo = περισσωναυ ου βου σαθρος (Hilg.); so Syr., Ethiop. = Heb. יְבָא כְּלָה נֶבֶךְ; but perhaps as Gunkel suggests יְבָא רַעְבָא = to pass through the world would be better. Volk. proposes to correct the text in the same sense, rendering: διαπεραν ὡς νεφος τοῦ αἰωνος (possibly rightly).

e (vs. 21): I will explain unto thee: Lat., ad periam tibi = επανοικω τοι (R.V., I will open unto thee).

f (vs. 22): and of those who do not survive: so Syr., Ar. 1 (cf. Ethiop.)

g (vs. 22): the Lat. accidentally omits.

h (vs. 23): this is the interpretation: so Lat.; but Syr., Ethiop., hoc est verbum: the same variation recurs elsewhere; cf. 12 17, note p.

i (vs. 23): he that shall bring the peril: so Lat., qui adjeret periculum = o προσών τον κύριον (Hilg.), i.e., the Messiah. The Syr. mis-reading νοισεων, renders: he who endures the danger. Other versions paraphrase.

j (vs. 23): will himself keep: Lat. (B J., Violet), ἵππος custodibit (on the form cf. Bensly, MF., p. 16) = αυτος φυλακει (Hilg.) τῷ θεῷ (Volk.).

k (vs. 23): even such as have works and faith: a reminiscence of S.'s theology; so in a similar (composite) passage 9 7 (cf. 8 38, S.).

l (vs. 23): (the Most High and): so Syr. (cf. Ethiop., Ar. 1) = τον θεόν και (Hilg.); omitted by Lat.
These are the interpretations of the Vision: whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from the heart of the Sea: this is he whom the Most High is keeping; through whom he will deliver his creation; and the same shall order the survivors.

And whereas thou didst see that out of his mouth there came wind, and fire, and storm; but whereas he held neither spear, nor any warlike weapon, but destroyed the assault of that multitude which had come to fight against him—this is the interpretation:

...
Behold the days come when the Most High is about to deliver them 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, city against city, place against place, people against people, and kingdom against kingdom. And it shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I shewed thee before, then shall my Son be revealed whom thou didst see as a man ascending. It shall be, when all the nations hear His voice, every man shall leave his own land and the warfare which they have one against another; and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together.

n (vv. 29–32). 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. 4–5. The verses really interrupt the sequence of the interpretation, which is restored by their elimination. See further introduction to vv. 25–52 above.

o (vs. 29): Behold the days come: a common formula in such connections (introducing a prediction): cf. 5, 6.
p (vs. 29): is about: Lat., incipiet = μακάρι (as often).
q (vs. 29): to deliver them that are upon earth: cf. vs. 26 above and 11.
r (vs. 30): astonishment of mind: Lat., excessus mentis = ἐκτασίς διανοιας: cf. 5, note a, 10, note v = Heb. timhón lēbāb (Deut. 28).
s (vs. 31): and they shall plan to war one against another: Lat., et in aliis alii, cogitabunt bellare = και αλλοι αλλοι λογισώνται πολέμων (Hilg.).
t (vs. 31): city against city: Lat., civitatis (a false nom. = civitas: cf. Violet) civitatem.
v (vs. 32): the signs shall happen which I shewed thee before: cf. 9.
w (vs. 32): then shall my Son be revealed: cf. 7, and for the expression (revelabitur) see Volz., p. 220.
x (vs. 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 combined heathen forces, under the leadership of Gog and Magog, barbarian tribes of the north, according to Ezek. 38–39, attack Israel in the mountains near Jerusalem, and suffer a crushing defeat (cf. the battle in the valley of Jehoshaphat referred to in Joel 3 [Heb. 4]11, cf. Zech. 14; also Is. 25). This final assault and annihilation of the heathen nations opposed to God’s rule form an indispensable preliminary to the inauguration of the Messianic era. Here the Messiah
As thou didst see, desiring to come and to fight against him.  

35 yBut he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Sion,  

*y And Sion shall come and shall be made manifest to all men, prepared and built, even as thou didst see the mountain cut out "without hands."  

37 But he, my son, shall reprove the nations that are come for their ungodliness—\(^b\)—which things (i.e., the rebukes) are like

... himself, without weapons or allies, by supernatural means annihilates the assembled hosts [cf. the apocalyptic description in Is. 24–27, according to which the divine judgement is visited upon the hostile powers, both heavenly (i.e., angelic) and earthly, and is followed by Jahveh's enthronement on Mount Sion, and the coronation-festival on this mountain ( = Sion; cf. Is. 24 21-22, 25 9)]. Thus the Messiah here exercises powers essentially divine. [In Rev. 16 14 the place where the hosts gather is Har Magedon (Armageddon): see next note.] In Ap. Bar. lxii. the Messiah summons the nations to appear before him, and spares some but annihilates others.

\(^y\) (vs. 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. 2 6. The original significance of the mountain, however, is obscure, and had long been lost when the Vision was interpreted. Not improbably it is an echo of an old myth in which the mountain of the gods was the scene of a great conflict, in which the forces of evil (? Tiamat and her helpers) were defeated. It is curious that the scene of the great defeat of the evil powers should be located on a mountain or mountains [cf. Ezek. 38–39; and Rev. 16 14, where Har Magedon apparently means mountain of Megiddo (?), Megiddo (Magedon) being a transformation of some ancient mythic name; cf. also Dan. 11 44 (between the sea and the glorious holy mountain)]. It should be noted, in this connection, that according to 1 Enoch vi. 6 the fallen angels assemble on Mount Hermon. See further Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 263–266: E. Bibl., s.v. Armageddon.

\(^z\) (vs. 36): This vs. (cf. 7 44) is almost certainly an interpolation by R. It intrudes very awkwardly here, and does not harmonize with the representation. Thus in the previous vs. Sion = Mount Sion, which is not unnaturally identified with the mysterious mountain of the Vision, but here Sion = the heavenly city. How can this be identified with a mountain, upon the summit of which the Messiah stands? Apparently R. is thinking of its descent from heaven [cf. Rev. 21 9, 21 1 f., 3 15] at the end of the Messianic Age. See further additional note on 8 44.

\(^a\) (vs. 36): without hands : cf. Dan. 2 34, 45.

\(^b\) (vs. 37): shall reprove the nations ... for their ungodliness : Lat., argent quae adversariunt gentes (v.i., gentem) impietates eorum = λαέτζα τα προσελθοῦτα εὐθεία τα σκότησαν αὐτῶν: cf. 12 31, note v.

\(^c\) (vs. 37): which things ... storm = ταῦτα τα θυελλα παραπλησια (Hilg.).
UNT0 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 into a flame—; and then **SHALl HE DESTROY THEM** without labour \( \text{by the Law} \)—which is compared unto fire. **AND WHEREAS THOU DIDST SEE THAT HE SUMMONED AND GATHERED TO HIMSELF ANOTHER MULTITUDE WHICH WAS PEACEABLE—** these are \( \text{the ten} \).
TRIBES which were led away captive out of their own land "in the days of Josiah the King," which (tribes) Salmonassar the King of the Assyrians led away captive; he carried them across the River, and (thus) they were transported into another land. 41 "But they took this counsel among themselves," that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth "into a land further distant," where the human race had never dwelt, 42 "there at least to keep their statutes which they had not kept in their own land. 43 And they entered by the narrow passages of the river Euphrates." 44 For the Most High then wrought wonders for them, "and stayed the springs..."
OF THE RIVER UNTIL THEY WERE PASSED OVER."  

"AND THROUGH THAT COUNTRY THERE WAS A GREAT WAY TO GO (A JOURNEY) OF A YEAR AND A HALF. AND THAT REGION WAS CALLED "ARZARETH." THERE THEY HAVE DWELT 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 GATHERED TOGETHER IN PEACE. But the survivors of thy people, even

in which the ten tribes are supposed to be dwelling is inaccessible (Gunkel).

v (vs.45): and through that country there was a great way to go (a journey) of a year and a half: Lat., per eam enim regionem erat via multa itineras anni unius et dimidii = 24 avrms 5e (enim = 5e as often : cf. 6) τὴν χεῖρας τῆς οὐσίας πολλὴν ετῶν ενεν καὶ ημιετῶν (Hilg.) Heb. (?) in an "as TT ran final.

w (vs.45): Arzareth, i.e., as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (Journ. of Philol. III [1871], p. 114) correctly pointed out the 'eres ahereth (= another land) of Deut. 29* (Heb. vv. 24–27): Because they forsook the covenant of the Lord . . . and went and served other gods . . . the Lord rooted them out of their land . . . and cast them into another land ('eres ahereth) as at this day. The words are applied to the Ten Tribes in the Mishna (Sanh. x. 3) in a discussion between Aqiba and Eliezer b. Hyrqqanos, the former maintaining that "The Ten Tribes will not return, as it is said (Deut. 29*): and cast them into another land, as it is this day; as the day departs and does not return, so they depart and do not return." But Eliezer said: "as the day darkens and lightens, so it will be with the ten tribes; as it was dark for them, so shall it be bright for them." Our passage, it will be noticed, agrees with the view of R. Eliezer. R. Judah the Prince also accepts this view (Tosefta, Sanh. xiii. 12), and refers to Is. 27* to justify it. It is curious to note that Columbus identified Arzareth with America!

x (vs.46): there they have dwelt: the Lat. (cf. Ar. i) has tunc inhabitaverunt ibi = Tore rarekmoravexei (Hilg.); Syr., et inhabitaverunt ibi; so Ethiop.

y (vs.46): until the last times: Lat., usque in novissimo tempore. (Ethiop., until the end of the days; cf. Ar. i.)

z (vs.46): when they are about to come again : so Syr. = παλαιος μελλοντων ελθων: the Lat. (solum coeperunt venire) implies this.

a (vs.47): will . . . stay: so Syr. (cf. Ethiop.) and some Lat. MSS. (statuet : but SACM., statuit). For the representation cf. Is. 11* f. (And I. shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and . . . shall shake his hand over the River . . . and cause men to march over dry-shod. And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people, etc.) The ten tribes come back to Palestine after Messiah's victory.

b (vs.47): in peace: Lat., cum pace: en eiyph (Hilg.).

c (vs.48): This vs. must be an interpolation of R.; it represents
those who are found within my holy border *(shall be saved).*


the point of view of E. (cf. 68), which R. is fond of insisting upon (cf. 7*): so also in vs. 27 above (he shall order the survivors). The form of the sentence, too, as it appears in the Latin and Ar. 1 (cf. Ar. 2, Ethiop., Arm.), i.e., without a verb, suggests that it may have been added afterwards to explain the people that remain in vs. 49. Note that the verse does not harmonize with the context. The logical connection is much improved by its omission. For the idea that Palestine is, in a special sense, the land of salvation (cf. 9*), and that to dwell there is in itself a source of protection and happiness, cf. Ap. Bar. xl. 2 (And he [i.e., the Messiah] will protect the rest of my people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen); cf. also xxix. 2 (where God protects those found in the Holy Land) and Charles' note on the passage; cf. also Volz., p. 308, where Rabbinical parallels are cited. [Gunkel regards vs. 48b as an interpolation.] R. apparently derived the idea of the verse from E. (cf. 9* notes).

d (vs. 48): *(shall be saved)*: so Syr., but this may not be original, though it gives the correct sense.

e (vs. 49): he shall defend the people that remain: Lat., proteget qui superaverit populum = καταφρονήσει τῶν περισσοποιομένων λαῶν (Hilg.). The people that remain are those, presumably, who do not come under the destructive fire that proceeds out of the Messiah's mouth, i.e., Israel, which includes the people in Palestine and the Ten Tribes (? as well as other Israelites and proselytes living in known lands outside of Palestine). According to vs. 48, it is those only (including now the ten tribes) who are found within my holy border (i.e., Palestine).

f (vs. 50): And then shall he shew them very many wonders: Lat., et tunc ostendet eis multa plurima portenta = מָלָאָם.*(רַבִּים מָלָאָם (Gunkel); cf. Ar. 1. Violet regards multa as an uncorrected mistake of the Latin translator, who first wrote multa and then corrected to plurima without striking out the former word; so Syr. has many wonders only. The verse describes the reign of the Messiah, which apparently is to go on indefinitely, and constitutes the future Age. The identification of the Messianic Age with the 'idm ha-bd represents the earlier view; cf. Volz, p. 62 f.

h (vs. 51): Show me this: the meaning of the coming up of the Man from the Sea was already obscure to the apocalypticist. The explanation that follows is clearly an artificial one, the product of later reflection.
SO CAN NO ONE UPON EARTH, SEE MY SON \[or those that are with him\],
BUT \[in the time of his day\].

**ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TEN TRIBES**

Down to the first Christian century, from the Exile, the Jewish people, as a whole, were still conceived ideally as made up of twelve tribes, bearing the old names (cf. The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and in the New Testament Acts 27, James 1, Rev. 7, etc.); the Jewish population in Palestine and in the Diaspora was regarded as made up of representatives of all the twelve tribes. At the same time, however, the feeling prevailed, especially during the last two centuries of the Temple's existence, that the kernel of the Jewish population of Palestine, more especially in the province of Judea (the country surrounding Jerusalem) was the home *par excellence* of the two tribes of Judah and Levi. A conscious distinction was drawn in this respect between Judea proper and the districts of Samaria, Galilee and the Diaspora. Thus side by side with the ideal division of the whole people into twelve tribes there grew up another division into two groups: two tribes and ten tribes. The latter were regarded as having fallen into idolatry, and had therefore been punished (cf. Tobit 1, Assumpt. Mos. iii. 4 f., where the two tribes upbraid the ten tribes as having involved them in the punishment for the sins of the former; cf. Ap. Bar. lxxvii. 4; and contrast I. 2: *the evils which these two tribes ... have done are greater than those of the ten tribes*).†

After being distinguished in this way as a separate group of ten (93) tribes, it was a natural development of later reflection to picture these tribes as living in a particular place, out of contact with the rest of the world, and there awaiting the moment when they should return.

\[i\] (vs. 51): \[or those that are with him\]. As there is no hint either in the Vision itself or in the interpretation that the Messiah is accompanied by other beings, this looks like an insertion by R.; cf. 7 (also R.); the representation may be derived from E. (cf. 6, note m), in which case the Messiah's immortal companions are meant. If original the clause would suggest a host of angels, who accompany the heavenly Messiah (so Gunkel).

\[j\] (vs. 52): \[in the time of his day\]: Hilg. retranslates *ēv τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ημέρας αὐτοῦ*. The Lat. has *in tempore diœïs*, but Syr. has *his day* (*in eo tempore in die ejus*). Cf. Ethiop., Ar. 1, Ar. 7, Arm. *The days of the Messiah* is a common Rabbinic expression. Cf. Luke 17 (days of Son of Man).

* In theory the return included the official representatives of all twelve tribes.
† It should be noted that the enumeration is not consistent. In Ap. Bar. lxxviii. 1 (and so always except in I. 2) the number of the tribes is 93; so in the Syr. and Arab. Versions of 4 Ezra 13; in the Ethiop. of the same passage nine tribes (so Asc. Isai. iii. 2). In the Latin text of 4 Ezra 13 they are called the Ten Tribes.
Their return occupies a definite place in the eschatological scheme which contemplated the gathering together of dispersed Israel within the borders of the Holy Land. In their far-distant home they are supposed to have worked out their repentance for their former idolatry by a strict adherence to the commands and Law of God. It was that they might be enabled to do this the better that they had removed further inland, after their first deportation, to a remote country.

In later developments of the legend the Tribes are removed beyond the mysterious Sabbathic river (Sambation); cf. Targ., Ps. Jon., to Ex. 34; Gen. rabba lxxiii. Josephus (Bell. Jud. vii. 3 § 1) mentions this river, but not in connection with the Ten Tribes. In another passage (Antiq. xi. 5, 2) he does, however, mention the Ten Tribes. He says, referring to Ezra's expedition from Babylon to Jerusalem:

But then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers.

[See further Neubauer in JQR. I. 14 f., 95 f., 185 f., 408 f.; the art. Sambation in JE. x, 681 f.; Volz, p. 311 f., Bousset, p. 272 f.]

IV. EPILOGUE AND TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION

(13***) (composite: partly E, partly S and R)

The verses that follow form, in their present position, a short epilogue to the sixth and a transition to the seventh Vision. That vv. 53b-55 are not the composition of an interpolator is clear; they are too vigorous and distinctive both in thought and diction. Nor do their characteristic conceptions harmonize with the point of view of M. The seer is praised for his unworldly devotion to the Law, and his absorption in the things of the spirit. An almost ascetic note is struck. It is true that in M. the Law is the definitive standard of piety, and that the redeeming element in the conduct of the Ten Tribes consists in the practical measures they take in order to safeguard their observance of its precepts. But their devotion to the Law, as Kabisch well points out, is governed by essentially practical considerations, the object being to secure the happiness and material felicity which such observance is destined to bring (cf. 13 b, c; cf. also 13 a). Here, however, it is a Stoic devotion that wins approval. The tones are those of the Alexandrine philosopher, who is absorbed in the contemplation of wisdom, and "calls understanding his mother." This might suggest that the passage belongs to S.; but such a supposition is negatived by the phrase after three days more I will speak other things unto thee (vs. 53b), which suggests that we have here the concluding notice of an apocalypse that belonged to a three-days' series. To such a cycle the seventh Vision (cf. 14 b) in fact seems to belong. Thus vv. 53b-56 will have been excerpted by R. from the source whence he derived the seventh Vision (E. b), i.e., from an Ezra-Apocalypse which contained a series of revelations, the last of which is embodied in ch. 14 of our Book. Both thought and diction harmonize with the contents of ch. 14.
With vv. 57–58 the case is different. It is impossible to explain the situation presupposed by these verses in their present context. The field can only be the field of Ardat of the vision of the heavenly City. But we already seen that that vision formed the close of the Salathiel-apocalypse. No further revelation in the form of a narrated vision can have taken place there. The verses seem really to belong to the close of the fourth vision, i.e., to S., and have been excerpted by R. to form the transition to the seventh Vision. Their true position is after 10. They express the gratitude of the seer for the supreme revelation afforded him. R., however, in view of the additional visions which he appended to the closing vision of S., removed them from their original position in order to introduce the closing vision of his book. In order to adjust them to their present context he has added the redactional link, and there I sat three days. This finds its explanation in the opening words of the next vision.

