

IV EZRA

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Fourth Book of Ezra (or 2 Esdras) is extant in a number of translations, all of which have been made, apparently, from a lost Greek version; and this, there is reason to believe, was itself made in the first instance from a Hebrew original. The extant translations are in the following languages: Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic (two independent versions), and Armenian. The most important of the versions is the Latin; and it is through this version, incorporated in many important Latin Biblical MSS., that the book has passed first into the Latin Bible (the Vulgate), as an appendix; and thence into our Bibles as one of the Deutero-canonical books, or official *Apocrypha*. The Ezra-Apocalypse proper corresponds to chapters 3-14 of the 2 Esdras of our Apocrypha (or the Fourth Book of Ezra of the Vulgate). Chapters 1 and 2 and 15 and 16 belong only to the Latin form of the book: the Oriental versions recognize only chapters 3-14. The chief conclusions reached by the present Editor regarding the Ezra-Apocalypse are the following: (a) The work is of composite character. In its present form it is a compilation made by an Editor or Redactor (R), and was published by him about the year A.D. 120, in the early part of the reign of Hadrian. The sources utilized by R were—

(1) a Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) which was originally published in Hebrew in the year A.D. 100, and is almost wholly embodied in our book. It is contained in chapters 3-10 mainly (= the first four visions), together with a certain amount of interpolated material.

(2) To this have been appended three independent pieces, extracts from other apocalypses, viz. the Eagle-Vision (= ch. 11-12), denominated A (= Adlergesicht), the Son of Man Vision (= ch. 13), denominated M (= Menschensohn), and the Ezra-legend (= ch. 14 mainly), denominated E².

(3) Extracts from another source have also been utilized by R and interpolated in S. These are from an old Ezra-Apocalypse (denominated E), and detail the signs which precede the End of the world (iv. 52-v. 13a and vi. 11-29). This source may also have been utilized by R in his compilation of the passages vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

The whole has been compiled in its present form by R, the different material being welded together by redactional links and adjustments. But the distinctive features of the sources have not been seriously affected. The purpose of the compilation appears to have been to commend the apocalyptic literature to certain Rabbinical circles which were hostile, and to secure for it a permanent place within orthodox Judaism. With this end in view the Redactor invested the whole composite work with the name of Ezra—a name specially honoured in the Rabbinical Schools—and took care to select material in which the cruder elements of the older apocalyptic had been largely refined away. The compilation thus represents a fusion, to some extent, of the Rabbinical and Apocalyptic types of thought of a novel kind. Its importance for the history of Rabbinical doctrine and for the elucidation of the earlier (pre-Talmudic) phases of Judaism is very great. Together with the twin-Apocalypse 2 Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later, it may be regarded as the product of a school of writers; in the one case—4 Ezra—we have a writing which reflects the influence of the School of Shammai; in the other—2 Baruch—one that reflects the work of a school of writers under the influence of Aqiba.

§ 2. TITLE OF THE BOOK.

In most of the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (1-2 and 15-16) are distinguished from the Apocalypse proper by a separate enumeration, and are marked off as separate books. A common arrangement is the following:

- 1 Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah of the Canon.
- 2 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 1-2 (2 Esdras i-ii of our Apocrypha).
- 3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha (3 Esdras of the Vulgate).
- 4 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 3-14 (our Apocalypse).

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5 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 15-16 (2 Esdras xv-xvi of our Apocrypha).

According to this enumeration:

2 Esdras = chapters 1-2.

4 Esdras = " 3-14 (our Apocalypse).

and 5 Esdras = " 15-16.

This is adopted by James (*BJ*, p. xxvii).¹

The prevailing usage of the Latin MSS. (including the important codices SA) is to designate chapters 3-14 (= our Apocalypse) as the Fourth Book of Ezra (4 Ezra). (See also Vol. I, pp. 2-3 of this work on this question.—*Gen. Edit.*)

The Oriental versions are also inconsistent in the titles they employ. In Ar.¹ and Ethiop. the Apocalypse (= chapters 3-14) is called *The First Book of Ezra*. The Syr. and Ar.² attach no number to the title. It seems probable that the title prefixed to the lost Greek version was *Ἐσδρας ὁ προφήτης*, as Clement of Alexandria quotes from our Apocalypse as from *Ἐσδρας ὁ προφήτης* (cf. Clem. Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16), while St. Ambrose also uses the name *propheta Ezra* (cf. also the opening words of 4 Ezra i *liber Ezrae prophetae secundus*). Another possible form (suggested by Westcott) is *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐσδρα*.

§ 3. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

(a) THE LATIN. The text of the Old Latin version reproduced in the Vulgate rests upon late MS. authority, and is full of corruptions and inaccuracies. The first serious contribution towards the formation of a critical text was made by Sabatier in the eighteenth century, who noted the variants of the *Codex Sangermanensis* (Codex S) in his great corpus of the Latin texts of the Bible.² A further advance was made by Volkmar in 1863, who published a Latin text, adding the variants of a Zürich MS. (*Codex Turicensis*, thirteenth century), in his edition of our Apocalypse.³ A few years later Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Iudaeorum* (Leipzig, 1869), and Fritzsche (*Libri Vet. Test. pseudepigraphi selecti*, Leipzig, 1871) published critical editions of the Latin text embodying readings from other MSS. But all previous work in this direction was dwarfed into insignificance when Bensly in 1875 published his epoch-making contribution to the critical study of 4 Ezra—*The missing fragment of the Latin translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge). Up to this time all known MSS. of the Latin text yielded a defective text of chapter 7: a long passage (some 70 verses) was missing between verses 35 and 36 of this chapter, as was shown clearly by the Oriental versions which attest the missing verses. In 1875 Bensly had the good fortune to discover the Latin text of the missing fragment in a ninth-century MS. which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens. The discovery was without delay communicated to the world in a splendid edition of the text of the fragment, enriched with a valuable introduction and commentary. Bensly's *Missing Fragment* (*MF*) is valuable not only for the text of the fragment itself, but for the textual study of the whole book. It abounds with notes, remarks, and accurate information which make it indispensable for the serious student of the Latin Bible. The curious lacuna in chapter 7 which characterizes all known Latin MSS. (except the few enumerated below) is due to the mutilation of the great Codex S (preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris).⁴ In 1856 Prof. Gildermeister, in collating this MS., discovered that a leaf (which had originally contained the missing fragment) had been (no doubt purposely) cut out in early times. 'From this and other indications he drew the indisputable and highly important conclusion that all MSS. of 4 Esdras which do not contain that passage were ultimately derived from the Codex Sangermanensis. . . . Codex S is the oldest known manuscript of 4 Esdras and is the parent of the vast majority of extant copies.'⁵

Besides (1) Codex S the following are among the most important MSS. for text-critical purposes:

(2) Codex A (i.e. *Codex Ambianensis*). This is the MS. in which Prof. Bensly discovered the missing fragment. It was apparently written in the ninth century, and, though closely related to S, has an independent value by the side of it.

(3) Codex C (*Codex Complutensis*, formerly at Complutum) known as the Bible of Alcalá. It is now in the Library of the Central University at Madrid. The text is independent of S and A; date ninth to tenth century. This MS. contains the missing fragment, and curiously enough the text of the latter had been transcribed by Prof. Palmer in 1826, but never published by him. After the publication of *MF* in 1875 this transcript was found among Prof. Palmer's papers, and was printed in the *Journal of Philology* in 1877 (vii. 264).

¹ The Latin MSS. vary considerably in the enumeration: see for further details the present writer's *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. iv; Bensly, *MF*, pp. 85-86; and *BJ*, pp. xxvi foll.

² *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, tom. iii (Rheims, 1749). The date of Codex S is 822.

³ *Das vierte Buch Esra* (Tübingen, 1863), pp. 3-213.

⁴ *Fonds latins*, 11505.

⁵ *BJ*, p. xiii.

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(4) Codex M (*Codex Mazarinaeus*): in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris. The existence of this MS. was made known by M. Berger in 1885. Its text (which includes the missing fragment) is of the same type as that of C (eleventh century).

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

(5) Codex V (= *Codex Abulensis*) now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. It is known as the Bible of Avila. Its text is unmutilated, and appears to be a copy of Codex C (early thirteenth century). It was discovered by M. Berger.

(6) Codex L (*Codex Legionensis*) in the Library of San Isidro de Leon at Leon. This Codex (in 3 vols.) contains a remarkable text of 4 Ezra, which diverges from that of all other authorities. According to Violet these peculiarities are largely due to deliberate revision by a late transcriber. Its date, according to the same scholar, is probably about 1300. See further Violet, pp. xxii–xxiv.

(7) The latest discovered unmutilated text is a MS. which is denoted N (Codex N) by Violet. It is preserved at Brussels, and its existence was first made known in October, 1906 (by D. Donatien de Bryne, O.S.B.). It is part of a Bible in 4 vols.; the writing is of the twelfth century. According to Violet its text is closely related to that of M (hence the choice of the symbol N).

For the special MS. evidence that exists for chap. viii. 20–36 (the so-called *Confessio Esdrae*) see the introductory section to that passage in the present writer's edition of the book (*EA*, p. 176); and cf. further the introductions of *BJ* and Violet for this point, and for the MS. evidence generally: also Bensly *MF*.

The critical edition of the text of the whole book, which Bensly was prevented from completing by death, was finally edited and published, with a valuable introduction, by Dr. M. R. James, in 1895.¹ A splendid critical edition of the Latin text, with a full apparatus criticus, and with German translations of the Oriental versions (also provided with an apparatus criticus) in parallel columns has been edited by Dr. Bruno Violet for the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, and recently published.²

Both Bensly (with James) and Violet agree in the conclusion that broadly the MSS. yield two types of text: the one, represented by the group SA, may be styled the French recension (= Violet's ϕ); the other, the Spanish recension, represented by the group CMNVL (= Violet's ψ). On the whole the former group (ϕ) yields a decidedly superior text to that of the latter (ψ).

See further on this point Violet, § 12. Violet also (p. xxvi) calls attention to the existence of a number of Latin MSS. containing the unmutilated text of our book, which are in existence at various libraries, but have not as yet been utilized for the criticism of the text.

The Latin translation of the book, which, like the Oriental versions, was made from the lost Greek version, is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it (see *BJ*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv). Possible but doubtful citations are made by Tertullian (4 Ezra viii. 20) and Cyprian (4 Ezra v. 54, 55). It has also been supposed that Commodian the Christian poet of the third century, cites 4 Ezra xiii. 40 f. It is interesting to note in this connexion that it seems fairly probable that in the time of Ambrose the Latin text of the additional chapters 15–16 was already current 'in the version in which we possess them and . . . that they were also attached to chapters 3–14'.³ The Latin version as a whole is singularly faithful and literal, and it is not difficult to arrive at the Greek text underlying it. It has itself suffered a certain amount of internal corruption in transmission; but this, with the aid partly of new MS. evidence, and partly of the other versions, can often be corrected successfully. From every point of view it is the most valuable of the versions that have come down to us.

Of the Oriental versions the most valuable is (*b*) THE SYRIAC. This is far more faithful and less paraphrastic than the other Oriental versions. The Syriac text of the book is unfortunately only known to us in a single MS. authority—the great Ambrosian (sixth century) Bible-Codex at Milan, which has been made available for scholars by the Italian scholar A. Ceriani. In this Codex 4 Ezra follows the Baruch-Apocalypse, and precedes the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah (here reckoned as one book: viz. the *second Book of Ezra*): 4 Ezra has no number attached to it. A printed edition of the Syriac text has been published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana* (vol. v, fasc. i, 1868); and it is also included in the photo-lithographic reproduction of the Ambrosian Codex. Ceriani's Latin translation of the Syriac text of 4 Ezra is reprinted, with some improve-

¹ *The Fourth Book of Ezra in Texts and Studies* (vol. iii, no. 2): Cambridge.

² *Die Esra-Apokalypse* (4 Esra): Erster Teil: *Die Ueberlieferung*. Leipzig, 1910. (A second volume is to follow.)

³ *BJ*, p. xliii. For the whole subject of the ancient quotations of 4 Ezra cf. the full discussion (with the passages set out in full) in *BJ*, pp. xxvii f.

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ments, in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum*, pp. 212 ff. Like all the Oriental versions the Apocalypse in the Syriac text consists of chapters 3-14 of the Latin only. A translation (in German) with critical notes is printed in Violet, vol. i.

(c) THE ETHIOPIC. This version was first published in 1820 by the famous Orientalist Richard Laurence (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel; editor of *1 Enoch* and of *The Ascension of Isaiah*). Laurence's Latin translation of the Ethiopic text, revised by Praetorius, is printed in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 262 ff.). A critical text of this version, based upon the collation of several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann and published after his death.¹ A French translation, based upon Dillmann's critical text, was published by Basset in 1899. The Ethiopic version is not so valuable as the Syriac. It is much more paraphrastic and free in its handling of the text, but it sometimes attests interesting and important readings, and is important for the criticism of the Greek text underlying it. A German translation, based upon Dillmann, is printed in Violet, vol. i (with critical notes).

(d) THE ARABIC VERSIONS. Two independent Arabic versions of the book are in existence which (following Gunkel) we may designate Ar.¹ and Ar.². Of the first Arabic version (Ar.¹) two MSS. are known to be in existence—the original MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (part of the Laudian collection), and a transcript of this preserved at the Vatican. An English translation was made by Simon Ockley from the Oxford MS., and appeared in William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* (vol. iv, 1711), and a Latin version, made from Ockley's English, and corrected by Steiner from the Arabic text, is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 323 ff.). The Arabic text was first published by Ewald in *Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.²

In this MS. our book appears as 1 Ezra; then follows Ezra-Nehemiah as 2 Ezra, succeeded by the Book of Tobit. A curious fact concerning the Oxford MS. is that there is a lacuna in the text of one page, which is supplied by the Vatican transcript. There are two other lacunae common to both MSS. In 1898 Violet, however, found in the Oxford MS. itself (but displaced) the missing page, which is given in the Vatican transcript in its right place (see further Violet, pp. xxxi-xxxvi). This version, which is exceedingly free, was also made from a Greek text; whether it—or the Greek text underlying it—has been revised is uncertain. A German translation, with critical notes, is given in Violet.

The *Second Arabic Version* (Ar.²) is an independent version made directly from the Greek. It exists in a complete form in a Vatican MS. (Arab. 462) which has been edited and published, with a Latin translation, by Gildemeister (*Esdrae liber quartus arabice e cod. Vat.*, Bonn 1877). Extracts from this version are contained in an Oxford (Bodleian) MS. 260; and a fragment containing ch. vii. 75-91 has been found in a Paris MS. by Violet.

This version contains some interesting and valuable readings which have led Gunkel to postulate the existence of a second Greek version, made from the Hebrew original, which he supposes to have been the basis of this version.

Gunkel supports this view by citing chap. viii. 23 where Ar.², alone among the versions, renders *ceaseless* (*eternal*) = Heb. לְעֹלָם: the other versions imply *for a witness* (= לְעֵד). Evidently there were two Greek readings, representing two renderings of a single Hebrew text. One has been followed by Ar.²; the other by the other versions. Again, in xiv. 3 Ar.² has *Sinai* (= סִינַי) where the other versions have *bush* (= סִנְה)—phenomena which point to different readings in the Greek, due to a difference of reading the Hebrew. But it is not necessary to infer from such instances (which, in any case, are few) that two different recensions of the Greek existed. The readings more probably represent marginal variants or corrections in the Greek exemplar used. In any case, as Violet has shown, both Ar.¹ and Ar.² go back to one recension of the Greek, which is characterized by a lacuna in the text, viii. 50-ix. 1 being omitted. It is probable that different MSS. of this Greek recension (if it may be so called) were used by the translators of Ar.¹ and Ar.².

Thus Ar.², though it is very free and paraphrastic on the whole, is often an important textual witness, and must never be neglected.

It is interesting to notice that Ar.² agrees with the Syr. in omitting the first half of xi. 30 (= *et vidi quomodo complexa est*), and again with the Syr. in attesting (in xi. 43) a clause which has fallen out in all the other versions (= *that thou shouldst forsake us also*).

Two further fragments of an Arabic version independent of Ar.¹ and Ar.² are also known; but these seem to be of secondary importance, depending, as they not improbably do, on the Latin

¹ *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici* tomus v (Berlin, 1894, pp. 152-93).

² 1863, vol. xi (also reprinted separately).

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version. [See further Violet, xxxi-xxxix: Violet gives a German translation of both Ar.¹ and Ar.² with critical notes.]

(e) THE ARMENIAN. This version was first printed in the Armenian Bible of 1805 (Venice), and again in the Armenian edition of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament (Venice, 1896). A Latin translation (by J. H. Petermann) is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 378 ff.), and a German one by Violet. The version is exceedingly free, and possesses little or no value for the criticism of the text. It may have been made from the Syriac.

(f) FRAGMENTS AND TRACES OF OTHER VERSIONS. An important discovery of some fragments of a Sahidic version of our book was made known in 1904.¹ The fragment in question covers chap. xiii. 29-46; but the leaf containing it is unfortunately much damaged. The recovery of other parts of this version, which is not impossible, would probably afford valuable help in reconstructing the underlying Greek text, if, as is likely, the Sahidic was made directly from the Greek. The Sahidic translation would certainly embody many of the original Greek words as loan-words.

Traces also exist of an old Georgian version of our book. [See further Violet, pp. xl ff.]

§ 4. THE LOST GREEK VERSION.

The dependence of all the versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian) upon a lost Greek version hardly needs any detailed proof. The differences between the versions can constantly be explained by corruptions of a Greek text underlying them.

To select a few instances out of many: in v. 28 the Latin has *praeparasti* (= *ἡτοιμάσας*) *unam radicem super alias*; but the Oriental versions rightly render 'thou hast dishonoured (= *ἡτιμάσας*) the one root', &c. Again in vii. 26 the Latin has *et apparebit sponsa* [*et*] *apparescens civitas* = 'and the bride shall appear even the city appearing' (so Syr. substantially); but the true text, represented by the Ethiopic and Armenian runs: *then shall the city that now is invisible appear* = *καὶ φανήσεται ἡ νυν μὴ φαινόμενη πόλις* which was misread by the Latin *καὶ φανήσεται ἡ νυμφὴ φαινόμενη πόλις*. In x. 28, again, the true text represented by the Latin and the Oriental versions, with the exception of the Ethiopic, runs: *for he it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment* (*ἐκστάσιν*); but the Ethiopic has *search for bewilderment*, misreading *ἐκστάσιν* as *ἐξέτασιν*.

Further, the internal evidence of the versions singly often clearly demonstrates dependence upon a Greek underlying text. Thus the Latin sometimes reproduces Greek constructions (e.g. the genitive absolute, v. 55), and Greek genders unknown to Latin (e.g. x. 23 *signaculum Sion . . . resignata est*: 'seal' being treated as fem. as in Greek = *ἡ σφραγίς*). See further on these points *MF*, pp. 17 f.; *EA*, pp. xi, xviii (see also Index V of the latter work under *Greek constructions* and *Greek words*).

Positive evidence of the existence of such a Greek version as is desiderated by the evidence of the secondary versions is afforded by actual citations in the early patristic literature, as well as by the existence of Greek works which have been based upon, or imitated from, the lost Greek version. The most certain of the citations are the citation of v. 35 in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, iii. 16; and of viii. 23 in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7; while *Const. Apost.* ii. 14 contains a passage, the language of which is strongly reminiscent of vii. 103 (*fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest*). The passage in question runs as follows:—

Εἰ δὲ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐ τιμωροῦνται, οὔτε υἱοὶ ὑπὲρ πατέρων, δῆλον ὡς οὔτε γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, οὔτε οἰκέται ὑπὲρ δεσποτῶν, οὔτε συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, οὔτε φίλοι ὑπὲρ φίλων, οὔτε δίκαιοι (v. l. δίκαιος) ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων. ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκέλου ἔργον τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσεται.

A knowledge of the Greek 4 Ezra appears to be presupposed, also in the Hippolytean fragment *περὶ τοῦ παντός*.² The alleged citations in our book of the *Epistle of Barnabas* are, however, more than doubtful (see the notes on v. 9 below). For a full discussion of these points reference must be made to *BZ*, pp. xxvii-xxx; cf. also *EA*, p. xii. For later Greek works which have imitated the Greek 4 Ezra (viz. the Apocalypses of Esdras and Sedrach), see Violet, pp. l-lx.

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 Röscher). It is printed in *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 36-113), and is a most valuable piece of work. Volkmar, also, in his edition of our book (*Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1863) has constantly suggested Greek renderings which are often important for this purpose; while in Gunkel's commentary some

¹ In the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Band 41, Heft 2, pp. 138-40).

² Also cited sometimes as 'Hippolytus Against Plato'.

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useful notes of a similar character by Wilamowitz are occasionally cited. An elaborate reconstruction is promised by Violet.

A specimen of the Greek translation of part of the additional chapters, which do not strictly belong to the Ezra-Apocalypse, viz. 4 Ezra xv. 57-59, has been discovered (1909) among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and been published with other papyri in the collection of Grenfell and Hunt. This important find encourages the hope that parts, or even the whole, of the lost Greek version of the Apocalypse proper may yet come to light.

Gunkel (*ap.* Kautzsch) has propounded a theory that two independent Greek translations of a Hebrew original were made; while the Lat., Syr., Ethiop., Ar.¹ (and possibly the Armenian) rest upon one of these, Ar.², he thinks, rests upon a mixed Greek text, made up of the edition used by the other versions, and a second made independently and later. The evidence adduced for this view is, however, very slight, and has already been dealt with above in § 3*d* (in connexion with Ar.²). The textual phenomena are susceptible of an alternative and simpler explanation, viz. that Ar.² has embodied marginal variants occasionally; while, in other respects, it has handled its Greek text rather freely, omitting considerable portions. [For Volkmar's theory of a second Greek recension see *EA*, p. xiii.]

§ 5. THE ORIGINAL HEBREW TEXT.

The most recent investigators of the textual problems of our book are agreed in postulating a Hebrew text as the original form in which 4 Ezra was composed. These scholars include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet.¹ The opposite view (of a Greek original) has been championed by Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld.

The fullest discussion of the grounds for assuming a Hebrew original is that of Wellhausen.² It may be said, without qualification, that judged by any of the properly applicable tests, the phenomena point to a Semitic original. THE SYNTAX REFLECTS CHARACTERISTICALLY HEBREW FEATURES. Thus the sentences are co-ordinated with rather than subordinated to each other, and in consequence it is sometimes difficult to determine exactly where the protasis of a hypothetical sentence ends, and the apodosis begins.

Cp. e.g. iii. 12 (*et factum est cum coepissent multiplicari . . . et multiplicaverunt filios . . . et coeperunt . . . impietatem facere, &c.*); iii. 17 f. (*et factum est cum educeres semen eius ex Aegypto et adduxisti eos . . . Et transit gloria tua, &c.*); iii. 29 f.; v. 4 ff.; v. 31; vi. 18 f. In some of these cases the punctuation of the editors is not certainly correct—the sentences should, perhaps, be run on.

Note also turns of expression as *et factum est et* and *et erit et*, which are essentially Hebrew modes of expression, as also are *et ecce* (very frequent in chapters 10 and 11), and *et vidi et ecce* (iv. 48, xi. 1 f.) or *et audivi et ecce* (vi. 18). All these, as Wellhausen points out, are characteristically Hebrew, and not Greek.

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXAMPLES OF STRONGLY MARKED HEBRAISMS: the complement of the relative by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *de quibus si mihi renunciaveris ex his* (iv. 4), *de quo me interrogas de eo* (iv. 28), *in quo stas super eum* (vi. 14), *super quem stabam super eum* (vi. 29), *qui per semet ipsum liberabit creaturam suam* (xiii. 26).

The last instance cited is an excellent example of the ambiguity which may arise from the misunderstanding of the Hebrew relative and its complement (the Heb. relative particle *אשר* does not distinctly express either number or case). Similar instances of misunderstanding also occur in ix. 20 (*propter cogitationes quae in eo advenerunt* should be *p. c. eorum qui in eo, &c.*); and in xiii. 40 (*quem captivum duxit Salmanassar* should be *quas* or *quos captivos duxit, &c.*).

The construction of the Hebrew infinitive absolute with the finite verb is of extraordinarily frequent occurrence. It is usually rendered by a particle or by an abstract substantive.

The following are illustrative of numerous examples: *excedens excessit cor tuum* (iv. 2); *festinans festinat saeculum pertransire* (iv. 26); *mensura mensuravit tempora et numero numeravit tempora* (iv. 37); *odiens odisti populum tuum* (v. 30). The number of these examples might be somewhat increased if the instances could be added where the Syr. attests the same construction without the support of the Latin.

One of the characteristic features of Hebrew, which it shares with other old Semitic languages, is the paucity of its adverbs. The language, consequently, is forced to adopt other modes of speech in order to express the adverbial idea. The infinitive absolute often does duty in this way (expressing intensity or iteration: = *surely, much, often, &c.*). But sometimes other methods are resorted to. Thus repeated action (= *again*) is expressed in Hebrew by such phrases as *to add to do* (*הוסיף + another verb*). This usage is reflected in our text by such un-Greek expressions as *adiciam* (*dicere*)

¹ Among earlier scholars Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, vol. 7) held this view; earlier still Jo. Morinus.

² *Skizzen*, vi, pp. 234-9 (1899).

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coram te (v. 32); *superdixerunt* (vii. 23); *noli ergo adicere inquirendo* (viii. 55); *adiciam dolorem* (ix. 41); *adposui adhuc loqui* (x. 19).

The usage of prepositions is often Hebrew rather than Greek (see the examples cited in *EA*, p. xv f.). The characteristic features of Hebrew style are marked throughout all sections of the book. Thus in the dialogue between the seer and the angel the expression *he answered* (*I answered*) and *said* constantly recurs; cf. also *ask . . . and say*, v. 46, 50. Before the *oratio recta* saying (= לאמר) is constantly prefixed, *dixit dicens* even occurring (xi. 37, xii. 40). Such diffuseness is a well-known feature in Hebrew composition. Another characteristic feature in the dialogue is the self-designation of the human speaker as *thy servant*, while the angel is addressed as *domine* (cf. v. 45-56, vi. 12, vii. 75, 102, viii. 6, 24, x. 37, xii. 8, xiii. 14); in the case of a woman *thine handmaid* (ix. 43, 45).