58b . . . Therefore59 has this been revealed to thee, and to thee alone,

54 'Because thou hast forsaken the things of thyself,60 and hast applied thy diligence unto mine Law;'

55 Thy life thou hast ordered unto wisdom,61 and hast called understanding thy mother.62

56 Therefore have I shewed thee this; for there is a reward (laid up) with the Most High. And it shall

59 (vs. 53b): therefore: so Syr. = δια τουτο; Lat., et propter quod (v.l., hoc): και δι' αυτο (Hilg.) = wherefore.

60 (vs. 53b): has this been revealed to thee: Lat., illuminatus es haec = ἐπωτις ταυτα (Hilg.). Notice the Greek construction in the Latin.

61 (vs. 54): because: so Syr. = orsi: Lat., dereequisit enim.

62 (vs. 54): the things of thyself: Lat., tua = τα σα (Hilg.).

63 (vs. 54): and hast applied thy diligence unto mine: Lat., et circa mea vacasti = και προς τα εμα σχολοσας (Gunkel).

64 (vs. 54): my Law: Lat., legem meam: the Syr. has the things of the Law = τα του νομου (Violet) or τα περι του νομου (Hilg.). Other Versions paraphrase.

65 (vs. 55): thy life: the Lat. has for thy life (vitam enim tuam = την γαρ ζων του); so Syr., Arm.; but Ethiop., Ar. 1, Ar. 8 and thy life.

66 (vs. 55): thou hast ordered unto wisdom: Lat., disposuisti in sapientiam = διεθυκας εις σοφιαν, i.e., hast ordered thy life in such a way as to obtain wisdom.

67 (vs. 55): and hast called understanding thy mother: cf. Prov. 7 4 (Say unto wisdom, thou art my sister, and call understanding my kinswoman).

68 (vs. 56): a reward: so Lat., Syr. (cf. Ar. 1); but Ethiop., thy reward.
BE AFTER THREE MORE DAYS I WILL SPEAK OTHER THINGS UNTO THEE, AND WILL DECLARE TO THEE "THINGS DIFFICULT AND MARVELLOUS."

u (vs. 56): things difficult and marvellous: Lat., gravia et mirabilia = βαρεά καὶ θαυμασία (βαρεά = ἐὰν Gunkel).

REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION

[vv. 57–58 (S) misplaced: proper position after 10 87]

"Then 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; and because he governs the times and the things which come to pass in due season.] And there I abode three days.

v (vs. 57): Then I went forth and walked in the field: so Syr., Ethiop.; cf. Arm. (et quasi circumiens ibam in loco campi; cf. Ar. 9). The Lat. has et proiectus sum et transit in campum (Then went I forth and passed into the field): but, in any case, the seer is represented as being already in the field. In its original context the clause means that the seer avails himself of the permission given him in 10 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. Volk. renders: καὶ διετράπαν αὐτὸ τὸ πεδιάν.

w (vs. 57): he performs: Lat., factiebat = εροτεί (misread ἐροτεί; so Volk.); or it may be due to a misunderstanding of the Heb. perfect (בָּלע); so Gunkel.

x (vs. 57): in due season: Lat., per tempus = κατὰ καρπόν (Volk.); R.V., from time to time.

y (vs. 58): the times = τοῖς καρποῖς.

z (vs. 58): the things which come to pass in due season: Lat., et quae sunt in temporibus inlata = καὶ οὐά εὖ τοῖς καρποῖς φερεται = וַיְקָרֵב הַפָּתֹן (Gunkel).

a (vs. 58): I abode: Lat., sedì = καθῆκάθην = Heb. וַדֵּשֵׁהְב.

THE SEVENTH VISION

(THE EZRA-LEGEND)

(ch. 14) (E 9) (S) (R),

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 13) 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 ten and a half have elapsed already, and only one 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.

The significance of the Ezra-Legend for the interpretation of the Book

The legend may be considered first of all apart from its present setting in our book.* The idea that Ezra was the restorer of the Law of Moses is one which has a long tradition behind it, and reflects the impression made by Ezra's work in the restored community in the middle of the 5th century B.C. But in the form which the legend assumes in E. * Ezra restores not only the canonical (24) books of the Old Testament, but also seventy secret books, containing an oral tradition. In the great forty days which Moses spent upon the Mount of Revelation God says

I told him (sc. Moses) many wondrous things,
shewed him the secrets of the times,
declared to him the end of the seasons:

It is obvious that the secrets of the times and the end of the seasons are descriptive terms for the secret tradition regarding the crises of the world's history. This tradition Moses is commanded not to publish openly but to keep secret (14 **). The apocalypticist, in other words, claims that the apocalyptic tradition has the authority of Moses, and is inspired in the sense in which the oral Law was regarded as inspired and authoritative. The narrative then proceeds to state that Ezra is commanded to lay up in his heart the signs which have been showed to him, because he is shortly to be taken up from among men, and the times are very evil (14 **). Why this command to lay up these signs in his heart (i.e., carefully ponder and keep them in mind and memory)? Clearly, as the sequel shows, that when his powers of memory have been specially strengthened by inspiration he may be able to write the signs.

* As will be seen it has been excerpted by R. from an independent source (E. *); see below.
down among the seventy secret books. The *signs* referred to were contained, presumably, in the former part of the source (E. *) from which 4 Ezra 14 has been excerpted. This may have contained a series of revelations given to Ezra *under the oak* in or near Jerusalem. It may be objected, as Kabisch objects, that if Ezra had himself experienced such revelations, why should he need to be specially inspired in order to write them down? The answer to this objection is that experiences in the ecstatic state cannot always be remembered afterwards, as our apocalyptist is well aware. It should be noted that special emphasis is laid on the effect of Ezra's inspiration in strengthening the powers of his memory (14 *). But the seventy secret books included, we may infer, not only the Book of *signs* and the secret (apocalyptic) tradition associated with the name of Moses, but many other apocalyptic books besides. The number seventy doubtless has a symbolical significance, denoting what is large and comprehensive. Thus, according to the representation of our chapter, Ezra, *i.e.*, the historical Ezra living in Jerusalem in the middle of the 5th century B.C., was the restorer not only of the canonical books of the O.T., but also of the large apocalyptic literature, including some apocalyptic books which detailed visions and revelations that had, ostensibly, occurred to himself.

If the canonical books had perished in the ruin that preceded the Exile, it might well be inferred that the older apocalyptic literature had also perished in like manner. Perhaps it was to meet some objection of this kind that the legend of Ezra's restoring not only the lost canonical but also the dispersed apocalyptic books grew up. Ezra restored what was lost and also reduced to writing his own apocalyptic experiences.

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 (?120 A.D. 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 re-assert the claim of apocalyptic tradition to secure (or maintain) for itself an officially recognised 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. It has been doubted (e.g., by Kabisch) whether the visions of our present book were included among the seventy books dictated by Ezra. But it seems clear from the language of 14 * that R. certainly intended them to be so regarded. Ezra is there told to lay up in his heart (viz., in order to write them down later) the *dreams which thou hast seen and the interpretations which thou hast heard*, *i.e.*, undoubtedly the contents of the visions that precede. Kabisch also contends that the seventy secret books do not
refer to apocalyptic books at all, but to the oral tradition accepted by
the Rabbis and embodied in the **halaka** and **haggada** of the Rabbinical
literature. In view of the considerations advanced above this view
will be seen to be untenable. It may, however, be conceded that R.
possibly understood the seventy books to **include** the halakic and
haggadic literature together with the apocalyptic. But conscious
stress is laid on the latter.*

There is no reason to doubt that R. and the apocalyptic circles from
which our book emanated really believed that the apocalyptic tradition
went back to Ezra and Moses. It was doubtless one object of the
publication of our present Book to show to wider circles what an
Ezra-apocalypse was like as well as to commend the tradition that
the re-founder of Judaism had given apocalyptic an essential place in
the authoritative teaching of the Jewish religion. It should be noted
that the Ezra-legend is well known to patristic writers (apparently in
some cases in an independent form). See the citations in BJ., p.
xxxvii. f.†

**E** *an independent Source*

The thought and mental outlook of E. *are reminiscent in many ways
of S. There is the same despair of the present order; life under present
conditions is a weak and transient thing; the present world is corrupt
and hastening to its end; only when it is dissolved can true deliverance
come (cf. 1410-14). Ezra is told of his approaching assumption: **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** (14 *)
Here we have the main difference with S.: E. *has a Messiah who,
when "the times are ended," shall be revealed—S. has none. Moreover,
the representation of Ezra in E. *is purely historical, whereas
the situation of S. has a typical and allegorical significance, the reader
being intended to apply the circumstances mentioned or depicted to
his own times (note *e.g.*, the difference of situation implied in 4 **ff.
and 14 **ff.). But E. *is also distinct from E.; for one thing there
is no room in E. *for a temporary Messianic kingdom, or rather Messianic
Age without a Messiah, as in E.: the Messiah of E. *only appears when
the times are ended. Moreover, the standpoint of E. is not a historical
one, but typical and allegorical like that of S. That E. *is independent
of A. and M. needs no demonstration. Its other-worldly outlook entirely
removes it from theirs. At the same time it is probable, as Kabisch
contends, that A., E., and M. are all excerpts from real Ezra-
Apocalypses which are independent compositions more or less (cf. the
various Enoch-apocalypses embodied in our present Book of Enoch).

[Kabisch regards E. *as a narrative piece which, because it narrates
an episode in Ezra's life, has been appended by R. to his selections from

*Kabisch objects that the book which narrates the writing of the
seventy books must itself have been written later. This is true so far
as it applies to Ch. 14, but not of the earlier chapters to which it has been
appende.

† Cf. esp. Irenæus III. 21, 2 (24, 1 Harvey); Clement of Alex.,
Ezra-apocalypses. He does not recognise any special apologetic purpose or motive at work in its insertion. He thinks that the book from which 4 Ezra 14 was excerpted may have contained other narrative-pieces, of a similar kind, about Ezra's life.]

Redaction of E* and articulation of ch. 14

The fitting in of ch. 14 to its present context by R. was not accomplished without some adjustment and adaptation. This can be seen clearly in vv. 8b, 17b, 28, and vs. 37 (into the field). See notes ad loc.; and there is apparently an insertion from S. in vv. 29–35 (see introduction to the section vv. 27–36). On vv. 49–50 see the introductory section relating to them. 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.

I. EZRA'S COMMISSION

(14 1-17) (E*) (R)

1 And it came to pass * after the third day, b while I sat * under the oak, c Lo ! d there came a voice out of a bush e over against me ; and it said, Ezra, Ezra ! and I said: Here am I, Lord. And I rose upon my feet. Then said he unto me : 3 * I did manifestly reveal

b (vs. 1): after the third day : so Ar.*, Arm. (cf. Syr., after this) = [καὶ εγενεῖτο] μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ημέραν : the Lat., on the third day (so Ethiop.) seems to have accidentally omitted to read utra (? after vero of previous word; so Volk.). The reading adopted above is demanded by 13 ** (post alios tres dies).

c (vs. 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 the Ap. Bar. (vi. 1: at evening time I, Baruch, left the people and went forth and stood by the oak : lxxvii.18, I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but I was alone : cf. lv. 1, under a tree). In these passages Baruch is clearly represented as being in Jerusalem; consequently the oak must have been some well-known tree either within the city walls (Kähisch), or just outside in the Kidron-valley (so Charles). It cannot be identified with Abraham's oak at Hebron. In our passage doubtless the same oak (in or near Jerusalem) is meant. Whether there is any literary dependence, it is impossible to say with certainty. More probably both are influenced by a common tradition. There may have been an Ezra-cycle of apocalypses connected with the oak, and a Baruch-cycle. It should be noted that according to the Midrash, Cant. Rab., Ezra was a disciple of Baruch.

d (vs. 2): there came a voice out of a bush : cf. Ex. 3 8.

e (vs. 3): I did manifestly reveal myself : Lat., revelans revelatus sum = ἀπεκαλυπτον ἀπεκαλύφθην (Hilg.); Gunkel renders: Ich habe mich schon einmal . . . geöffnet.

26—(4430)
MYSELF IN THE BUSH, AND TALKED WITH MOSES WHEN MY PEOPLE WERE IN BONDAGE IN EGYPT: AND I SENT HIM, AND LED MY PEOPLE OUT OF EGYPT, AND BROUGHT THEM TO MOUNT SINAI, AND HELD HIM BY ME FOR MANY DAYS,

I TOLD HIM MANY WONDROUS THINGS, SHEWED HIM THE SECRETS OF THE TIMES, DECLARED TO HIM THE END OF THE SEASONS:

THEN I COMMANDED HIM SAYING:

“THES WORDS SHALT THOU PUBLISH OPENLY, BUT THESE KEEP SECRET.” AND NOW I DO SAY TO THEE:

THE SIGNS WHICH I HAVE SHEWED THEE, THE DREAMS WHICH THOU HAST SEEN, AND THE INTERPRETATIONS WHICH THOU HAST HEARD—
'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 *twelve* parts; *nine (parts) of it are passed already,* and the half of the tenth part; 12 and there remain of it *two (parts), besides* the half of the tenth part.

13 Now, therefore, *set in order* thy house,* and *reprove* thy people;
COMFORT THE LOWLY AMONG THEM, AND INSTRUCT THOSE THAT ARE WISE.

NOW DO THOU RENOUNCE THE LIFE THAT IS CORRUPTIBLE, LET GO FROM THEE THE CARES OF MORTALITY, 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!

FOR STILL WORSE EVILS THAN THOSE WHICH THOU hast seen happen shall yet take place. FOR THE WEAKER THE WORLD GROWS THROUGH AGE, SO MUCH THE MORE SHALL EVILS INCREASE UPON THE DWELLERS ON EARTH.

TRUTH SHALL WITHDRAW FURTHER OFF, AND FALSEHOOD BE NIGH AT HAND:

f (vs. 13): the lowly among them: Lat. humiles eorum = rows rarely the poor of the Psalms.

h (vs. 13): the life that is corruptible = [ἀναστάτω] τῆς φθορᾶς (Hilg.): so Syr. and other Oriental Versions; Lat. omits.

i (vs. 14): the cares of mortality: Lat., mortales cogitationes = rows 6avaquous Aoyiauovs (Hilg.).

k (vs. 14): cast from thee the burdens of man: (τα ανθρωπικά βάρη) Hilg.; cf. 2 Cor. 5: For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened (βαρουμενοι), in that we would not be unclothed (ἐκδύσασθαι, but would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life.

l (vs. 14): put off: Lat., exue te = εκδουσαι (divest thyself of).

m (vs. 14): lay aside: Lat., repone in unam partem = αρρίστες εις μην (Hilg.); αρρίστες καθεν (Volk.).

n (vs. 14): thy burdensome cares: Lat., molestissima tibi cogitationa = η εκδύσασθαι (Volk., μοιχητοτα) (so Hilmata (Volk., ηπηματα).)

o (vs. 15): For still worse . . . yet take place: Lat., quae enim vidisti nunc contigisse mala, iterum horum deteriora facientur (so read with BJ.; Violet; MSS., facient) = a γερ ειδες νων συμβηκα κακα κ.τ.λ.

p (vs. 16): shall evils increase: Lat., multiplicabunt multiplicare = πλεώναι (ein, as in 9 (Gunkel). For the idea of notes on vs. 10 above.

q (vs. 16): the dwellers upon earth: Lat., inhabitantes terram (so Violet: SA. have nothing following: CM. read in eo: Viol. conjectures that terram fell out after tes of inhabitantes): Syr., Ar. 1, Arm. all have earth: Ethiop. (Ar. 2) in eo.

r (vs. 17): Truth shall withdraw further off: Lat., prolongabit enim magis versus = μακρυνθησαι γαρ μαλλον η αληθεια (Hilg.): the Heb. verb was probably רָדָאַח = be far: cf. Ps. 22 19 (88), Heb. and LXX.
for already the Eagle is hastening to come whom thou sawest in vision.

II. Ezra's Prayer for Inspiration to Restore the Scriptures

(14 18-20) (E 2)

18 And I answered and said: 'Let me speak before thee, O Lord! 19 Lo, I will depart, as thou hast commanded me, and I 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 works that shall be done. If, then, I have found

For the verse cf. 6 57, 7 84 (notes), 7 134. [Vs. 17b is obviously a redactional link to bring in ch. 11.]

s (vs. 18): let me speak: so all the Oriental Versions = loquar: but Lat. (SAC.) omit (loquar is read by Violet; so M.) probably accidentally.

t (vs. 19): will warn: Lat., corripiam = vov6ermara:; cf. 7 49.
u (vs. 19): the people who (now) exist: Lat., prassentem populum = τον παροντα λαον.
v (vs. 19): later: Lat., iterum = raxiv (Heb. יד).
w (vs. 19): shall admonish: Lat., commonebit = avauvnae. (Hilg.)
x (vs. 20): lies: Lat., positum est = κείται (Hilg.).
y (vs. 20): the dwellers therein are without light: i.e., (as the context suggests) without the light of the Law, the embodiment of God's revelation; for the idea (the Law = light of divine revelation) cf. Ps. 19, especially vs. 8b (enlightening the eyes). Often in apocalyptic light and darkness correspond to piety and godlessness; cf. Volz, p. 77.
z (vs. 21): Thy Law is burnt: cf. 4 83. The reference in our text is, of course, primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, when, with other things the Law is presumed to have been burnt.
a (vs. 21): and so: Lat., propter ea quod = δια τουτω.
b (vs. 21): The things which have been done by thee: τα υπο σου γενεσεα (Hilg.); i.e., the narrative of the sacred (historical) books of the O.T.
c (vs. 21): the works that shall be done: μελλοντα γενεσαι εργα, i.e., according to Gunkel, the eschatological passages (the O.T. thus consists primarily of sacred history and eschatology).
d (vs. 22): If, then: et δη (Hilg.). Lat., enim; cf. 4 18.
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 \THE PATH, \ AND \THAT THEY WHO WOULD LIVE AT THE
LAST, MAY LIVE.\n
22 AND HE ANSWERED ME AND SAID : GO THY WAY, ASSEM
BLE THE PEOPLE AND TELL THEM NOT TO SEEK THEE "FOR
FORTY DAYS." \ BUT DO THOU PREPARE FOR THYSELF MANY
WRITING-TABLETS; \ AND TAKE WITH THEE \SARAIA, \DABRIA,\n
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\( e (\text{vs. 22}) \): send unto me : Lat., inmitte in me = εἰσεγέρα\ν εἰς με,
i.e., send unto me; Ethiop., over me; Ar., into my heart.

\( f (\text{vs. 22}) \): Law here apparently has the wide sense of Scriptures of
the Old Testament, i.e., those recognised as canonical (note that it
includes in this context all that has happened in the world since the
beginning) : cf. the similar use of νόμος in the N.T., e.g., John 10 24
(where Ps. 82 6 is cited as from the Law); cf. also Jn. 15 16 (Ps. 35 16,
69 6 cited), and 1 Cor. 14 21 (Is. 28 11-12 cited). See further the present
writer's \Short Introd. to Lit. of O.T., p. 14. In the Talmud (Moed
Qatan 18b) a tradition is recorded that Ezra wrote out a perfect copy
of the entire Old Test. and deposited it in the Temple courts.

\( g (\text{vs. 22}) \): the path : so Lat., Syr.; Ethiop. adds of life.

\( h (\text{vs. 22}) \): that they who would live at the last may live : Lat., ut ...
qui voluerint vivere in nouissimis vivant = ut ... om vel vivam
(Jn 20 18; 1 Cor. 14 21). The same phrase (that they may
live at the last times) occurs in Ap. Bar. lxxvi. 5 (cf. xli. i with Charles'
note) : live (life) in these connections = to share in the promised salvation,
to enjoy blessedness (cf. 7 21, 18, 8 6), i.e., (especially in S) the
eternal life of the future Age. The expression is synonymous with
such phrases as to inherit that which is to come (7 21) or the coming Age:
so in Rabbinic אָבָד מִנַּהַת רָעֹתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל by the side of מְלָכָה רָעֹתָה (T.B. Berak.
61b) : cf. the lot of eternal life in 1 Enoch xxxvii. 4 : the phrase to inherit
or possess (Heb. yārāš) the coming Age also occurs often with a similar
meaning ; cf. Ap. Bar. xlv, 13, etc., and by the side of this to inherit
life (τὰ ὁμοσπανωμένα, Ps. Sol. 14 10; contrast 15 10) ; to inherit
eternal life, 1 Enoch xl. 9 (cf. מְלָכָה אִנָה רָעֹתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל, T.B. Sota 7b). See
further Volz 306 (where all the above examples, and others, are cited).

\( i (\text{vs. 23}) \): for forty days. At the first giving and writing down (on
the tables of stone) of the Law Moses was in the Mount forty days
(Ex. 34 27, cf. 24 18, Deut. 9 9, 10) ; this precedent is followed in the case
of the second Moses' here.

\( j (\text{vs. 24}) \): writing-tablets : Lat., buxos = πυξία ; Heb. לְפֹה (used
of the stone tables and also in later Hebrew of writing-tables).

\( k (\text{vs. 24}) \): Seraiah (Seraiah) : Lat., Sarea = Ξαραίας (Hilg.) : Heb.
נָעָר, a name often occurring, e.g., the father of Ezra.

\( l (\text{vs. 24}) \): Dabria (so Lat.) = דָּבְרֵי (Hilg.) : cf. Dibri, Lev. 24 11
Heb. דָּבְרֵי = LXX. Δαβρεί.
"SELEMIA," "ELKANAH," AND "OSIEL," THESE FIVE, BECAUSE THEY ARE EQUIPPED FOR WRITING SWIFTLY; AND (THEN) COME HITHER, AND I WILL LIGHT 'THE LAMP OF UNDERSTANDING' IN THY HEART, WHICH SHALL NOT BE 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.'

m (vs. 24): Selemia (so Lat.) = סָלֶמִיָּה (Hilg.) = Heb. יַעַרְפֵּי (Jer. 43 [36] 14, LXX A. = Σαλμεια [Luc. Σαλμεια] 1 Chron. 26 14). The Heb. form of the name occurs in Neh. 3 16, 13, Ezra 10 18, of post-Exilic people. (Syr. here has סלמא.)

n (vs. 24): Elkanah: Lat., Ethanus = Heb. אֶלֶכָּנָה, a well-known proper name (cf. 1 Chron. 2 4); but Syr. here has Elkena (אֶלֶכָּנָה), so Arm. (cf. Ethiop., Elkanan) = Heb. 'אֵלֶכָּנָה = אֹקְנָה (e.g., 2 Chron. 28 7), probably rightly.

o (vs. 24): Asiel: Lat., Asihel = אָסִיֵל (Heb. אָסִיֵל), 1 Chron. 4 21; but Hilg. אַסִיֵל ( = אֹסִיֵל).

p (vs. 24): these five. In Ezra and his five companions there may be a covert allusion to the great Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai—the re-founder of Judaism after 66–70 A.D.—and his five famous disciples, Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, Joshua b. Hananya, Jose the Priest, Simeon b. Nathanael, and Eleazar b. Araq. (so Rosenthal: see further introduction to the section).

q (vs. 24): are equipped: Lat., parati sunt = ετοιμοί εἰσί = Heb. בֵּיתְךָ.

r (vs. 25): the lamp of understanding: Lat., lucernam intellectus = λυχνίαν υιοθετος (Hilg.).

s (vs. 25): what thou art about to write: Lat., quae incipies scribere = a μελετεῖς γραφεῖν.

t (vs. 26): thou shalt publish: Lat., palam facies = δημοσιεύεις (Hilg.).

u (vs. 26): some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise: just as Moses, according to Rabbinc tradition, had delivered the substance of the oral law to the teachers and wise of his people to be handed down to future ages.

v (vs. 26): To-morrow: Lat., in crastinum (eis αὔρων): τῇ ημέρᾳ.

w (vs. 26): at this hour: Lat., haec hora = ταύτης τη ώρα.

x (vs. 26): thou shalt begin to write (or omit "begin to") = μελετεῖς γραφεῖν.

III. EZRA'S LAST WORDS

(14 17–30) (S) (R)

The section that follows is apparently of composite origin. In vs. 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 them-
selves 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.

Kabisch has subjected this passage to a searching criticism, in the
light of which it is difficult to suppose that it forms an original part of
E. *. The assembled people are addressed as if they shared, in almost
equal measure with their fathers, in the guilt which has cost them the
loss of their land. This would suit the position of S. living in exile
with the generation that had been deported to Babylon, but certainly
does not accord with the situation of Ezra in Jerusalem addressing the
restored community (some 150 years later), who are once again in pos-
session of their land, though according to the former part of the chapter
there are troublous times ahead. But the most surprising feature is
that Ezra, in this address, makes no mention of the reason why he is
withdrawing for forty days. If an extended address had been given
at this point in E. *, Ezra would naturally appear in it as admonishing
his people to conform strictly to the Law which would shortly be
restored to them. Then they would be able to face the troubles, which
should come after his departure, with serenity and faith. It may
plausibly be concluded, therefore, that no such address as that in our
present text, stood here in the original form of E. *, but that R., thinking
that a final admonition was required at this point (in view of vs. 13:
Reprove thy people: cf. vs. 18, I will warn the people that now are), has
displaced a section of S. from its original context and inserted it here,
with some slight adaptations. Kabisch has made it probable that the
section, in its original form, was the conclusion of S. and should follow
12 *. As such it recapitulates, in final form, the position of S., viz.,
that the true consolations for exiled Israel are to be looked for not in
this life, but in the future Age after death, when the names of the
righteous shall be made manifest. Therefore let exiled Israel discipline
its understanding and cultivate the true wisdom that it may receive
the reward of the righteous at last.

In its original form E. * here simply had, probably, vv. 27 and 36

27 THEN I WENT FORTH, AS HE COMMANDED ME, AND
ASSEMBLED ALL THE PEOPLE AND SAID: *

* Hear, O Israel, these words[*]

a (vs. 27): [Hear, O Israel, these words[*]: this clause (cf. 9 *6, 61 S.)
may be an addition here of R., to introduce the following speech (so
Kabisch). For the farewell address of Ezra here cf. Moses' farewell
discourse in Deut. 27–31.
Our fathers were at the beginning strangers in Egypt, and they were delivered from thence. And (then) they received the Law of life, which they kept not, even as you also after them have transgressed (it). Then there was a land given you for an inheritance in the land of Sion, but ye and your fathers have done unrighteousness, and have not kept "the ways which the Most High commanded you." And forasmuch as he is a righteous judge he took from you in due time that which he had bestowed. And now ye are here [and your brethren are...].

b (vs. 29): Our fathers were at the beginning strangers: Lat., peregrinantes peregrinati sunt patres nostri ab initio = Trapoikouvres Trapkmoravor rarepesmuav ar apxms (Hilg.). Note that the retrospect begins with the deliverance from Egypt as in 9 * (contrast Acts 7).

c (vs. 30): they received the Law of life, i.e., the Law which could confer (if it were observed) life and immortality—a characteristic thought of S.; cf. 9 * f.

d (vs. 30): even as : Lat., which (quem), so Syr.; probably in the original Heb. וּתְנָנָךְ ( = quem) was misread for וּתְנָנָךְ = even as (so Violet).

e (vs. 31): was . . . given you for an inheritance: Lat., data est vobis . . . in sortem = ἐδώθη ὑμῖν . . . εἰς κληρον (Hilg.) = (κληρον) (cf. Deut. 29 *).

f (vs. 31): in the land of Sion : so Lat., Syr. (Ethiop.). Ar. * omits (Ar. * and to you was given a portion on Mount Sinai). Hilg. strangely renders εἰς τὴν Χῖνα, i.e., in the land of Sihon (cf. Deut. 4 *).

f (vs. 31): have done unrighteousness : Lat., iniquitatem fecistis = εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν εὐπνεσαν (Hilg. = ἀναμιμὴν εὐπνεσαν; cf. Ps. 36 (Heb. 37 1), Heb. and LXX); Hilg., ἀναμιμὴν.

g (vs. 31): the ways which the Most High commanded you : so Lat. (Arm.; cf. Ethiop., the ways of the Most High which he commanded you): Syr., the ways which Moses, the servant of the Lord, commanded you : Ar. 1, the ways which were commanded you.

h (vs. 32): and : so Syr., Ethiop., Arm., Ar. 2 (cf. Ar. *); Lat. omits.

i (vs. 32): in due time : Lat., in tempore = εἰς καιρῷ (or κατὰ καιρὸν) cf. 3 * 8 41, 42, 10 16, 11 26 (cf. 4 *); Heb. ?(? (cf. Ecclus. 10 4) : in due time (Gk., εἰς καιρὸν Hebrew νῦν), he will raise up over it, etc.). The meaning is rather in due time than for a time (i.e., temporarily) (R.V., for a while).

j (vs. 33): ye are here, i.e., in Babylon (if the passage belongs to S.). In its present context here ought to mean in Jerusalem.

k (vs. 33): [and your brethren are . . .] : Lat., et fratres vestri intorsius vestri sunt = and your brethren are among you (R.V.); cf. Ar. *; the Syr. has [And now ye are here] in tribulation, and your brethren are further inland than you in another land: cf. Ethiop., and your brethren are further inland than you = καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν εὐδοτεροὶ ὑμῖν εἰσιν (Hilg.); so Arm., et fratres vestri intorsores
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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. THE RESTORATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES
(14 37-48) (E *)

37 So I TOOK THE FIVE MEN AS HE HAD COMMANDED ME, AND WE WENT FORTH "[into the field]" AND REMAINED THERE.

quam vos sunt (Ar. *, your brethren are in the furthest East). If your brethren here, as the Oriental Versions understand the expression, = the Ten Tribes, the verse is clearly a harmonistic addition, based on 13 41. In any case, as the evidence given above clearly shows, the text of the clause is very uncertain. [Volk. on the basis of the Lat., renders e'tos uav, but thinks this may be a corruption of e'tos uav = apart (i.e., separated) from you. As the Latin text stands it apparently implies that the Ten Tribes have already returned in the time of Ezra!]

l (vs. 34): If ye, then, . . . heart : Lat., Si ergo imperaverit sensui vestro et erudieritis cor vestrum = eav ovy kparmam're rmv kapātav vuay kal raióevamre rmv kapātav vuay (Volk.). For the expression discipline your heart cf. Ps. 16 (LXX. 15) *: my reins (= the emotional part of man) chasten or discipline me (Heb., yissérüni kilyöthái) = euβhēsauv me òi νεφροι μου [heart in our vs. = of course, intelligence].

m (vs. 34): ye shall be preserved alive, i.e., (as Volk. explains) spiritually alive; Lat., vivi conservati eritis = ζωντες τηρήσαντες; but if we may assume that 5 has accidentally fallen out or been ignored, the original Heb. may have been: δνην νεαν, i.e., ye shall be kept (reserved) for life, i.e., for life in the incorruptible Age to come. This equally well suits the context.

n (vs. 35): [when we shall once more live again]: Lat. quando iterum reviviscemus = οταν ταύτα ναβισώμεν (Hilg.); live again, sc. in the body. 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.

o (vs. 37): [into the field]: Lat., in campo : Hilg., ως πανων. We have already seen that the scene of Ezra's final work on earth is a
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.

spot (under the oak) in or near Jerusalem (cf. 3 * q * ); it is to this locality that he now retires with his five companions: * the field * is probably due to R, who identified the spot with the field of Ardat of the Fourth Vision. Some other expression may have stood in the text originally.

p (vs. 38): * Ezra: * so Lat., Ethiop.; but the other Versions have * O Ezra, Ezra. *

q (vs. 38): drink what I give thee to drink: Lat., * bibes quod te potioneer *

r (vs. 39): which: Lat. [calix plenus] hoc (hoc, sc. tormum).

s (vs. 39): was full as it were with water, but the colour of it (sc. the water) was like 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. * Here in reference to the trance into which Abraham fell (Gen. 15 * q * ), the different kinds of the trance-state are classified, and that which fell upon Abraham is described as * a divinely inspired and overpowering frenzy, which the race of prophets is subject to * ” (ενθος κατοικηχη τε μανια το προφητικον γενος χρηται). Abraham was ” thrown into a state of enthusiasm and inspired by the deity ” (ενθουσιωτος και θεοφορητου το παθος). Both in Philo and in the Rabbinical literature prophecy and inspiration are connected in the most intimate and vital way. Abraham and Moses were prophets, having been inspired (Philo, * op. cit. ibid. * ). So too in our present passage Ezra is represented as a prophet; * cf. also Wisdom 7 * : She (i.e., Wisdom = the holy Spirit) from generation to generation passing into holy souls maketh men friends of God and prophets. The Spirit was conceived as speaking through the medium of the prophet. Thus the Scriptures were originally dictated by the holy Spirit; the process is repeated in the case of Ezra; * cf. also the account of the translation of the LXX in Philo, * Life of Moses * ii. 7 (“ they, like men inspired, prophesied, not one saying one thing and another another, but everyone of them employed the self-same nouns and verbs, as if some unseen prompter had suggested all their language to them ”). Thus inspiration was claimed for the translation of Scripture, as well as for the original text (so also the Targum on the prophets was regarded as having been written by Jonathan b. Uzziel under the supervision

* Cf. the (possibly original) title of our Apocalypse, * Εξαρα ο προφητης. 
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."
AND MY MOUTH OPENED, AND WAS NO MORE SHUT.
AND THE MOST HIGH GAVE UNDERSTANDING UNTO
THE FIVE MEN, AND THEY WROTE "WHAT WAS DICTATED"
IN ORDER, IN CHARACTERS WHICH THEY KNEW NOT.

(carrying with it inspiration) of the three last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: (T. B. Megillâ 3a).
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.