The title of address *O dominator domine* (*O Lord that bearest rule*, R.V.) which occurs several times is properly applicable only to God = Δέσποτα κύριέ μου (Heb. אדני יהוה or יהוה אדני).

Characteristically Hebrew, again, is the artless simplicity with which sentences (esp. imperative forms of speech) are constantly expanded by the use of redundant expressions.

The following examples are cited by Wellhausen: *vade pondera mihi* (iv. 5); *venite et eamus* (iv. 14); *venite ascendentes debellemus* (iv. 15); *vade et interroga* (iv. 40), &c. The materializing of the action is detailed by the side of the description of the action itself: e.g. *Respexi oculis meis et vidi* (ix. 38); *apertum est os meum et inchoavi dicere* (ix. 28). Especially frequent is the somewhat similar use of *incipere* (= Heb. הואיל): cf. vi. 8, 19, 32; vii. 75, 88, 97, 122, 126, &c. (cf. the similar use of ἀρχεσθαι in the Gospels). The following are also examples of expanded descriptions of simple actions, which are characteristically Hebrew: *surge super pedes tuos* (v. 15; vi. 13, 17; x. 30; xi. 7); *capax est tibi visus oculorum videre* (x. 55); *torquent me renes mei* (v. 31); *cogitationes meae ascenderunt super cor meum* (iii. 1); *conturbatus est sensus cordis tui* (x. 31); *ne expavescat cor tuum* (x. 55); *vultus tuus tristis* (v. 16); *amara animo* (ix. 41); *figmentum manuum tuarum* (iii. 5; viii. 7); *plantavit dextera tua* (iii. 6). The bare mention of the person who is the instrument or object of an action is not sufficient; the organ through which the action is performed must also be mentioned. Thus the writer says *thy right hand has planted* for *thou hast planted*, *thy countenance is sad* for *thou art sad*, &c.

Further examples of genuine Hebraisms are the following: *dixi in corde meo* (iii. 28); *accepisti in corde tuo* (vii. 16); *reddere animam suam* (vii. 75); *non dirigentur viae eorum* (ἐβδόμησθαι v. 12); *dare vocem suam* (= נתן קולו v. 5, 7); *nomen uni vocasti* (vi. 49); *nomen tuum invocatum est super nos* (iv. 25, x. 22); *fiebat species coruscus* (x. 25); *factus est in uno casus eorum* (iii. 10); *factus est Iacob in multitudo magna* (iii. 16); *factus est in vano* (iv. 16); *concupiscentia gustus multiformis* (vi. 44).

A number of words are used also in a sense that can only be explained by Hebrew usage: cf. e.g. *confractio* (vii. 108 and note), *cor maris* (iv. 7), *flumen* (= the River sc. Euphrates, xiii. 40), *lignum* = tree (iv. 13; v. 5 = Heb. עץ = both wood and tree), *multus* for *magnus* (Heb. רב, x. 38, &c.), *nationes* (= דורות or חולדות iii. 7 and note), *nomina* (names = individuals, persons, iii. 36), *opus* (= Heb. פעלה reward vii. 35, cf. iii. 33 note n), *proximus* = ? Heb. קרוב (v. 11 *interrogabit regio proximam suam*), *radix* used in a technical sense (v. 28, in another technical sense viii. 53 note t), *a sacculo* (= מעולם ix. 7, 18), *sermo* = רבר (vii. 101 *ut videant qui predicti sunt sermones*), cf. also x. 5, *spiritus intellectus* (v. 22), *unicus* (= יחיד v. 28), *vas bellicosum* (= מלחמה כלי xiii. 9, 28), *via* (= Heb. דרך mode or kind; cf. vii. 80, iv. 3 and often: see note v, p. 145); among verbs the following, which reflect Hebrew usage, may be noted: *vincere* and *vinci* (= Heb. זכה and חוב, iii. 21, vi. 28, vii. 115, 128), *confortare* (= חזק v. 15, &c.), *congregari* (= נאסף vii. 33), *inquirere iustitiam ab* (= דרש מן vi. 19 and note), *spernere* used absolutely, like καταφρονεῖν (= בנר vii. 76, 79, &c.).

It would, no doubt, be possible to explain isolated examples in the lists given above without recourse to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original; but the cumulative effect of the whole evidence creates a presumption which amounts to a certainty that the Greek text which underlies the extant versions was itself a translation from a Hebrew original. The whole book is coloured by Hebrew diction, Hebrew modes of thought and characteristic modes of expression.

This conclusion is in no way weakened by the fact that Graecisms are of not infrequent occurrence. As Wellhausen remarks, Graecisms occur in the LXX. Attention has already been called to the fact of the occurrence of Greek usages and constructions in the Latin text.¹ These merely reflect the Greek text on which the Latin translator worked. Of Graecisms proper in the Greek translation itself a good instance is *in eo quod misereatur* (vii. 132) = ἐν τῷ οἰκτεῖρειν, several examples of which occur (ἐν τῷ + infin.). Occasional word-plays in the Greek may also be explained as due to the translator.²

¹ For a full and detailed list see Volkmar, pp. 313 ff.

² A good example of this occurs in xii. 24-5.

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One other criterion exists by which the hypothesis of a Hebrew original may be tested: viz. whether the hypothesis will explain, or is compatible with, the variations that exist in the versions. A certain number of these are due to internal corruptions in the versions themselves.¹ But a large number of cases remains where divergent readings of the Greek can best be explained by the hypothesis of corruption in the original Hebrew text (for examples see the notes in the following commentary).

Again *ex hypothesi* it ought to be possible throughout to arrive at an approximation to the underlying Hebrew text. This has been constantly borne in mind by the present editor, and it can confidently be asserted that, all through, the textual phenomena are compatible with a Hebrew original.

An apparent exception to this rule occurs in vi. 56 where the LXX of Isa. xl. 15 (*like unto spittle*) is followed against the Masoretic Hebrew text. But this can be explained without violence to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The word-play in the Greek of xii. 24-25 has already been referred to.

In the previous discussion it has been assumed throughout that a *Hebrew* original is postulated. The textual phenomena certainly point to this rather than Aramaic. The constant use of such expressions as *et factum est*, *et erit*, *et ecce*, and, above all, the recurring use of the infinitive absolute, point to a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic original.

It remains to add a word on the relation of the Hebrew original to the versions. The extant versions are, as has already been pointed out, translations directly from the lost Greek version (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may have been made from the Syriac). The original Greek version was itself a translation of the Hebrew text which embraced the Apocalypse proper (i.e. chapters iii-xiv of 2 Esdras in the Vulgate form). To this original Greek version were appended (in the third century) the additional chapters (i-ii and xv-xvi of the Vulgate and our own official Apocrypha). They were composed in Greek and are of Christian origin. In the time of Ambrose apparently the Latin version of chapters xv-xvi was already current, and it is probable that these chapters were already attached to chapters iii-xiv (see further *BJ*, p. xliii; and for the whole subject of this section *EA*, pp. xiii-xix).

§ 6. THE COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF THE TEXT.

Is the present form of 4 Ezra a compilation, made by an editor from different sources? Or is it, on the whole, a uniform composition which in a real sense goes back to a single author? The latter alternative is accepted by (among modern scholars) Gunkel² and F. C. Porter³; the former is upheld by Kabisch and Dr. Charles.

At the outset we are confronted with a *datum* that strongly suggests the use by an editor of an independent source. In the very first verse we read: *I Salathiel who am also Ezra* (iii. 1). This strange identification of Salathiel with Ezra cannot be justified historically, nor can it be explained as due to defective historical knowledge on the part of the original writer of this section of the book. The only adequate explanation is that an editor or compiler is using an independent writing in which the seer who is the recipient of the revelations that follow, spoke in the name of Salathiel, and that the compiler who utilized this written source was anxious, for some reason, to connect it with the name of Ezra; accordingly he inserted the words *who am also Ezra*.

What other explanation is possible? If it be assumed that the author wrote the words, then we must suppose that he thought of himself sometimes as Ezra, sometimes as Salathiel. But such an assumption is surely far-fetched, and in the highest degree unnatural. If the author had wished to speak throughout in the name of Ezra it would have been perfectly easy for him to do so. The importation of Salathiel would in that case be perfectly gratuitous. On the other hand, if the identification be due to a compiler who is using sources, all is explained.

We may assume, then, that the present form of our book reveals unmistakably the hand of a Compiler or Redactor (R) who has used as a source an originally independent Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It remains to determine what are the limits of S, so far as it is embodied in our own book, and what are its relations to other parts of the book.⁴

§ 7. THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK.

No question arises in connexion with regard to chapters 3-10 which, apart from the eschatological passages, may be assigned as a whole to S. The Redactor (R) will, of course, be in evidence

¹ A good example of internal corruption in the Latin is vii. 4 (*altum* for *latum*).

² In Kautzsch.

³ *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers* (1909), p. 336.

⁴ See further the discussion of this point in *EA*, p. xxi f.

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occasionally; but there will be little difficulty in assigning limits to his work after the more important question as to what other main sources, if any, are embodied in our own book has been discussed.

This resolves itself into the question whether the author of S can have embodied in his work the 5th, 6th and 7th visions of the book (chapters xi-xiv), or whether these are to be regarded in the light of appendices, drawn from independent sources, and inserted in their present position by R.

The famous Eagle-vision (chapters xi-xii) has all the appearance of an independent writing. It has a style and form of its own. But the all-important fact about it is that it reveals eschatological conceptions which are radically opposed to those of S. The latter holds strongly to a dualistic and transcendental view. There are two ages; one the present corruptible age, and the other the glorious incorruptible age that is to succeed the present one, after the Final Judgement. The hopes of S are fixed on the latter; he gives up the present as hopeless (see further § 10 (1)). On the other hand, in the Eagle-vision a strongly political view is held. The writer's hopes are fixed on the annihilation of the Eagle (i.e. the Roman Empire). It is this that will mark the decisive moment; the Day of Judgement will dawn, according to this writer's conception, when the Roman Empire is annihilated by the Messiah, and the Rule of God becomes a reality upon the earth. The two conceptions are difficult to harmonize. Doubtless the compiler (R) did try to harmonize them by combining them in thought; he doubtless anticipated that the world, even after the victory of the Messiah over Rome, would still come to its predestined end which would usher in the final Day of Judgement. But can such a conception be attributed to S? If anything is certain about this writer it is that he wrestles with real difficulties, and strives to reach a real solution. He is not a mere collector of opposed opinions. The conviction that dominates the whole thought of S is that the evil which reigns in the present order is so deep-rooted that nothing less than the dissolution of the present world and the ushering in of the future and better world (or age) will suffice to eliminate the wrongs and unrighteousness that now exist.¹ Is it conceivable that S can at the same time have held the view that the annihilation of the oppressive world-power by the Messiah will usher in a new age in the present world, which will bring felicity to those who live on into it, and justify the ways of God by making the divine rule a reality upon the earth? No. This older view was doubtless well known to S, and had failed to satisfy him. In his agonizing struggle for fresh light he implicitly repudiates the older eschatology, with its political hopes and somewhat materialistic aspirations, and takes refuge in a transcendental view. Consequently we are justified in treating the Eagle-vision (A) as an independent source which owes its position in the book to R.² The general theme of the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii)—viz. the annihilation of hostile powers and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom—is identical with that of the Eagle-vision. For the reasons already advanced it cannot, therefore, belong to S. Its eschatology also is different from that of the Eagle-vision, as will be shown later. Consequently it must be regarded as an independent writing. Though in tone and in some of its characteristic conceptions the final chapter (xiv) of our Apocalypse is much more akin to S than the two independent sources already referred to, it yet cannot be regarded as belonging to the Salathiel-apocalypse. The situation presupposed throughout this chapter (with the exception of some interpolations due to R) is that of the historical Ezra, living in the fifth century B.C.; it cannot, therefore, be brought into accordance with the situation of Salathiel (who lived a century earlier) as this is implied in S.³

Thus, as a result of our discussion, so far, we have reached the conclusion that the Salathiel-apocalypse (S) is contained within chapters iii-x of our book; while outside of and independent of this at least three other independent sources have been used, viz. the Eagle-vision (chapters xi-xii = A), the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii = M), and an Ezra-piece (ch. xiv = E²).

The combination of these elements into the present whole of the Ezra-apocalypse will have been the work of the compiler (R). In the process of redaction the hand of R will naturally be evident especially in fitting together the diverse material, and in the work of harmonization. It becomes important, therefore, to determine the extent and limits of R's work.

But before this is attempted the question of the possible existence of another source within our book remains to be discussed. Within the chapters which contain S there are four eschatological passages, marked by special features, the relation of which to S it is important to determine. These passages are the following: (1) iv. 52-v. 13 a, (2) vi. 11-29, (3) vii. 26-44, and (4) viii. 63-ix. 12. In general they contain eschatological descriptions, of a well-known traditional type, which set forth the 'signs' that are to precede the end of the world, and usher in the Final Judgement.

Thus (1) describes the 'signs' that precede the End as follows: it will be a time of commotions, and the general break up of moral and religious forces (v. 1-2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed

¹ Cf. especially iv. 26-43 (which should be carefully read).

² See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 246 ff.

³ Cf. further *EA*, pp. 306-7.

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(v. 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (v. 4-8, cf. vi. 21-22), and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (v. 10-12). In (2) the description of the signs that precede the End is taken up again and interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. It also contains a description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' (vi. 13-28). In (3) a description is given of the sudden revelation of the Messiah, his 400 years' reign on the earth and death, and finally a vivid delineation of the dissolution of the world interwoven with a description of the Judgement itself (vii. 26-44). In (4) the signs of the End are again reviewed (viii. 63-ix. 12).

Are these passages integral parts of S? Or can S have been responsible for their insertion in their present contexts? The traditional character of the passages as a whole is generally conceded; they belong to a type which has many parallels elsewhere. Is it conceivable, then, that S took up this widely current traditional material, and embodied it in his own work? An examination of the first of the passages (iv. 56-v. 12) mentioned discloses unmistakable marks of interpolation. Its awkward insertion in its present context cannot be due to S; it was doubtless interpolated by R. The second passage is parallel to and depends upon the first. If (1) is an interpolation, it follows that (2) must be also. The source from which R excerpted them was, Kabisch thinks, an old Ezra-apocalypse, containing eschatological descriptions of the 'signs' preceding the End, and of the End itself. It may be denominated E (= Ezra-apocalypse; so Kabisch). For similar reasons the third and fourth passages (vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12) cannot belong to S or have been inserted in their present contexts by S. Kabisch believes that both these passages have been drawn from E. The present writer, however, thinks that in their extant form both are the work of R, who may have drawn upon E, but has also utilized other material. They are in fact a compilation of diverse elements (cf. the discussion in *EA*, pp. 108 ff. and 199 ff.).

The results thus reached may be stated as follows: the present form of our apocalypse is due to a Redactor (R) who used the following sources:

(1) S, A SALATHIEL-APOCALYPSE which (so far as it has been utilized) is embodied in iii. 1-31, iv. 1-51, v. 13 b-vi. 10, vi. 30-vii. 25, vii. 45-viii. 62, and ix. 15-x. 57; in addition the two sections xii. 40-48 and xiv. 28-35 are probably misplaced pieces which belong to S (see the introductory sections *ad loc.*).

(2) E, AN EZRA-APOCALYPSE, from which iv. 52-v. 13 a and vi. 13-29 are extracts. Their present position is due to R, who has also drawn upon this source in vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

(3) A, THE EAGLE-VISION, contained (with revision by R) in chapters xi-xii.

(4) M, A SON OF MAN VISION, contained (with much revision and insertions by R) in chapter xiii.

(5) E², AN EZRA-PIECE, contained in xiv. 1-17 a, 18-27, 36-47.

(6) R is responsible for the compilation of the book as a whole. By means of redactional links and adjustments he has fitted the different elements of the book together; the following passages (redactional links) are due to his hand: iv. 52 (*as for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part but*) introducing the extract from E which follows: (v. 1-13 a), vi. 11-12 (introducing the second extract from E which follows in vi. 13-28), vi. 29, x. 58-9 (transition to the Fifth vision), xii. 49-51 (transition to the Sixth vision), xiv. 49-50 (conclusion of the book). In the process of adjustment R has also, apparently, misplaced certain sections of S. Besides the two sections already mentioned (xii. 40-48 and xiv. 28-35) the following also fall under this category: v. 14-15 and xiii. 57-8. The following are the longer insertions which were probably compiled in their present form, as well as inserted by R: iii. 32-6, vii. 26-44, viii. 63-ix. 12, and xiii. 13 b-24: R is also responsible for a certain amount of revision in the fourth and following visions (especially in the interpretation): x. 45 (*in eo* altered in the original Heb. to *in ea*) and x. 46 (*David* altered into *Solomon*), xi. 12 (*on the right side*), xi. 20 (*upon the right side*), xii. 8 (*completely*), xii. 9, xii. 14, xii. 15 (*the twelve*), xii. 26 b-28, xii. 32 (partly), xii. 34, xii. 39, xiii. 26 b, xiii. 29-32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48, xiii. 52 (*or those that are with him*). For minor adjustments made by R reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxvii.

The above analysis agrees, in the main, with the results of Kabisch's masterly discussion in his essay on our book.¹ The present editor, however, differs from Kabisch in assigning rather more to R—in particular the sections vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12 which appear to be compilations by him.

Thus the book as a whole is a compilation from different sources. In the case of *EA* and *M* we have only extracts from larger works (see further *EA*, p. 244 f., 285 f.). In the case of *E*² we have also a piece which was extracted from a larger source (cf. *EA*, pp. 301). Only

¹ *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (1889).

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in the case of S, which forms the groundwork of the whole book, have we a source which is substantially preserved in its entirety—though even here there are some curtailments. With S the compiler interwove extracts from other (Ezra) apocalypses, and then invested the whole with the name of Ezra (cf. the case of 1 Enoch, which is a compilation of extracts from a number of Enochic apocalypses interwoven with fragments of a Noah-apocalypse).¹

§ 8. THE DATE OF THE SOURCES AND OF THE FINAL REDACTION.

Fortunately in the opening verse of the book we have a precise statement which points definitely to an exact date for the original appearance of the Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It is stated in iii. 1 that it was *in the thirtieth year of the downfall of the city* that Salathiel was in Babylon and underwent the experiences detailed in the visions that follow; and this statement is confirmed in iii. 29 (*these thirty years*). This date, which probably is intended to refer to the original publication of S, points to the year A. D. 100 (i.e. thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70) as the time when S originally appeared or was completed as an independent work. For reasons supporting this view reference must be made to EA, p. xxviii f. The place of composition of S was probably Palestine, and not Rome as Kabisch supposes (*ibid.*).

With regard to the dates of the other sources embodied in our book, E is marked by traditional features which suggest that it was current long before it was utilized by R, who has handled it with considerable freedom.² From the absence of any clear indication that the horrors of the struggle which culminated in A. D. 70 have coloured the delineation of the Messianic 'woes' in these passages it may be inferred that E had assumed literary form some time before A. D. 70.³ Kabisch suggests as a possible date about 30 B.C.

The date of the original composition of the Eagle-vision (A) may be more definitely determined. The one usually favoured is some time in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81-96); but a date in the reign of Vespasian (A. D. 69-79) is quite possible, and not improbable (see the point fully discussed EA, p. 249).

In the case of the Son of Man vision (M) the interpretation of the vision presupposes a time for its composition before A. D. 70 (cf. EA, p. 286). As the Christology of M is more advanced than that of E it is probable that it was reduced to written form at a later date than the latter, though it must be remembered that the actual vision in M (4 Ezra xiii. 1-13 a) embodies traditional elements that are much older.

On the other hand, E² (ch. xiv) clearly implies a date subsequent to A. D. 70. The emphasis laid upon the representation of Ezra as the restorer of the Law that has been burnt (xiv. 21) points unmistakably to this. Kabisch regards this source as of contemporaneous origin with S, and this is quite possible; in tone it occasionally resembles S. But all that can be said with certainty is that it must have been composed some time between A. D. 70 and the time of the Redactor (? c. A. D. 120); it is probable that some considerable time elapsed between the Fall of Jerusalem and the time of its composition; consequently a date at or about A. D. 100 is not improbable.

The limits within which the final redaction of our book must have taken place may be fixed as A. D. 100-135. It is clear that the book cannot have been published in its present form before the former date in view of the explicit reference in iii. 1 to *the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city*; and on the other hand, it would have been impossible for a Jewish book of this kind to have found its way into Christian circles after the Bar-Kokba revolt, when Church and Synagogue had become hopelessly alienated. Sufficient time must be allowed before A. D. 132-135 for the Hebrew original to have been translated into Greek, and for the Greek version to have won its way into Christian circles. The date of the original publication cannot, therefore, be placed much after A. D. 120. Can it be placed any earlier?

We have already seen reason to believe that the explicit time-determination given in iii. 1 marks the date of the publication of S—not that of the whole book. If that be so, sufficient time must be allowed for S to have become well known in the circles to which R belonged, and for the work of compilation to have taken place. A number of indications suggest that at the time when the Redactor compiled the work feeling towards Rome on the part of Jewish circles in Palestine had become embittered.⁴ This was the case after the suppression of the Jewish rebellions in A. D. 116-117;

¹ For later apocalyptic literature circulating under Ezra's name cf. pp. 470 seq. of this vol.; BJ, pp. lxxxvi ff.

² We have extracts from E, probably in v. 1-12, vi. 12-28; while it has, apparently, been utilized by R in vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

³ The reference to *the humiliation of Zion* in vi. 19^b is probably a later interpolation; see EA, p. xxx.

⁴ The insertion of the Eagle-vision by R is evidence of this.

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and though with the accession of Hadrian a better feeling manifested itself, this was of short duration, and the old spirit of hostility soon re-asserted itself. These various indications point to a date about A. D. 120 as the time when the Redactor wrote and completed his work. It may have been somewhat later.

A similar date (between A. D. 120-130) is suggested by Charles as the time when 2 Baruch was edited in its final form (in Hebrew and then translated into Greek).

§ 9. THE RELATION OF 4 EZRA TO 2 BARUCH.

It is evident from a comparison of parallel passages¹ that a relation exists between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch of the closest and most intimate description. To determine the exact details of this relationship is not possible here in view of the complex critical problems involved by the composite character of the text of each book. All that can be attempted is to set forth some of the *data* that will serve to indicate the lines of a solution.

The composite character of 4 Ezra has already been indicated in the former part of this Introduction (see above §§ 6 and 7). In the case of 2 Baruch also the editor (Dr. Charles) finds it necessary to analyse the book into a number of sources, which are denominated A¹, A², A³ (i. e. the three Messianic apocalypses, which look for a personal Messiah, being chapters xxvii-xxx, xxxvi-xl, and liii-lxxiv); as in these sections Jerusalem is represented, according to Dr. Charles, as still standing it may be concluded that they assumed literary form before A. D. 70: another set of passages, denominated B¹ (= i-ix, 1, xxxii, 2-4, xliii-xliv, 7, xlv-xlvi, lxxvii-lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi f.), which are optimistic as to the future of the present world-order, but do not expect the advent of a personal Messiah, may be grouped partly with A¹, A², A³; but the date of composition of B¹ must be subsequent to A. D. 70 as the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile are presupposed. Dr. Charles also distinguishes two other sources, viz. B² (= x-xxv, xxx, 2-xxxii, 1, xxxii, 5-xxxv, xli-xlii, xlv, 8-15, xlvii-lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii) and B³ (= lxxxv): both B² and B³ are pessimistic in their view of the present world-order, and do not look for a Messianic kingdom; their hopes are fixed on the advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world; they also presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, and therefore assumed literary form subsequent to A. D. 70.

The broad results of this critical analysis suggest that 2 Baruch is a compilation from diverse elements similar, in many respects, to 4 Ezra. In both cases older documents, containing the national eschatology, have been combined with later elements which reveal a fundamentally different outlook. The elements B², B³ in 2 Baruch are comparable with S in 4 Ezra, while A¹ has affinities with the E source of 4 Ezra, and the date of its composition may be much the same. As to the date of composition of A² and A³ the present writer must confess to some doubts. The former of these, A², i. e. the fountain and cedar vision, is a vision of the fall of the Roman power, and may be compared with the Eagle-vision (A) of 4 Ezra. Like the latter it is a dream-vision, and may very well be of much the same date (some time in the reign of Vespasian or Domitian). May it not have formed one of the collection of dream-visions from which the Eagle-vision of 4 Ezra was excerpted? The possibility must of course always be allowed for that the actual material of the vision is older than its interpretation. In A² (the cloud and water vision) there is apparently a fusion of early and later elements. It has several points of contact with E² of 4 Ezra, and in its present form may well be of much the same date as regards literary composition (some time between A. D. 70 and 100, or even later); its reflective and theological tone harmonizes with this view. The material of the vision is probably one of the older elements, as also is the eschatological scheme of the Messianic 'woes' in ch. lxx.

The numerous points of contact between B¹, B² in 2 Baruch and S in 4 Ezra may be seen from the list of parallel passages in Dr. Charles's edition of 2 Baruch (pp. 170-1; cf. also pp. lxix-lxx in *EA*). It looks sometimes as if one were actually citing the other.

In each book we apparently have the work of a school of apocalyptists. The schools are, it would seem, rival schools. One is answering the other. The present writer believes that 4 Ezra represents the work of a somewhat earlier school of apocalyptists who were under the influence of Shammaite teachers (such as Eliezer b. Hyrkanos); while 2 Baruch embodies the work of a rather younger school, who were under the influence of Akiba. The latter work answers the former; and, on the whole, it gives answers decidedly more in accordance with what later became orthodox Judaism. Thus whereas in 4 Ezra vii. 119 (*O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants!* a passage belonging to S) Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the whole race, this teaching

¹ See the list printed in Charles's edition of 2 Baruch, pp. 170-1.