1 (vs. 40): when I had drunk: Lat., in eo cum bibissem = εν τω
ποιω (Hilg.).
2 (vs. 40): poured forth: Lat., eructabatur = επηνευταο (Hilg.);
Heb., יָךָ; cf. Ps. 19 (LXX, 18); 119 (LXX, 118) 71, etc.
3 (vs. 40): wisdom grew in my breast: Lat., in pectus meum incres-
cebat sapientia = εις το στηθος μου επηνευταο σοφια (Hilg.). Gunkel,
"my breast swelled with wisdom," filled with the πνευμα της
σοφιας.
4 (vs. 40): and my spirit retained its memory: Lat., nam (= δε)
spiritus meus conservabat memoriam = το δε πνευμα μου συντηρησε την
μνημην. 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 inspi-
ration, 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.

5 (vs. 42): what was dictated: Lat., quae dicebantur = τα
λεγομενα.
6 (vs. 42): in order: Lat., ex successione = καθες; cf. Luke 1
(καθης σοι γραφαι).
7 (vs. 42): in characters which they knew not: Hilg., χαρακτηρων
ουσ ουρ ρωυμας: i.e., in a new Hebrew script, the square or "Assy-
rian" character used in our printed Hebrew Bibles. Ezra was tradi-
tionally regarded as the inventor of this form of Hebrew writing; cf.
Jerome in his Preface to the Books of Kings (the so-called prologus
galatus): certum est, Esdram scribam, legisque doctorem post capitam
Hierosolymam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias litteras reperisse
quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus idem Samaritanorum
et Ebraorum characteres fuerint.

With the translation given above (they wrote what was dictated [said]
in order, in characters which they knew not), the Syr. agrees (cf. Ethiop.):
the true Lat. text also agrees, reading (cf. Violet, B.J.): et scripsierunt
quae dicebantur ex successione notis (MSS., notitis) quae non sciebant:
here notis was corrupted to notis and ex successione to ex successionem
And so they sat forty days:

They wrote in the day-time
And at night did eat bread;

But as for me I spake in the day,
And at night was not silent.

So in forty days were written ninety-four books.

And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me saying: the twenty-four books that thou hast 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.

For in them is the spring of understanding,

(S.) et successionem (es), and finally excessiones; (A.) = the things that were said, the distractions (or ecstasies) of the night (cf. A.V., the wonderful visions of the night that were told = quae dicebantur excessiones noctis). Ar.1, Ar.2 paraphrase.

z (vs. 42): and so they sat: Lat., et sederunt: so Ethiop.: Syr., and I sat, so Arm. (Ar.1): Ar.8 has mansimus ibi.

a (vs. 43): but as for me I spake in the day, and at night was not silent: cf. in the Slavonic Enoch the account of the writing by Enoch of 366 books (the archangel Vretil dictates, and Enoch writes: 2 Enoch xxiii. 3 f.): And Vretil instructed me thirty days and thirtynights, and his lips never ceased speaking: and I did not cease thirty days and thirtynights writing all the remarks . . . and I wrote all out continuously during thirty days and thirtynights, and I copied all out accurately, and I wrote 366 books.

aa (vs. 44): ninety-four books. The number given in the Latin MSS. varies between 904, 970 and 973; the better reading seems to be 904; the Syr., Ethiop., Ar.1 and Arm. have 94, which is undoubtedly right.

b (vs. 45): the twenty-four books: so Syr., Ar.1 (Hilg.): the Lat. has priora = the first (R.V.): cf. Ethiop., Arm. (Hilg. thinks the number was omitted in these versions because the Christians reckoned 22, not 24, Books of the O.T.). 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 Heb. alphabet (so also Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome). This total seems to have been obtained by combining Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

b (vs. 46): the seventy last: these are the apocalypses, which were secret books.

c (vs. 47): the spring of understanding: Lat., vena intellectus = πηγὴ συνεργοῦ (Hilg.). Volk. gives for vena βιβλίων. The high estimation in which the apocalyptic literature was held within certain
THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM,
AND THE STREAM OF KNOWLEDGE.

"And I did so," in the seventh year, of the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation and three months and twelve days."

V. CONCLUSION OF THE BOOK

The concluding verses of the Book, which are in the third person, are obviously the work of R.

"And then was Ezra caught away, and taken up into the place of such as were like him, after having written all these things. And he is called the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever."

circles in Judaism come here to clear expression. They were valued above the canonical books.

d (vs. 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.

e (vs. 48): in the seventh year of the sixth week after five thousand years of the creation and three months and twelve days: so Syr. = 5042 years after the creation of the world (Ethiop. and Arm., 5004; Ar. 1, 5025). 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 3½ months of the Book of Revelation.

f (vs. 49): then: lit., in them, i.e., in the days above specified.

g (vs. 49): into the place of such as were like him: so Syr. Ethiop. (cf. Arm.): Ar. 1 has to the land of the living of such as were like him: so Hilg. For such as were like him, i.e., the Messiah and his immortal companions, cf. 6 8, 7 8, 13 8, 14 8.

h (vs. 50): he is called the scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever: so Syr. This is otherwise the title of Enoch; cf. 1 Enoch xii. 3 f., xv. 1; also (?) of the archangel Vretil, 2 Enoch xxii. 11.
In the following Appendix the Latin text of 4 Ezra, 3–14, has been printed from the edition of Fritzsche (Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti, Leipzig, 1871),* with the exception of the missing fragment (7 36–108), which is given in the text of A as published by Bensly (MF., pp. 43–73).

Throughout, Fritzsche’s text has been collated with the text and readings adopted by Bensly-James and Violet in their editions of the Latin text of our Apocalypse. But no attempt has been made to give a full *apparatus criticus.* For this recourse must be had to the editions of Bensly-James and Violet where the textual evidence is fully set forth.

The collation has been made according to the following plan—

The word against which a small letter is placed is to be corrected according to the note indicated by the corresponding letter below the text; where the correction accords with the text of both BJ and Violet, it is simply given, without further addition; e.g., in 3 1 Esdras in the text is printed Esdras *, and the note below is given *Ezra; this means that both BJ and Violet adopt Ezra in their text; where BJ and Violet do not agree in the correction, or where one supports Fritzsche’s text against the other, the various readings are given according to each authority: e.g. in 3 12 (et lec cum * corde populi) the note * runs “BJ in”; this means that Violet supports Fritzsche in reading cum, while BJ adopt in.

Where more than one word in the text is involved, the words are placed between duplicate letters: e.g. in 3 8 the words *i praecepta tua* in the text, are dealt with in the corresponding critical note below, which runs: “*i et tu non prohibuisti eos.*” This means that both BJ and Violet substitute these words for praecepta tua.

* For permission to reprint Fritzsche’s text our thanks are due to the publishers, Messrs. F. C. Brockhaus & Co., Leipzig, and to the representatives of the late Professor’s family.
Liber Esdrae Quartus

Visio Prima

III. Anno tricesimo ruinae civitatis eram in Babylone[e] ego Salathiel, qui et Esdras, et conturbatus sum super cubili meo recumbens, et cogitationes meae ascendebant super cor meum; quoniam vidi desertionem Sion et habundantiam eorum, qui habitabant in Babylone. Et ventilatus est spiritus meus valde, et coepi loqui ad Altissimum verba timorata et dixi:

O Dominator Domine, tu dixisti ab initio, quando plantasti terram, et hoc solus, et imperasti pulveri et dedisti Adam corpus mortuum; sed et ipse pigmentum manuum tuarum erat, et insufflasti in eum spiritum vitae et factus est vivens coram te; et induxisti eum in paradiso, quem plantaverat dextera tua, antequam terra adventaret. Et huic mandasti diligere viam tuam, et praeterivit eam; et statim instituisti in eum mortem et in nationibus eius. Et natae sunt ex eo gentes et tribus, populi et cognationes, quorum non est numerus. Et ambulavit unaquaeque gens in voluntate sua, et mira agebant coram te et spernebant praecepta tua.

Iterum autem tempore induxisti diluvium super habitantes saeculum et perdidisti eos. Et factum est in uno casu eiusmodi mortem et in nationibus eius. Et natae sunt ex eo gentes et tribus, populi et cognationes, quorum non est numerus. Dereliquisti autem unum ex his Noé cum domo sua, et ex eo justos omnes.

Et factum est cum coepissent multiplicari qui habitabant super terram, et multiplicaverunt filios et populos et gentes multas, et coeperunt iterato impietatem facere plus quam priores. Et factum est cum iniquitatem facerent coram te, elegisti tibi unum ex his, cui nomen erat Abraham. Et dilexisti eum, et demonstrasti ei soli finem temporum secrete noctu, et disposuisti ei testamentum aeternum et dixisti ei,
ut non umquam derelinqueres semen eius. Et dedisti ei Isaac, et Isaac dedisti Iacob et Esau. 16 Et segregasti tibi Iacob, Esau autem separatisti. Et factus est Iacob in multitudine magna. 17 Et factum est cum educeres semen eius ex Aegypto, et adduxisti super montem Sina. 18 Et inclinasti coelos, et statuisti terram, et commovisti orbem, et tremere fecisti abyssos, et conturbasti saeculum. 19 Et transit gloria tua portas quatuor, ignis et terrae motus et spiritus et gelu, ut dares semen Iacob legem et generationi Israél diligiam. 20 Et non abstulisti ab eis cor malignum, ut faceret lex tua in eis fructum. 21 Cor enim malignum baiulans primus Adam transgressus est victus est, sed et omnes qui de eo nati sunt. 22 Et facta est permanens infirmitas, et lex cum corde populi, cum malignitate radicis; et discipit quod bonum est, et mansit malignum. 23 Et transierunt tempora et finiti sunt anni, et suscistasti tibi servum nomine David. 24 Et dixisti ei aedificare civitatem nominis tui et offerre tibi in eodemthus et oblationes. 25 Et factum est hoc annis multis, et deliquerunt qui habitabant civitatem, in omnibus facientes sicut fecit Adam et omnes generationes eius, utebantur enim et ipsi corde maligno. 26 Et tradidisti civitatem tuam in manibus inimicorum tuorum. 27 Et tradidisti civitatem tuam in manibus inimicorum tuorum. 28 Et dixi ego tunc in corde meo: numquid meliora faciunt, qui habitant Babylonem? 29 Factum est autem cum venissim huc et vidissim impietates, quarum non est numerus, et delinquentes multos vidit anima mea hoc tricesimo anno. Et excessit cor meum, quoniam vidi quomodo sustineas eos peccantes, et pepercisti impie agentibus, et perdidisti populum tuum, et conservasti inimicos tuos, et non significasti nihil nemini quomodo debat derelinquier via haec. Numquid meliora facit Babylon quam Sion? 30 Aut alia gens cognovit te praeter Israél? Aut quae tribus crediderunt testamentis quorum non sapiat Iacob? 31 Quarum merces non comparuit, neque labor fructificavit. Pertransiens enim pertransivi in gentibus et vidi habundantes eas, et non memorantes mandatorum. 32 Nunc ergo pondera in statera iniquitates nostras et eorum qui habitant in saeculo, et non invenietur momentum puncti

\[* V derelinquas; o + eos; p gelus; q BJ in; r ea; s-s de tuis oblationes; t-t cor malignum; u V manu; v Babilonem; w BL dominavit V dominabit (? l. damnabit: so V.); x vidi; y quorum; z Babilon; a + haec; b + tuorum; c-c omit.*\]
ubi declinet. Aut quando non peccaverunt in conspectu tuo qui habitant terram? Aut quae gens sic observavit mandata tua? Homines quidem per nomina invenies servasse mandata tua, gentes autem non invenies.

in vano, venit enim ignis et consumpsit eam; \textsuperscript{17}similiter et cognitatus fluctuum maris, stetit enim arena et prohibuit eos. \textsuperscript{18}Si enim eras iudex horum, quem incipiebas iustificare, aut quem condemnapare? \textsuperscript{19}Et respondi et dixi: utrique vanam cogitationem cogitaverunt, terra enim data est silvae, et mari\textsuperscript{19} locus portare fluctus suos. \textsuperscript{20}Et respondit ad me et dixit: bene tu iudicasti, et quare non iudicasti tibimetipsi? \textsuperscript{21}Quemadmodum enim terra silvae data est et mare fluctibus suis, sic et qui super terram inhabitant\textsuperscript{19} quae sunt super terram intellegere solummodo possunt, et qui super coelos quae super altitudinem coelorum.

\textsuperscript{22}Et respondi et dixi: deprecor te, Domine, ut\textsuperscript{19} mihi datus est sensus intellegendi; \textsuperscript{23}non enim volui interrogare de superioribus vis, sed de his quae pertranseunt per nos cottidie: propter quod Israël datus est in \textsuperscript{19}proprium gentibus, quem dilexiest populum datus est tribubus impiis, et lex patrum nostrorum in \textsuperscript{19}interitum deducta est, et dispositiones scriptae nusquam sunt? \textsuperscript{24}Et pertransivimus de saeculo ut locustae, et vita nostra 'est pavor,' et nec dignus sumus misericordiam consequi. \textsuperscript{25}Sed quid faciet nomini suo 'qui invocatus est' super nos? Et\textsuperscript{26} de his interrogavi. \textsuperscript{27}Et respondit ad me et dixit: si fueris videbis, et si vixeris frequenter miraberis, quoniam festinans festinat saeculum pertransire; \textsuperscript{27}non capiet portare quae in temporibus iustis repromissa sunt, quoniam plenum maestitia est saeculum hoc et infirmitatibus. \textsuperscript{28}Seminatum est enim malum, 'de quibus' me interroegas \textsuperscript{19}dicam,\textsuperscript{19}et necdum venit \textsuperscript{28}destructio ipsius. \textsuperscript{29}Si ergo non \textsuperscript{29}evulsum\textsuperscript{19} fuerit quod seminatum est, et discesserit locus ubi seminatum est malum, non veniatagerubis ein seminatum est bonum; \textsuperscript{30}quoniam granum seminis mali seminatum est in corde Adam ab initio, et, quantum impietatis generavit usque nunc, et \textsuperscript{30}generat\textsuperscript{19} usque dum\textsuperscript{19} veniat area! \textsuperscript{31}aestima autem apud te, granum mali seminis quantum fructum impietatis generavit.\textsuperscript{19} Quando seminatae fuerint spicae, quarum non est numerus, quam magnam aream incipient facere!

\textsuperscript{32}Et respondi et dixi: quomodo\textsuperscript{19} et quando haec? quare
modici et mali anni nostri? 34Et respondit ad me et dixit
mihi*: non festinas* tu super Altissimum. Tu enim festinas
inaniter contra ipsum spiritum, nam Excelsus pro multis.
33Nonne de his interrogaverunt animae iustorum in promptuariis suis dicentes: usquequo spero sic? et quando veniet
fructus areae mercedis nostrae? 36Et respondit ad ea:
Ieremiel archangelus et dixit: quando impletus fuerit numerus
similium vobis, quoniam in statera ponderavit saeculum,
et mensura mensuravit tempora, et numero numeravit
tempora, et non commovit nec excitavit usqued impleatur
praedicta mensura. 38Et respondi et dixi: o Dominator
Domine, sed et nos omnes pleni sumus impietate; 39et ne
forte propter nos non impleatur iustorum areae, propter
peccata inhabitantium super terram. 40Et respondit ad me
et dixit: vade et interroga praegnantem, si quando impleverit
novem menses suos, adhuc poterit matrix eius retinere partum
in semetipsa. 41Et dixi: non potest, Domine. Et dixit ad
me: in inferno promptuaria animarum matricis assimilata
sunt; quemadmodum enim festinavit quae parit effugere
necessitatem partus, sic et haec festinat reddere ea quae
commendata sunt ab initio. 42Tunc tibi demonstrabitis de
his quae concupiscis videre.
44Et respondi et dixi: si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos et
si possibile est et si idoneus sum, demonstra mihi et hoc, si
plus quam praeteritum sit habet venire, aut plura pertransirent
super nos, quoniam quod pertransivit scio, quid autem
futurum sit ignoro. 47Et dixit ad me: sta super dexteram
partem et demonstrabo tibi interpretationem similitudinis.
48Et steti et vidi, et ecce fornax ardens transiit coram me, et
factum est cum transiret flamma, vidi et ecce superavit fumus.
49Post haec transiit coram me nubes plena aquae et immisit
pluviam impetu multam, et cum transisset impetus pluviae et
superaverunt in ea guttae. 50Et dixit ad me: cogita tibi:
sicut crescit pluvia amplius quam guttae, et ignis quam fumus,
sic superhabundavit quae transivit mensura. Superaverunt
autem guttae et fumus.

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d omit mihi; e festinas; f propter temetipsum; g V hic; h venit;
i eas; j Hieremihel; k-k commovebit nec excitabit; l BJ impietatem;
m-m prohibeatur; n area; o foetum; p-p V infernum et; q BJ
festinavit V festinavit; r BJ festinant; s V + eas; t-t praeteriit;
u BJ transisset; v-v et post hoc; w + enim.

Et evigilavi, et corpus meum horruit valde, et anima mea laboravit, ut deficeret. Et tenuit me qui venit angelus, qui loquebatur in me, et confortavit me et statuit me super pedes. Et factum est in nocte secunda, et venit ad me Phalathiel dux populi et dixit mihi: ubi eras? et quare vultus tuus tristis? aut nescis, quoniam tibi creditus est Israel in

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\* + super; \* in excessu; \* BJ incomposita [et sine] vestigio; \* turbatam; \* b-b interdie; \* commutabuntur; \* V omits menstruatae; \* V + (vel); \* V conjectures that a lacuna exists between impetrabunt and laborabunt.
regione transmigrationis eorum? Exsurge ergo et gusta panem, et non derelinquas nos sicut pastor gregem suum in manibus luporum malignorum. Et dixi ei: vade a me et non ad me accedas usque 'a diebus septem et tunc venies ad me. Et audivit ut dixi, et recessit a me. Et ego ieunavi diebus septem ululans et plorans, sicut mihi mandavit Uriel angelus.