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is expressly refuted in 2 Baruch (cf. liv. 19: *Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul*, a passage which belongs to A³ according to Dr. Charles's analysis).

It seems probable that 2 Baruch in its final form was edited and put forth soon after the appearance of 4 Ezra in its present form; i. e. some time between A. D. 120 and 135, perhaps very soon after A. D. 120. Like 4 Ezra it was originally written in Hebrew, and soon after its appearance in this language was translated into Greek.

§ 10. THE THEOLOGY AND ESCHATOLOGY OF THE BOOK.¹

The book as a whole presents, as Gunkel has pointed out, two kinds of material: '(1) properly apocalyptic and especially eschatological mysteries; this material is to be compared with Dan. vii. ff. or Revelation iv ff.; (2) religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology and find in it either their answer or their occasion; this material is comparable with the speculations of the Pauline letters. The author put these problems in general before the mysteries, as being of greater importance, an order which can be compared with that of Revelation.'² In the light of the critical analysis given in §§ 6 and 7 above by 'author' here we must understand, for the purposes of our discussion, Redactor. The latter, in compiling our book, must have placed the discussion of the religious problems, which is embodied in S, first, because this discussion was felt to be concerned with one of the burning subjects of the day—the religious significance of the Fall of Jerusalem. The appendices to S (chapters xi–xiv) were intended to supplement the Salathiel-apocalypse by setting forth some classical expressions of the older eschatology. As will be seen, the eschatology of S, both explicit and implicit, is in many respects of a fundamentally different character.

(1) *The theology and eschatology of S.* The author of S appears to have been in close touch with the circles of the Teachers of the Law, and may have actually been a member of the scribal class (cf. viii. 29). Like many Pharisees of the time he valued and practised an ascetic mode of life (cf. vi. 32, and the frequent references to fasting in the first four visions). As a Jew he postulates the fundamental beliefs of Judaism. He insists on God's unity and uniqueness; God and God alone, without the intervention of any mediatorial agency, is responsible for creation, and God alone will exercise the functions of Judge at the final judgement (vi. 1–6). Israel is God's elect people (v. 27; cf. the whole passage v. 23–30; vi. 58; viii. 16, &c.), with whom God entered into a special covenant-relation (iii. 14 f.), and for whose sake the world was made (vi. 55, vii. 11). The Law is a special divine gift to Israel (iii. 19 f., ix. 31 f.). It had indeed been offered to the other nations of the world but deliberately rejected by them (cf. vii. 23, 24, vii. 72); Israel, on the other hand, had accepted it, and had thereby acknowledged the divine sovereignty. In consequence Israel is the true representative of humanity before God—the other nations are 'nothing'; by rejecting the divine gift they have put themselves outside the pale (vi. 56, vii. 23 f.). The apocalypticist glorifies the Law (cf. esp. ix. 29–37), but is perplexed by the problems presented by it in its relation to Israel. These problems are debated in the first part of the book. Why is the chosen people given up as a prey to the heathen? Because of its sins? But the sins of the godless heathen far outweigh those of Israel; why, then, should the former be allowed to lord it over and oppress the latter? (cf. v. 29, iii. 28). To these questions no satisfactory answer can be found in the Law alone. The Law is impotent to redeem and save the sinner (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). To a race doomed to sin the promises of the Law are a mockery (vii. 116–31). The utmost that the seer can hope from the Law is that while the many are born to perish, but few shall be saved. The answers to the problem of the nation to which the apocalypticist struggles in the debate are the following:

(a) *God's ways are inscrutable.* Man cannot understand or fathom the most ordinary elements of the material world: how, then, can he hope to comprehend the things of the incorruptible world? (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.).

(b) *Human intelligence is finite and limited.* The angel enforces the point that the human intelligence must keep within its own prescribed bounds by a parable taken from the sea and the forest (iv. 12–21). The seer protests that he has no desire to explore heavenly secrets, but that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth, and is told that the New Age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (iv. 22–32).

(c) *The course and duration of the present world has been pre-determined.* Evil must run its course; the harvest of evil must first be gathered before the good can take its place (iv. 28–31); but everything has been pre-determined—the number of the righteous elect, and the duration of the present

¹ For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. xxxiv–lvii.

² Cited by F. C. Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

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age—and things as they are will not be moved nor stirred *till the measure appointed be fulfilled*. But when the predestined moment shall have come nothing will be able to delay its consummation (iv. 33-43). That moment, it is hinted, will soon arrive (iv. 44-50).

(d) *In spite of all appearances to the contrary God loves Israel now and always*. The apocalypticist never wavers in his conviction that God's love for Israel exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation (v. 31-40; cf. viii. 47).

The one positive result reached in the discussion so far is an eschatological one. The future age will solve all difficulties. This is a fundamental conviction of our apocalypticist. 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 apocalypticist's view of the present world-order is extremely pessimistic. He gives up the old hope of a renovation and purification of the present world, and fixes his gaze and his hopes on the future world or age—the age of true life and immortality wherein

*corruption is passed away,
weakness is abolished,
infidelity is cut off,
while righteousness is grown,
and faithfulness is sprung up* (vii. 114).

But having won his way to this position the apocalypticist still finds himself baffled and perplexed with sore difficulties.

In answer to the difficulty that *the coming age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto many* (vii. 47) the angel can only say that the few are precious and the many worthless (vii. 49-61). This naturally fails to satisfy the seer, who protests that man had better not have been created at all (cf. vii. 62-9) or at least been restrained from sinning (vii. 116-26). Against the logical result of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132-40). Moreover, he is answered by the angel that his love for creation comes far short of the divine love.

It will have become apparent from the previous discussion that the author of S realizes the inherent weakness of the Law as a redemptive power. He thus approaches to the attitude of mind of St. Paul (cf. Rom. viii. 3 f.); and it is clear that this attitude of mind was by no means so rare and isolated a phenomenon in contemporary Judaism as is sometimes supposed. This becomes even more apparent when we examine the doctrine of sin as it emerges in our Apocalypse together with the related doctrine of salvation by faith and works.

It is important to remember that in the theology of S it is *the acceptance of the Law that is the standard by which men must be judged at the last, not the observance of it*. True, the Law, once given, ought to have been observed. But so far is this from being the case that very few, if any, even in Israel have lived up to the divine requirements as set forth in the Law:

*For in truth
There is none of the earth-born that has not dealt wickedly,
And among those that exist who has not sinned* (viii. 35).

So conscious is the apocalypticist of this that he reckons himself among the sinners (cf. vii. 48, vii. 64, vii. 118, 126, viii. 17, viii. 31). Thus, according to S, sin is conceived as consisting essentially in unfaithfulness to the Law (cf. ix. 36: *we who have received the Law and sinned must perish*). The result has been alienation and estrangement from God (vii. 48); and this result is due, in some way, to the sin of Adam which has involved the fall of the entire human race (cf. vii. 118). Man's infirmity is to be traced to the *evil heart* (*cor malignum*) which was developed in Adam and transmitted to his descendants (cf. iii. 20-2 and iii. 25-6). The effect of the Law was nullified because of the *evil germ* (root iii. 22) or *grain of evil seed* (*granum seminis mali*) which was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning (iv. 30). This *evil root* or *grain of evil seed* doubtless corresponds to the *evil impulse* (*yešer hā-ra'*) of Rabbinic theology. Adam clothed himself with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of the *evil impulse*. The *evil heart*, thus developed, inevitably led to sin and death. The *evil seed* sown in the heart of Adam was transmitted to his descendants (iv. 30) with the result that *the infirmity became inveterate* (iii. 22). All men have fallen into sin (viii. 35), and, as a consequence, *this age* [the present world-order] *is full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27); the *ways of this world* have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12). The *evil heart* has *estranged from God and brought into destruction . . . not a few only, but wellnigh all that have been created* (vii. 48); for *all the earth-born are defiled with iniquities*,

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full of sins, laden with offences. At the most, judged by the standard of the Law, only a few can hope to be saved (vii. 45).

Exactly how the fall of Adam and the universal state of sin are connected is nowhere explicitly stated. That the two things are connected is certainly implied in vii. 118. It is true Adam's descendants share his responsibility for what has happened in that they have deliberately followed his example in clothing themselves with the *evil heart* (iii. 26); the moral responsibility of each individual member of the race is not denied. Probably at the back of the apocalypticist's thought lies the idea that Adam by his transgression lost much of his power of resisting the *evil impulse or thought*, and transmitted this weakness to his descendants. It is noteworthy that the fall of man is nowhere in our apocalypse attributed to external agency (demonic incitement).

The corruption of the human race is regarded as due to a development of something inherent in man's nature (*yeṣer hā-ra'* of Rabbinic theology); but by representing the Law as powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery (iii. 22), our apocalypticist directly contradicts the orthodox Rabbinic view, according to which the *evil yeṣer* could be—and as a matter of fact has been by the pious in Israel generally—successfully resisted by the study of the Law and the practice of good works. In S also the entry of physical death into the world is directly connected with the Fall. Thus, according to this teaching, both physical and spiritual death are a legacy from Adam. For a comparison of these positions with that of St. Paul see *EA*, p. xlii.

In fact the doctrine of our apocalypticist ultimately resolves itself into a pure and lofty individualism. His view of sin as universal, owing to its root in the evil heart which is also universal, leads him to manifest a certain compassion for and sympathy with the perishing masses of mankind:

*But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?
Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?
For in truth
There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,
And among those that exist who has not sinned* (viii. 34, 35).

Where all are involved in a state of unrighteousness before God there is little room for self-gratulation. One of the most striking features in S is the absence of the note of self-confidence, based upon Israel's possession of the Law, which is so prominent in 2 Baruch.¹ The Law in S rather brings terror by its condemnation than hope of salvation. The universal need is mercy rather than the award of the Law; and so the apocalypticist is driven to appeal, against the Law, to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness (cf. vii. 132–viii. 3, viii. 36).

Nowhere is the individual note more clearly sounded than in what may be described as our apocalypticist's *eschatology of the individual*. This is set forth, with great wealth of detail, in vii. 75–101, which gives a long description of the state of the soul after death and before the judgement. It is further stated (vii. 102–15) that no intercession will be allowed on the Day of Judgement:

The Day of Judgement is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth . . . none shall pray for another on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on another; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness (vii. 104–5).

While the theology of S recognizes the Day of Judgement and an intermediate state for the soul between death and judgement, it knows of no resurrection of the body. In the description of the state of the soul after death it is made clear that the soul enters at once into a state of blessedness or the reverse, according as it is righteous or wicked. The souls of the righteous are guarded in *chambers*, and there, in great tranquillity and happiness, await the final judgement; the souls of the wicked, on the other hand, move about restlessly in torment. These conditions—though they will be intensified—are not to be essentially altered on the Day of Judgement itself. This practically means that judgement sets in immediately after death, and that a man's fate is virtually determined by the present life—which is the doctrine of the Book of Wisdom and of Hellenistic Judaism.²

It has already been pointed out that the writer of S discards, implicitly, the older eschatology of the nation. He does not look forward to a restoration of the Jewish State, or a rebuilding of Jerusalem; nor to a renewed and purified earth under the conditions of the present world-order. His hopes are fixed on the advent of the new and better world which is to follow the collapse of the

¹ In this book (especially in the section written after A.D. 70) 'the Law is everything; it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlvi. 22, 24)'. (Charles's note on *Aph. Bar.* xv. 5, p. 31.)

² For a fuller discussion of the position of S regarding the resurrection-belief see *EA*, p. xlviii f.

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present world. Consequently he anticipates merely the catastrophic end of the present world-order—his theology does not allow of any intermediate Messianic Age. The new Jerusalem which is to come will be the Heavenly City, which is shown to Salathiel in his final vision (x. 25 f.), and which belongs to the future incorruptible age. As to the precise time when the end of the present order is to come the apocalyptist has no definite knowledge; but he is made to understand that the decisive moment is not far distant (cf. iv. 41, iv. 44-50); the appointed time has been pre-determined by God (iv. 36 f.), as well as the number of the righteous elect, and till this number shall have been completed the promised salvation cannot come (iv. 36). God's purpose is fixed, but it is beyond the power of the human mind to fathom it (cf. v. 34-40, vi. 6, vii. 11, vii. 20). There is thus a strong element of determinism in S; but the freedom of the human will is also emphatically asserted—the two truths are set side by side.

The theology of S is essentially other-worldly. The writer's dualism is emphatic and pronounced. The present age and the future, above and below, are in fundamental opposition. The same violent contrast characterizes the material and the spiritual (cf. iv. 11). The body, regarded as the prison-house of the soul, is described as *this corruptible vessel* (vii. 88). It is significant that in S there is no resurrection of the body; what is anticipated is practically a pure immortality of the soul. According to S the human heart, which has received the Law, is essentially a *corruptible vessel*, which belongs to the present order and will perish (ix. 36). In contrast to the present world-order, which is *full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27), and the ways of which, owing to man's sin, have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12), *the ways of the future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality* (vii. 13). In the future age, which is already prepared:

*The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
Infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
Hades fled away;
Corruption forgotten,
Sorrows passed away;*

And in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest (viii. 53, 54).

The pessimistic view of the present world-order which is characteristic of S naturally harmonizes with the ascetic tendencies to which reference has already been made. Taken together all these various tendencies—which are also marked in other apocalyptic literature—suggest, perhaps, the influence of Alexandrine rather than specifically Palestinian thought. But it must not be forgotten that Palestine was saturated with Hellenistic influence at this period, and that Palestinian Judaism was profoundly affected by it. The partial elimination of Greek elements, and the hardening and crystallization of the Rabbinic type of thought, was only effected later. The religious significance of S has been well set forth by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes in a sentence. Our apocalyptist, he says, 'despairs of a life of absolute obedience to the Law, even by Israel, not to speak of the world. The unconscious and unexpressed cry of the book is for a moral dynamic, which legalism could not supply.'¹

(2) *The theology and eschatology of the other original sources.* Of the remaining original sources of our Apocalypse apparently the oldest is E. The contents of this source, so far as it is embodied in our book, are purely eschatological in character. The themes with which it deals are (1) the Messianic 'woes', i. e. the signs and portents that are to usher in the End of the world (iv. 56-v. 13 a, vi. 21-2); (2) the End of the world (this is announced by the Voice of God, but not actually described: vi. 13-20, 23-4); (3) the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' and live on into the Messianic Age (vi. 25-8). It seems probable that E in its original form regarded the age of felicity, that was to follow the judgement, as a Messianic kingdom, of indefinite duration, set up on a purified earth; but, apparently, there was no Messiah, though certain heralds of the Messianic Age were to appear—the *men who have not tasted death from their birth*—whose task it was to convert the surviving members of the human race to a *different spirit* (vi. 26-8). This eschatological scheme is of the older type, common in the prophetic books of the Old Testament and in the older apocalypses (e. g. 1 Enoch i-xxxvi). As has been pointed out in a former chapter, E has probably been utilized by R in vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12, and, in any case, only appears in our book in fragments. This fact makes it difficult to determine its theological positions precisely. It is possible that one of the missing portions contained an account of the resurrection, the place of which has been taken in R's compilation by vii. 31. The description of the Messianic 'woes' has many traditional features which find close parallels in similar descriptions elsewhere (cf. EA, p. 41).

¹ *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 240.

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In the case of the Eagle-vision (ch. xi-xii) the dominating eschatological conception is a political one. Wickedness is concentrated in godless imperial Rome¹ 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* (xii. 32). The overthrow of the Roman Empire is to be followed by the setting up *on earth* of the theocratic kingdom under the direct rule of God. The author was apparently a zealot (see these points fully discussed in *EA*, pp. 246 f.). The Messiah appears in a very active rôle here as the instrument for overthrowing the Roman Empire.

Very different eschatological conceptions emerge in the Son of Man vision (M=ch. xiii). These have been fully discussed in *EA* (pp. 282-6), to which the reader must be referred. One feature, however, that comes out in the interpretation of the vision calls for special mention here. This is the emphasis that is laid on *the Law*. The heavenly Messiah destroys his enemies *without labour by the Law* (xiii. 38). Further, in the legend of the Ten Tribes, which is given in the same context, their deliverance and ultimate return are represented as due to a return on their part to the observance of the Law. In order to do this they leave their heathen surroundings and migrate to *a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep the statutes which they had not kept in their own land* (xiii. 41 f.). In other words, to the author of this apocalyptic piece the Law is the standard of piety, and he can only conceive of the restoration of the lost Tribes as due to a whole-hearted acceptance of the 'yoke of the Law'.

In the last of the original sources embodied in our book, viz. E² (i.e. the Ezra-legend given in ch. xiv) the most outstanding doctrinal feature is the conception of the Messiah (God's Son) as pre-existing in heaven, surrounded by a community of elect ones. This agrees with the representation of the heavenly Son of Man of the Parables of 1 Enoch (xxxvii-lxxi). Just as in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 Enoch lxx. 1 f.), so here Ezra's assumption to remain henceforth with God's Son, in company with other elect ones, *until the times be ended*, is described (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 9). So too, as in the Parables, the heavenly Messiah is not to appear until the End and the coming of the Judgement (cf. xiv. 9, 10 and notes). The world history is divided into twelve parts, nine and a half of which have already passed in the time of the historical Ezra (i.e. the middle of the fifth century B.C.). This suggests that the apocalypst conceives the world to have already entered upon the last period of tribulation (the last three and a half years of woe of Dan. ix. 27), and regards the approach of the final consummation as imminent (cf. xiv. 11, 12 and notes). Another feature of E² is its pessimistic outlook on the present world-order. It also assigns a high place to the Law and the other Scriptures, but by the side of the apocalyptic books (cf. *EA*, pp. 304-7).

(3) *The theology and eschatology of the Redactor (R)*. The Redactor who is responsible for the present form of our Apocalypse has impressed a certain unity on the book, which, though it involves the combination of conceptions essentially disparate, yet serves to reveal a whole which he contrived to combine (by the insertion of connecting links and supplementary matter at different points) into one system in his own thought.

The groundwork of his compilation is the Salathiel-apocalypse. But evidently he felt it necessary to supplement this with extracts from other apocalypses which represent very different points of view. From the position and bulk of S in R's compilation it may be inferred that he was specially interested in its main theme—a discussion of the religious problems involved in the fall and destruction of Jerusalem. The element in S which is concerned with the eschatology of the individual, involving, as it does, the discussion of the problem of the origin and prevalence of sin, to which the misery of the world is due, would doubtless have appealed to R with special force. On the other hand, R was not prepared to discard the older hope of the coming of Messianic redemption for the nation, and so found it necessary to append the Eagle and Son of Man visions (ch. xi-xiii). The combination of these elements results in the following eschatological scheme, which was adopted by R:

(1) The period of 'woes' preceding the advent of the Messiah (iv. 56-v. 13 a, vi. 11-28) will first occur.

(2) The Messiah and his immortal companions (Enoch, Elijah, &c.) will then suddenly be 'revealed', the new Jerusalem will appear and a temporary Messianic kingdom, lasting 400 years, set up in which those who have survived the Messianic 'woes' are destined to enjoy a period of felicity (vii. 26-8 R). In ch. xii. (M) the active work of the Messiah is described more fully. There, a principal part of his mission is to destroy the assembled enemies of the divine rule (= 'the wars of Gog and Magog'), and gather together the lost Ten Tribes who are to be brought back to the Holy Land. Apparently the destruction of the hostile forces is conceived as closing the period of 'woes'.

¹ Cf. the 'Beast' of the Johannine Apocalypse.

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After the annihilation of the last enemies has been effected, the 'survivors', who are defined as *those that are found within my holy border* (xiii. 48) shall be defended by the Messiah (xiii. 49, cf. xiii. 26 b), and see *very many wonders*. Presumably the rule of the Messiah here indicated was conceived by R to synchronize with the 400 years' reign referred to in vii. 28, though this was not its significance in the original vision.

(3) The temporary Messianic kingdom and the rule of the Messiah will terminate in his death and that of all human beings, and creation will revert to *primaeval* silence for seven days (vii. 29-30).

(4) This will be followed by the Resurrection and the Final Judgement (vii. 31-44).

It should be noted that the Eagle-vision (ch. xi-xii), which depicts the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Lion of Judah (i.e. the Messiah), has no logical place in this scheme. The eschatological drama, as outlined above, was inherited by R from tradition, which was too firmly rooted to be ignored. But in the Eagle-vision we ought probably to see an expression of the real hopes which animated our compiler. Living at a time when Israel had suffered—and was still suffering—so much at the hands of Rome his hopes for the Messianic deliverance were naturally concentrated on the prospect of the annihilation of the oppressive world-power, and the incarnation of all wickedness.

Such is the scheme of the national eschatology as it was combined in the mind of R. How essentially incompatible the diverse elements of which it is composed really are needs no further demonstration.

In combination with and supplementing this our compiler accepted the eschatology of the individual as set forth in S. In contrast with S, R has much greater confidence in the Law as such as a protective power to the Jew (cf. iii. 26-36, and see further *EA*, pp. lv-lvii).

§ II. RELATION OF THE APOCALYPSE WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.¹

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

Gunkel, it is true, thinks that 4 Ezra xii. 42 (*For of all the prophets thou alone art left to us . . . as a lamp in a dark place*) is cited in 2 Pet. i. 19 (*And we have the word of prophecy more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place*). But the common use of such a figure may be explained as due to its currency, possibly in apocalyptic circles, before the writing of 4 Ezra and 2 Peter.

In 4 Ezra iv. 28 the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest is applied metaphorically to evil, and it is stated that the harvest of evil must first be reaped before the good can take its place; the thought here is parallel with that of the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii); cf. in particular Matt. xiii. 39: *the enemy that sowed . . . is the devil, and the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels*.

In 4 Ezra iv. 36 the seer is reminded by the angel that he cannot know the duration of the time that must elapse before the End (though elsewhere it has been revealed to him that the End is imminent); in other words the exact moment cannot be fixed—it is known to God alone. The passage runs:

Number me the days that are not yet come (the implication being—you cannot); cf. Mark xiii. 32 and parallels: *But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father*.

There is a certain amount of literary contact between the Johannine Apocalypse and 4 Ezra, which, however, does not amount to direct literary dependence, but, probably, points to a common source or sources; thus 4 Ezra ix. 35 and Rev. vi. 9-11 seem to be related in this way²; so in 4 Ezra iv. 41 *the underworld* (*infernium*=*Sheol*) is used as in Rev. i. 18, &c., as the place where the wicked dead remain in the intermediate state.

An abundance of resemblances in thought or diction has been pointed out in the notes on the text.³ One or two examples may be given here: in 4 Ezra vii. 88 the body is called *this corruptible vessel*; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53 *this corruptible*; in 4 Ezra ix. 37 *the Law*, it is said, *perishes not but abides in its glory* (i.e. the Law is heavenly and divine); cf. Rom. vii. 14 (*the Law is spiritual*), 2 Cor. iii. 7 f., &c., &c.

The close parallels in thought as to the origin and prevalence of sin between S and St. Paul have already been pointed out in § 10 (1).

¹ For the affinities of the Book with other early literature cf. *EA*, pp. lxx-lxxiv.

² Cf. Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, pp. 272 f.

³ The passages cited in this connexion in the writer's larger work are registered in Index IV of *EA*, pp. 375-8.

INTRODUCTION

§ 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Besides the works already referred to in this Introduction, the following are also important for the study of 4 Ezra:—

(a) EDITIONS OF TEXT.

Syr. (Cer.) = The Syriac Text of 4 Ezra, printed in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Tom. v (pp. 41-111).

(b) TRANSLATIONS WITH NOTES, ETC.

Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra*; edited by Prof. Gunkel in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900), (contains a valuable introduction, critical translation, and notes).
Ball = critical notes on 2 Esdras in *The Variorum Apocrypha*, by C. J. Ball.

(c) ESSAYS, DISCUSSIONS, ETC.

Rosenthal = *Vier Apokryphische Bücher, aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, von Dr. F. Rosenthal (Leipzig, 1885).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht*, von Richard Kabisch (Göttingen, 1889).
Vaganay = *Le Problème eschatologique dans le IV^e livre d'Esdras*, par Léon Vaganay (Paris, 1906).
Wellhausen = *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, von J. Wellhausen; sechstes Heft (Berlin, 1899).
F. C. Porter = *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, by F. C. Porter (London, 1909).
[Cf. also Charles's discussion in the introduction to his edition of *The (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch*; also articles in the Bible Dictionaries (*DB* and *EB*) and in *JE*.]

(d) OTHER WORKS REFERRED TO.

Bousset, *RJ*² = *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (2nd ed.), von D. Wilhelm Bousset (Berlin, 1906).
Charles, *Eschatology* = *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, by R. H. Charles (London, 1899).
Derenbourg = *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, par J. Derenbourg (Paris, 1867).
Drummond, *JM* = *The Jewish Messiah*, by James Drummond (London, 1877).
Köhler = *Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (Leipzig, 1910).
Köberle = *Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum* (München, 1905).
RWS = *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (2nd ed., 1911).
Schechter, *Aspects* = *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, by S. Schechter (London, 1909).
Volz = *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, von Paul Volz (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903).
Weber = *Jüdische Theologie*, von F. Weber; 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1897).

Also the following editions of ancient works:—

Ps. Sol. = *The Psalms of the Pharisees (or Psalms of Solomon)*, edited and translated by Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891).
Mekilta = the early Jewish Midrash so called (on Exodus); Hebrew text edited by Friedmann.
Sifra, Sifre = the early Jewish Midrashim so called (on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

EB = *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols.).
DB = *Dictionary of the Bible*.
DCG = *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (ed. Hastings, 2 vols.).
JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (12 vols.).
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vols. i-xx).
TB = Talmud of Babylon.
TJ = Talmud of Jerusalem.
OL = Old Latin.
PBH = Post Biblical Hebrew.
Bensly, MF = *The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra, discovered and Edited with an Introduction and Notes*, by Robert L. Bensly, M.A. (Cambridge, 1875).
BJ (= *Bensly and James*) = *The fourth Book of Ezra: the Latin version edited from the MSS.* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., with an introduction by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. iii, no. 2, Cambridge, 1895).
Hilg. = *Messias Iudaeorum* (containing the Latin text and Latin translations of the Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian texts, and a reconstruction of the lost Greek text underlying them, with critical notes), Leipzig, 1869.
Violet = *Die Esra-Apokalyse (IV. Esra), Erster Teil: Die Überlieferung*, herausg. von Lic. Dr. Bruno Violet (contains a critical edition of the Latin text, and carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions and valuable critical notes), Leipzig, 1910.
Volkmar = *Das vierte Buch Esra* (being Part II of the *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*), herausg. von Dr. Gustav Volkmar (contains Latin text, commentary, German translation and elaborate Introduction; the critical notes are often useful), Tübingen, 1863.
Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra* in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen, 1889).
EA = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (critical translation with Commentary and Introduction), edited by G. H. Box (London, 1912).

IV EZRA

THE FIRST VISION.

(iii. 1-v. 19.)

(I. iii. 1-3) INTRODUCTION (S).

S 31 In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I, Salathiel—[who am also Ezra]—was in Babylon,

THE FIRST VISION (iii. 1-v. 19).

(1) CONTENTS. In the person of Salathiel (Ezra) the writer, bewailing, some thirty years after the event, the desolation of Sion and the continued prosperity of Babylon, gives vent to his grief and despair on account of the ruin which has befallen Jerusalem at the hands of her Roman conquerors in A.D. 70. He finds it difficult to understand the meaning of this appalling catastrophe. How can it be reconciled with God's providence and justice? It is true the human race is corrupt and steeped in sin; but the reason why all men have sinned is that sin goes back to Adam, and Adam sinned because the root of sin was inherent in his nature (cf. iii. 20 f.). God had chosen Israel and given them His Law, but so long as the evil germ remained in man's nature, the Law was powerless to produce righteousness (cf. iii. 19, 20). Hence perfect righteousness could not justly be expected even from Israel. On the other hand, nations far more godless and faithless than Israel are allowed to remain in prosperity, and trample underfoot the chosen people.

The seer's protests are answered by the angel Uriel. The most serious part of the charge levelled by the seer against the justice of God's providence had been the implication that God, as Creator, was ultimately responsible for the inherent evil of man's nature, and hence cannot justly punish men for sin. To this indictment the angel replies (cf. Job xxviii) that the seer cannot understand the simplest things that are bound up with his daily life; how, then, can he hope to understand the ways of the Most High? God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 1-11). The seer rejoins despairingly: 'It would have been better that we had never been created, than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not know why we suffer.' The angel replies that it is foolish and senseless to seek to know what is beyond nature. Man belongs to the earth; his vision is bounded by the finite; therefore it is vain for him to seek to comprehend what is heavenly and infinite (iv. 12-21). The seer, disclaiming any desire to be curious about the ways above, protests that what perplexes him most of all is a fact of daily experience, viz. that Israel, God's chosen people, should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen. This is answered as follows: the present age is hastening fast to its close; the new age that is about to dawn will solve all difficulties. God's remedy for the present state of things will not be consummated within the present order, but will be realized in the future world. The present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (iv. 22-32). If the solution lies in the future the question naturally arises at this point, how soon will it come? This question is asked impatiently by the seer. The answer is: till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come; but when the moment has arrived nothing (not even men's sins) can delay its consummation (iv. 33-43). The seer again inquires more particularly as to the time of the End. Is the present age more than half gone? He is shown, by a vision, that by far the greater part of the present age has run its course (iv. 44-50). In reply to a further question the angel states that he cannot tell whether the End will come within the seer's own lifetime (iv. 51-52). An interpolated passage (from E) narrates the signs of the near approach of the End (v. 1-13). The first vision thus falls into the following divisions:

- i. Introduction (iii. 1-3) (S).
- ii. The first questions (the seer's difficulties stated) (iii. 4-36) (mainly S).
- iii. The divine reply (iv. 1-v. 13):
 - (a) iv. 1-11; (b) iv. 12-21; (c) iv. 22-32; (d) iv. 33-43; (e) iv. 44-50; (f) iv. 51-v. 13 (S) (E).
- iv. Conclusion of the Vision (v. 14-19) (S).

(2) THE MISSING INTRODUCTION TO THE VISION. As Kabisch has pointed out, a number of indications suggest that in the original form of S the present vision was preceded by an introductory piece, explaining the preparation of the seer for what follows. It is probable that a command to fast seven days preceded the first vision in its original form (cf. vi. 35, where the 'three weeks' of fasting mentioned implies this). It may, therefore, be concluded that before the prayer of Salathiel (iii. 4 f.) there stood originally an introductory section detailing the appearance of the angel Uriel, the command to the seer to fast seven days, and the fulfilment of this command. Then followed a dream-vision the conclusion of which has been misplaced by R, and now stands in v. 14-15. This again was probably followed by some such statement as: 'So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping as the angel commanded me. And it came to pass after seven days' (cf. v. 20). Here followed the words 'my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts', &c. (iii. 1 ff.). The whole of this introductory section has been cut out by R, apparently, as unimportant (see further *EA*, pp. 4-6).

1. In the thirtieth year. The thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is primarily meant, i.e. 556 B.C. But typically this was designed, doubtless, to suggest the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, i.e. A.D. 100; this probably fixes the date of the publication of S (see Introduction, § 8). For the opening of the book in this way cf. Ezek. i. 1.

Salathiel. The Hebrew form of the name is *She'alti'el*. Shealtiel is mentioned as the father of Zerubbabel in Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Neh. xii. 1; but in 1 Chron. iii. 17 as his uncle.

[who am also Ezra]. The identification of Ezra and Salathiel is, of course, impossible chronologically. Ezra appears first in history a century later (459-458 B.C.) than the date here presupposed (556 B.C.). The words are doubtless a gloss due to R (see Introduction, §§ 6 and 7).

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

II. iii. 4-36. THE FIRST QUESTIONS: WHENCE ARISE THE SIN AND MISERY OF THE WORLD? HOW CAN ISRAEL'S CONTINUED AFFLICTION BE RECONCILED WITH THE DIVINE JUSTICE?

4 And I said: ^bO Lord my Lord,^b was it not thou who in the beginning, when ^cthou didst form the earth—and that thyself alone—didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam ^c, a lifeless body? But yet it was both itself the formation of thy hands and thou breathedst into 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 to him thou commandedst ^done only observance of thine ^d, but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him ^eand for his generations ^e, 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 (due) time thou broughtest the Flood ^fupon the earth and ^fupon the inhabitants of the world, and destroyedst them. And ^gtheir fate ^gwas one and the same; as death (overtook) Adam, so the Flood (overwhelmed) these. Nevertheless one of them thou didst spare—Noah with his household (and with him) all the righteous his descendants. And it came to pass that when the inhabitants upon the earth began to multiply, and ^hthere were born ^hchildren 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 ⁱthe end of the times ⁱsecretly by night; and with him thou didst make an everlasting covenant, and didst promise him that thou wouldst never forsake his seed. And thou 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. And it came to pass that when thou leddest forth his seed out of Egypt, and didst bring them to the Mount Sinai,

18 Thou didst bow down the heavens, didst make the earth quake

^{a-a} For the lacuna here see the discussion on the previous page. ^{b-b} \mathbb{L} : O dominator Domine (R.V. O Lord that bearest rule) = $\Delta\epsilon\omicron\mu\nu\omicron\tau\alpha\ \kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\epsilon$ (Hilg.): = \mathbb{L} ארני יהוה \mathbb{L} ^{c-c} reading *plasmasti terram . . . et imperasti pulveri et dedit tibi Adam with BJ and Violet: so \mathbb{S} (cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹): Lat. MSS. plantasti terram . . . et imperasti populo (so SA: orbi CM) tuo et dedisti Adam (so SA: cf. the rendering of A.V.) ^{d-d} \mathbb{L} diligentiam unam tuam: the Oriental Versions render commandment (for this sense of diligentia cf. Bensly, 'Missing Fragment', p. 56) ^{e-e} so \mathbb{S} (cf. other Oriental Versions): \mathbb{L} et in nationibus eius ^{f-f} so \mathbb{S} and Ethiop.; \mathbb{L} Ar.¹ > ^{g-g} \mathbb{L} casus eorum: \mathbb{S} their destruction (cf. Ethiop.) ^{h-h} so Ethiop.: \mathbb{L} multiplicaverunt (so \mathbb{S}) ⁱ⁻ⁱ reading *temporum finem with C**

4. in the beginning. Cf. Gen. ii. 7 f. In accordance with the wide philosophic outlook of the apocalyptists the writer begins his survey with Creation. On the other hand, the prophets characteristically begin with the Exodus from Egypt, which marked the birthday of Israel as a nation. Cf. Jer. ii. 2; Hos. xi. 1.

6. before ever the earth came forward. According to one view current in later Jewish circles Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was one of seven things created before the world (viz. Torah, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the Messiah; cf. *Pesah* 54 a, *Nedar.* 39 b, *Ber. rab.* xx). For this view, as regards Paradise, our text here is the earliest literary evidence. It was deduced from Gen. ii. 8 (where the Hebr. word *miqgedem*, understood as = 'from the beginning' [not 'eastward'] was interpreted to mean 'before' the creation of the world¹). According to the earlier view the Garden of Eden was one of the things created on the third day: cf. *Book of Jubilees*, ii. 7, and Charles's note on the passage. Paradise has varying meanings in apocalyptic literature. The conception of an earthly and heavenly paradise is also to be noted. Here Eden as man's primitive home of blessedness is meant. See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 195 ff.

10. And their fate was one and the same. A like fate overtook both Adam and the generation of the deluge. Note that the survey begins with Adam; contrast 2 Pet. ii. 4.

13. thou didst choose thee one, &c. Cf. Gen. xii. 1.

14. unto him only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night. The vision described in Gen. xv. 9 f. was later invested with an extended significance; it was supposed to give an intimation of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel, which are interpreted to be Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome (cf. Targums *ad loc.*).

16. Jacob became a great host. Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.

18. Thou didst bow down the heavens, &c. The whole description is of a theophany, and may be compared with Ps. lxxviii. 7 ff. The particular theophany referred to is described in Exod. xix. 16 f.

¹ So the Targums (cf. also the Syriac and Latin versions, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion). According another view, however, the expression means 'before the creation of man': cf. *Gen. rab.* xv.

- S and convulsdst the world—
 Thou didst cause the deeps to tremble
 and didst alarm the spheres.
 19 And thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold,
 To give Law to Jacob's seed
 and Commandment to the generation of Israel.
 20 And yet thou didst not take away from them the evil heart, that thy Law might bring forth fruit
 21 in them. For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome;
 22 and likewise also all who were born of him. Thus the infirmity became inveterate; the Law indeed
 was in the heart of the people, but (in conjunction) with the evil germ; so what was good departed,
 23 and the evil remained. So the times passed away and the years came to an end; and (then) thou
 24 didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; and thou commandedst him to build the
 25 City (which is called) after thy name^j, and to offer thee ^k oblations therein of thine own^k. And after
 26 this had been done many years, the inhabitants of the City committed sin, in all things doing even
 as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also ^l had clothed themselves with ^l the evil
 27 heart: and so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies. Then I said in my heart:
 29 Are their deeds any better^m than those of Babylon? Has he for this ⁿ rejected ⁿ Sion? It came to
 pass when I came hither and saw ungodly deeds innumerable, and myself saw many sinners ^o these
 30 thirty years^o, that my heart ^p was perturbed^p: for I have seen
 how thou dost suffer the sinners
 and dost spare the ungodly,
 how thou hast destroyed thy people
 and preserved thine enemies;
 R (vii. 31 and hast not made known at all unto any how this course of thine shall be abandoned. Have the
 32-6) 32 deeds of Babylon been better than those of Sion? [Has any other nation known thee beside Israel?
 33 Or what tribes have so believed thy covenants as those of Jacob?—whose reward (nevertheless) hath
 not appeared nor their labour borne fruit! For I have gone hither and thither through the nations
 34 and seen them in prosperity, although unmindful of thy commandments. Now, therefore, weigh
 thou our iniquities, and those of the inhabitants of the world, in the balance and so shall be found

(SA >): cf. S Ethiop. J S+ and a house ^{k-k} reading in ea de tuis oblationes so CM = S: cf. Ar.^{1,2} (thus
 et oblationes, cf. A.V. and Vulg., is a corruption) ^{l-1} so S Ethiop.: ^l utebantur (emend to inducantur with
 Hilg.) ^m Ethiop. + than ours (cf. Ar.¹) ⁿ⁻ⁿ so S Ar.¹: ^l corrupt: dominabit SA (? read damnabit with Violet,
 or abominavit with Gunkel) ^{o-o} so Ar.¹ (Ethiop.): ^l hoc tricesimo anno (a misrendering of original Hebrew)
 p-p ^l excessit (= εἰσῆλθον)

19. thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold. The writer, in accordance with the developed Jewish conceptions of Jahveh's majesty and transcendence, pictures God as appearing in theophany on earth (at Sinai) in a gradual descent from His throne in the highest of the heavens through the lower heavens by their successive 'gates'. The idea of a plurality of heavens is implied. In the earlier form of this doctrine there were three, in the later form (which was already current in the first century A.D.; cf. 2 Enoch) there were seven heavens. The 'gates' alluded to in our text are apparently those of the four lowest heavens. See further EA, p. 14.

20. the evil heart, Lat. *cor malignum*. In this and the following verses (21-22, 25-26) the subject of Adam's transgression and the hereditary tendency to sin (created by his lapse) in all his descendants is introduced. It is pursued in iv. 30-31, and in vii. 118 Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race ('O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned the fall was not thine alone but ours also who are thy descendants'). The inherent infirmity of human nature is a dominating idea in the apocalyptic writer's mind, and a characteristic note of his pessimism. In the stress he lays on Adam's sin he reminds us of St. Paul (cf. Rom. v. 12 f.). The *cor malignum* is regarded as the result of Adam's yielding to the evil impulse (the *yēser ha-rā'* of Rabbinic theology, called the 'grain of evil seed' [*granum seminis mali*] in iv. 30. In vii. 92 it is called 'the evil thought' [*cogitamentum malum*] which was fashioned with them').

that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them. Cf. Rom. vii. 5; v. 20.

21. clothing himself with the evil heart. Adam 'clothed himself' with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of 'the evil impulse'. The 'evil heart' thus developed inevitably led to sin and death.

22. the Law indeed was in the heart of the people. Cf. the conflict described in Rom. vii. 7 f., and especially vii. 20 f.

what was good departed. i.e. the good tendency (the *yēser 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 Rabbinic theology, which emphasizes the power of the Law to keep the evil tendency in check and overcome it: cf. the dictum: 'The Law wears away the evil *yēser* as water wears away stone' (T. B. Suk. 52 b).

24. thou commandedst him to build. David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46. oblations therein of thine own. The supreme glory and unique distinction of the divine city consists in its being the place where sacrifice and oblation were properly and regularly offered to God.

31. how this course of thine (lit. this way) shall be abandoned. God's course of action is meant. S renders: 'how thy way may be comprehended.'

32-36. For the reasons for assigning these verses to R see EA, p. 6 f.

- R 35^a which way the turn of the scale inclines^a. Or when was it that the inhabitants of the earth did
 36 not sin before thee? Or what nation hath so kept thy precepts? 'Individual men of note' indeed
 thou mayst find to have kept thy precepts; but nations thou shalt not find.]

III. THE DIVINE REPLY; GOD'S WAYS ARE INSCRUTABLE.

(iv. 1-v. 19.)

(a) iv. 1-II. *The human spirit can only hope to understand dimly and in part (S).*

- S 4^{1,2} Thereupon the angel answered me who had been sent to me, [and whose name was Uriel]; and
 he said to me: Thy heart hath utterly failed thee regarding this world; and thinkest thou to
 comprehend the way of the Most High?
 3 Then said I: Yes, my Lord.
 And he answered me, and said: Three ways have I been sent to show thee, and three similitudes
 4 to set before thee: if thou canst declare me one of these I also will show thee the way thou desirest
 to see, and teach thee 'whence comes' the evil heart.
 5 And I said: Speak on, my Lord.
 Then he said unto me:
 Come, weigh me the weight of the fire;
 Or measure me 'the measure' of the wind,
 Or recall me the day that is past.
 6 Then answered I and said: Who of the 'earth-born' could 'do so' that thou shouldst ask me
 about such matters?
 7 And he said to me: Had I asked thee
 How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea?
 Or 'how many springs' in the source of the deep?
 Or how many 'ways' above the firmament?
 'Or where are the portals of Hades'?
 Or where the paths of Paradise?

9-9 \mathbb{L} momentum (*inferior MSS.* nomen tuum) puncti ubi declinet $r-r$ \mathbb{L} homines per nomina $s-s$ *read-*
ing unde sit (with one Codex); quare sit S A C M = S Ethiop. Ar.¹ $t-t$ *reading* satum = S (*cf. Ethiop.*
Ar.¹) for flatum S C M $u-u$ \mathbb{L} natorum v *reading* hoc facere (A* *); *cf. S Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.;*
other Latin MSS. > hoc $w-w$ *so Ar.¹ Ethiop. \mathbb{L} quantae venae* $x-x$ *emending venae of \mathbb{L} to viae (cf. S*
Ethiop. Arm.) $y-y$ *so S and other Oriental VSS. \mathbb{L} > (by homoioteleuton; cf. next clause)* $z-z$ *so Oriental*

36. **Individual men of note.** Such as Job, regarded as a non-Israelite of conspicuous piety: cf. St. Paul's treatment of the theme of the law-abiding Gentile in Rom. ii. 26 f.

(a) iv. 1-11. The angel (or rather archangel; cf. iv. 36) Uriel is sent to the seer, and propounds three problems to him which he is unable to answer. If these are beyond his capacity, how can he presume to challenge the inscrutable ways of God? The general character of the passage is similar to parts of Job (cf. especially Job xxviii). For the dialogue between the angel and Salathiel cf. e.g. Zech. i-vi, Dan. x, &c.

1. **Uriel** (= 'the fire of God', Heb. 'ur-*el*) is mentioned again in verse 36, v. 20, and x. 38 (not again in the Bible). He was one of the four chief angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel), of whom Michael was the highest (cf. Lueken, *Michael*, p. 32 f.). According to 1 En. xx. 2 Uriel was 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'.¹ In 1 En. x. 1 (Greek) he is the divine messenger who is sent to warn the son of Lamech. So here. The problems he propounds to Ezra accord with the character assigned to him and his name. The first ('weigh me the weight of the fire') is suggested by the meaning of the name Uriel—'Fire of God'. The others are concerned with the waters of the deep (*têhôm*), and with the underworld. Uriel is thus designated, therefore, as being 'the archangel of fire and of Gehenna, where flame is the chief element' (cf. *JE*, xii. 383). Later he became (mistakenly) associated with light (Heb. 'ôr), and was regarded as the enlightener ('he who brings light to Israel', *Num. rabb.* ii. 10). In 1 En. xl, Fanuel, one of the four 'presences' (Michael, Rufael, Gabriel, Fanuel), is, apparently, Uriel under another aspect. For Uriel as propounder and answerer of questions as here, cf. 1 En. xxi. 5, 9; xxvii. 2; xxxiii. 3, 4.

2. **Thy heart hath utterly failed thee, &c.** For the sentiment cf. John iii. 12.

3. **fire . . . wind.** For the conjunction of 'fire' and 'wind' cf. iii. 19, viii. 22, Wisd. xiii. 2. The four winds were regarded as having their dwelling-places in the four corners of the earth. Here they were detained in 'treasuries' and issued forth from time to time through 'portals' (cf. 1 En. xxxv f., where the portals which open into heaven from the ends of the earth are spoken of; cf. also 4 Ezra vi. 1). According to Rev. vii. 1 the four storehouses of the winds are guarded by four angels. As their dwelling-place was fixed at the extremities of the earth the winds would be under the supreme rule of Uriel, 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'. To the ancients the wind was a supremely mysterious agent (cf. Eccles. xi. 5, 'as thou knowest not the way of the wind', and John iii. 8).

measure me the measure of the wind. Cf. Job xxviii. 22 for the similar idea of 'weighing' the wind; and for the whole verse, 2 Bar. lix. 5 (cf. also 1 En. xli. 4, 2 En. xl. 11).

7. **How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea.** Cf. Job xxviii. 16-17.

paths of Paradise, i.e. leading to Paradise; the heavenly Paradise is meant.

¹ 'Over thunder and earthquake', according to the Eth. text; the Greek gives as above. [Probably the clause 'and whose name was Uriel' was added by R.]

- S 8 Perchance thou wouldst have said to me:
 Into the deep I have not descended,
 nor as yet ^a gone down ^a into Hades;
 Neither to heaven have I ever ascended,
^a nor entered Paradise ^a.
- 9 But now I have only asked thee of the fire, the wind, and the day ^b that is past ^b,—things without which thou canst not be; and yet thou hast vouchsafed me no answer about them!
- 10 He said moreover unto me: ^c What belongs to thee ^c—the things that have intermingled with thy
- 11 growth—thou art incapable of understanding; how then should thy vessel be able to comprehend the way of the Most High? ^d For the way of the Most High has been formed without measure ^d, ^e how, then, should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible ^e?

(b) iv. 12-21. *The dialogue continued: it is foolish and senseless to demand what is against nature (S).*

- 12 ^f [And when I heard these things I fell upon my face] ^f and said unto him: It would have been better ^g that we had never been created ^g than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not ^h to know ^h why we suffer.
- 13 And he answered me and said: ⁱ Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth, ⁱ
- 14 and took counsel, and said: Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may retire before
- 15 us, and we will make us ^j more woods ^j. In like manner also the waves of the sea took counsel, and said: Come, let us go up and wage war against the wood of the field, that there also we may win us
- 16, 17 more territory. The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; likewise,
- 18 also, the counsel of the waves of the sea, for the sand ^k stood up ^k and stopped them. If thou, now,
- 19 hadst been judge between them whom wouldst thou have justified or whom condemned? I answered and said: Both have taken a foolish counsel; for to the wood the land has been assigned, and ^l to the sea a place ^l to bear its waves.
- 20 Then he answered me and said: Thou hast judged aright; but why hast thou not given judgement
- 21 in thine own case? For just as the earth has been assigned to the wood, and ^m the place of the sea to bear its waves ^m; even so the dwellers upon earth can understand only what is upon the earth, ⁿ and they who are above the heavens ⁿ that which is above the heavenly height.

(c) iv. 22-32. *The dialogue continued: The seer protests that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth. He is told that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (S).*

- 22 Then answered I and said: I beseech thee, O Lord, wherefore have I been endowed with an

VSS. $\mathbb{L} >$ ^{a-a} so Ethiop. Arm. (cf. Ar.²); $\mathbb{L} \mathbb{S} >$ ^{b-b} so Ethiop. (cf. Ar.¹): \mathbb{L} per quae (= \mathbb{S} ; v. l. quem) transisti ^{c-c} \mathbb{L} quae tua sunt: \mathbb{S} Ethiop. (one reading) Arm. $>$ ^{d-d} so \mathbb{S} Ethiop. (cf. Ar. Arm.): $\mathbb{L} >$ (by homoioteleuton) ^{e-e} so \mathbb{S} substantially (nor is it possible, &c.): cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹: \mathbb{L} et iam exteritus corrupto saeculo intellegere incorruptionem? ^{f-f} so Oriental Versions: \mathbb{L} corrupt ^{g-g} so Ethiop.: \mathbb{L} nos non adesse ^{h-h} reading intellegere (= \mathbb{S} Ar.¹ Arm.): for intellexi (S A C) ⁱ⁻ⁱ so \mathbb{S} (cf. Ethiop.): \mathbb{L} is corrupt ^{j-j} \mathbb{L} alias silvas: \mathbb{S} Ethiop. a new wood ^{k-k} so \mathbb{L} stetit (= $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\nu$) = \mathbb{S} Ar.¹; but Ethiop. and Arm. stayed (= $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon$) ^{l-l} reading mari locus (C, &c.); but S A maris locus = \mathbb{S} ^{m-m} so \mathbb{S} : \mathbb{L} et mare fluctibus suis ⁿ⁻ⁿ \mathbb{L} qui super coelos: Ar.² Arm. interpret as plural (they who are above the heavens): \mathbb{S} as sing. (he who is above, &c.)

9. things without which thou canst not be. Man cannot live apart from wind, warmth, and the passing day; cf. for the thought Wisd. ix. 16.

10. What belongs to thee—the things . . . thy growth. The 'things' referred to include fire and wind, two of the four primal elements (fire, wind, earth, and water); for these cf. Wisd. vii. 17, xiii. 1, xix. 18 (τὰ στοιχεῖα). There may be an allusion, as Gunkel suggests, to man's living organism (the microcosm) being compounded of the elements (cf. viii. 8). This view is of Oriental origin.

thy vessel. The body is the 'vessel' of the soul or understanding.

(b) iv. 12-21. In answer to Salathiel's despairing interjection the archangel further enforces the point of the preceding paragraph by a parable, taken from the sea and the forest. The idea of the sea being held in check and kept within prescribed bounds by the divine power is an ancient one, and forms the motive of some early mythological Creation myths (cf. Job. vii. 12, xxxviii. 8 f.). The application of the idea to the wood seems to be original to the apocalypticist (so Gunkel).

12. It would have been better that we had never been created, &c. The seer here takes the pessimistic view of the school of Shammai on the question whether it would have been better for man never to have been created. According to T. B. Erub. 13 b the controversy lasted two and a half years.

17. the sand stood up and stopped them. Cf. Jer. v. 22.

(c) iv. 22-32. Disclaiming any desire 'to be curious about the ways above', the seer protests that his difficulties are very real and rooted in daily experience. He is above measure perplexed because the chosen race—the people that bear God's sacred name of Israel—should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen (vv. 22-25). He is assured in

S 23 understanding to discern? For I meant not to ask ^o about the ways above ^o but of those things we daily experience;

Why is Israel to the heathen given over for reproach,

thy beloved people to godless tribes given up?