VISIO SECUNDA


Et factum est, cum locutus esses sermonis istos, et missus est angelus ad me, qui ante venerat ad me praeterita nocte, et dixit mihi: audi me et instruam te, et intende mihi et adiamicor am te. Et dixi: loquere, Domine meus. Et dixit ad me: valde in excessu mentis factus es in Israël; an plus dilexisti eum super eum qui 'eum fecit?" Et dixi ad eum: non, Domine, sed dolens locutus sum; torquent enim me renes mei per omnem horam quarerentem apprehendere semitam Altissimi et investigare partem iudicis eius. 

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\textsuperscript{g} + alicujus; \textsuperscript{h} ut; \textsuperscript{i} BJ ad dies V diebus; \textsuperscript{j} omnium arborum; \textsuperscript{k} omnium terrarum; \textsuperscript{l} acquisisti; \textsuperscript{m} dedisti; \textsuperscript{n} omit eum; \textsuperscript{o} BJ los qui V eos qui (que); \textsuperscript{p} omit non; \textsuperscript{q} aut; \textsuperscript{r} BJ fecit illum V fecit eum.
dixit ad me: non potes. Et dixi: quare, Domine? aut quid nascebar? διὰ τὴν γὰρ οὐχ ἐγένετο ἡ μητρα τῆς μητρὸς μου τάφος, ἵνα μὴ ἔδω τὸν μόχθον τοῦ Ἰαχώβ καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ γένους 'Ισραήλ; 39et dixit ad me: numeram mihi quae neccum venerunt, et collige mihi dispersas guttas, et revirida mihi aridos flores, et aperi mihi clausa promptuaria, et produc mihi inclusos in eis flatus; aut monstra mihi vocis imaginem, et tunc ostendam tibi eum laborem, quem rogas videre. 38Et dixi: Dominator Domine, quis enim est qui potest hoc scire, nisi qui cum hominibus habitationem non habet? 39Ego autem insipiens, et quomodo potero dicere de his quibus me interrogasti? 40 Et dixit ad me: quomodo non potes facere unum de his quae dicta sunt, sic non poteris invenire iudicium meum, aut finem caritatis, quam populo promisi.

41Et dixi: sed ecce, Domine, tu prope es his qui in fine sunt, et quid facient qui ante me sunt, aut nos, aut hi qui post nos? 42Et dixit ad me: coronae assimilabo iudicium meum; sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic nec priorum velocitas. 43Et respondi et dixi: nec enim poteram facere qui facti sunt, et qui sunt, et qui futuri sunt in unum, ut celerius iudicium tuum ostendas? 44Et respondent ad me et dixit: non potest festinare creatura super creatorem, nec sustinere saeculum qui in eo creati sunt in unum. 45Et dixi: quomodo dixisti servo tuo, quoniam vivificans vivificabis a te creatam creaturam in unum, et sustinebit creatura: poterit et nunc portare praesentes in unum. 46Et dixit ad me: interroga matricem mulieris et dices ad eam: decem siparis, quare per tempus? Roga ergo eam, ut det decem in unum. 47Et dixi: non utique poteram, sed secundum tempus. 48Et dixit ad me: et ego dedi matricem terrae his qui seminati sunt super eam per tempus; 49quemadmodum enim infans non parit nec ea quae senuit adhuc, sic ego disposui a me creatum saeculum.

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s-s the passage is so cited in Clem. Alex. stromateis III. 16 The Latin text of BJ and V runs: aut quare non f erat matrix meae m ihi sepulcrum, ut non vi d erem laborem Jacob et defatigationem generis Israel? i qui; w V conjectures that a sentence has fallen out between m ihi and vocis; v haec; w V + (pro); x-x BJ praees V (conjectures) pr(omittis) (= ? promissi): Wellhausen (Skizzen VI. p. 11) praes es ('du bist Bürge'); y nos; z + si ergo viventes vivent in unum (so Bensly: cf. Syr. ? fallen out of Lat. by homoioteleuton).
50 Et interrogavi et dixi: cum iam dederis mihi viam, loquar coram te: num mater nostra, de qua dixisti mihi, adhuc iuvenis est, an iam senectuti approquinat?

51 Et respondit ad me et dixit: interroga quae parit, et dicet tibi; dices enim ei: quare quos peperisti nunc non sunt similes his qui ante, sed minores statuta?

52 Et dicet tibi et ipsa: alii sunt, qui in iuventute virtutis nati sunt, et alii, qui sub tempore senectutis deficientie matrice sunt nati. Considera ergo et tu, quoniam minores statuta estis prae his qui ante vos, et qui post vos quam ut vos, quasi iam senescentes creaturae et fortitudinem iuventutis praetereuntes.

53 Et dixi: rogo, Domine, si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos, demonstra servum tuo, per quem visitas creaturam tuam.

VI. Et dixit ad me: initio terreniorbis et antequam staret exitus saeculi, et antequam spirarent conventiones ventorum, et antequam sonarent voces tonitruum, et antequam splenderent niores coruscationum, et antequam confirmentur fundamenta paradisi, et antequam viderentur decori flores, et antequam confirmarentur motu virtutes, et antequam colligerentur innumerabiles militiae angelorum, et antequam extollerent altitudines aerum, et antequam nominarentur mensurae firmamentorum, et antequam aucteram camini in Sion, et antequam investigarentur praesentes anni, et antequam abalienarentur eorum qui nunc peccant ad inventiones et consignati essent qui fidei thesaurizaverunt:
tunc cogitavi, et facta sunt per me solum, et non per alium, ut et finis per me, et non per alium.

7 Et respondi et dixi: quae erit separatio temporum? aut quando prioris finis et sequentis initium? Et dixit ad me: ab Abraham usque ad Isaac, quoniam natus est ab eo Iacob et Esau, manus enim Iacob tenebat ab initio calcaneum Esau; finis enim huius saeculi Esau, et principium sequentis Iacob. Hominis manus inter calcaneum et manum; aliud noli quaerere, Esdra.
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"Et respondi et dixi: o Dominator Domine, si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos, ut demonstres servo tuo finem signorum tuorum, quorum ex parte mihi demonstrasti nocte praecedente." 13 Et respondit et dixit ad me: surge super pedes tuos et audies vocem plenissimam sonitus. 14 et erit sicut commotione commovebitur locus, in quo stes super eum, in eo cum loquitur tu non expavesas, quoniam de fine verbum; et fundamenta terrae intelligent, quoniam de ipsis sermo: tremiscet et commovebitur, scit enim quoniam finem eorum oportet commutari. 17 Et factum est, cum audissem, et surrexi super pedes meos et audivi, et ecce vox loquens, et sonus eius sicut sonus aquarum multarum, et dixit: ecce dies veniunt et erit, quando appropinquare incipiam, ut visitem habitantes in terra, et quando inquirere incipiam ab eis qui inustitia sua, et quando suppleta fuerit humilitas Sion, et cum supersignabitur saeculum quod incipiet pertransire, haec signa faciam: libri apertur ante faciem firmamenti, et omnes videbunt simul; anniculi infantes loquentur vocibus suis, et praegnantes immaturos parient infantibus trium et quatuor mensium, et vivent et suscitabuntur; et subito apparebunt seminata loca non seminata, et plena promptuaria subito inveniuntur vacua; et tuba cantet cum sono, quam cum omnes audierint, subito expavescent. 24 Et erit in illo tempore, debellabunt amicos ut inimici, et expavescent terra cum his qui inhabitant eam, et venae fontium stabunt et non decurrent in horis tribus; et erit, omnis qui derelictus fuerit ex omnibus istis quibus praedixi tibi, ipse salvabitur et videbit salutare meum et finem saeculi mei; et videbunt qui recepti sunt homines, qui mortem non gustaverunt a nativitate sua, et mutabitur cor inhabitantium terrae et convertetur in sensum alium; delebitur enim malum et extinguetur dolus; florebit autem fides, et vincetur corruptela, et ostendetur veritas, quae sine fructu fuit diebus tantis. 29 Et factum est cum loqueretur mihi, et ecce paulatim [commovebatur locus, super quem stabam super eum], et dixit ad me: haec veni tibi ostendere tempore venturae noctis.
Si ergo iterum rogaveris et iterum ieunaveris septem diebus, iterum tibi renuntiabo horum maiora per diem quoniam audivi. Audita est vox tua apud Altissimum; vidit enim Fortis directionem tuam et providit pudicitiam, quam a iuventute tua habuisti, et propter hoc misit me demonstrare tibi haec omnia et dicere tibi: confide et noli timere, et noli festinare in prioribus temporibus cogitare vana, et non properes a novissimis temporibus.

VISIO TERTIA


k-h Quoniam auditus audita est (beginning the new sentence) i BJ in; j BJ supplerem; k-h aliquod luminis ut apparerent tunc opera tua; l V in; m BJ inimitabiles; n odoramentis; o investigabiles; p BJ omit et.
animalia faciens, ut ex hoc mirabilia tua nationes enarrant.  

Et tunc conservasti duas animas: nomen uni vocasti Enoch\textsuperscript{1} et nomen secundi vocasti Leviathan,\textsuperscript{2} et separasti ea ab alterutro; non enim poterat septima pars, ubi erat aqua congregata, capere ea.  

Et dedisti Enoch\textsuperscript{3} unam partem quae siccata est tertio die, ut habitet in ea, ubi sunt montes mille, Leviathan\textsuperscript{4} autem dedisti septimam partem humidam, et servasti ea, ut fiant in devorationem quibus vis et quando vis.  

Sexto autem die imperasti terrae, ut crearet coram te iumenta et bestias et reptilia, et super his Adam, quem constitutisti ducem super omnibus factis quae fecisti, et ex eo educimur nos omnes quemque elegisti populum.  

Haec autem omnia dixi coram te, Domine, quoniam dixistiquia propter nos creasti saeculum.  

Residuas autem gentes ab Adam natas dixisti eas nil\textsuperscript{5} esse, et quoniam salvagea assimilatae sunt, et quasi stillicidium de vaso\textsuperscript{6} similasti habundantiam eorum.  

Et nunc, Domine, ecce istae gentes, quae in nihilum deputatae sunt, coeperunt\textsuperscript{7} nostri et devorare\textsuperscript{8} nos.  

Nos autem populus tuus, quem vocasti primogenitum, unigenitum, aemulatorem carissimum, tradisti sumus in manibus eorum: quare non haereditatem possidemus cum saeculo\textsuperscript{9} usquequo haec?  

Et factum est, cum finissem loqui verba haec, missus est ad me angelus, qui missus fuerat ad me primis noctibus, et dixit ad me: surge, Esdra, et audi sermones quos veni loqui ad te.  

Et dixi: loquere, Dominus meus. Et dixit ad me: mare positum est in spatio soloco, ut esset altum\textsuperscript{10} et immensum; erit autem ei introitus in angusto loco positus, ut esset similis fluminibus.  

Quis enim volens voluerit ingredi mare et videre eum, vel dominari eius: si non transierit angustum, in latitudinem venire quomodo poterit?  

Item aliu: civitas est aedificata et posita in loco campestri, est autem plena omnium bonorum; introitus eius augustus et in praecipiti positus, ut esset a dextris quidem ignis, a sinistris\textsuperscript{11} aqua alta, semita autem est una sola inter cos posita, hoc est

\textsuperscript{1}q-q duo animalia; r Behemoth; s V Leviathan; t Behemoth (Beemoth); u inhabitet; v V Leviatae; w quem; x primogenitum saeculum; y nihil; z sicut a vaso; b omit coeperunt; c BJ dominantur; d devorant; e-e nostrum saeculum; f Ezra; g latum; h fluminis; i si quis; j vero.
*inter ignem et aquam,* ut non capiat semita nisi solummodo vestigium hominis: *si autem dabitur civitas homini in haeredatatem, si nunquam ante positum periculum pertransierit, quomodo accipiet haeredatatem suam?* 

Et dixi: sic, Domine. Et dixit ad me: sic est et Israël pars. 

Propter eos enim feci saeculum, et quando transgressus est Adam constitutiones meas, iudicatum est quod factum est: et facti sunt introitus huius saeculi angusti et dolentes et laboriosi, pauci autem et mali et periculorum pleni et laboris magni opere fulti; nam maioris saeculi introitus spatiosi et securi et facientes immortalitatis fructum. 

Si ergo non ingredientes ingressi fuerint qui vivunt angusta et vana haec, non poterunt recipere quae sunt reposita. 

Nunc ergo* tu quare conturbaris, cum vis corruptibilis? et quid moveris tu, cum sis mortalis?* 

Et quare non accepisti in corde tuo quod futurum, sed quod in praesenti?

Et respondi et dixi: Dominator Domine, ecce disposuisti in lege tua, quoniam iusti haeredatabant haec, impii autem peribunt. 

Iusti autem ferent angusta sperantes spatiosa; qui enim impie gesserunt, et angusta passi sunt, et spatiosa non videbunt. 

Et dixit ad me: non est iudex super Deum, neque intelligens super Altissimum. 

Pereunt enim multi praesentes, quia negligitur quae ante posita est Dei lex. 

Mandans enim mandavit Deus venientibus quando venerunt, quid facientes viverent et quid observantes non punirentur. 


Ecce tempus veniet, et erit quando venient signa quae praedixi tibi, et apparebit sponsa et apparescens civitas, et ostendetur quae nunc subdicitur terra, et omnis qui liberatus est de praedictis malis, ipse videbit mirabilia mea. 

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a-k V ignis et aqua; l + illa; m data dabitur; n + illa; o non haeres; p V paucae; q V mala; r V plena; s-s laborum magnorum; t V fultae; u BJ autem; v BJ autem; w pereant; x-x quam neglegatur; y Altissimum; z Ezra; a + enim; b V omits et;
enim filius meus Jesus cum his qui cum eo sunt, et iocunda-
buntur qui relictisunt annis quadringentis. 29 Et erit post
anos hos, et morietur filius meus Christus et omnes qui
spiramentum habent homines. 30 Et convertetur saeculum
in antiquum silentium diebus septem, sicut in prioribus iniciis,
ita ut nemo derelinquatur. 31 Et erit post dies septem, et
excitabitur quod nondum vigilat saeculum, et morietur
corruptum; 32 et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui
in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria reddent quae eis
commendatae sunt animae. 33 Et revelabitur Altissimus
super sedem indicii, et pertransibunt misericordiae, et long-
animitas congregabitur; 34 indicium autem solum remanebit,
et veritas stabit, et fides convalescat, 35 et opus subsequetur,
et merces ostendetur, et iustitiae vigilabunt, et iniustitiae
non dormibunt.

Vv. [36]-[105] = THE MISSING FRAGMENT

36 Et apparebit lacus tormenti, et contra illum erit locus
requicionis; et clibanus gehennae ostendetur, et contra
eum jacunditatis paradisus. 37 Et dicet tunc Altissimus ad
excitatas gentes: videte et intellegite quem negastis, vel
cui non servivistis, vel cujus diligentias sprevistis. 38 Videte
contra et in contra: hic jacunditas et requies, et ibi ignis
et tormenta: haec autem loqueris dicens ad eos in die judicij.
39 Hic talis qui neque solem (habeat) neque lunam, neque
stellas, neque nubem, neque tonitrurum, neque coruscationem
neque ventum, neque aquam, neque aerem, neque tenebras,
neque sero neque mane, 40 Neque aestatem, neque ver, neque
aestum, neque hiemem, neque gelum, neque frigus, neque
grandinem, neque pluviam, neque rorem, 41 Neque meridiem
neque noctem, neque ante lucem, neque nitorem, neque
claritatem, neque lucem, nisi solummodo splendorem claritatis
Altissimi, unde omnes incipiant videre quae anteposita sunt.

\[c\] jacundabit; \[d\] V eam; \[e\] V habitat; \[f\] This section is represented
in Fritzsche's text by a conjectural restoration of the Latin text. It
is given here according to the text of A as edited by Bensly (MF);
the variants adopted by Violet being noted; \[g\] V servivis; \[h\] V
loquetur; \[i\] V haec; \[j\] V quae; \[k\] V habet; \[l\] V verem; \[m\] V gelum; 
\[n\] V ros.
Spatium enim habebit sicut septem annorum. Hoc est judicium meum et constitutio ejus, tibi autem soli ostendit haec. Et respondi tunc et dixi: domine, et nunc dico: beati praesentes et observantes quae a te constitutas sunt; Sed et [de] quibus erat oratio mea, quis enim est de praesentibus, qui non peccavit, vel quis natus, qui non praeterivit sponsionem tuam? Et nunc video, quoniam ad paucos pertinebit futurum saeculi jocunditatem facere, multis autem tormenta. Increvit enim in nos cor malum, quod nos abalienavit ab his, et deduxit nos in corruptionem, et in itinera mortis, ostendit nobis semitas perditionis et longe fecit nos a vita; et hoc non paucos, sed pene omnes qui creati sunt. Et respondit ad me et dixit: audi me et instruam te, et de sequenti corripiam te: Propter hoc non fecit Altissimus unum saeculum, sed duo. Tu enim, quia dixisti non esse multos justos, sed paucos, impios vero multiplicari, audi ad haec: Lapides electi habueris paucos valde, ad numerum eorum compones eos tibi, plumbum autem et fictile abundat. Et dixi: domine, quomodo poterit? Et dixit ad me: non hoc solummodo, sed in terroga terram, et dicet tibi, adulare ei, et narrabit tibi, Dices ei: aurum creas et argentum et aeramentum, et ferrum quoque et plumbum et fictile; Multiplicatur autem argentum super aurum, et aeramentum super argentum, et ferrum super aeramentum, plumbum super ferrum, et fictile super plumbum. Aestima et tu, quae sint pretiosae et desiderabilia, quod multiplicatur aut quod rarum nascitur. Et dixi: dominator domine, quod abundat vilius, quod enim rarius pretiosius est. Et respondit ad me et dixit: In te stant pondera quae cogitasti, quoniam qui habet quod difficile est, gaudet super eum, qui habet abundantiam. Sic et a me reprimissa creatura, jocundabor enim super paucis et qui salvabuntur propertia quod ipsi sunt qui gloriam meam nunc dominatiorem fecerunt, et per quos nunc nomen meum nominatum est; Et non contristabor super multitudinem eorum qui perierunt, ipsi...
enim sunt qui vapori\textsuperscript{c} assimilati sunt et flammae,\textsuperscript{d} fumo adaequati sunt et exarserunt, ferverunt et extincti sunt.