The Law of our fathers ^p has been brought to destruction ^p,
the written covenants exist no more;

24 We vanish from the world as locusts,

our life is ^a as a breath ^a.

25 We indeed are not worthy to obtain mercy; but what will he do for his own name whereby we are called? It is about these things that I have asked.

The Answer.

26 Then he answered me and said: ^r If thou survive ^r thou shalt see, and if thou livest long thou shalt marvel; for the age is hastening fast to its end.

27 Because it is unable to bear the things promised ^s in their season ^s to the righteous; for this age is full of sorrow and impotence.

28 For the evil ^t concerning which ^t thou askest me is sown, but ^u the ingathering of it ^u is not yet come. 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. For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit of ungodliness has it produced unto this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come!

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

(d) iv. 33-43. *The dialogue continued. In reply to his question, When shall these things be? the seer receives the answer—When the number of the righteous is complete (S).*

33 Then I answered and said: ^x How long and when ^x shall these things (be coming to pass)? ^y For ^y our years are few and evil.

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

^{o-o} reading de superioribus viis (C) = S Ethiop. Ar.²: de superioribus tuis S A ^{v-p} reading in interitum (S A); C M in inritum (so Bf) ^{q-q} reading ut vapor = S Ethiop.: ut pavor S A M ^{r-r} so Ethiop. (= eav pevns): L si fueris (= eav pev ns) ^{s-s} L in temporibus: S Ethiop. > ^{t-t} reading de quo . . . de eo (cf. S Ethiop.): de quibus S A ^{u-u} reading destructio ipsius (S A*): v. l. destructio ^{v-v} so Ethiop.: L S > ^{w-w} so Ethiop.: L > ^{x-x} reading usquequo et quando (= S Ethiop. Arm.): quo (for usquequo) S A ^{y-y} so S Ethiop.: L quare ^{z-z} reading propter temetipsum = S Ethiop. L corrupt. ^{a-a} so S Ethiop.: L usquequo spero sic

reply that the present age is hastening to its close, and that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (v. 26). It is further explained to him why the present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (vv. 27-32). Cf. the reference in a similar connexion to the harvest of good and bad seed in 2 Baruch lxx. 2.

23. **the written covenants.** The expression is a synonym for the Law (Scriptures). In *T. B. Berak* 48 b the Law (*Torah*) is said to have been given 'by three covenants', viz. those with Israel at Sinai, at Gerizim, and in the plains of Moab; cf. Rom. ix. 4, and Sir. xlv. 11, Wisd. xviii. 22. For the destruction of the Law cf. xiv. 21 f.

25. **what will he do for his own name.** Cf. Isa. lxiii. 19; 2 Baruch v. 1; also 4 Ezra x. 22. whereby we are called. lit. 'which is called upon us'. The expression implies ownership. Cf. Isa. xlviii. 7; 2 Chron. vii. 14; James ii. 7. Israel's election is appealed to.

27. **this age is full of sorrow and impotence.** It is characteristic of the apocalyptic writer's pessimism that he gives up the present age entirely. It must be destroyed absolutely, and an entirely new order take its place. The older view that the present world should be renewed in a purified form is abandoned.

28. **the ingathering of it.** For the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest applied metaphorically to evil, cf. the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii), and in particular Matt. xiii. 39.

32. **be destined to fill.** The harvest of good, when once it has been sown (immediately after the end of the present evil age), will in the golden future far surpass the previous harvest of evil. The argument *a minori ad maius* is characteristically Jewish.

(d) iv. 33-43. The seer's impatient question—'How long? when shall these good things come to pass?'—is rebuked. Everything has been predetermined. Till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come. But when the moment has arrived nothing can delay its consummation. The point is further enforced by a similitude. On the whole passage cf. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 293 f.

34. **Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High.** The seer is rebuked for selfish impatience. The Most High is no less ready to 'haste' than himself, but determines His action in accordance with the interests of all (many); cf. v. 33. As Gunkel remarks, such admonitions to be patient are a standing feature of apocalyptic writings. Acquiescence in the divine will was the highest virtue in a time when even the most pious sighed for the end of the present world.

- S 35 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?^a
- 36 And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply, and said: Even when the number^b of those like yourself^b is fulfilled!
- For he has weighed the age in the balance,
 37 And with measure has measured the^c times^c,
 And by number has numbered the^c seasons^c:
 Neither will he move nor stir things,
 till the measure^d appointed^d be fulfilled.
- 38, 39 Then I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, ^e but behold ^e we are all full of ungodliness. ^f Is it, perchance,^f on our account that ^g the threshing-floor of the righteous is kept back^g—on account of the sins of the dwellers upon earth?
- 40 So he answered me and said: Go and ask the woman who is pregnant, when she has completed her nine months, if her womb can keep the birth any longer within her?
- 41 Then said I: No, Lord, it cannot. And he said to me: ^h The underworld and the chambers of

^{b-b} reading *similium vobis* = S Ethiop. Ar.²: *seminum S A C M* (corrupt) ^{c-c} (c c) L *tempora . . . tempora*: S times . . . hours (changing expression, prob. rightly) ^{d-d} L *praedicta* ^{e-e} so Ethiop. (and S by an easy emendation): L *sed et* (read *ecce* for *et*) ^{f-f} so Ethiop.: L *et ne forte* (? read *num forte*) ^{g-g} reading *prohibeatur iustorum area* (C M) = Ethiop. (cf. S): v. l. *impleatur* (S A), non impleantur (iustorum areae) ^{h-h} so S Ethiop. (hence Violet emends L *infernum et promptuaria animarum*): L (MSS.) in inferno *promptuaria animarum*

35. by . . . the righteous. i.e. the righteous dead.
 in their chambers. Lat. *in promptuariis suis* = ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις αὐτῶν. The word *promptuaria* recurs in iv. 41, vii. 32, 95 (cf. v. 9, 27, vi. 22); also in Ps. cxliv. 13, and apparently not again in the Vulgate. These 'chambers' are the 'treasuries of souls' referred to sometimes in apocalyptic books (cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 23, 'And let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them'; 1 En. xxii. 3 f.). These 'treasuries' or 'habitations' (*habacula*, 4 Ezra vii. 80) were reserved for the righteous only (vii. 80), who entered them at death, and there enjoying 'great quietness' and 'guarded by angels', they awaited the final judgement (vii. 95). Then the 'chambers' were to restore the souls committed to them (vii. 32, cf. iv. 42; 2 Bar. xxi. 3, xxx. 2). According to the Talmud (*T. B. Shabbath* 152b) the souls of the righteous dead are beneath the throne of God (cf. Rev. vi. 9 f., where the souls of the righteous who have suffered martyrdom are represented as being 'beneath the [heavenly] altar'). In a few passages in the Rabbinical literature the word *treasury* (Heb. *ōsār*) is used in this connexion: cf. e.g. *Midr. rab.* on Qoheleth (iii. 21), where the souls of the righteous are said to be 'placed in the treasury', which is located in the heavenly 'height'. According to 4 Ezra vii. 41, however, these 'treasuries' or 'chambers' are placed in Sheol (the lower world). But the alternative reading is better (see *ad loc.*).

36. Jeremiel. Gk. Ἰερεμὴλ (= Heb. יֵרֵמְיָהוּ). This archangel may confidently be identified with Ῥεμυήλ (note that the Syr. of our verse actually reads *Ramiel*), who appears in the Greek (Gizeh) text of 1 En. xx. as the seventh of the seven archangels (1, Uriel; 2, Raphael; 3, Raguel; 4, Michael; 5, Sariel [= Eth. Saraqâël]; 6, Gabriel; 7, Remiel [= Jeremiel]). In the Ethiop. text the first six only are mentioned; but, doubtless, the Greek is right in enumerating seven. The last (= Jeremiel) is described as 'one of the holy angels whom God appointed to be over those who rise [from the dead]' (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων). This agrees admirably with the rôle assigned to him here as the archangel who has charge of the souls of the righteous who are guarded in the 'treasuries', and await the final judgement and resurrection. [Only two of the seven archangels are mentioned in 4 Ezra, viz. Uriel and Jeremiel.]

those like yourself is fulfilled. The end of the age and the 'regeneration' can only take place when the number of the saints has been completed. This is also the view represented in Rev. vi. 11 ('until their fellow-servants . . . should be fulfilled'); Swete, *ad loc.*, aptly cites from the Anglican Burial Service, 'that it may please thee . . . shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom.' According to Rev. vii. 4 the number of the 'sealed', i.e. the elect, is 144,000. In 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 the number that is to be fulfilled is of mankind as a whole (all who should be born)—a view which is referred to in Rabbinical literature (see the references cited by Charles on *Ap. Bar.*, *loc. cit.*). This number was a secret known only to God Himself (2 Bar. xxi. 10, xlviii. 46).

36-37. weighed . . . measured . . . numbered. The times and periods of the course of the world's history have been predetermined by God. The numbers of the years have been exactly fixed. This was a fundamental postulate of the apocalyptists, who devoted much of their energy to calculations, based upon a close study of prophecy, as to the exact period when history should reach its consummation. One scheme especially favoured divided history into a world-week of seven millenniums, corresponding to the week of Creation (cf. vii. 30, 43; according to 2 Pet. iii. 8 [cf. Ps. xc. 4] a day = 1,000 years). Here, however, as in the case of the number of the righteous (elect), no definite number is mentioned. The categories of 'weight', 'measure', and 'rule' (or 'number') are also applied to Creation generally; cf. *Test. Twelve Patr.* Naph. ii. 3; *Wisd.* xi. 20 ('by measure, number, and weight thou didst order all things'); Philo, *Somn.* ii. 29 ('God . . . measures, weighs, and numbers all things, and circumscribes them with bounds and limits'). In the O.T. similar expressions are occasionally met with; thus in Job xxviii. 25 the winds are said to be 'weighed' and the waters 'measured'; in Isa. xl. 12 the mountains and hills; cf. 1 En. xliii. 2 (the stars); also 4 Ezra iv. 5. The underlying idea is predestinarian (cf. Charles on 1 En. xlvii. 3).

41. the underworld and the chambers of souls. For the text cf. *crit. note*. The treasury of the souls of the righteous dead is, no doubt, meant. Gunkel, indeed, and some other scholars take the 'chambers of souls' here to refer to unborn souls, not to those of the righteous dead. In this case an antithesis is intended between *promptuaria animarum* and *infernum*; the latter (= Sheol) is the place where all the dead are received, the abode of all departed souls; the former the abode of souls yet unborn (cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 [same antithesis between abode of unborn and

- S 42 souls^b are like the womb: for just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the 43 travail; even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning. Then to thee it shall be showed concerning those things that thou desirest to see.

(e) iv. 44-50. *The dialogue continued. In reply to a further question, the seer is shown by a similitude that the End will come soon* (S).

- 44 Then I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be 45 sufficient, show me this also: whether there be more to come than is past, or whether the more part 46 is already gone by us? For what is gone by I know, but what is to come I know not. 47 And he said to me: Stand to the right, and I will explain the meaning of a similitude unto thee. 48 So I stood, and saw, and lo! a blazing furnace passed by before me; and it happened that when the flame had gone by I looked and lo! the smoke remained still. 49 Thereupon there passed by before me a cloud full of water, and sent down much rain with a storm; and when the rain-storm was past the drops remained therein still. 50 Then said he unto me: Consider for thyself; for as the rain is more than the drops, and as the fire is greater than the smoke, so has the measure of what is past exceeded by far; but there are still left over—the drops and the smoke!

(f) iv. 51-v. 13. *The signs which precede the End* (E) (R).

- 51 Then I made supplication, and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? ⁱWhoⁱ shall be (live) in those days? 52 He answered me, and said: [As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee

(so BJ) ⁱ⁻ⁱ \mathbb{L} vel quis; so \mathbb{S} : but *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.²* What [shall happen in those days] ^{j-j} reading in excessu

departed spirits]; xlviii. 16, lii. 6, lvi. 6). But in v. 35 the *promptuaria* are undoubtedly the chambers containing the souls of the righteous dead. It would be strange if a few verses later the same expression were used, without any limiting phrase, to denote something else. In this case the *infernum* (underworld, Sheol) will be a general term for the abode of the souls of the wicked dead, where they await the final judgement. This is the meaning of Sheol (Hades), apparently, in the Johannine Apocalypse, where Hades and Death are always combined, and (like the wicked) are consigned to the lake of fire (cf. Rev. i. 18; vi. 8; xx. 13, 14; and see Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 352).

(e) iv. 44-50. The seer now asks, but in a more subdued and less impatient manner, whether more of the drama remains to be enacted than what is already past. He is shown a vision of fire and storm, of which nothing remains, after they have gone by, but the smoke and the rain-drops, and is told that in a like manner the greater part of the world's history that precedes the End is already past.

47. **Stand to the right.** The Arabic renders: 'Turn thyself towards the right side and look'; but the expression may mean upon the right side of the speaker. The seer is bidden to stand upon the right side of the angel in order that both (now facing one way) may watch the spectacle as it passes; presumably before this they had been standing face to face.

(f) iv. 51-v. 13. In reply to a further question as to whether he shall live to see 'those days' and as to what will then happen, the seer is given a description of the signs of the End. These are set forth in detail (v. 1-12). It will be a time of commotions and the general break up of moral and religious forces (vv. 1-2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed (v. 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (vv. 4-9, vi. 21-22); wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (vv. 10-12). There is a further reference to these 'signs' in ix. 3 f.

A close examination of the passage makes it clear that the section detailing the 'signs' (v. 1-12) cannot belong to S. In iv. 51 the seer asks: 'Thinkest thou that I shall live in those days? Or who (v. 7. what) shall be in those days?'—the 'days' = the time of the End. The answer that follows (in the present form of the text) is: '[As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part, but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof.' Only the latter part of this verse (the words outside the brackets) is an answer to Salathiel's question. He had not said a word about the 'signs'. The attempt to evade this difficulty in some of the versions (*Ethiop.* and *Arab.*, cf. *Vulg.*) by substituting 'what' for 'who' (against the Latin and Syriac) in the second half of the question only complicates matters by introducing another (and totally different) question. It is no answer to Salathiel to tell him some of the signs that shall precede the End. He desires to know whether he himself shall live to see the End. Moreover, the description of the 'signs' that follows (v. 1-12) is in tone and style alien to S. It is in any case much older, and bears marks of being traditional. Of course it is conceivable that S may have used such older material; but if he had done so he would have invested it with some of the marks of his own style. He cannot have been responsible for its awkward introduction here. No doubt the passage has been inserted by R from E. The original sequence of S here (the inserted passage being ignored) will have been as follows: 'Then I made supplication and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? Or who shall be in those days? He answered me, and said: Concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof. If, however, thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast [again] seven days, thou shalt hear yet greater things than these' (iv. 51, 52, v. 13 δ).

The passage is really a descriptive list of the Messianic 'woes', and bears a general likeness to other eschatological descriptions of the signs that precede the End. See further *EA*, p. 41, and the literature there cited.

52. **the signs concerning which thou askest me.** To the instructed the events which were to precede and herald the End were a 'sign'; cf. ix. 1 f. (*Matt.* xxiv. 15; *Mark* xiii. 14).

(R) S of them in part; but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge (thereof).

E 5¹ Concerning the signs, however:

Behold, the days come when the inhabitants of earth shall be seized^j with great panic¹,

And the way of truth shall be hidden,

and the land be barren of faith.

² And iniquity shall be increased above that which thou thyself now seest or that thou hast heard of
³ long ago. And the land that thou seest now to bear rule^k shall be a pathless waste^k; and men
⁴ shall see it forsaken: if the Most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see it after¹ the third (period)
in confusion¹.

Then shall the sun suddenly shine forth by night

and the moon by day:

5 And blood shall trickle forth from wood,

and the stone utter its voice:

The peoples shall be in commotion,

^mthe outgoings (?) (of the stars)^m shall change.

6 And one whom the dwellers upon earth do not look for shall wield sovereignty, and the birds
shall take to general flight,

7 and ⁿthe seaⁿ shall cast forth its fish.

And one^o whom^o the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear
his voice.

multo = S (cf. *Ethiop.*); *Lat. MSS.* incensu multo ^{k-k} reading erit incomposita [et sine] vestigio with Bf
(bracketed words not in *Lat. MSS.*): Violet reads et erit incomposito vestigio, 'in unordentlichen Trümmern':
S unstable and untrodden ¹⁻¹ reading post tertiam turbatam (C) [tubam A] ^{m-m} L gressus (egressos S):
S = dépes (so Ar.¹ Ar.²): *Ethiop.* = ἀσρέπες ⁿ⁻ⁿ L mare Sodomiticum (corrected text): so *Oriental VSS.*; but
Sodomiticum prob. to be deleted ^{o-o} reading quem for quam

in part. The description here is supplemented in vi. 11-28.

v. 3. the land, &c. The Roman Empire is, of course, meant.

shall be a pathless waste. Lit. 'shall be disordered and pathless' (corrected text; see crit. note).

4. after the third (period) in confusion. For the text cf. crit. note (probably ἡμέραν has fallen out). Some
noun of time must be supplied (*Ethiop.*, 'after the third month'; but *Arm.*, 'after the third vision'). Gunkel
(*Schöpfung*, pp. 268, 269, notes) has shown how significant a rôle the number 3½ plays in the eschatological tradition.
The mystic number has been applied to periods, years, months, and days (in Daniel the 3½ years are variously
reckoned as 1150, 1290, and 1335 days; cf. Dan. viii. 14, xii. 11, and xii. 12; in Rev. xi. 3, xii. 6 as 1260 days). In
4 Ezra xiv. 11 f. according to one form of the text 2½ world-periods remain (9½ of the 12 parts having passed already);
and there, as in our passage, the number (2½) 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 3½ 'days' which remain before Rome's dominion comes to an end. [Hilg. and others under-
stand the land after the third (cf. Syr.), i.e. the fourth kingdom of Daniel (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 11, where 'the fourth
kingdom that appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel' is identified with Rome). The Arab. interprets: 'thou shalt
afterwards see these three signs,' i.e. those of the sun and moon, the blood, and the stones that follow.]

sun . . . shine forth by night, &c. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 4, 5 for emended text.

5. blood shall trickle forth from wood, and the stone utter its voice. Cited in *Ep. Barnabas* xii. 1 as from
a prophetic writing (probably not 4 Ezra): see further *EA*, p. 44.

the outgoings (?) (of the stars) shall change. For text see crit. note. The textual evidence suggests that
the Oriental Versions read 'stars', or something like it, in their Greek text (ἀήρ, ἀέρες, confused with ἀσθήρ, ἀστέρες),
while the *Lat.* simply represents some word like ἐξόδου. 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' [יִמְרֵן מוֹצָאֵי הַכּוֹכָבִים]. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 8 (9): 'Thou makest the "outgoings" of the morning and evening to
rejoice.' These 'outgoings' or 'exits' (cf. *exitus*, vi. 1) were the portals through which the stars proceeded and the
winds blew; cf. 1 En. xxxiv-xxxvi. See further *EA*, p. 45.

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

and the birds . . . flight. Birds, possibly as creatures which soar aloft, were regarded in antiquity as possessing
supernatural knowledge. They could foresee impending events.

7. and the sea shall cast forth its fish. So Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vii. 246) and Charles. The *Lat.* and all the
versions have 'sea of Sodom'. If this be right the portent will consist in the Dead Sea casting out fish, as no fish
can live there; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 8 f., where the bitter waters of the Dead Sea are pictured as sweetened and made full of
life by the stream issuing from the Temple. Local features are, however, out of harmony with the context, which
depicts a convulsion of nature on the largest scale. Hence 'of Sodom' is probably to be deleted as an incorrect gloss,
which was already present in the original Heb. text (suggested by 'salt waters . . . in the sweet' in v. 9?). ['Sea of
Sodom' is one of the names given to the Dead Sea in the Talmud.] For the general conception cf. Isa. 1. 3.

And one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice:
et dabit vocem noctu quem [emended from *quam*] *non noverunt multi, omnes autem audient vocem eius*: so Well-
hausen, Charles. The Latin erroneously refers the relative (וְשֶׁן) to *voice*, thereby depriving the sentence of a subject.
With this emendation the clause *non noverunt multi* becomes more intelligible. A mysterious personage is indicated
by a voice which all can hear: cf. Josephus' account of the mysterious voice heard in the Temple saying 'Let us

- E 8 ^p And the earth o'er wide regions shall open,^p
and fire burst forth for a long period:
The wild beasts shall desert their haunts,^q and women bear monsters^q.
vi. 21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and "dance". And suddenly shall the
sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty.)
v. 9 Salt waters shall be found in the sweet; friends shall attack one another "suddenly".
10 Then shall intelligence hide itself,
and wisdom withdraw to its chamber—
by many shall be sought and not found.
11 And unrighteousness and incontinency shall be multiplied upon the earth. One land shall also
ask another and say: Is Righteousness—that doeth the right—passed through thee? And it shall
answer, No.
12 And it shall be
In that time men shall hope and not obtain,
shall labour and not prosper.
13 Such are the signs I am permitted to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and
fast seven days, thou shalt hear again greater things than these.

IV. v. 14-19. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (S).

- S 14 [Then I awoke, and my body trembled greatly; my soul also was wearied even unto fainting.
15 But the angel who came and spake with me took hold of me, strengthened me, and set me
up upon my feet.]
16 And in the second night Phaltiel, the captain of the people, came unto me, and said: Where hast
17 thou been? And why is thy countenance sad? Or knowest thou not that Israel has been entrusted
18 unto thee in the land of their exile? Rouse thyself, then, and eat a morsel of bread, and do not
desert us as a shepherd does (who leaves) his flock in the power of noxious wolves!
19 Then said I unto him: Depart from me, and come not nigh me for seven days; then thou mayst
come unto me "and I will explain matters unto thee". And when he heard what I said he left me.

^{p-v} = S (χασμα or χασματα for chaos): L et chaus fiet per loca multa ^{q-q} so S (cf. Ethiop.): L et mulieres
parient menstruatæ monstra (menstruatæ = a corrupt doublet of monstra) ^{r-r} reading scirtiabuntur (C)
^{s-s} so S (Ethiop.): L omnes ^{t-t} so S (cf. Ethiop.): L >

depart hence", which he relates as a portent (*Jewish War*, vi. 5. 3 [299]; in the same context he relates other similar 'portents').

8. The earth o'er wide regions shall open, lit. 'a fissure (reading *χασμα* for *χάος*: see crit. note) shall arise over wide regions'; cf. Zech. xiv. 4. The Armenian also supports this reading. The fissure starts and spreads over a widening area (*per loca multa*).

vi. 21-22. And one-year-old children, &c. These verses, which are obviously out of harmony with their present context in chapter vi, find an appropriate place here. For the feature referred to cf. Matt. xxiv. 19.

v. 9. friends shall attack one another suddenly. Cf. vi. 24.

13. fast seven days. Cf. 2 Bar. xx. 5, 6; and Charles's note on 2 Bar. v. 2. In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days' duration, followed by a revelation, are referred to (v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51), and probably one preceded the first vision (cf. iii. 1 and notes).

v. 14-19. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION. In their present position the opening verses of this section (v. 14-15)—which clearly form the conclusion of a dream-vision—are misplaced. They have, presumably, been transferred from their proper position (at the conclusion of the lacuna in iii. 1) to their present place by R, so as to form the conclusion of the first vision.

The following verses (v. 16-19) in narrative form belong to the original framework of S, and imply an earlier passage (in the missing introduction after iii. 1), giving the command to the seer to repair to a certain spot in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and there by a seven days' fast prepare for the reception of further direct revelations. The section should be compared with the parallel passage, xii. 30-48 (also from the framework of S).

14. I awoke, viz. from sleep. Clearly this is the sequel of a dream-vision.

16. Phaltiel. Lat. *Phaltiel*, Gk. Φαλτιήλ = Heb. פִּלְתִּיֵּל. [This name occurs in 2 Sam. iii. 15 as that of Michal's husband; in Numb. xxxiv. 26 of a prince of Issachar; cf. *Piltai* in the list Neh. xii. 17 (a representative of a priestly house in the time of Zerubbabel). Violet suggests that the Phaltiel of our text may originally have been the *Pelathiah* (= פִּלְתִּיָּה) who is mentioned as one of the 'heads of the people' in the time of Nehemiah, in the list Neh. x. 22 (= the *Pelathiah* of 1 Chron. vi. 21). This would suit the time of Ezra but not Salathiel. The historical reference must remain uncertain.] The variants in the Lat. Codd. include *Salathiel* (so Vulg., A. V.), *Psaltiel*, *Spaltiel*; the Ethiop. has *Phelleyāl*; Syr. *Psaltiel*; Arm. *Phanuel*.

17. that Israel has been entrusted unto thee. Salathiel is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon, cf. xii. 42.

18. as a shepherd, &c. For the image cf. Matt. x. 15.

IV EZRA 5. 20-30

THE SECOND VISION.

(v. 20-vi. 34.)

I. v. 20-22. INTRODUCTION.

S 20, 21 So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, even as the angel Uriel commanded me. And
22 after the seven days the thoughts of my heart began to oppress me again grievously; then my soul recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began once more to address the Most High.

II. v. 23-40. THE PRAYER AND ITS ANSWER.

(a) *The prayer* (v. 23-30.)

23 And I said: O Lord my Lord, "out of all the woods" of the earth and all the trees thereof thou
24 hast chosen "thee" one "vine"; out of all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one
25 planting-ground; out of all the flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one lily; out of all the
depths of the sea thou hast replenished for thyself one river; out of all the cities that have been built
26 thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself; out of all birds that have been created thou hast called for
thyself one dove; out of all the cattle that have been formed thou hast provided thee one sheep;
27 and out of all the peoples who have become so numerous thou hast gotten thee one people: and the
law^x which thou didst approve out of all (laws)^x thou hast bestowed upon the people whom thou
didst desire.

28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up the one unto the many, and dishonoured the one
root above the rest, and scattered thine only one among the multitude?

29 And (why) have^y they who denied thy promises been allowed to tread under foot those that have
30 believed thy covenants^y? If thou didst so much hate thy people they ought to have been punished
with thine own hands.

^{u-u} so S (cf. Ar.¹): L ex omni silva (= *Ethiop.*) ^{v-v} so Oriental VSS.: L > ^{w-w} so Oriental VSS.: L vineam
(vineyard) ^{x-x} so *Ethiop.*: L ab omnibus probatam legem ^{y-y} reading conculcaverunt qui contradicebant
sponsionibus tuis eos qui tuis testamentis credebant (*Lat. MSS. have quique for eos qui*): so Oriental VSS. (see Bf)

THE SECOND VISION (v. 20-vi. 34). After a further fast of seven days the seer (Salathiel) again makes complaint to God. Why has God's chosen and beloved people Israel been given up to oppressors? (v. 20-30). The angel answers, as before, by showing that man is unable to comprehend the things nearest to himself; how then can he hope to fathom the judgements of God, or compass God's love? (v. 31-40). The dialogue is continued by the seer asking what the lot of those shall be who have died before the End comes, and is told that their lot will not be worse or better than that of those who survive. The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world is set forth in a series of striking analogies. The feebleness of age is, the angel declares, manifested in Mother Earth (v. 41-55). In the section that follows (v. 56-vi. 6) the prophet is assured that the End of the present age and the inauguration of the new order shall come by the agency of God alone. The present age of heathen (Roman) oppressors shall be succeeded by the glorious incorruptible age (vi. 7-10). A long passage detailing the signs of the last time and the End follows (vi. 11-28) and the vision concludes (vi. 30-34).

The vision thus falls into the following divisions—

- i. *Introduction* (v. 20-22) (S).
- ii. *The seer's prayer and its answer* (v. 23-40), viz. (a) *The prayer* (v. 23-30) and (b) *the answer* (v. 31-40) (S).
- iii. *The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world* (v. 41-55).
- iv. *The End of the age shall come by God alone* (v. 56-vi. 6).
- v. *The parting asunder of the times* (vi. 7-10) (S).
- vi. *The signs of the last time and the coming of the End* (vi. 11-28 (29)) (E).
- vii. *Conclusion of the vision* (vi. 30-34).

v. 23-40. This section falls into two parts, viz. (a) the prayer of Salathiel (Ezra) (v. 23-30); and (b) the answer conveyed in a dialogue by the archangel Uriel (v. 31-40).

(a) v. 23-30. THE PRAYER OF SALATHIEL (Ezra). Following on a carefully constructed exordium, which emphasizes in a variety of well-chosen figures Israel's unique position as the chosen people of God, Salathiel (Ezra) appeals to God once more with the question, Why has the beloved people been given up to heathen oppressors? Why has it been allowed to go into exile and be scattered?

23. **out of all the woods, &c.** The figures illustrating Israel's choice that follow have largely been drawn from the Old Testament. For the vine cf. Isa. v. 7, Ps. lxxx. 9 (10); for the lily cf. Canticles ii. 2 (interpreted allegorically of Israel), and Hos. xiv. 5; for the stream, Isa. viii. 6, Canticles iv. 15; for the dove, Ps. lxxiv. 19, Canticles ii. 14; for the sheep, Isa. liii. 7, Ps. lxxix. 13 ('sheep of thy pasture'), cf. Ps. xxiii and lxxx. 1 (2); and for the root, 1 En. xciii. 8 ('race of the elect root'); cf. also Rom. xi. 17 f. It is well known that the allegorical interpretation of Canticles is very old; in fact the book was only admitted into the Canon on this interpretation. Gunkel aptly notes that our passage already implies such an interpretation of the book.

25. **thou hast sanctified Sion.** Cf. e.g. Ps. cxxiii. 13.

26. **one dove.** The dove is a favourite emblem of Israel, especially of Israel unjustly persecuted (cf. *Midrash rabba* to Canticles i. 15, iv. 1); so here.

27. **out of all (laws).** For the idea of the superiority of the Mosaic Law above the laws of other nations cf. Deut. iv. 8 (cf. also Rom. i. 32, ii. 16).

30. **with thine own hands**, i.e. by famine, pestilence, or earthquake (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13), but not by the hand of foreign foes.

(b) *The answer: in spite of all God loves Israel now and always* (v. 31-40).

- S 31 Now when I had spoken these words (the angel who had before come to me on the previous night
32 was sent unto me: and he said to me:
Hear me, and I will instruct thee:
Attend unto me, and I will speak again before thee.
33 And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said: Art thou in sore perplexity of mind touching
Israel? Lovest thou him better than he that made him?
34 And I said: No, lord: but of very grief have I spoken; for every hour I suffer agonies of soul in
striving to comprehend the way of the Most High, and to seek out ^a the decree of his judgement ^a.
35 And he said unto me: Thou canst not. And I said: Wherefore, Lord? Why then was I born?
Wherefore did not my mother's womb become my grave
that I might have been spared the sight of Jacob's misery,
and the distressful toil of the stock of Israel?
36 And he said unto me:
Number me ^a the days that are not yet come ^a,
gather me the rain-drops that are scattered,
make me the withered flowers bloom again;
37 Open me the chambers that are closed
and bring me forth ^b the spirits ^b shut up in them;
[^c Show me the image of faces thou hast never seen ^c]
or show me the image of a voice;
and then I will display to thee ^d the
objective ^d thou askest to see.
38 And I said: O Lord my Lord, why who is able to understand such matters save he who has not
his dwelling among men?
39 As for me, I am unwise ^e and powerless ^e: how then should I essay to speak of these things of
which thou questionest me?
40 Then said he unto me: Just as thou art unable to do even one of these things that have been
mentioned, even so thou art powerless to discover my judgement or the goal of the love that I have
declared unto my people.

III. THE PLACE OF SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS IN THE DIVINE PLAN OF THE WORLD (v. 41-55).

(a) v. 41-49. *The succession of generations accords with the Divine plan;
God's judgement reaches all alike.*

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

Ethiop. Ar.: $\mathbb{L} >$ ^{f-f} reading praees = προφθαυεις (פרקח): \mathbb{S} thou hast promised (*cf. Ethiop.*): *Violet emends*
^{a-a} \mathbb{L} partem iudicii eius: *cf. viii. 18.* ^{a-a} so *Ethiop. Ar.*: \mathbb{L} qui necdum venerunt (*those who are not yet come*) (*cf. S*):
prob. ras nepas had fallen out of the text rendered by L ^{b-b} so *Ethiop. Ar.*: \mathbb{L} flatos (= \mathbb{S}) ^{c-c} so \mathbb{S} (*supported by*
Ethiop. Ar.): $\mathbb{L} >$ ^{d-d} \mathbb{L} laborem (= κοπον: *prob. a mistake for σκοπον: cf. Ar.*: so *Hilg.*) ^{e-e} so \mathbb{S} (*cf.*

(b) v. 31-40. THE ANSWER TO THE PRAYER. The archangel Uriel is again sent to reason with him in answer to his complaint. As in iv. 1-11, Uriel, by a series of hard questions, demonstrates to the seer his inability to fathom God's judgements or comprehend the 'goal' of the divine love for the chosen people. The dialogue form is here resumed.

33. Lovest thou him better, &c. The apocalypticist never doubts that God's love for His people exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation; *cf. viii. 47.*

35. Wherefore did not my mother's womb, &c. Cited in Clem. Alex. *Stromateis*, iii. 16; *cf. Job* iii. 11; x. 18, 19; *Jer.* xiv. 17.

36. the days that are not yet come. For text see *crit. note*. The apocalypticist is reminded that he cannot know whether the days that remain to the present order shall be few or many.

37. the spirits shut up in them. Or 'winds' (see *crit. note*). If winds are meant the reference will be to store-houses where the winds are shut up, and only let loose by angelic agency; *cf. 1 En.* xii. 4, lxxvii, and *Rev.* vii. 1.

v. 41-55. The dialogue is continued. The seer suggests that it would be better to be alive with the final generation when the End comes. Or why could not God have made all generations of men to live at once upon the earth, so that all might share under equal conditions in the great vindication? In answer he is shown by some striking analogies drawn from life that the succession of generations is according to the divine plan: 'So have I disposed the world which I created' (v. 41-49). The seer proceeds to ask whether our Mother Earth is still young. Are the last-born

- S 42 And he said unto me: I will liken my judgement to a ring; just as there is no retardation of them that are last, even so there is no hastening of those that are first.
- 43 Thereupon I answered and said: Couldst thou not have created them all at once—those who have been, those who (now) exist, and those who are to be—that thou mightst display thy judgement the sooner?
- 44 He answered me and said: The creation may not proceed faster than the Creator; nor could the world hold all at once those created in it.
- 45 And I said: How then is it that thou hast (just now) said to thy servant that ^athou wilt verily quicken^a all at once the creation created by thee? ^b If, then, they (i.e. all of the created) shall indeed be alive all at once,^b and ⁱcreationⁱ shall be able to sustain them, it might even now support them (all) present at once.
- 46 And he said unto me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it: If thou bringest forth ten children, why (dost thou bring them forth) each in its own time? Demand, therefore, that it produce ten all at once.
- 47 And I said: It cannot possibly, but (only each) in its own time.
- 48 Then said he unto me: ^j Thus have I also made the earth the womb for those ^{j k} who, in their own
- 49 time, are conceived by it^k. For just as the young child does not bring forth, nor she that is aged any more, so have ^l I also^l disposed the world which I have created^m by defined periods of time^m.

(b) v. 50-55. *The Earth has grown old and its offspring degenerate.*

- 50 Thereupon I asked ^a him ^a and said: Seeing thou hast now showed me the way, I would fain speak (further) before thee. ^o Is our mother, ^o of whom thou hast told me, still young? Or does she now approach old age?
- 51, 52 He answered me and said: Ask a woman who has borne (children), and let her tell thee; say to her: Why are (the children) whom thou hast lately brought forth not like the first, but inferior ^p in
- 53 stature^p? And she also shall answer thee: Those that are born in vigorous youth are of one
- 54 fashion, and those born in old age, when the womb fails, are otherwise. Consider, therefore, thou
- 55 also that ye are inferior in stature in comparison with your predecessors; and so, also, (will be) your posterity than yourselves: even as creation is already grown old, and is already past the strength of youth.

to promittis s-s reading vivificans vivificabis (so *§ Ethiop.* Ar.¹): vivificans vivificabit S A h-h restoring si
ergo viventes vivent in unum = §: > S A C M (by homoioteleuton) i-i so *ℒ: Ethiop.* the world j-j so §:
ℒ et ego dedi matricem terrae his k-k ℒ qui seminati sunt super eam per tempus l-l so *§ Ethiop.* (= kaywa)
ℒ ego m-m so *§ Ethiop.* (Ar.¹): ℒ > n-n so *Oriental VSS*: ℒ > o-o reading num mater nostra (num for
nam) = § p-p so *ℒ: Ethiop.* in strength: Ar.¹ in stature and strength (so v. 54): § = ℒ

generations inferior to those who were born in their mother's youth? In reply he is told that the Earth is now grown old—'past the strength of youth'—and that there is a corresponding degeneracy in the latest-born generations (v. 49-55). The eagerness of the seer that the End of the present world should be hastened is a striking feature.

41. *thou art ready to meet*, viz. with blessing and salvation. *those who survive in the end*. Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 7; Luke ii. 29 f. The old view, which is reflected in the older literature of the Bible, that the 'community' as a whole was to be the subject of salvation would naturally give rise to such questions as this. With the rise of the doctrine of a future life, and the growing recognition of the religious claims and position of the individual, this view was modified. Not merely the generation that happened to live on into the Messianic (or, as here, the future) Age, but all the pious individuals of previous generations who had died should (by means of a resurrection) participate in the blessedness of the final age. A similar problem (viz. how the righteous dead could share in the felicity that comes to the final generation of the living) is dealt with in 1 Thess. iv. 13 f. It is not clear, however, that the writer of S believed in a resurrection of dead bodies. See further *EA*, p. 121, and p. xlviii f.

42. just as there is no retardation, &c., i.e. just as in the case of a ring or circle there is neither beginning nor end, so God's judgement will reach all generations at one and the same time; cf. 2 Bar. li. 13.

45. How then is it that thou hast (just now) said, i.e. how is the statement in the previous verse (44) to be reconciled with that made earlier (in v. 42) to the effect that all generations will be quickened simultaneously to receive the judgement? Lat. *quomodo dixisti* = πῶς εἶπες;

49. **disposed the world . . . by defined periods of time.** The earth in its earliest stage (as a child) brought forth no human inhabitants, neither will it do so in extreme old age; but only in the vigour and decline of youth.

55. even as creation is already grown old. The thought of the world's growing old is not uncommon in literature; cf. in this book, iv. 44 f., xiv. 10, 16; also 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; Lucretius ii. 1150f. The representation of the latest generation as inferior in 'stature and strength' to the ancients (cf. Gen. vi. 4) comes to expression in Philo (cf. *de Mund. Opif.*, § 49). The feeling that they were standing at the end of the age is characteristic of the apocalyptists.

IV. THE END OF THE AGE SHALL COME BY THE AGENCY OF GOD ALONE.

(v. 56—vi. 6).

- S 56 Then said I: O Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, show thy servant ^a by whom ^a thou wilt visit thy creation.
- 6 1 And he said unto me: ^r In the beginning of the terrestrial world^r
 before ever ^a the heavenward portals^a were standing^t, or ever the ^a wind-blasts^a blew;
 2 before the rumblings of thunderings did sound,
 or ever the lightning-flashes did shine;
 When
 the foundations of paradise were not yet laid,
 3 nor ^v the beauty of its flowers^v yet seen;
 Before ever ^w the motive powers (of heaven)^w were established,
 or the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
 4 Before ever the heights of the air were uplifted,
 ere the spaces of the firmaments were named;
 ere the footstool of Sion ^x was appointed^x.
 5 Before the years of the present^y were reckoned^y,
 ere the counsels of present-day sinners were spurned^z,
 or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed—

^a-^a so \mathbb{L} (per quem) = \mathbb{S} and *Ethiop.* (one reading): but *Ethiop.* (one reading) *Ar.*¹ on account of whom ^r-^r \mathbb{L} initium (v. l. initio) terreni orbis: *Oriental VSS.* vary: \mathbb{S} the beginning by the Son of Man, but the end by myself alone (for as before, &c.); cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ ^a-^a \mathbb{L} exitus saeculi ^t-^t \mathbb{L} (S A C) starent = *Oriental VSS.*; v. l. statue-rentur (M) ^u-^u \mathbb{L} conventiones (*Gunkel emends to convectiones*) ventorum ^v-^v so \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.*: \mathbb{L} decore flores ^w-^w \mathbb{L} motus virtutes (so *BJ* read); or motuum virtutes = \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.* (so *Violet*) ^x-^x \mathbb{L} (S A) aestimaretur (*corrupt*): \mathbb{S} was established (= firmaretur): *Hilg.* suggests aedificaretur, *Gunkel* destinaretur ^y-^y \mathbb{L} investiga-rentur ^z-^z \mathbb{L} et antequam abalienarentur eorum qui nunc peccant adinventiones: \mathbb{S} before the follies of sinners

v. 56—vi. 6. In this section God is directly addressed, and God is the speaker. In response to the prophet's question, Through whom shall the End come? the answer is given, Through the God of Israel alone. A polemical aim is clearly to be detected in the passage. The apocalyptist will not allow any of the essentially divine attributes or functions to be assumed by any intermediate agency, therein agreeing with the view of orthodox Rabbinic Judaism. The polemic is directed against views which were held by early Christians, but which were probably not confined to Christian circles. At the same time it is possible that what the apocalyptic writer has in mind here is the Christian doctrine of the return of Christ in glory to judge the world. The burden of the passage is that just as Creation was brought into being at the beginning by God alone (without any intermediate agency), so the End of Creation will be brought about by God alone. It may be described as a splendid development of the theme expressed in Ps. xc. 2. The description of the works of Creation is one of great power and imaginative force. The conceptions of Creation underlying it are traditional and of great antiquity (cf. especially the Babylonian Creation-myths and see *Gunkel, Schöpfung*, p. 401 n. and especially p. 419). It should be compared with the parallel passage in Prov. viii. 24—9. [Cf. also the description of the Day of Judgement in vii. 39 ff.]

vi. 1. In the beginning of the terrestrial world. For the alterations introduced into the text of the Oriental Versions here under Christian influence see crit. note.

the heavenward portals, i. e. the portals open to heaven; cf. 1 En. xxxiv.

3. the beauty of its flowers. The flowers are those of the heavenly Paradise (originally the stars).

the motive powers (of heaven). The powers meant are probably the same as 'the powers of heaven' of Matt. xxiv. 29, i. e. angelic powers who move the heavens and the stars. Others, however, prefer to adopt the reading *motuum virtutes* (see crit. note) = 'powers of movements', i. e. earthquakes.

4. the spaces of the firmaments, lit. 'the measures (i. e. measured or defined spaces) of the firmaments'; the divisions into which the heavens were separated (cf. 2 En. iii f. for a description of the different heavens).

were named. The names of the seven heavens are enumerated in *T. B. Hag.* 12 b.

5. or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed. It should be noted that it is the persons of the faithful that are here 'sealed', exactly as in Rev. vii. 4 (the 144,000 'who were sealed'); cf. Rev. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4. (In Rev. xiii. 16, xiv. 9, xx. 4 a mark of the opposite kind is mentioned.) [Some of the best Lat. codices make the 'sealing' in our text apply to 'the merits' of those 'who have gathered faith for a treasure'; thus C M have *consignarentur eorum merita qui* (with partial support from S and A but against the versions). Thus 'merits' here would balance 'abominations' (or 'machinations') in the preceding clause.] 'Faith' in this passage seems to mean the righteousness which comes from fidelity to the Law (or 'fidelity to the O. T. religion'). So in v. 1, vi. 28. It plays a conspicuous rôle in eschatological doctrine, and in such passages it is not always easy to be sure of the exact shade of meaning intended. Where the Law is valued and emphasized it will mean (as here prob.) the righteousness which results from fidelity to the Law (cf. 2 Bar. liv. 21). In vii. 34 it = fidelity to the Law, just as its opposite *incredulitas* = disloyalty in vii. 114. In ix. 7, 8, xiii. 23 'faith' and 'works' are combined (as complementary). But the Law as such is not always necessarily the object of 'faith' (cf. 2 Bar. lvii. 2, faith is prophecy of coming judgement). (Cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 31—4.)

- S 6 Even then had I these things in mind; and through me alone and none other were they created; as also the End (shall come) through me alone and none other.

V. THE PARTING ASUNDER OF THE TIMES.

(vi. 7-10) (S).

- 7 Then answered I and said: What shall mark the parting asunder of the times? When shall the End of the first (age) and the beginning of the second be?
 8 And he said unto me: ^aFrom Abraham to Abraham. ^bFor from him sprang Jacob and Esau, ^b
 9 ^cbut Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning. ^dThe heel of the first age is Esau;
 10 the hand of the second is Jacob. ^d The beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel. ^e Between heel and hand seek naught else, Ezra!

VI. THE SIGNS OF THE LAST TIME AND THE END.

(vi. 11-28) (E) (R).

(a) vi. 11-12. *Redactional Introduction.*

- R 11, 12 [I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, ^f(I beseech thee) that thou show ^fthy servant the last of thy signs of which thou didst show me a part in the night that is past.]

(b) *Description of the End* (vi. 13-20, 23, 24) *together with some misplaced verses describing the signs that precede the End* (vi. 21-22).

- E 13 And he answered and said unto me: Stand up upon thy feet, and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding

were yet invented ^{a-a} *reading* ab Abraham usque ad Abraham (SA) = \S *Ethiop.* (Ar.¹): *v. l.* usque ad Isaac (CM) = Ar.² (also *v. l.* in *Ethiop.*) ^{b-b} *so* \mathbb{L} = *Ethiop.* (cf. Ar.²): \S from Abraham was born Isaac and from Isaac was born Jacob and Esau (= Ar.¹) ^{c-c} *so* \mathbb{L} = \S : *but* *Ethiop.* Ar.¹ > ^{d-d} *so* \S : \mathbb{L} finis enim huius saeculi Esau, et principium sequentis Iacob (= Ar.¹ cf. *Ethiop.*) ^{e-e} *so* \S = Ar.¹ (cf. *Ethiop.*): \mathbb{L} defective ^{f-f} \mathbb{L} ut demonstres

6. **had I these things in mind.** Creation, Gunkel remarks, regarded as predetermined by and the outcome of thought, is a loftier conception than that of creation through the Word. The truth of this statement depends upon the conceptual content of the Word.

as also the End . . . through me alone, &c. This clause is omitted by the Oriental Versions for dogmatic reasons.

vi. 7-10. In allegorical language, probably derived from current tradition, the apocalyptist indicates that the present corrupt age (symbolized by Esau) will be succeeded immediately, without a break, by the glorious future age of incorruption (symbolized by Jacob). The connexion in thought with what precedes seems to be: just as there is no room in the divine acts of creation and judgement for a mediatorial Messiah, so in the transition from the present to the future age, there is no room for a Messianic interim—the temporary Messianic kingdom which precedes the dissolution of the present world. This interpretation harmonizes with the thought of S. See further *EA*, p. 68.

8. **From Abraham to Abraham.** For text see crit. note. The meaning is, the interval between the old age and the new is no longer than that between Abraham and his immediate descendants: i.e. 'it will be a case of immediate succession' (Ball). The new age will follow the old without a break. This answers the first question in *v.* 7; the answer to the second is given in *vv.* 8 b-10.

10. **Between heel and hand, &c.,** i.e. do not look for any interval between the two ages.

vi. 11-28. The passage as a whole is parallel to *iv.* 56-v. 13 a, and embodies material taken from the same older source (E). The theme of the earlier passage is the signs that precede the End. Here, however, the description of these signs is interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. The text appears to be in some confusion. The subject of *vv.* 13-20 and 23 is the End of the world; in *vv.* 21, 22 the description of the signs that precede the End is continued from *iv.* 56-v. 13 a, and probably belongs to that passage in its original form, while *vv.* 25-28 describe the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes; *vv.* 11-12 and 29 appear to be redactional additions, designed to adapt the older material here embodied to its present context (so Kabisch).

The section will thus fall into the following divisions:—

- (a) Redactional introduction (*vv.* 11-12);
 (b) Announcement of the End of the world, the speaker being the Divine Voice [of God] (*vv.* 13-20, 23, 24), together with some inserted [misplaced] verses describing the signs preceding the End (*vv.* 21, 22);
 (c) Description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes (*vv.* 25-28).

See further *EA*, p. 71.

(a) vi. 11-12. The redactional character of these introductory verses is evident. They show clearly that R intended all that follows (*vv.* 13-29) to be understood as descriptive of the signs preliminary to the End; *v.* 11 seems to have been imitated from *v.* 56 a.

(b) vi. 13-20, 23-24 (*vv.* 20-21 belong to ch. v, between *vv.* 8 and 9; see *ad loc.*). In its present form the eschatological material embodied in this passage is in a fragmentary condition. But it is all probably derived from one source (E).

13. **And he answered.** 'He', i.e. the angel.

Stand up upon thy feet. Cf. Ezek. ii. 1; Dan. vii. 4, viii. 18.

E 14, 15 loud; and it shall be if the place whereon thou standest, ^g be greatly shaken ^h, when it (i. e. the voice) speaks ^h with thee ⁱ be not thou terrified; for the word is of the End, and the foundations of the earth ^j shall understand ^j that the speech is concerning themselves. They shall tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end is to be changed.

17 And it happened that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened: and lo! a voice spake, and the sound of it was as the sound of mighty waters.

18 And it said:

Behold the days come, and it shall be,
When I am about to draw nigh
to visit the dwellers upon earth,

19 And when I require from the doers of iniquity

(^k the penalty of) their iniquity ^k;

R [And when the humiliation of Sion
shall be complete,^l]

E 20 And when the Age which is about to pass away
shall be sealed

then [*will I show these signs*]: the books shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all see ^m together.

vv. 21-22 misplaced.

21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. And suddenly shall the

(E) R 23 sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty;) And the trumpet shall sound aloud, at which all men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear.

24 And at that time [*friends shall war against friends like enemies*], the earth shall be stricken with fear [*together with the dwellers thereon*], and the springs of the fountains shall stand still so that for three ⁿ hours ⁿ they shall not run.

(c) vi. 25-28 (29). *The felicity of those who survive the Messianic Woes.*

25 And it shall be whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he
26 shall be saved and shall see my salvation and the end of my world. And the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth, shall appear. Then shall the heart of the inhabitants ^o (of the world) ^o be changed, and be converted to a different spirit.

^{g-h} reading commotione commovebitur (C M) ^{h-b} \mathbb{L} in eo cum loquitur (= εν τω λαλειν) ¹⁻¹ so Oriental
VSS.: \mathbb{L} > ¹⁻¹ so \mathbb{S} (cf. Ar.¹): \mathbb{L} intellegetur ^{k-k} so Ethiop. (= την αδικιαν αυτων): \mathbb{L} iniustitia sua
(= την αδικιαν αυτων) ¹⁻¹ this clause is prob. due to R; cf. EA, p. xxx. ^m \mathbb{S} + my judgement ⁿ⁻ⁿ so \mathbb{L} & c.
Ar.² years ^{o-o} so \mathbb{S} (cf. other Oriental VSS.): \mathbb{L} > ^{p-p} so \mathbb{L} , & c.: Ar.¹ the evil heart ^{q-q} so \mathbb{L} (tantis

17. the sound of it . . . mighty waters. Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The divine voice is meant.

18. Behold the days come. A common O.T. phrase, especially in the prophetic literature; cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 12; often in Jeremiah.

19. [And when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete]. The fall of Jerusalem is regarded as marking a definite step towards the speedy advent of the divine judgement; cf. 2 Bar. xx. 2. The clause is probably due to R (see EA, p. xxx).