\textsuperscript{63}Et respondi et dixi: O tu terra, quid peperisti, si sensus factus est de pulvere, sicut et cetera creatura. \textsuperscript{64}Melius enim erat ipsum pulverem non esse natum, ut non sensus inde fieret. \textsuperscript{65}Nunc autem nobiscum crescit sensus, et propter hoc torquemur, quonia scientes perimus. \textsuperscript{66}Lugeat hominum genus, et agrestes bestiae laetentur, lugeant omnes qui nati sunt, quadrupedia\textsuperscript{e} vero et pecora jocundentur. \textsuperscript{67}Multum enim melius est illis quam nobis, non enim sperant judicium, nec enim scient cruciamenta\textsuperscript{f} nec salutem post mortem repromissam sibi. \textsuperscript{68}Nobis autem quid prodest, quonia salvati salvabimus, si\textsuperscript{g} tormento tormentabimus?

\textsuperscript{69}Omnes enim qui nati sunt, commixti sunt iniquitatibus, et pleni sunt peccatis,\textsuperscript{h} et gravati delictis; \textsuperscript{70}Et si non esses post mortem in judicio venientes, melius fortassis nobis venisset. \textsuperscript{71}Et respondit ad me et dixit: et quando Altissimus faciens faciebat saeculum, Adam et omnes qui cum\textsuperscript{i} eo venerunt, primum praeparavit judicium et quae sunt judicii

\textsuperscript{72}Et nunc de sermonibus tuis intellege, quoniam dixisti, quia nobiscum crescit sensus; \textsuperscript{73}Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra, hinc cruciabantur, quonia scientes habentes iniquitatem fecerunt, et mandata accipientes non servaverunt ea, et legem cosequuti\textsuperscript{j} fraudaverunt eam quam aceperunt.

\textsuperscript{74}Et quid habebunt dicere in judicio, vel quomodo respondebunt in novissimis temporibus? \textsuperscript{75}Quantum enim tempus ex quo longanimitatem habuit Altissimus his qui inabitant saeculum, et non propter eos, sed propter ea quae providit tempora! \textsuperscript{76}Et respondi et dixi: si inveni gratiam coram te, domine, demonstra, domine,\textsuperscript{k} servo tuo, si post mortem vel nunc quando reddimus\textsuperscript{l} unusquisque animam suam, si conservavi conservabimus in requie, donec veniant tempora illa, in quibus incipies creaturam renovare, aut amodo cruciabantur.\textsuperscript{m}

\textsuperscript{77}Et respondit ad me et dixit: ostendam tibi et hoc; tu autem noli commisceri cum eis qui speraverunt, neque connumerates te cum his qui cruciantur. \textsuperscript{78}Et enim est tibi thesaurus operum repositus apud Altissimum, sed non

\textsuperscript{c} V + nunc; \textsuperscript{d} V + ac; \textsuperscript{e} V quadrupedia; \textsuperscript{f} V cruciamentum; \textsuperscript{g} V sed; \textsuperscript{h} V pecatorum; \textsuperscript{i} V ex; \textsuperscript{j} V consecuti; \textsuperscript{k} V et hoc; \textsuperscript{l} V reddemus; \textsuperscript{m} V cruciabimus.
tibi demonstrabitur usque in novissimis temporibus. 

Nam de morte sermo est: quando profectus fuerit terminus sententiae ab Altissimo ut homo moriatur, recedente inspiratione de corpore ut dimittatur iterum ad eum qui dedit adorare gloriam Altissimi primum. Et si quidem esset eorum qui spreverunt et non servaverunt viam Altissimi, et eorum qui contemperunt legem ejus, et eorum qui oderunt eos qui timent eum, Haec inspirationes in habitaciones non ingredientur, sed vagantes erunt amodo in cruciamentis, dolentes semper et tristes. 

Via prima, quia spreverunt legem Altissimi. Secunda via, quoniam non possunt reversionem bonam facere ut vivant. Tertia via, vident repositam mercedem his qui testamentis Altissimi crediderunt. Quarta via, considerabunt sibi in novissimis repositum cruciamentum. Quinta via, videntes aliorum habitaculum ab angelis conservari cum silentio magno. Sexta via videntes quemadmodum de eis pertransient in crux cruciamentum. Septima via est omnium qua supradictae sunt viarum major quoniam detabescit in confusione et consumentur in honoribus et marcescent in timoribus, videntes gloriam Altissimi coram quem viventes peccaverunt et coram quem incipient in novissimis temporibus judicari. 

Nam eorum qui vias servaverunt Altissimi ordo est hic, quando incipient servari a vaso corruptibili. In eo tempore commoratae servierunt cum labore Altissimo, et omni hora sustinuerunt periculum, uti perfecte custodirent legislatoris legem. Propter quod hic de his sermo: Imprimis vident cum exultatione multa gloriam ejus qui suscipit eas, requiescent enim per septem ordines. Ordo primus, quoniam cum laboro multo certati sunt, ut vincerent cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum malum, ut non eas seducat a vita in mortem. Secundus ordo, quoniam vident complicationem, in qua vagantur impiorum animae, et quae in eis manet punitio. Tertius ordo, videntes testimonium quod testificatus est eis qui plasmavit eas, quoniam viventes servaverunt quae per fidem data est lex. 

n V omits est; o V + per septem vias; p V quia jam; q V habitacula; r V quam amodo; s-s V pertransientem; t V omits est; u-u V quae omnium; v-v V supradictarum viarum major est; w V omits Altissimi; x-x V separari incipient; y V ad; z V quo.
intellegentes requiem quam nunc in promptuariis congregati requiescent cum silentio multo ab angelis conservati, atque in novissimis eorum manentem gloriam. Quintus ordo, exultantes quomodo corruptibile effugerint nunc, et futurum quomodo hereditatem possidebunt, adhuc autem videntes angustum et [labore] plenum, quoniam liberati sunt, et spaciosum [quod incipient] recipere fruniscentes et immortales. Sextus ordo, quando eis ostendetur, quomodo incipient vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol, et quomodo incipient stellaram adsimilari lumini, amodo non corrupti. Septimus ordo, qui est omnibus supradictis major, quoniam exultabunt cum fiducia et quoniam confidebunt non confusi, et gaudebunt non reverentes, festinant enim videre vultum [ejus], cui serviunt viventes et a quo incipiunt gloriosi mercedem recipere. Hic ordo animarum justorum, ut amodo adnuntiat, praedictae viae cruciatas, quas patientur amodo qui neglexerint. Et respondi et dixi: ergo dabitur tempus animabus post quam separatae fuerint de corporibus, ut videant de quo mihi dixisti? Et dixit: septem diebus erit libertas earum, ut videant qui praedicti sunt sermones, et postea congregabantur in habitaculis suis. Et respondi et dixi: si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos, demonstra mihi adhuc servo tuo, si in die judicii justi impios excusare poterint vel deprecari pro eis Altissimum, Si patres pro filiis, vel filii pro parentibus, si fratres pro fratribus, si adfines pro proximis, si fidentes pro carissimis. Et respondit ad me et dixit: quoniam invenisti gratiam *ante oculos meos,* et hoc demonstrabo tibi: dies judicii *dies decretorius* est, et omnibus signaculum veritatis ostendet; quemadmodum enim nunc non mittit pater filium, vel filius patrem, vel dominus servum vel fidus carissimum ut pro eo intellegat, aut dormiat, aut manducet, aut curetur; Sic numquam nemo pro aliquo rogabit, omnes enim portabunt unusquisque tunc injustitias suas aut justitias, Et respondi et dixi: et quomodo invenimus modo, quoniam rogavit primus Abraham propter Sodomitas oravit, et Moyes pro patribus

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*a V + eorum; b V et quae; c V manet; d V effugerunt e V a quo; f V stellis; g V servierunt; h V incipient; i V . . . . (lacuna); f V . . . . (lacuna); k V quos; l V patiuntur; m V + mihi; n-n V coram oculis meis; o-o V audax; p V demonstrans; q V omits enim; r V aut.*
qui in deserto peccaverunt, et Iesus qui post eum pro Israël in diebus Achaz et Samuhel et David pro contractione, et Salomon pro eis qui venerunt in sanctionem, et Ezechias pro populo in diebus Sennacherib, et multi pro multis. Si ergo modo, quando corruptibile increvit et inujustitia multiplicata est, oraverunt iusti pro impiis, quare et tunc sic non erit? Et respondit ad me et dixit: praesens saeculum non est finis, gloria in eo frequens non manet, propter hoc oraverunt validi pro invalidis: dies enim iudicii erit finis temporis huius et initium futuri immortality temporis, in quo pertransivit corruptela, soluta est iniquitas, crevit autem iustitia, orta est veritas; tunc ergo nemo poterit salvare eum qui perit, neque demergere eum qui vixerit.

Et respondi et dixi: hic sermo meus primus et novissimus, quoniam melius erat non dare terram Adam, vel cum iam dedisset, cohercere eum ut non peccaret; quid enim prodest hominibus in praesenti vivere in tristitia et mortuus sperare punitionem? Et tu quid fecisti, Adam? Si enim tu peccasti, non est factus solius tuus casus, sed et nostrum, qui ex te advenimus. Quid enim nobis prodest, si promissum est nobis immortale tempus, nos vero mortalia opera egimus? Et quoniam praedicta est nobis perennisspes, nos vero pessime vani factimur? Et quoniam repositas sunt habitacula sanitatis et securitatis, nos vero male conversati sumus? Et quoniam incipiet gloria Altissimi protegere eos qui caste conversati sunt, nos autem pessime viis ambulavimus? Et quoniam ostendetur paradisus, cuius fructus incorruptus perseverat, in quo est securitas et medella, nos vero non ingremimus? In ingratis enim locis conversati sumus; et quoniam super stellas fulgebunt facies eorum qui abstinentiam habuerunt, nostrae autem facies super tenebras nigrae? Non enim cogitavimus viventes quando iniquitatem faciemus, quod incipiemus post mortem pati.

Et respondit et dixit: hoc est cogitamentum certaminis

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s Achar [with vs. (107) Fritzshe's text is resumed]; t Samuel; u omitt venverunt; v V sanctificationem; w Helias; x BJ exoraverunt; y-y (non) frequens; z qui potuerunt; a immortalis; b-b misereri ejus qui in judicio victus fuerit; c coercere; d omnibus; e saturitas; f V medella; g V omits; in h vero.
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

quod certabit qui super terram natus est homo, ut si victus fuerit, patiatur quod dixisti: si autem vicerit, recipiet quod dico: quoniam haec est via quam Moyses dixit cum viveret, ad populum dicens: elige tibi vitam ut vivas. Non crediderunt autem ei, sed nec post eum prophetis, sed nec mihi qui locutus sum ad eos, quoniam non esset tristitia in perditionem eorum, sicut futurum est gaudium super eos, quibus persuasa est salus. Et respondi et dixi: scio, Domine, quoniam nunc vocatus est Altissimus misericors in eo quod misereatur his qui nondum in saeculo adverterunt; et miserator in eo quod misereetur illis qui conversionem faciunt in lege eius; et longanimitis, quoniam longanimitatem praestat his qui peccaverunt quasi suis operibus; et munificus, quoniam quidem donare vult pro exigere; et multae misericordiae, quoniam multiplicat magis misericordias his qui praesentem sunt et qui praeterierunt et qui futuri sunt: si enim non multiplicaverit, non vivificabitur saeculum cum his qui inhabitabant in eo; et donator, quoniam si non donaverit de bonitates sua ut alleventur hi qui iniquitatem fecerunt de suis iniquitatis; non poterit decies millescima pars vivificari hominum; et iudex si non ignoverit his qui creati sunt verbo eius, et deleverit multitudinem contemptionum, non fortasssis derelinquentur in innumerabili multitudine nisi pauci valde.

VIII. Et respondit ad me et dixit: hoc saeculum fecit Altissimus propter multos, futurum autem propter paucos. Dicam autem coram te similitudinem, Esdra. Quomodo autem interrogabis terram et dicet tibi, quoniam abit terram multam magis unde fiat factile, parvum autem pulverem unde aurum fit: sic et actus praesentissae ci. Multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabantur. Et respondi et dixi: [absorbe, anima mea, sensum, et bibe, cor meum, intelligentiam, venis enim sine voluntate tua et abis cum non vis; non enim data est tibi potestas, nisi solummodo in vita temporis exigui.] 6 O Domine super nos, si permittes servo tuo ut oremus coram te, et des nobis semen

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i V certavit; j V erit; k + et; l BJ habitant; m iniquitates; n millensesima; o V + (quiniam); p de; a Ezra; b-b V absolve (BJ absorbe); ergo anima sensum et devoret quod sapit! convenisti obaudire et profecta es nolens; nec (BJ non) enim tibi est datum spatium nisi solum modicum vivere.
cordis et sensui culturam, unde fructus co fiat, unde vivere possit omnis corruptus, qui portabit locum hominis? 7 Solus enim es, et una plasmatio nos sumus manuum tuarum, sicut locutus es; et quoniam vivificas nunc in matrice plasmatum corpus et praestas membra, conservatur in igni et aqua tua creatio, et novem mensibus patitur tua plasmatio tuae creaturae quae in ea creata est: ipsum autem quod servat et quod servatur, utraque servabuntur, servata quando iterum reddit matrix quae in ea creverunt; 10 imperasti enim ex ipsis membris praebere lac, fructum mamillarum, ut nutritur id quod plasmatum est usque in tempus aliquod, et postea dispones eum tuae misericordiae. 11 Enutristi eum tuae iustitiae, et erudisti eum in lege tua, et corripui eum tuo intellectu; et mortificabis eum ut tuam creaturam, et vivificabis eum ut tuum opus. 14 Si ergo perderidis eum qui tantis laboribus plasmatus est, tuo iussu facile est ordinari, ut et id quod fiebat servaretur. 15 Et nunc dicens dicam, de omni homine tu magis scis, de populo autem tuo, ob quem doleor, et de haereditate tua, propter quam lugeo, et propter Israël, propter quem tristis sum, et de semine Iacob, propter quod conturbor: 17 ideo incipiam orare coram te pro me et pro eis, quoniam video lapsus nostros qui inhabitamus terram, sed audivi celeritatem iudicis qui futurus est. 19 Ideo audi vocem meam et intellige sermonem meum, et loquar coram te.

**Et dixi :** Domine, qui inhabitas saeculum, cuius oculi elati in superna et æorem, cuius thronus inaestimabilis et gloria incomprehensibilis; cui adstat exercitus angelorum cum tremore, quorum servatio in vento et igni convertitur; cuius verbum verum et dicta perseverantia; cuius iussio fortis et dispositio terribilis;  0  ou to βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἄβυσσον καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τῆς ὕπνης καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
exaudi orationem servi tui et auribus percipe precationem
figmenti tui, dum enim vivo loquar, et dum sapio respondebo.

Ne aspicias populi tui delicta, sed qui tibi serviant in
veritate; nec attendas impie agentium studia, sed qui tua
testimonia cum doloribus custodierunt; neque cogites qui
in conspectu tuo false conversati sunt, sed memorare qui ex
voluntate tua timorem cognoverunt; neque volueris perdere
qui pecudum mores habuerunt, sed respicias eos qui legem
tuam splendide docuerunt; neque indigneris eis qui bestis
peius iudicati sunt, sed diligas qui semper in tua gloria
considerunt: quoniam nos et patres nostri talibus moribus
cogimus, tu autem propter nos peccatores misericors vocaberis;

deni enim desideraveris ut nostri miserearis, tunc misericors
vocaberis, nobis enim non habentibus opera iustitiae. Iusti qui
quibus sunt opera multa reposita apud te, ex propriis operibus
recipient mercedem. Quid est enim homo, ut ei indigneris,
augens corruptibile, ut ita amariceris de ipso? In
veritate enim nemo de genitis est, qui non impie gessit, et de
confinentibus, qui non deliquit. In hoc enim annuntiabur
iustitia tua et bonitas tua, Domine, cum misertus fueris eis
qui non habent substantiam bonorum operum.