20. [will I show these signs]. These words are probably due to R, who desired to invest the substance of the section (which is concerned with the final judgement) with the character of a description of the signs preceding the End.

the books shall be opened, i.e. the celestial books in which are recorded the deeds of the righteous and wicked. See 1 En. xlvii. 3 and notes.

23. the trumpet, i.e. the trumpet, the blowing of which ushers in the last Judgement. See further EA, p. 75.

24. [friends shall war against friends like enemies]. This clause, which belongs logically to a description of the signs preceding the End (cf. v. 9), has probably been added by R.

and the springs of the fountains . . . not run. Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6.

for three hours. The number 'three' in such connexions seems to be a favourite one in apocalyptic tradition.

(c) vi. 25-28 (29).

26. the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth. Men who were removed from the earth without dying are meant. In this connexion figure especially Enoch and Elijah (cf. Wisd. iv. 10 f. [? Enoch], Jub. iv. 23, 1 En. xxxix. 3 f., lxx. 1-3, 2 En. xxxvi. 2, all of Enoch; 1 En. lxxxix. 52 of Elijah). Such men were expected to return with the Messiah in order to inaugurate a period of felicity and salvation (cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 52). Elijah is especially prominent in this connexion in Rabbinic literature (his rôle was, as high priest, to anoint the Messiah, to promote Israel's repentance and reunion, and to bring about the resurrection of the dead) (cf. Volz, p. 192 f.). Moses and Elijah sometimes appear together in their capacity of forerunners of the Messiah (cf. Midr. Deb. rab. x. 1; and in the Gospels the account of the Transfiguration, Mark ix. 2 f., Matt. xvii. 1-8, Luke ix. 28-36). The mysterious two witnesses of Rev. xi are also perhaps Elijah and Moses, though in the antichrist tradition they are Elijah and Enoch; cf. Bousset, *Antichrist*, ch. xiv. In 4 Ezra xiv. 9 ('thou shalt be taken away from men, and from

- E) R 27 For ^pevil^p shall be blotted out,
and deceit extinguished;
28 Faithfulness shall flourish,
and corruption be vanquished;
And truth, which ^afor so long a time ^ahas been without fruit, shall be made manifest.
29 [And it came to pass while he spake to me, ^rbehold, by little and little (?) the place whereon
I stood rocked to and fro^r.]

VII. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION.

(vi. 30-34) (S).

- 30, 31 And he said unto me: These things came I to show thee ^rthis night^r/ If therefore thou wilt
petition yet again, and fast seven days more, I will tell thee yet again greater things than these^r.
32 For thy voice has surely been heard before the Most High; for the Mighty One has seen thy
rectitude, and marked also thy chastity which thou hast had ever since thy youth.
33 Therefore has he sent me to show thee all these things, and to say unto thee: Be of good cheer,
and fear not!
34 ^uBe not over-solicitous^u in the case of former times to indulge idle thoughts, ^rlest solicitude
overtake thee^v in the last times.

THE THIRD VISION.

(vi. 35-ix. 25.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

(vi. 35-37) (S).

- 35 And it came to pass after this that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that

temporibus): \S for many years (so *Ethiop.* [some MSS.]; cf. *Ar.*¹ *Arm.*) ^{r-r} reading ecce paulatim movebatur
locus super quem stabam super eum = \S *Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar. Arm.*); *Lat. MSS. corrupt* ^{s-s} so \S : \mathbb{L} et ventura
nocte (see further *EA*, p. 80) ^t \mathbb{L} + per diem: other *VSS.* (with possible exception of *Ar.*¹) > ^{u-u} \mathbb{L} et noli
festinare ^{v-v} \mathbb{L} ut non properes

henceforth thou shalt remain with my Son^r), Ezra is assigned a place among the immortal companions, as also is the case with Baruch (cf. 2 Bar. lxxvi. 2). Jeremiah also appears in this rôle in 2 Macc. ii. 1 f., xv. 13; cf. Matt. xvi. 14, and see further *EA*, p. 78.

Then shall the heart . . . be changed, viz. by the preaching of the witnesses. This function was particularly associated with Elijah; cf. Mal. iv. 6 (= iii. 24 Hebr.).

29. And it came to pass, &c. On this verse see *EA*, p. 79.

vi. 30-34 (S). Here the speaker is again the archangel Uriel, and vi. 30 forms the immediate continuation of vi. 10. The usual direction to fast seven days is given, together with a promise of yet greater disclosures. The seer is assured that his prayer for fuller revelation has been heard especially because of his 'righteous dealing' and 'chastity' practised since youth.

31. greater things than these. *Lat.* adds here *per diem*. This is not represented in the Oriental Versions with the possible exception of the Arab.¹ Hilg. emends to *pridem* and takes with the following verse (*pridem iam auditu audita est vox tua*; cf. with this Arab.¹ *nam nunc precatio tua audita est*, &c.). In any case *per diem* probably represents something which belongs to the opening words of v. 32.

32. thy chastity. *Lat.* *pudicitiam* = *την σεμνότητα*. Heb. צניעות (post-Biblical). Notice this ascetic touch. Chastity, like fasting (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 47, 2 Macc. xiii. 12), is here apparently regarded as intensifying the power of prayer: like fasting also a state of chastity was regarded in certain circles (especially Essene) as a necessary preliminary for the reception of higher revelation.

34. Be not over-solicitous, &c. The general sense is: 'Do not by your over-curious questioning and speculation trifle with your chances of eternal happiness at the last.'

vi. 35-ix. 25. THE THIRD VISION. The long vision that follows forms the climax of the three visions with which the Apocalypse opens, and is preceded by a seven days' fast (in preparation for the revelation) which completes a cycle of three weeks' fasting. The general sequence of the thought will appear from the headings of the following divisions, into which the vision naturally falls. For a more detailed account of the argument reference must be made to the introductions to the several sections that follow:—

i. Introduction (vi. 35-37).

ii. The problem propounded in its final form: If the world was created for Israel's sake, why is Israel deprived of its inheritance? (vi. 38-59) (S).

iii. The debate renewed: The corruption of the present world makes the path to the future world of felicity narrow and difficult (vii. 1-25) (S).

iv. The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the world (vii. 26-44) (R).

v. The debate continued (from vii. 25): Israel's election and the problem of righteousness (vii. 45-ix. 22) (with the exception of viii. 63-ix. 12, which belongs to R, all this section is to be assigned to S).

vi. Conclusion of the vision (ix. 23-25) (S).

- S 36 I might fulfil the three weeks that had been commanded me. And in the eighth night my heart
37 was troubled within me again, and I began to address the Most High. For my spirit was greatly
inflamed, and my soul was in distress.

II. THE PROBLEM PROPOUNDED IN ITS FINAL FORM: IF THE WORLD WAS CREATED
FOR ISRAEL'S SAKE WHY IS ISRAEL DEPRIVED OF ITS INHERITANCE?

(vi. 38-59) (S).

- 38 And I said: O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak at the beginning of the creation upon the first
39 day, saying: Let heaven and earth be made! and thy word perfected the work. Then was the
spirit hovering; darkness and ^w silence ^w were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet
40 before thee. Then thou didst command ^{*}a ray of light ^{*} to be brought forth out of thy treasures,
that then thy works might become visible.
41 Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament, and didst command it
^{xx} to make a division between (the waters and) the waters ^{xx} that the one part might go up, the
other remain beneath.
42 On the third day thou didst command the waters to be gathered together in the seventh part of
the earth; six parts thou didst dry up and preserve, ^v in order that (issuing) from them there might
serve before thee those who both plough and sow ^v.
43 But as soon as thy word went forth the work was done.

^{w-w} so \mathbb{L} : \mathbb{S} = silentium soni
 \mathbb{S} radiance of light
partly \mathbb{S} : see further EA, p. 86

^{x-x} \mathbb{L} (best reading) lumen aliquod luminis: v. l. lumen luminosum:
^{xx-xx} so \mathbb{S} : \mathbb{L} = ut divideret et divisionem faceret inter aquas
²⁻² following \mathbb{S} : \mathbb{L} et concupiscentia gustus multiformis

vi. 35-37.

35. the three weeks that had been commanded me. So far only two fasts of seven days have been mentioned, viz. one before the second vision and another here before the third. The author evidently is thinking of another before Vision I, which in the present form of the text is not mentioned, but doubtless was there originally. The three successive weeks of fasting culminate in the most important and the longest of the three visions. Cf. Dan. x. 2, which has served as a model for this passage: 'In those days I, Daniel, was mourning three weeks' (then follows a description of the fasting). This long fast preceded the vision which was highest in the scale of importance (Dan. x. 4f.).

vi. 38-59. Salathiel first enumerates the works of Creation in their order, and then proceeds to ask how it is that the chosen race, for whose sake the world has been created, are dispossessed of their inheritance. The problem, which has already formed the theme of the first and second visions, is here propounded in its final form. In the first vision the question assumed the form: How will the Divine Name be vindicated when the only people that bears it (viz. Israel) is prostrate before the heathen? In the second vision the seer asks: Why, if the people that has been chosen above all others must be punished, has it been handed over to be oppressed and down-trodden by those who scorn the divine covenants? Why did not God Himself undertake the task of disciplining His elect? Here, in the third vision, the question is: If the present world is in such evil case (cf. iv. 26f.) why is it not subjected to Israel, for whose sake the world has been created? The discussion of the question is taken up at the point reached in the previous vision (vi. 8-10). Why is this world Esau's, and only the future world Israel's, if it is indeed the case that this world was created for Israel's sake? In the account of Creation which is here given the original writer betrays his acquaintance with the haggadic exegesis of the Rabbis. See further EA, p. 83. For the various works of Creation that follow on different days cf. Gen. i, Jub. ii, &c.

38. thy word perfected the work. Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 17; also Ps. xxxiii. 6, 2 Pet. iii. 5, Heb. xi. 3.

40. that . . . thy works might become visible. According to Rabbinic tradition (cf. *T. B. Hag.* 12a), though the luminaries did not shine till the fourth day (cf. v. 45 of this chapter) light was created on the first day: 'the light which the Holy One, blessed be he, created on the first day, Adam observed, and saw by its means from one end of the world to the other.' This light was afterwards withdrawn and reserved by God for the righteous in the world to come (ibid.). The heavenly light from which the light that shone on the first day emanated was older than Creation, and belonged to God's essence. The luminaries receive their light from the spark of this heavenly light, which is immeasurably more intense than the light visible on earth. This is the light which the righteous shall enjoy in the future world (cf. *Hag.* ibid.; Isa. lx. 19; Rev. xxi. 23). In 2 En. xxv. 1-3 there is a mystical account of the emergence of the heavenly light above God's throne.

41. Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament. This passage is cited by Ambrose (*De Spiritu Sancto*, ii. 7): 'Esdras nos docuit dicens in tertio (vulgo quarto) libro: Et in die secundo iterum creasti spiritum coelorum.' As Gunkel remarks, 'spirit' here = 'angel' (as often in the Book of Enoch). This is apparently a midrashic amplification of the Biblical text in Gen. i. 6. The divine command, 'Let there be a firmament,' must, it was assumed, have been addressed to an animated being, here = 'the spirit of the firmament' (cf. the pagan 'God of heaven' = *Anu*, *Baal shanayim*, &c.).

42. seventh part of the earth; six parts. This is clearly the reflex of old tradition: see the note *ad loc.* in EA, p. 86.

in order that . . . there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow. The sentiment that the Creator produced the land with the essential purpose of seeing its cultivation associated with the sanctions of religion is a natural one from the agricultural point of view, and is often implied or expressed in Jewish literature. See further EA, p. 86. Gunkel discovers a reference to the creation of Paradise here: see *op. cit.* ibid.

- S 44 For immediately there came forth
 Fruits in endless abundance,
^z in pleasure of taste exquisitely varied ^z,
 Flowers of inimitable colour
^a (trees infinitely varied in form) ^a,
 and odours of scent ^b indefinable ^b.

This was done the third day.

45 But on the fourth day thou didst command that there should come into being the brightness of
 46 the sun, the light of the moon and the order of the stars; and didst command them that they should
 47 do service unto man, ^o who was about to be formed ^o. Upon the fifth day thou didst bid the seventh
 48 part, where the water was gathered together, to bring forth living creatures, birds, and fishes; and
 49 so it came to pass. The dumb and lifeless water produced living creatures that for this the nations
 50 might declare thy wondrous works ^d. Then didst thou preserve ^e two living creatures ^e; the name of
 51 the one thou didst call ^f Behemoth ^f and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan. And
 52 thou didst separate the one from the other; for the seventh part ^g, where the water was gathered
 53 together, was unable to hold them (both). And thou didst give Behemoth one of the parts which
 54 had been dried up on the third day to dwell in, (that namely) where are a thousand hills: but unto
 Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely the moist: and thou hast reserved them to be
 devoured by whom thou wilt and when.

53 But upon the sixth day thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle,
 54 beasts, and creeping things; and over these Adam, whom thou didst ordain lord over all the works
 that ^h thou didst create before him ^h: of him we are all sprung, whom thou hast chosen (to be)
 (thy) people.

55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that for our sakes thou hast
 56 created ⁱ this world ⁱ. But as for the other nations, which are descended from Adam, thou hast said
 that they are nothing, and that they are like unto spittle; and thou hast likened the abundance of
 57 them to a drop on a bucket. And now, O Lord, behold these nations which are reputed as nothing
 58 ^j lord it over us ^j and ^k crush ^k us. But we, thy people whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy
 59 only-begotten, ^l thy beloved [most dear] ^l, are given up into their hands. If the world has indeed
 been created for our sakes ^m why do we not enter into possession of our world ^m? How long shall
 this endure?

(cf. *Ethiop.* Ar.¹): \mathbb{L} Arm. > ^{b-b} \mathbb{L} investigabiles ^{o-o} \mathbb{L} futuro plasmato ^d \mathbb{L} + quod ei iuebatur: but
 all other VSS. > ^{o-o} reading duo animalia (= \mathbb{S} , &c.): *Lat. MSS.* duo animas (S A C M) ^{f-f} reading
 Behemoth (so \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.*): Enoch (S A) ^g \mathbb{S} + the moist ^{h-h} so \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.*: \mathbb{L} fecisti ⁱ⁻ⁱ so \mathbb{S} :
 \mathbb{L} primogenitum saeculum ^{j-j} reading dominantur nostri (S dominari: A quaerunt dominari) ^{k-k} so
Oriental VSS.: \mathbb{L} devorant ^{l-l} \mathbb{L} aemulatore carissimum (? a double rendering of τὸν ἀγαπητὸν σου): see
 further EA, p. 96 ^{m-m} reading quare non haereditatem possidemus nostrum saeculum

46. ... do service unto man. The apocalyptic writer here especially emphasizes the thought that the stars are man's servants, because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods.

49. two living creatures, i.e. the two primaeval monsters, Behemoth and Leviathan. For the myth see EA, pp. 90-92, and cf. 1 En. lxix. 7f., and notes.

51. where are a thousand hills. The haggadic interpretation of Ps. l. 10 made Behemoth (there rendered 'cattle' in PBV) identical with the primaeval monster of our text—Behemoth being pictured as lying 'upon a thousand hills' and feeding upon them.

52. to be devoured by whom thou wilt and when. By whom they are to be devoured is only vaguely indicated in our text. In the parallel passage in 2 Bar. xxix. 4 it is explicitly stated that the monsters will provide food for all who survive into the Messianic time (the Messianic banquet). This is, doubtless, the original form of the haggada, which has been purposely modified here by S because the Messianic hope was to him no longer clear.

55. for our sakes thou hast created this world. For the doctrine that the world was created for the sake of Israel cf. vii. 11, Ass. Mos. i. 12, 2 Bar. xv. 7, xxi. 24, xiv. 18 (and notes); and see further EA, p. 94.

56. the other nations... are nothing. Cf. Isa. xl. 17.

like unto spittle. Cf. Isa. xl. 15 (LXX), ὡς σίελος λόγισθησονται. The Hebrew text has דָּבַי, 'small dust', which LXX misread דָּבַי, sputum. Apparently the Greek translator here made a similar mistake (perhaps under the influence of the LXX). The Syriac has 'thou hast likened' here for 'they are like'.

58. thy first-born, thy only-begotten. The only direct parallel where the epithet 'only-begotten' is applied to Israel appears to be Ps. Sol. xviii. 4 (cf. xiii. 8); but, as Volkmar points out, the application of μονογενής to God's Son in Christian writings (cf. John i. 18; Justin Martyr, Dial. c. Trypho. c, cv) confirms the inference that Jewish exegesis had already deduced this epithet as applicable to the people of Israel. See further EA, p. 96. For the general idea of *vv.* 57-58, cf. 2 Bar. v. 1, 4 Ezra iv. 23.

III. THE DEBATE RENEWED: THE CORRUPTION OF THE PRESENT WORLD MAKES THE PATH TO THE FUTURE WORLD OF FELICITY NARROW AND DIFFICULT

(vii. 1-25) (S).

(a) vv. 1-16.

S 7¹ And when I had finished speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel who had been
 2 sent unto me ⁿon the former nightsⁿ. And he said unto me: Up, *Ezra*, and hear the words that
 3 I have come to speak unto thee. And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said unto me: There
 4 is a sea lying in a wide expanse so that it is ^obroad^o and vast; but the entrance thereto ^plies^p
 5 in a narrow space so as to be like a river. He, then, that really desireth to go upon the sea to
 6 behold it or to ^qnavigate it^q, if he pass not through the narrow part, how shall he be able to come into
 7 the broad? Again, ^ranother (illustration)^r. There is a builded city which lies on level ground,
 8 and it is full of all good things; but its entrance is narrow and lies ^son a steep^s, having fire on the
 9 right hand and deep water on the left; and there is one only path lying between them both, that
 10 is between the fire and the water, (and so small) is this path, that it can contain only one man's
 11 footstep at once. If, now, this city be given to a man for an inheritance, unless the heir pass
 12 through the danger set before him, how shall he receive his inheritance? And I said: It is so, lord!
 11 Then said he unto me: Even so, also, is Israel's portion; for it was for their sakes I made the
 world; but when Adam transgressed my statutes, ^tthen that which had been made was judged^t,
 12 and then ^uthe ways^u of this world became narrow and sorrowful and painful ^v[few and evil]^v,

ⁿ⁻ⁿ *ℓ* primis noctibus = *ℓ*: Ethiop. before on the night that was past: Ar.¹ > ^{o-o} reading *latum for altum*
^{p-p} so *ℓ* (cf. *Ethiop.*) *ℓ* erit . . . positus (= *εσται* [for *εστι*] . . . *κειμενη*) ^{q-q} *ℓ* dominari eius = *ℓ*: (*Ethiop.* to
 attain it): *prob.*, as Gunkel suggests, the original *Hebr.* לָרֶדֶת = to go down on, i.e. to navigate, was misread לָרֶדֶת
^{r-r} *ℓ* aliud (cf. *Hebr. phrase* אֲחֵר אֲחֵר) ^{s-s} *ℓ* in praecipiti: *ℓ* in the height ^{t-t} *ℓ* iudicatum est quod factum
 est ^{u-u} so *Ethiop.* (also in v. 13) = *αι οδοι*: *ℓ* introitus (so *ℓ*) = *αι εισοδοι* ^{v-v} *prob. a gloss* (see *EA*, p. 102)

vii. 1-25. The archangel Uriel now intervenes for the third time, and in this and the following sections of the third vision, which belong to S, sets forth the definitive solution of the problem, the answer to which had only been given in a partial and incomplete form in the earlier part of the Apocalypse (cf. iv. 1-21, iv. 26 f., v. 31 f.).

Uriel begins by comparing the present world to the narrow entrance which leads to a wide and open sea. Only through the narrow is it possible to come into the broad. Or, again, to a narrow and dangerous road, flanked by fire on one side and deep water on the other, which is the only means of entrance to a splendid city 'full of good things' and set in a spacious plain.

The present world is the narrow and difficult way along which the righteous must pass in order to gain the spacious freedom of the future world of happiness (cf. v. 14). The present world was originally created for Israel, but through Adam's transgression has become the vale of misery and suffering for the righteous which they now endure. It will be seen that the following results are implicit in this answer: (1) Israel has no part or lot in the present world; its inheritance of light and felicity will only be attained after the thornful path of the present world has been traversed; (2) the heathen enjoy and possess the present fleeting and corruptible world (so far as they actually do so) in accordance with God's will; they at the same time are being used by God as instruments for the discipline of the chosen people (cf. v. 30); this will continue till the present world comes to its predestined end, and meanwhile Israel has necessarily to endure the present evil with its consequences of mortality and death; (3) the future world is for Israel alone. The promises made to God's people can only be fulfilled by the extinction of the present evil, i.e. by the destruction of the present world. When this has been accomplished the future world will *ipso facto* have come into view.

In v. 17 f. a new question is propounded by the apocalypticist. Are 'these things' (i.e. the felicity of the future world) destined for Israel as such, or only for the righteous members of the nation? Salathiel's question can only refer to Israel. And since, even in the case of Israel, the *cor malignum* militated against any personal claim to justifying righteousness, the answer to the question should be that Israel, the people which owes its choice by God purely to an act of divine grace, and not to any merit of its own, is destined to participate in the future blessings. This, in fact, seems to be the significance of the answer given in v. 19 f. Here the angel, it would appear, replies to Salathiel's question only indirectly. He ignores the distinction between righteous and transgressors within Israel—all Israel, judged by the strict requirements of the divine Law, are transgressors—and proceeds to emphasize the heinous sin of the heathen world in openly despising and scorning the divine Law (v. 20 f.). Israel, however imperfect in obedience and performance, had at least recognized the obligation of accepting the divine Law, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Divine giver of the Law; it had not been guilty of open blasphemy.

There is a well-defined break at v. 16, where the author, having demonstrated the reality and significance of the future world, turns to consider the theme: Who will be found worthy of inheriting it? To mark this division the section is divided into (a) vv. 1-16 and (b) vv. 17-25.

5. to navigate it, lit. 'to go down upon it' (see crit. note); for the phrase cf. Ps. cvii. 23.
 7. having fire, &c. The simile of the city with one entrance occurs in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Simil. ix. 12. 5; cf. also, for the figure of the difficult way, Matt. vii. 13, 14.

10. Even so . . . is Israel's portion. It is clear from this verse that Israel's portion is identified with the future world.
 11. then that which had been made was judged. The thought of the apocalypticist is that the world, after Adam's sin, was no longer the good world as it had been originally created by the hand of God.

12. the ways (so also v. 13). So the Ethiop. (rightly). The Latin and Syriac have 'entrances'; but this confuses the representation. It is not so much the entrances of this world that are narrow and difficult, as this world itself considered as the way that has to be traversed in order to enter the next world.

IV EZRA 7. 13-25

- S 13 and full of perils coupled with great toils. But the ways ^w of the future world ^w are broad and safe,
 14 and yield the fruit of immortality. If, then, the living shall not have surely entered into these
 15 narrow and vain things, they will not be able to receive what has been reserved for them. But now
 Why disquietest thou thyself that thou art corruptible?
 Why art thou moved because thou art mortal?
 16 Why hast thou not considered what is to come, rather than what is now present?

(b) vv. 17-25.

- 17 Then answered I and said: O Lord my Lord, lo, thou hast ordained in thy Law that the righteous
 18 shall inherit these things, but that the ungodly shall perish. The righteous, therefore, can endure
 the narrow things because they hope for the wide; those, however, who have done wickedly endure
 19 the narrow things, but yet ^a shall not see ^x the wide. And he said unto me:
^y Thou art not ^y a judge above God
 Nor wise above the Most High.
 20 Yea, rather, ^a let the many that now are perish ^z than that the law of God which is set before them
 21 be despised! For God did surely command them that came (into the world), when they came, what
 22 they should do to live, and what they should observe to avoid punishment. Nevertheless they were
 disobedient, and spake against him;
 They devised for themselves vain thoughts,
 they proposed to themselves ^a wicked treacheries ^a;
 23 They even affirmed the Most High exists not,
 and ^b ignored ^b his ways!
 24 His law they did despise,
 and his covenants they denied;
 In his statutes they have put no faith,
^c and have set at naught his commandments ^c;
 25 Therefore, O Ezra,
 For the empty, empty things,
 And for the full, full things!

^{w-w} so \S (cf. *Ethiop.*): \mathbb{L} maioris saeculi ^{x-x} reading non videbunt (M) = \S *Ethiop.*: non viderunt (S A C)
^{y-y} reading non es (C*) = *Oriental VSS.*: non est (A C** M) ^{z-z} reading pereant . . . negligatur (so S C): \S
 shall perish ^{a-a} \mathbb{L} circumventiones delictorum ^{b-b} \mathbb{L} non cognoverunt ^{c-c} so *Ar.*: \S have set at naught
 his works = *Ethiop.*: \mathbb{L} et opera eius non perfecerunt

15. that thou art corruptible? . . . because thou art mortal? The seer is bidden not to brood over death and mortality, because, though inevitable, they but mark a necessary stage in the transition to something higher and better. For different views regarding the connexion between death and sin see 2 Bar. xxiii. 4, notes.

16. what is to come, rather than what is now present. With these words, as Gunkel points out, the author passes from the consideration of the present age and its difficulties to a new problem. It has been made clear that a new age is destined to come, when a great transformation will be effected. Then present sorrow will be turned to joy, all riddles be solved, all sin wiped out. But the question arises: Who shall be found worthy to participate in the new age? With the discussion of this question, and the problems that arise in connexion with it, the book is now mainly concerned.

17. in thy law. Cf. Deut. viii. 1.

20. Yea, rather, let the many that now are perish, &c. The angelic reply seems to contemplate, in its reference to sinners, the heathen world, or world outside the chosen people, exclusively (see introduction to the section above). The idea that the Tôrah was not originally designed to be the exclusive possession of Israel, but was offered by God to the Gentiles and deliberately refused by them, is insisted upon in Rabbinic literature (cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 131 f., and see *EA*, p. 105 f.).