Et respondit ad me et dixit: recte locutus es aliqua, et
iuxta sermones tuos, sic et fiet; quoniam vere non cogitabo
super plasma eorum qui peccaverunt aut mortem, aut iudicium,
aut perditionem, sed iocundabor super iustorum
figmentum, et memorabor peregrinationis quoque et sal
vationis et mercedes receptionis. Quomodo ergo locutus
sum, sic et est. Sicut enim agricola serit super terram semina
multa et plantations multitudinis plantat, sed non in tempore
omnia quae seminata sunt salvantur, sed nec omnia quae
plantata sunt radicantur, sic et qui in seculo seminati sunt
non omnes salvabuntur.

Et respondi et dixi: si inveni gratiam loquar. Quomodo semen agricolae, si non
ascenderit, non enim accept pluviam tuam in tempore, aut si corruptum fuerit multitudine
pluviae, sic perit, et similiter homo, qui manibus tuis plast-

matus est et tu ei imago nominatus, quoniam similatus es ei, propter quem omniaplastmasti, et similasti semini agricolae?

Non irascaris super nos, sed parce populo tuo et misere

haereditati tuae; tu enim creaturae tuae misereris.

Et respondit ad me et dixit: quae sunt praesentia praesentibus, et quae futura futuris; multum enim tibi restat, ut possis diligere meam creaturam super me. Tu autem frequenter temetipsum proximasti in justis, iustis autem nun

quam; sed et in hoc mirabilis eris coram Altissimo, quoniam humilisti te sicut decet te, et non iudicasti te, ut inter iustos plurimum glorificeris; propter quod miserie multae et miserables efficientur eis qui habitant saeculum in novissimis, quia in multa superbia ambulaverunt. Tu autem pro te intellige et de similibus tuis inquire gloriam.

Vobis enim apertus est paradisus, plantata est arbor vitae, praeparatum est futurum tempus, praeparata est habundantia, aedificata est civitas, probata est requies, perfecta est bonitas et perfecta sapientia; radix mali signata est a vobis, in

firmitas et tinea a vobis absconsa est, in infernum fugit corruptio, in oblivione transierunt dolores et ostensus est in fine thesaurus immortalitatis. Noli ergo adicere inquirendo de multitudine eorum qui pereunt, nam et ipsi accipientes libertatem speraverunt Altissimum, et legem eius contemperunt, et vias eius dereliquerunt; adhuc autem iustos eius conculaverunt, et dixerunt in corde suo non esse Deum, et quidem scientes quoniam moriuntur. Sicut enim vossuscipient quae praedicta sint, sic eos sitis et cruciatus, quae praeparata sunt; non enim Altissimus voluit hominem disperdi, sed ipsi qui creati sunt coquinaverunt nomen eius qui fecit eos, et ingrati fuerunt ei qui praeparavit eis vitam: quapropster judicium meum modo approquinat. Quae non omnibus demonstravi, nisi tibi et tibi similus paucis.

Et respondi et dixi: ecce nunc, Domine, demonstrasti
mihi multitudinem signorum, quae incipies facere in
novissimis, sed non demonstrasti mihi quo tempore.

IX. Et respondit ad me et dixit: metiens metiere
et erit cum videris, quoniam transierit pars quaedam
signorum quae praedicta sunt, tunc intelliges quoniam ipsum*
est tempus, in quo incipiet Altissimus visitare saeculum, *quod
ab eo factum est. 5 Et quando videbitur in saeculo motio
locorum, populorum turbatio, gentium cogitationes, ducum
inconstantiae, 9 principum turbatio, tunc intelliges quoniam
de his erat Altissimus locutus a diebus qui fuerunt ante te 4 ab
initio. 5 Sicut enim omne quod factum est in saeculo 4 initium
habet pariter et consummationem, et consummatio est
manifesta, sic et Altissimi tempora: initia manifesta in
prodigis et virtutibus, et consummatio in actu et in signis.
6 Et erit, omnis qui salvus factus fuerit et qui poterit effugere
per opera sua vel per fidem, in qua creditis. 6 is relinquetur de
praedictis periculis et videbit salutare meum in terra mea et
in finibus meis, quoniam 5 sanctificavi mihi a saeculo. *Et
tunc mirabuntur qui nunc abuti sunt vias meas, et in cru-
ciamentis commorabuntur hi 4 qui eas proiecerunt in contempto.
10 Quia  4 enim non cognoverunt me viventes beneficia consecuti,
et qui fastidierunt legem meam, cum adhuc erant habentes
libertatem, et cum adhuc esset eis apertus 6 poenitentiae locus,
non intellexerunt, sed preverunt: hos oportet post mortem
in cruciamento cognoscere. 13 Tu ergo 4 noli adhuc 4 curiosus
esse quomodo impii cruciabantur, sed inquire quomodo iusti
salvabantur, et quorun saeculum, et propter quos saeculum,
et quando.

14 Et respondi et dixi: olim locutus sum et nunc dico et
postea dicam, quoniam plures sunt qui pereunt, quam qui
salvabantur, sicut multiplicatur fluctus super guttum.

Et respondit ad me et dixit: 17 qualis ager, talia et semina.
et quales flores, tales et tincturae, et quales operator, talis  et
creatio, et quales agricola, talis et cultura: quoniam tempus
erat saeculi, et tunc cum essem parans eis, his qui nunc sunt,
antequam fieret saeculum, in quo habitarent,  m et nemo

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1) w V ipsud; x-x qui ab co factus est; y inconstantia; z omit
2) te; a-a BJ initium per consumptionem: V initium patet . . .
3) b omit est; c quae; d hii; e BJ quodquod V quotquot; / BJ
4) quodquod V quotquot; / BJ
5) g apertum; h-h adhuc noli; i omit et; j opera;
6) k area; l + illis; m inhabitarent.
contradixit mihi, 18\textsuperscript{a} tum enim erat nemo;\textsuperscript{b} et nunc creatorum\textsuperscript{e} in mundo hoc parato et mensa indecienti et lege investigabili, corrupti sunt mores\textsuperscript{g} eorum. 20\textsuperscript{e} Et consideravi saeculum\textsuperscript{m} meum,\textsuperscript{o} et ecce erat periculum\textsuperscript{p} propter cogitationes quae in eo advenerunt. 21\textsuperscript{e} Et vidi et pepercì ei\textsuperscript{t} valore,\textsuperscript{u} et salvavi mihi acinum de botro et plantationem de tribu multa. 22\textsuperscript{e} Pereat ergo multitudo, quae sine causa nata est, et servetur acinus meus et plantation mea, quia cum multo labore perfeci haec. 23\textsuperscript{e} Tu autem si adhuc intromittas septem dies alios; sed non ieiunabis in eis,\textsuperscript{v} ibis\textsuperscript{u} in campum florum, ubi domus non est aedificata, et manduces\textsuperscript{w} solummodo de floribus campi, et carnem non gustabis, et vinum non bices, sed solummodo flores: 25\textsuperscript{e} deprecare\textsuperscript{x} Altissimum sine intermissione, et veniam et loquar tecum.

VISIO QUARTA

26\textsuperscript{e} Et profectus sum, sicut dixit mihi, in campum qui vocatur Arphad,\textsuperscript{z} et sedi ibi in floribus, et de herbis agri manducavi, et facta est esca earum mihi\textsuperscript{z} in saturatatem. 27\textsuperscript{e} Et factum est post dies septem, et ego discumbebam supra foenum, et cor meum iterum turbabatur sicut et ante. 28\textsuperscript{e} Et apertum est os meum, et inchoavi dicere coram Altissimo et dixi:

29\textsuperscript{e} O Domine, te nobis ostendens ostensus es patribus nostris in deserto, quando erant exientes de Aegypto, et quando venient in deserto quod non calcatur et infructuoso, et dicens dixisti: 30\textsuperscript{e} tu Israël audi me et semen Iacob intende sermonibus meis. 31\textsuperscript{e} Ecce enim ego semino in vobis legem meam, et faciet in vobis fructum, et glorificabimini\textsuperscript{y} in eo per saeculum. 32\textsuperscript{e} Nam patres nostri accipientes legem non servaverunt, et legitima tua non custodierunt, et factus est fructus\textsuperscript{y} legis non periens; nec enim poterat, quoniam tuus erat. 33\textsuperscript{e} Nam qui acceperunt perierunt, non custodientes quod in eis seminatum fuerat. 34\textsuperscript{e} Et ecce, consuetudo est ut, cum acceperit terra semen, vel navem mare, vel vas aliud\textsuperscript{b} escam vel potum,

\textsuperscript{n-n} nec enim erat quisquam; o creati; p moribus; q + et ecce erat perditum; et orbum meum; r BJ periclitans V periculi; s eis; t vix valde; u + autem; v manduco; w et deprecari; x Ardat; y BJ omit mihi; z V glorificamini; a-a V factum est fructum; b-b escas vel potus.
vel quae suscepta sunt exterminentur, haec susceptor
vero manent ; apud nos enim non sic factum est. Nos
quidem qui legem acceperimus peccantes peribimus, et cor
nostrum quoniam suscepit eam ; nam lex non perit, sed
permansit in suo honore.

Et cum loquerer haec in corde meo, respexi oculis meis
et vidi mulierem in dextera parte, et ecce haec lugebat et
plorabat cum voce magna, et animo dolebat valde, et vesti-
menta eius discissa, et cinis super caput eius. Et
demisit cogitatus, in quibus eram cogitans, et conversus sum ad eam
et dixi ei : ut quid fles ? Et quid doles animo ? Et dixit
ad me : dimitte me, Dominus meus, ut defleam me et adiciam
dolorem, quoniam valde amaro sum animo et humiliata sum
valde. Et dixi ei : quid passa es ? Dic mihi. Et dixit
ad me : sterilis fui ego famula tua et non peperi, habens
maritum annis triginta. Ego enim per singulas horas et
per singulos dies in annos hos triginta/ deprecabar Altissimum
nocte ac die. Et factum est, post triginta annos exaudivit
me Deus ancillam tuam, et praevidit humilitatem meam, et
attendit tribulationi meae, et dedit mihi filium. Et io cum
sum super eum valde ego et vir meus et omnes cives mei, et
honorificabamus valde Fortem. Et nutrivi eum cum labore
multo ; et factum est, cum crevisset et venisset accipere
uxorem, feci diem epuli. X. Et factum est, cum introisset
filius meus in thalamo suo, cecidit et mortuus est. Et
evertimus omnes lumina, et surrexerunt omnes cives mei ad
consolandum me, et qui vixus etiam in alium diem usque nocte.
Et factum est, cum omnes quievissent ut me consolarentur
ut quiescerem, et surrexi nocte et fugi, et veni sicut vides in
hoc campo. Et cogito iam non reverti in civitatem, sed hic
consistere, et neque manducabo neque bibam, sed sine
intermissione lugere et ieiunare usque dum moriar.

Et dereliqui sermones in quibus eram, et respondi cum
iracundia ad eam et dixi : stulta super omnes mulieres, non
vides luctum nostrum et quae nobis continget ? Quoniam
Sion mater nostra omnium in tristitia contristatur, et humilitate humiliata est, et luget validissime. 

Et nunc omnes lugemus et tristessumus, quoniam omnes contristati sumus, tu autem contristaris in uno filio? 

Interroga enim terram et dicet tibi, quoniam haec est quae debeat lugere casum tantorum super eam germinantium. 

Et ex ipsa ab initio omnes nati et alii venient, et ecce, pene omnes in perditionem ambulant et in exterminium fit multitudo eorum. 

Et quis ergo debet lugere magis, nisi haec quae tam magnam multitudinem perdidit, quam tu, quae pro uno doles? Si autem dices mihi: quoniam non est similis planctus meus terrae, quoniam fructum ventris mei perdidi, quem cum moeroribus peperi et cum doloribus genui, 

et ex ipsa ab initio omnes nati et alii venientes, sic et terra dedit fructum suum hominem ab initio ei qui fecit eam. 

Nunc ergo retine apud temetipsam dolorem tuum et fortiter quid tibicontigerunt casus. 

Si enim justificaveris terminum Dei, et filium tuum recipies in tempore, et in mulieribus collaudaberis; 

ingredere ergo in civitatem ad virum tuum. 

Et dixit ad me: non faciam neque ingredi civitatem, sed hic moriar. 

Et apposui adhuc loqui ad eam et dixi: noli facere hunc sermonem, sed conveni consensui. 

Vides enim quoniam sanctificatio nostra deserta effecta est, et altare nostrum demolitum est, et templum nostrum destructum est, 

et psalterium nostrum humiliatum est, et hymnus noster conticuit, et exsultatio nostra dissoluta est, et lumen candelabri nostri extinctum est, et arca testamenti nostri direpta est, et sancta nostra contaminata sunt, et nomen quod nominatum est super nos pene profanatum est, et liberi nostri contumeliam passi sunt, et sacerdotes nostri succensi sunt, et Levitae nostri in
captivitatem\emph{f} abierunt, et virgines nostrae coquinatae sunt, et mulieres nostrae vim passae sunt, et iusti nostri rapti sunt, et parvuli nostri perditi\emph{a} sunt, et iuvenes nostri servierunt, et fortis nostri invalidi facti sunt, \emph{g} et quod omnium maius, signaculum Sion, quoniam resignata est de gloria sua, nunc et tradita est in manibus eorum qui nos oderunt. \emph{h} Tu ergo excute tuam 'tristitiam multam,' et depone abs te multitudinem dolorum, ut tibi repropitietur Fortis, et requiem faciet tibi Altissimus, requietionem laborum.

\emph{i} Et factum est, cum loquebar ad eam, et ecce facies eius fulgebant subito, et \emph{j} specie\emph{c} coruscus fiesbat visus eius, ut etiam paverem valde ad eam\emph{k} et cogitarem quid esset hoc. \emph{l} Et ecce, subito emisit sonum vocis magnum timor quo plenum, ut commoveretur terra a mulieris\emph{a} sono; \emph{m} et vidi, \emph{n} et ecce, amplius mulier non comparebat mihi, sed civitas aedificabatur et locus demonstrabatur de fundamentis magnis, et timui et clamavi voce magna et dixi: \emph{o} ubi est Uriel angelus, qui a principio venit ad me? Quoniam ipse me fecit venire in multitudinem\emph{p} in excessu\emph{q} mentis eius, et factus est finis eius in corruptionem, et oratio mea in improperium.

\emph{r} Et cum esset loquens ego haec, et ecce venit ad me angelus qui in principio venerat ad me. Et vidi me, \emph{s} et ecce eram positus ut mortuus, et intellectus meus alienatus erat. Et tenuit dexteram meam, et confortavit me et statuit me super pedes meos, et dixit mihi: \emph{t} quid tibi est? Et quare conturbaris? \emph{u} Et quid\emph{w} conturbatus\emph{y} est \emph{z} intellectus tuus\emph{w} et sensus cordis tui? \emph{w} Et dixi: \emph{x} quoniam dereliquisti me, et ego quidem feci secundum sermones tuos et exivi in campum, et ecce vidi et video quod non possum enarrare. \emph{y} Et dixit ad me: \emph{z} sta ut vir et commonebo te. Et dixi: \emph{aa} loquere, Domine\emph{b} meus, tantum me noli derelique, ut non frustra moriar, \emph{cc} quoniam vidi quae non scebam, et audio quae non scio; \emph{dd} aut nunc quid sensus meus fallit et anima mea somniat? \emph{ee} Nunc ergo deprecor te, ut demonstreras servus tuo de excessu hoc. Et respondit ad me et dixit: \emph{ff} audi me et doceam te, et dicam tibi de quibus times, quoniam Altissimus revelavit tibi mysteria multa. \emph{gg} Videt\emph{h} rectam
viam tuam, quoniam sine intermissione contristabaris pro populo tuo et valde lugebas propter Sion. 40Hic ergo intel- lectus visionis: mulier quae tibi apparuit ante paululum, 41quam vidisti lugentem et inchoasti consolari eam; 42nunc autem iam non speciem mulieris vides, sed apparuit tibi civitas aedificari; 43et quoniam enarrabat tibi de casu filii sui, haec absolutio est: 44haec mulier quam vidisti, haec est Sion, quam nunc conspicis ut civitatem aedificatam; 45et quoniam dixit tibi, quia sterilis fuit 'triginta annis,' propter quod erant anni saeculo "MMM." quando non erat in ea adhuc oblatio oblata. 46Et factum est post annos "MMM." aedificavit Salomon civitatem et obtulit oblationes; tunc fuit quando peperit sterilis filium. 47Et quod tibi dixit, quoniam nutrivit eum cum labore, haec erat habitatio in Ierusalem." 48Et quoniam dixit tibi, quod filius meus veniens in suo thalamo mortuus esset et contigisset ei casus, haec erat quae facta est ruina Ierusalem." 49Et ecce vidisti similitudinem eius, quomodo filium luperet et tu inchoasti consolari eam. Et de his quae contigerunt haec erant tibi aperienda. 50Et nunc vidit Altissimus, quoniam ex animo contristatus es, et quoniam ex toto corde pateris pro ea, et ostendit tibi claritatem gloriae eius et pulchritudinem decoris eius. 51Propertia enim dixi tibi, ut maneres in campo ubi domus non est aedificata, 52sciebam enim ego, quoniam Altissimus incipiebat tibi ostendere haec; 53propertia dixi tibi ut venieres in agrum ubi non est fundamentum aedificii: 54nec enim poterat opus aedificii hominis sustinere in loco ubi incipiebat Altissimi civitas ostendi. 55Tu ergo noli timere, neque expavescat cor tuum, sed ingredere et vide splendorem et magnitudinem aedificii, quantum capax est tibi visu oculorum videre, 56et post haec audies quantum capit auditus aurium tuarum audire; 57e t enim beatus es prae multis, et vocatus es apud Altissimum sicut et pauci. 58Nocte autem quae in crastinum futura est manebis hic, 59et ostendet tibi Altissimus eas visiones somniorum, quae faciet Altissimus his qui habitant super terram a novissimis diebus.

s V sterelis; t-t annis triginta; u-u tres; v V sterelis; w omit in; x Hierusalem; y luget; z omit et; a videns; b V vel; c BJ in.
Et dormivi illam noctem et aliam, sicut dixerat mihi. XI. 4 Et vidi somnium, et ecce ascendebat de mari aquila, cui erant duodecim alae pennarum et capita tria. 5 Et vidi, et ecce expandebat alae suas in omnem terram, et omnes venti coeli insufflabant eam, et nubes ad eam colligebantur. 6 Et vidi, et de pennis eius nascebat contrariae pennae, et ipsae fiebant in pennaclus minuti et modici. 7 Nam capita eius erant quiuescentia, et dimidium caput erat maius aliorum capitum, sed et ipsa quiescebat cum eis. 8 Et vidi, et ecce aquila volavit in pennis suis, et regnavit super terram et super eos qui habitant in ea. 9 Et vidi, quomodo subjecta erant ei omnia sub coelo, et nemo illi contradicerebat, neque unus de creatura quae est super terram. 10 Et vidi, et ecce surrexit aquila super ungues suos, et misit vocem pennis suis dicens: 11 nonlite omnes simul vigilare, dormite unusquisque in loco suo et per tempus vigilate, capita autem in novissimo serventur. 11 Et vidi, et ecce vox non exibat de capitibus eius, sed de medietate corporis eius. 12 Et numeravi contrarias pennas eius, et ecce ipsae erant octo. 13 Et vidi, et ecce a dextera parte surrexit una penna, et regnavit super omnem terram. 14 Et factum est cum regnaret, venit et finis, et non apparuit, ita ut non appareret locus eius. Et sequens ex surrexit et regnabat, et ipsa multum tenuit tempus. 15 Et factum est cum regnaret, et veniebat finis eius, ut non appareret sicut prior. 15 Et ecce, vox emissa est illi dicens: 16 audi tu, quae tanto tempore tenuisti terram, haec annuntio tibi antequam incipias non apparere: 17 nemo post te tenebit tempus tuum, sed nec dimidium eius. 18 Et levavit se tertia et tenuit principatum sicut et prioribus, et non apparuit et ipsa. 19 Et sic contingebat omnibus alis singulatim principatum gerere et iterum nusquam comparere. 20 Et vidi, et ecce in tempore sequentes pennae erigebantur et ipsae a dextera parte, ut tenerent et ipsae principatum et ex his erant quae tenebant, sed tamen statim non comparescebant; nam et aliquae ex eis erigebantur, sed non tenebant principatum. 21 Et vidi
post haec, et ecce non comparuerunt duodecim pennae et du
pennacula, \(22\) et nihil superavit in corpore aquilae, nisi tria
capita quiescentia et sex pennacula. \(24\) et vidi, et ecce de sex
pennaculis 'divisa sunt duae,' et manserunt sub capite quod
est ad dexteram partem; nam quatuor manserunt in loco suo.
\(25\) Et vidi, et ecce haec subalares cogitabant se erigere et tenere
principatus. \(26\) Et vidi, et ecce una erecta est, sed statim non
comparuit; \(27\) et secunda\(°\) velocius quam prior non comparuit.
\(28\) Et vidi, et ecce duae quae superaverunt apud semetipsas
cogitabant et ipsae regnare; \(29\) et in eo cum cogitarent,\(°\) ecce
unum\(°\) quiescentium capitum quod erat medium evigilabat,
hoc enim erat duorum capitum maius.\(30\) Et vidi quomodo
complexa est duo capita secum. \(31\) et ecce conversum est caput
cum his qui cum eo\(°\) erant, et comedid duas subalares quae
cogitabant regnare. \(32\) Hoc autem caput percontoruit\(°\) omnem
terram, et 'dominabatur in ea his qui inhabitant terram\(°\) cum
labore multo, et potentatum tenuit orbis\(°\) terrarum super omnes
alas quae fuerunt. \(33\) Et vidi post haec, et ecce medium caput
subito non comparuit, et hoc sicut alae; \(34\) superaverunt
autem duo capita, quae et ipsa similiter\(°\) regnaverunt super
terram et super eos qui habitant\(°\) in ea. \(35\) Et vidi, et ecce
devoravit caput a dexteram partem illud quod a laeva.\(°\)
\(36\) Et audivi vocem dicentem mihi: conspice contra te et
considera quod vides. \(37\) Et vidi, et ecce sicut leo concitatus\(°\)
de silva rugiens, et vidi\(°\) quomodo emittebat\(°\) vocem hominis
ad aquilam, et dixit dicens: \(38\) audi tu et loquar ad te, et dicit\(°\)
Altissimus tibi: \(39\) nonne tu es qui superasti de quatuor
animalibus, quae feceram regnare in saeculo meo, et ut per
eos\(°\) veniret finis temporum eorum?\(°\) \(40\) Et quartus veniens
devict\(°\) omnia animalia quae transierunt, et 'potentatu tenuit' saeculum cum tremore multo et omnem orbem cum labore
pessimo, et inhabitabant\(°\) tot temporibus orbem terrarum
cum dolo. \(41\) Et iudicasti terram non cum veritate; \(42\) tribulasti enim mansuetos, et laesisti quiescentes, et\(°\) odisti

Et ego a tumultu et excessu mentis et a magno timore vigilavi et spiritu meo: ecce tu praestisti mihi haec in eo quod scrutaris vias Altissimi; ecce adhuc fatigatus sum animo, et spiritu meo invalidus sum valde, et nec modica est in me virtus a multo timore, quem expavi nocte hac: nunc ergo orabo Altissimum, ut me confortet usque in finem. Et dixi: Dominator Domine, si invenigratiam ante oculos tuos, et si justificatus sum apud te prae multis, et si certe ascendit deprecatio mea ante faciem tuam, conforta me, et ostende servo tuo mihi interpretationem et distinctionem visus horribilis huius, ut plenissime consoleris animam meam; dignum enim me habuisti ostendere mihi temporum finem et temporum novissima.

Et dixit ad me: haec est interpretatio visionis huius.
14Regnabunt autem in ea "reges duodecim," unus post unum; 
15nam secundus incipiet regnare et ipse tenebit amplius tempus praedici duodecim. 
16Haec est interpretatio duodecim alarum quas vidisti. Et quoniam audisti vocem quae locuta est, 
17non de capitis eius exuenit, sed de medio corpore eius, 
18haec est interpretatio, quoniam post tempus regni illius nascentur contentiones non modicae, et periclitabitur ut cadat, et non cadet tunc, sed iterum constituetur in suum initium. 
19Et quoniam vidisti subalares octo cohaerentes alis eius, "haec est interpretatio: exsurgent enim in ipso octo reges, quorum erunt tempora levia et anni citati, et duo quidem ex ipsis perient aspropinquante tempore medio, 
20quatuor autem servabuntur in tempore, cum incipiet appropinquare tempus eius ut finiat, duo vero in finem servabuntur. 
21Et quoniam vidisti tria capita quiescentia, "haec est interpretatio: in novissimis eius suscitabit Altissimus tria regna, et renovabit in ea multa, et dominabitur terram et qui habitant in ea cum labore et omnem qui fuerunt ante hos: propter hoc ipsi vocati sunt capita aquilae; 
22isti enim erunt qui recapitulabant impietates eius et qui perficiunt novissima eius. 
23Et quoniam vidisti caput maius non apparens: quoniam unus ex eis super lectum suum mortetur, et tamen cum tormentis. 
24Nam duo qui perseveraverint, "gladius eos comedet; "unius enim gladius commodet qui cum eo, sed tamen et hic gladio in novissimis cadet. 
25Et quoniam vidisti duas subalares traiicientes super caput quod est "in dextera parte, "haec est interpretatio: hi sunt quos conservavit Altissimus in suum, hoc est regnum exile et turbationis plenum, "sicut vidisti. Et leonem quem vidisti de silvia evigilantem et rugientem, et loquentem ad aquilam et arguentem eam et iniustitias ipsius per omnes sermones eius, sicut audisti: "hie est Unctus quem reservavit Altissimus in finem ad eos, et secundum impietates ipsorum arguet illos et incutie coram ipsis pretiones eorum; "statuet enim eos in iudicium viveros, et erit eum arguerit

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29—(243c)
THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE


Et factum est, cum audisset omnis populus quoniam pertransierunt septem dies et ego non fuisse reversus in civitatem, et congregavit se omnis a minimo usque ad maximum, et venit ad me, et dixerunt mihi dicentes: quid peccavimus et quid iniuste egimus in te, quoniam derelinquens nos sedisti in loco hoc? Tu enim nobis superasti ex omnibus prophetis, sicut botrus de vindemia, et sicut lucerna in loco obscurou, et sicut portus et navis salvatae a tempestate. Aut non sufficiunt nobis quae contigerunt? Si ergo tu nos dereliqueris, quanto erat nobis melius si esses succensi et nos in incendio Sion; nec enim nos meliores sumus eorum qui ibi mortui sunt. Et ploraverunt voce magna.

Et respondi ad eos et dixi: confide, Israël, et noli tristari, tu domus Iacob; est enim memoria vestri coram Altissimo, et Fortis non est oblivus vestri in tentatione. Ego enim non dereliqui vos, neque excessi a vobis, sed veni in hunc locum ut deprecarer pro desolatione Sion, et ut quarerem misericordiam pro humilitate sanctificationis vestrae. Et nunc ite unusquisque vestrum in domum suam, et ego veniam ad vos post dies istos. Et professus est populus, sicut dixi ei, in civitatem; ego autem sedi in campo septem dies, sicut mihi mandavit, et manducavi de floribus solummodo agri, de herbis facta est esca mihi in diebus illis.

VISIO SEXTA

XIII. Et factum est post dies septem, et somniavi somnium nocte, et ecce de mari ventus exsurgebat, ut conturbaret...

Et ego a multitudine pavoris expergefactus sum et de precatus sum Altissimum et dixi: *tu ab initio demonstrasti servo tuo mirabilia haec, et dignum me habuisti ut susciperes depreciationem meam; *et nunc demonstra mihi adhuc interpretationem omnii huius. *Sicut enim existimo in sensu meo, vae qui derelicti fuerunt in diebus illis, et multo plus vae his qui non sunt derelicti: *qui enim non sunt derelicti tristes erant; *intelligentes quae sunt reposita in

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/j there is a lacuna here in the Latin (cf. p. 287, note f); g V ipse; h exiebat; i vocis; j sibimetipso; k sculpsit; l emittit; m fluctum; n spiritum; o-o tempestasis; p-p haec, fluctus; q-q multitudinis impetum; r-r quod paratum; s BJ extiti; t advocantem; u + et; v fuerint; w erunt; x V + nunc.
novissimis diebus, et non occurrent eis; sed et his qui derelicti sunt propter hoc vae, videbunt enim pericula magna et necessitates multas, sicut ostendunt somnia haec. Attamen facilius est periclitantem venire in haec, quam pertransire sicut nubem a saeculo, et non videre quae contingunt in novissimo.

eorum et cruciamenta quibus incipient cruciari, quae assimilatae sunt flammæ, et perdet eos sine labore per legem quae igni assimilata est. Et quoniam vidisti eum colligentem ad se alien multitudinem pacificam, haec sunt decem tribus, quae captivae factae sunt de terra sua in diebus Josiae regis, quem captivum duxit Salmanasar rex Assyriorum et transtulit eos trans flumen, et translatus sunt in terram alien. Ipsi autem sibi dederunt consilium hoc, ut derelinguere multitudinem gentium et proficiscerentur in ulteriori regionem, ubi nunquam inhabitavit genus humanum, ut vel ibi observarent legitima sua, quae non fuerant servantes in regione sua. Per introitus autem angustos fluminis, Euphraten introierunt; fecit enim eis tunc Altissimus signa, et statuit venas fluminis usquequo transirent: per eam enim regionem erat via multa itineris, annis unius et dimidii, nam regio illa vocatur Arzareth. Tunc inhabitaverunt ibi usque in nivissimo tempore. Et nunc iterum cum coeperint venire, iterum Altissimus statuet venas fluminis, ut possint transire: propter hoc vidisti multitudinem gentium collectam cum pace, sed et qui derelicti sunt de populo tuo, qui inveniuntur intra terminum meum sanctum. Erit ergo quando incipier perdere multitudinem earum quae collectae sunt gentes, proteget qui superaverit populum, et tunc ostendet eis multa plurima portenta.


Et profectus sum et transii in campum, multum glorificans et laudans Altissimum de mirabilibus quae per tempus
faciebat, et quoniam gubernat tempora et quae sunt in temporibus illata: et sedi ibi tribus diebus.

VISIO SEPTIMA


Et respondit et dixi: loquar coram te, Domine. Ecce enim ego abibo sicut praecepi mihi, et corripiam praeentem populum; qui autem iterum nati fuerint quis commonebit?

a-a Ezra, Ezra; b detinui; c-c et temporum finem; d quas tu; e XII; f BJ (MSS) X: V (emending) IX; g X maec; h a sentence has fallen out here in the Latin, cf. p. 311, note g; i corruptae vitae; j facientur; k fit; l multiplicabunt; m BJ + in eo V + terram; n omit se; o visionem; p BJ omit loquar.
Positum est ergo saeculum in tenebris, et qui inhabitant in eo sine lumine, quoniam lex tua incensa est, propter quod nemo scit quae a te facta sunt, vel quae incipient opera.

Si enim inveni coram te gratiam, immitte in me spiritum sanctum, et scribam omne quod factum est in saeculo ab initio, quae erant in lege tua scripta, ut possint homines invenire semitam, et qui voluerint vivere in novissimis vivant.

Et respondit ad me et dixit: vadens congrega populum, et dices ad eos, ut non quaerant te diebus quadraginta.

Tu autem praepara tibi buxos multos, et accipe tecum Saream, Babriam, Salemiam, Elkana et Asiel, quoniam hos qui parati sunt ad scribendum velociter. Venies hic, et ego accendam in corde tuo lucernam intellectus, quae non extinguetur quoadusque finiantur quae incipies scribere.

Et cum perfeceris quaedam palam facies, quaedam sapientibus abconse trades, in crastinum enim hac hora incipies scribere.

Tu autem praepara tibi buxos multos, et accipe tecum Saream, Babriam, Salemiam, Elkana et Asiel, quinque hos qui paratis ad scribendum velociter.

Et profectussum sicut mihi praecepit, et congregavi omnem populum et dixi: audi, Israel, verba haec: pere grinarantes peregrinati sunt patres nostri ab initio in Aegypto et liberati sunt inde, et acceperunt legem vitae, quam non custodierunt, quam et vos post eos transgressi estis; et data est vobis terra in sortem et terra Sion, et patres vestri et vos iniquitatem fecistis et non servastis vias quas vobis praecepit Altissimus, et iustus iudex cum sit, abstulit a vobis in tempore quod donaverat.

Et nunc vos hic estis et fratres vestri introrsum vestrum sunt. Si ergo imperaveritis sensui vestro et erudieritis cor vestrum, vivi conservati eritis et post mortem misericordiam consequemini; iudicium enim post mortem veniet quando, iterum reviviscemus, et tunc iustorum nomina apparebit, et impiorum facta ostenditur. Ad me autem nemo accedat nunc, neque requirat me usque diebus quadraginta.

Et accepi quinque viros sicut mandavit mihi, et profecti sumus in campum et mansimus ibi. Et factus sum in crastinum, et ecce vox vocavit me dicens: Esdra, aperi os
tuum et bibe quo te potaveror. 38 Et aperui os meum, et ecce calix plenus porrigebatur mihi. Hoc erat plenum sicut aqua, color autem eius ut ignis similis. 40 Et accepi et bibi, et in eo cum bibissem, cor meum eructabatur intellectum, et in pectoris meum incresebat sapientia, nam spiritus meus conservabat memoria. 41 Et apertum est os meum, et non est clausum amplius. 42 Altissimus autem dedit intellectum quinde viris, et scripserunt quae dicebantur excessiones noctis quas non sciebant, et sederunt quadraginta diebus; ipsi autem per diem scribabant, 43 nocte autem manducabant panem: ego autem per diem loquebar, et per noctem non tacebam. 44 Scripti sunt autem per quadraginta dies libri nonaginta quatuor. 45 Et factum est, cum completi essent quadraginta dies, locutus est Altissimus dicens: priora quae scrisisti in palam pone, et legant digni et indigni, 46 novissimos autem septuaginta conservabis, ut tradas eos sapientibus de populo tuo; 47 in his enim est venae intellectus, et sapientiae fontes, et scientiae flumen. 48 Et feci sic in anno septimo in hebdomada sexta post quinque millia annos creationis et menses tres et dies duodecim. 49 Et in eis raptus est Ezras et assumptus est in locum similium eius, postquam scripsit ista omnia. 50 Ipse autem vocatus est scriba scientiae Altissimi usque in saecula saeculorum.

f-f quod te potiono; g V porregebatur; h eructabatur; i memoria; j-j ex sucessionis notis; k XL; l-l BJ et nocte; m-m nocte; n-n in XL diebus; o-o DCCCCIII; p XL; q et; r et ad me; s LXX; t-t this true conclusion of the Book is absent from the Latin text, but has been preserved in the Oriental Versions (cf. p. 321, note d). It has been retranslated into Latin and added here by Fritzsche.
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