23. They even affirmed the Most High exists not. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 59; Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 2.

24. His law they did despise . . . set at naught his commandments. The heathen in these verses are charged with open and deliberate defiance of the divine requirements. This is expressed in unbelief and contempt of fundamental moral laws, which are openly spurned. It is a favourite theme in Rabbinic literature that Israel's election was primarily due to faith in God and God's Law; while the heathen spurned the Tôrah as unfit. (Cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 59 f.)

25. For the empty, empty things, &c. Those who are destitute of the elements of goodness shall lack the good things of eternity, &c.; cf. Matt. xiii. 12.

IV. THE TEMPORARY MESSIANIC KINGDOM AND THE END OF THE WORLD.
(vii. 26-44) (R) (E).(a) vii. 26-30. *The sudden revelation of the Messiah: his 400 years' reign and death: the End of the Age* (R).

- R 26 For behold the days come, and it shall be when the signs which I have foretold unto thee shall come to pass,
[^d Then shall the city that now is invisible appear^a, and the land^e which is now concealed^e be seen;]
27, 28 And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For^f my Son the Messiah^f shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and^g shall rejoice^g the survivors^h four hundred years^h. And it shall be, after these years, thatⁱ my Sonⁱ the Messiah shall die, and all^j in whom there is human breath^j. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.

(b) vii. 31-44. *The General Resurrection and Final Judgement; the Day of Judgement described* (R).

- 31 And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and^k that which is corruptible^k shall perish.

^{d-d} so *Arm.*: *Ar.*¹ and the city which was not shall appear: *Ethiop.* (misplacing negative) and the city which now appears shall be hidden: *ℒ* (misreading η νυν μη φανομενη πολις as η νυν φανομενη πολις) et apparebit sponsa [et] apparens (so *C M*; *S* apparens) civitas = *ℒ*^{e-e} *ℒ* quae nunc subducitur ^{f-f} so *ℒ* *Ar.*¹: *Ethiop.* my Messiah: *Ar.*² the Messiah; *Arm.* the Messiah of God; *ℒ* filius meus Iesus ^{g-g} reading iocundabit (S) = *Oriental VSS.*: iocundabuntur (A C M N) ^{h-h} so *ℒ* *Ar.*¹; *ℒ* thirty; *Ar.*² one thousand; *Ethiop.* *Arm.* > ⁱ⁻ⁱ so *ℒ* *ℒ*; *Ethiop.* my servant ^{j-j} reading qui spiramentum habent hominis (S homines) ^{k-k} *ℒ* corruptum (sc. saeculum) ^{l-l} so *ℒ*: *ℒ* and other *VSS.* > ^{m-m} so *ℒ* (cf. *Ethiop.*): *ℒ* >

vii. 26-44. The eschatological description which was broken off at vi. 28 is here resumed. The present section, however, seems to be partly the work of R, who has utilized older material. For a full discussion of the reasons for this view reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 108-112. The section falls into two subdivisions, (a) vii. 26-30 and (b) vii. 31-44.

(a) vii. 26-30. This subsection, as we have seen, may be assigned to R, who, however, depends upon an independent Rabbinical tradition, which he here summarizes. But in v. 26 R has introduced a feature which is here incongruous—the appearance of the ‘heavenly’ Jerusalem and Paradise. These belong to the future age; whereas the temporary Messianic kingdom belongs to the present age and terminates with it. A similar confusion—probably also due to an interpolation by R—occurs in ch. xiii, where v. 36 does not harmonize with the context. The confusion might easily arise at a time when the earthly Jerusalem lay in ruins and when it would be natural to seek consolation in directing the thoughts to the more glorious city in heaven. The purification of the ‘earthly’ city would be the natural preparation for a ‘temporary’ Messianic age; but as the city had been destroyed this had been made impossible. Hence the necessity of introducing the heavenly Jerusalem—for a Messianic age without Jerusalem as a centre would have been inconceivable. In face of conflicting views as to whether Jerusalem was to be restored or no, R takes a mediating view. The End is not yet—a temporary Messianic age is to dawn; but the earthly city is not to be restored; instead, the heavenly city is to appear. Primaeval chaos and the End will only follow after this interlude.

The redactor has thus woven together two sets of mutually irreconcilable ideas. This is equally true of his representation of the Messiah himself. The Messiah is to be ‘revealed’—suddenly, as it seems—‘together with those who are with him’. As the latter must be the immortal companions ‘who have never tasted death’ it is clear that a heavenly pre-existence for the Messiah himself is implied, as in fact appears in other passages (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiv. 9; 2 Bar. xxx, &c.). At the close of his reign, therefore, the Messiah ought to return in glory to heaven, as he is made to do in 2 Bar. xxx. But according to R he and his immortal companions share the common fate with the righteous, and die with all men! See further *EA*, pp. 112-113.

26. the city that now is invisible, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem (for text see crit. note).

the land which is now concealed, i.e. the heavenly Paradise. For the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52.

28. those who are with him, i.e. the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 28 note.

the survivors. Only the surviving righteous share in the joys of the Messianic reign; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 50.

four hundred years. The versions are not consistent as to this number (see crit. note). In Rabbinic tradition various numbers were deduced for the length of the temporary Messianic kingdom (see the passages cited in *EA*, p. 115 f.); the number 400 is associated in one passage with R. Dosa, but elsewhere with the name of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos. The number was deduced by combining Gen. xv. 13 and Ps. xc. 15. It should be noted that the conception of a temporary Messianic kingdom which belongs to the present age, and terminates with it, is also met with in 2 Baruch (cf. xl. 3); cf. also Rev. xx. 3. It is a compromise between the older prophetic view which looked for a final consummation of felicity on the present earth, and the later transcendental view which transferred it to a future age, after the destruction of the present order.

30. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days. *Urzeit* = *Endzeit* (Gunkel).

(b) vii. 31-44. Here again R is summarizing different traditions. These are not always easy to reconcile; thus, e.g., it is difficult to harmonize the ‘week’ of years (seven years) in v. 43 with the seven ‘days’ of primaeval silence mentioned in v. 30. An important point to note is that the judgement, which is final and universal, and which, therefore, is preceded by a ‘general’ resurrection, is depicted as forensic in character. This is implied by the

- R 32 And
 the earth shall restore those that sleep in her,
 and the dust those that are at rest therein,
 [and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them].
 33 And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement:
¹(and then cometh the End)¹
 and compassion shall pass away,
^m(and pity be far off,^m)
 and longsuffering ⁿwithdrawnⁿ;
 34 But ^ojudgement ^oalone shall remain,
 truth shall stand,
 and faithfulness triumph.
 35 And ^precompense ^pshall follow,
 and the reward be made manifest;
^qDeeds of righteousness ^qshall awake,
 and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep.
 36 And then shall ^rthe pit of torment^r appear,
^sand over against it the place of refreshment^s;
 The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest,
 and over against it the Paradise of delight.
 37 And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised [from the dead]:
 Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments
 ye have despised.
 38 ^tLook, now, before [you]^t:
 here delight and refreshment,
 there fire and torments!
 Thus ^ushall he speak^u unto them in the Day of Judgement,
 39 ^vFor thus shall the Day of Judgement be^v:
^w[A day] whereon is neither sun^w, nor moon, nor stars;
 40 neither clouds, ^xnor thunder, nor lightning^x;
 neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor ^ycloud-rack^y;
 neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;

^{u-n} \mathbb{L} congregabitur ^{o-o} so \mathbb{L} Ethiop.: \mathbb{S} my judgement ^{p-p} \mathbb{L} opus (= \mathbb{S} ; cf. *Ethiop.*) = Heb. עֲשֵׂה
^{q-q} \mathbb{L} iustitiae ^{r-r} reading lacus tormenti = \mathbb{S} (emended) *Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar.*) ^{s-s} reading et contra illum erit
 locus requitionis (for requisitionis) = \mathbb{S} *Ar.* ^{t-t} = βλέπετε οὐν κατεναντίον (so *Oriental VSS.* + you): \mathbb{L} videte
 contra et in contra (dittography) ^{u-u} so *Oriental VSS.*: \mathbb{L} shalt thou speak ^{v-v} reading dies enim iudicii talis
 qui [neque solem habet]; cf. \mathbb{S} (for that day of Judgement is thus; cf. *Ethiop.*): \mathbb{L} haec talis quae (this is such a day
 as) ^{w-w} cf. \mathbb{S} there is no sun in it: \mathbb{L} quae neque solem habet (? pointing to a text η ουκ ηλιος εσται εν αυτη =
 אשר לא יהיה שמש בו) ^{x-x} so \mathbb{L} (cf. *Ar.*): but \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.* invert the order ^{y-y} \mathbb{L} aerem = $\alpha\eta\rho$ = אֵר

representation in *v.* 33, according to which the Most High is revealed 'upon (i.e. seated upon) the throne of judgement'; cf. *Dan.* vii. 9, *1 En.* xc. 20, xxv. 3; and in the similitudes (of the Elect One), *1 En.* xlv. 3, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxix. 27. In all these passages the Divine Judge is spoken of as seated on the judgement throne (*sedes iudicii*, *4 Ezra* vii. 33), i.e. to judge in a forensic sense. When, on the other hand, the Heavenly One is said to 'arise from his royal throne' (*Ass. Mos.* x. 3), this is the formula for the execution of retributive judgement (cf. *Volz*, p. 261). According to *T. B. 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 *v.* 35; it finds its place between *vv.* 35 and 36 of the ordinary Vulgate text. These additional verses are numbered consecutively in the following translation (as in R.V.), and form *vv.* 36-105. The remaining verses (*Vulg.* 36-70) now appear as 106-140.

31. that which is corruptible, i.e. the present corruptible and mortal world; with the appearance of the new order this vanishes. Cf. *1 Cor.* xv. 26.

32. the earth shall restore . . . and the chambers the souls, &c., i.e. the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the chambers their souls. At the resurrection the soul would return to and revive the body. This is the orthodox Rabbinic doctrine. See further *EA*, p. 119f.

33. (and then cometh the End). See crit. note. Cf. *1 Cor.* xv. 24.
 compassion . . . (pity) . . . longsuffering, viz. of the Divine Judge (*Ethiop.* renders 'his compassion', &c.). The final judgement is pictured as conducted in accordance with the strict requirements of perfect equity and justice.

35. Deeds of righteousness. In Rabbinic language this term would denote definite acts of charity such as those enumerated in *Matt.* xxv. 35-46 (cf. *James* ii. 14f.), and more particularly almsgiving. Such acts, and the performance of religious duties generally, constituted 'the treasure of good works laid up with the Most High' (cf. vii. 77).

36. the pit of torment. Cf. *Rev.* ix. 2.

37. the nations . . . raised [from the dead]. Cf. *Matt.* xxv. 31f. For the idea cf. *EA*, p. 124.

- R 41 ^a neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold ^a;
neither hail, nor rain, nor dew;
42 neither noon, nor night, nor ^a dawn ^a;
neither shining, nor brightness, nor light,
save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see
43, 44 what has been determined (for them). And its duration shall be as it were a week of years. Such
is my Judgement and ^b its prescribed order ^b: to thee only have I showed these things.

V. THE DEBATE CONTINUED (from vii. 25): ISRAEL'S ELECTION AND THE PROBLEM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

(vii. 45-ix. 22.)

(1) vii. 45-74. THE FEWNESS OF THE SAVED JUSTIFIED: THIS FOLLOWED BY A LAMENT OVER MAN'S EVIL CASE (S).

(a) vii. 45-61. *The fewness of the saved.*

- S 45 And I answered and said: O Lord, I said even then and say now: Blessed are ^e they who come (into the world) ^c and keep ^d thy commandments ^d.

^{a-a} so substantially S; I neque aestatem neque verem neque aestum neque hiemem neque gelum neque frigus
^{a-a} I ante lucem (? for an original antelucium: so Bensly) ^{b-b} I constitutio eius (= ? η συνταξις αυτου = תקן):
S its law ^{c-c} cf. S (all they who come): I qui praesentes ^{d-d} I quae a te constituta sunt (? τα σου διατε-

41. **neither summer . . . cold.** The order adopted in the text is substantially that of S; the first line contains the names of three seasons, the second those of three temperatures. The verse is an expansion of Gen. viii. 22 *b c*. For the equivalents (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) of the terms used cf. EA, p. 126.

42. **whereby all shall be destined to see, &c.** The meaning is that the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will serve to reveal what is prepared for the judgement. For the representation cf. Is. lx. 19 f., Rev. xxi. 23. Gunkel remarks that the verses breathe the spirit of the mystic before which all that hides the vision of God disappears.

43. **a week of years.** Cf. the seven days of silence in v. 30; but here each day = one year. For a week (or weeks) of years cf. Dan. ix. 24 f. (the seventy weeks = seventy weeks of years).

vii. 45-ix. 22. The rest of this long vision, which, with the exception of one section (viii. 63-ix. 12), belongs to S, is mainly occupied with the problem which has already been touched upon in vii. 17 f.: if, as the Law itself proclaims, piety—that is, the pious fulfilment of the duties and obligations entailed by the observance of the Law—is the necessary condition for enjoying the future blessedness, what of the godless who do not fulfil these conditions? The heathen, it is true, have not fulfilled the obligations of the divine Law, but who has? Who among mortals has not transgressed the divine precepts (vii. 46 f., cf. viii. 35)? This feeling of human unworthiness, which leads the apocalypticist sometimes almost to doubt whether any can be saved at all, and, in the conviction of his own personal unworthiness, to identify himself with the transgressors, and even to give noble expression to pity for the fate of the multitudes of mankind who are doomed to final perdition, is only set at rest with the assurance that a real difference exists between Israel and the heathen world. The election of the chosen people is not for nothing. They at least are the guardians of the divine Law, and as a whole strive to observe it, whereas the other nations of the world have deliberately rejected and spurned it (cf. vii. 72 and vii. 23 f.). The sin that dooms is rejection of the Law—salvation consists in accepting it. Judged by this standard Israel, on the one side, is accepted, and the heathen world, on the other, is condemned. Individual doubts as to personal unworthiness are resolved by a feeling for the solidarity of the nation. From this point of view the merits of the righteous in Israel may be pleaded on behalf of those members of the chosen race who have not kept the Law and are sinners (cf. the prayer in viii. 26 f., but note the answer, viii. 37-40). The whole of this part of the book forms a vivid and profoundly moving picture of the doubts and questions that must have agitated the minds of many pious Jews at the end of the first century. These doubts are calmed, perhaps, but hardly removed by the solution. The only consolation the apocalypticist receives is to be bidden to avert his gaze from the awful results of human frailty and sin, and contemplate rather the joys reserved for the righteous. The world to come is reserved for few. The whole section may be subdivided as follows:—

- (1) vii. 45-74. *The fewness of the saved justified: this followed by a lament over man's evil case (S).*
- (2) vii. 75-101. *The state of the soul after death and before the judgement (S).*
- (3) vii. 102-115. *No intercession on the day of judgement (S).*
- (4) vii. 116-131. *What avails the promise to man who is born to sin? Yet, though tragic, the sinner's doom is deserved (S).*
- (5) vii. 132-viii. 62. *Doubts as to how the perdition of so many can be justified from the point of view of God's character and attributes: the divine reply (S).*
- (6) viii. 63-ix. 12. *The signs of the End reviewed and applied to the author's own times (R).*
- (7) ix. 13-22. *The divine reply concluded: final justification of the fewness of the saved (S).*
- (1) vii. 45-74. The apocalypticist resumes the debate which was broken off at vii. 25. He had raised the question (vii. 17 f.) regarding the justice of the punishment meted out to the ungodly. To this subject he now returns. The righteous indeed are to be blessed, but what is to be said of those who have transgressed the divine covenant? The doom of disobedience lies not upon a few only, but upon well nigh all who have been created! True, the angel replies: the just are comparatively few, and for them the future felicity is reserved. But this is only in accordance with the

- S 46 But concerning those for whom my prayer (was offered): who is there of those who have come (into the world) that has not sinned? Or who of the earth-born is there that has not transgressed
 47 "thy covenant"? And now I see that the coming Age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto
 48 many. For the evil heart has grown up in us
 which has estranged us ^ffrom God^f,
 and brought us into destruction;
 And ^fhas made known to us^f the ways of death,
 and showed us the paths of perdition,
 and removed us far from life;
 and that not a few only, but well nigh all that have been created!
 49 And he answered me and said:
 Hear me,^g and I will instruct thee,
 and a second time will admonish thee:
 50, 51 For this cause the Most High has made not one Age but two. And whereas thou hast said that
 the righteous are not many but few, ^hwhile the ungodly abound^{h-i} hear (the answer) to thisⁱ:
 52 Suppose thou have choice stones, in number exceeding few; ^jwilt thou set (place) with them lead
 and clay^j?
 53 And I said: Lord, how should it be possible?
 54 And he said unto me: Not only so, but
 Ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
^kSpeak to her^k, and she shall declare it unto thee.
 55, 56 Say to her: Thou bringest forth gold and silver and brass—and also iron and lead and clay: but
 silver is more abundant than gold, and brass than silver, and iron than brass, lead than iron, and
 57 clay than lead. Do thou, then, consider which things are precious and to be desired: that which is
 abundant or that which is rare?
 58 And I said: O Lord my Lord, that which is plentiful is of less worth, but that which is more rare
 is precious.
 59 And he answered me and said: ^lWeigh within thyself^l what thou hast thought! For he that has
^mwhat is rare^m rejoices beyond him that has what is plentiful.
 60 ⁿSo also shall be my promised judgement; ⁿI will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inas-
 much as they it is ^othat make my glory prevail now already^o and through them my name is now
 already named (with praise).
 61 And I will not grieve over the multitude of them that perish: for they it is who now
 are made like vapour,

ταρμενα) ^{o-o} so \mathbb{A} Ar.¹: \mathbb{S} commandment; *Ethiop.* statute (? different readings in Greek, διαθηκη, διαταγην)
^{f-f} \mathbb{A} ab his (sc commandments) = \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.*: perhaps, as Violet suggests, in original Hebrew "מִן־הַצִּוְוֹת" (i.e.
 מִן־הַצִּוְוֹת) was misunderstood ^{ff-ff} so \mathbb{S} Ar.¹: \mathbb{A} > \mathbb{S} + Ezra ^{h-h} so \mathbb{A} (cf. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.): \mathbb{S} > ⁱ⁻ⁱ \mathbb{A} audi
 ad haec = \mathbb{S} ^{j-j} so Ar.¹ (cf. \mathbb{S}): \mathbb{A} si habueris paucos valde, ad numerum compones eos tibi . . . plumbum autem
 et fictile habundat (*prob.* plumbum et fictile have fallen out in dotted space: then the last clause will be a gloss: see
 further EA, p. 123) ^{k-k} so \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.*: \mathbb{A} adulare ei ^{l-l} so \mathbb{S} (cf. *Ethiop.* Ar.¹): \mathbb{A} corrupt ^{m-m} so \mathbb{S} Ar.¹ (cf.
Ethiop. Ar.²): \mathbb{A} quod difficile est ⁿ⁻ⁿ so substantially *Oriental VSS.*; \mathbb{A} sic et a me repromissa creatura
 (confusion of κρισις with κρισις) ^{o-o} so \mathbb{S} (cf. *Ethiop.* Ar.²): \mathbb{A} qui gloriam meam nunc dominationem (i. domina-
 tionem) fecerunt

rule that the most precious things are the rarest. Therefore the few that are to be saved, inasmuch as they have made the divine glory to prevail, shall be a cause for rejoicing, and the multitude of the lost is not a subject for grief (vv. 45-61). If so, the apocalypticist 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 subdivisions, (a) vii. 45-61 and (b) vii. 62-74.

52. Suppose thou have choice stones . . . wilt thou set (place) with them lead and clay. 'The comparison implies that the number of the elect (to borrow the epithet used in the Latin) cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements' (Bensly).

54. Not only so, but. The connexion is: one does not add inferior things to precious, in order to increase the number of the latter. There is a real distinction, which one recognizes between them. But further, the earth also teaches the same lesson 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.

55. Say to her. For the representation (asking the earth) cf. viii. 2, Job xvi. 18, &c.

56. but silver . . . lead. This, according to Ewald, is to be regarded as the answer of the earth.

61. are made like vapour. For the figure cf. Ps. cxliv. 4, James iv. 14; also 2 Bar. lxxiii. 3 f.

- S ^p counted as smoke,
are comparable unto the flame ^p:
They are fired, burn hotly, are extinguished!

(b) vii. 62-74. *The apocalyptic's lament over man's evil case.*

- 62 And I answered and said: O thou Earth, what hast thou brought forth, if the mind is sprung
63 from the dust as every other created thing! It had been better if the dust itself had even been
unborn, that the mind might not have come into being from it.
64 But, as it is, the mind grows with us, and on this account we are tormented, because we perish
and know it.
65 Let the human race ^a lament ^a,
but the beasts of the field be glad!
Let all the earth-born ^a mourn ^a,
but let the cattle and flocks rejoice!
66 For it is far better with them than with us; for they have no judgement to look for, neither do
they know of any torture or of any salvation promised to them after death.
67 For what doth it profit us that ^r we shall be preserved alive^r, but yet suffer great torment?
68 For all the earth-born
^a are defiled with iniquities^a,
full of sins,
laden with offences.
69 And if after death we were not to come into judgement, it might, perchance, ^t have been ^t far better
for us!
70 And he answered me and said: When the Most High made the world, and Adam, and all that
came ^u of him^u, he first prepared the Judgement, and the things that pertain unto the Judgement.
71 But, now, from thine own words understand: for thou hast said that the mind grows with us.
72 For this reason, therefore, shall the sojourners in the earth suffer torture, because having under-
standing they yet wrought iniquity, and receiving precepts they yet kept them not, and having
obtained the Law ^v they set at naught^v that which they received.
73 What, then, will they have to say in the Judgement, or how shall they answer in the last times?
74 For how long a time hath the Most High been longsuffering with the inhabitants of the world—
not for their sakes, indeed, but for the sake of the times which he has ordained!

^{p-p} so S: \mathbb{L} et flammae ac fumo adaequati sunt (= *Ethiop.*) ^{a-a} (a-a) so S (using two different verbs):
 \mathbb{L} lugeat . . . lugeant ^{r-r} \mathbb{L} salvati salvabimur: S = viventes vivimus (= *Hebr.* נחיה נחיה see EA, p. 138)
^{a-a} so S: \mathbb{L} commixti sunt iniquitatibus (= *συμπεφυρμένοι εἰσιν ανομιαις*) ^{t-t} so Oriental VSS. (= *fuisset*):
 \mathbb{L} venisset ^{u-u} so Oriental VSS. and CMV (= *ex eo*): A cum eo ^{v-v} so S: \mathbb{L} fraudaverunt (A) fraudati sunt

are comparable unto the flame. The flame which, as it were, consumes itself, is here a figure, apparently for evanescence.

62. if the mind is sprung from the dust. This materialistic view, though evidently familiar to S, is not shared by him; it is contrary to his theology, according to which the soul (with the mind) is the higher immortal element which enters into the body (regarded as the lower element) at birth.

64. we perish and know it. The possession of mind and reasoning powers only intensifies human sufferings at the last, because they must be endured with full knowledge and consciousness of their terrible nature; inevitable and unceasing.

65. the cattle and flocks. As Gunkel remarks, the statement expressed in this verse is, from the point of view of the ancients, startling and revolutionary. It represents a phase of doubt which threatened to subvert the whole outlook of the ancient world, which regarded man as lord of creation, and as raised to a pinnacle of superiority over all below him. Cf. Gen. i, Ps. viii.

70. he first prepared the Judgement, &c. It is a fundamental dogma of S that the whole course of the world's history has been predestinated by God: the End, which includes the Day of Judgement, comes when the predetermined number of the elect shall have been fulfilled (cf. iv. 35 f.). Paradise and Gehenna, the places essentially associated with the Judgement, were among the seven things created before the world, according to Rabbinic theology (cf. *T. B. Pesah.* 54 a, &c.); cf. also viii. 52, and *Pirke Aboth* iii. 16 (ed. Taylor).

72. because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity. Cf. 2 Bar. xv. 5, 6, and xix. 3, xlviii. 40; cf. also *Ep. Barn.* v. 4: 'A man shall utterly perish, who, having the knowledge of the way of righteousness, forceth himself into the way of darkness.' For the idea that the Gentiles had been offered and had rejected the Law, cf. Weber, pp. 57 ff.

73. What, then, will they have to say, &c. The representation is forensic. The questions addressed by God to those who appear at the bar of judgement at the last great assize are referred to in several passages both in apocalyptic and Rabbinical literature (cf. *T. B. Yoma* 35 b; and see further Volz, p. 246 f., EA, p. 140).

S (2) vii. 75-101. THE STATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH AND BEFORE THE JUDGEMENT (S).

75 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, ^w O Lord ^w, show this also to thy servant: whether after death, even now when every one of us must give back his soul, we shall be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew the creation, or shall we suffer torture ^x forthwith ^x?

76 And he answered me, and said: I will show this also unto thee; but do not thou mingle thyself with them that have scorned, nor number thyself with those that suffer torment.

77 For thou hast a treasure of works laid up with the Most High, but it shall not be showed thee until the last times.

78 And concerning death the teaching is: When ^y the decisive decree ^y has gone forth from the Most High that the man should die,

as ^z the soul ^z from the body departs

^a that it may return ^a to him who gave it,

79 to adore the glory of the Most High, first of all: if it be one of those that have scorned

(C M V): L? frustraverunt ^{w-w} so L, &c.: S O Lord my Lord ^{x-x} L amodo = απ' αρι ^{y-y} L terminus sententiae (= חק המשפט) ^{a-a} L inspiratione ^{a-a} so Ethiop. Ar¹: L ut dimittatur (cf. S)

(2) vii. 75-101. The following section describes the state of the soul immediately after death. It is introduced between parts of the Apocalypse which have for their theme different aspects of the last Judgement. It is, therefore, in the nature of a digression: but the subject is one that logically arises from previous allusions, and comes in at this point quite naturally.

In answer to the apocalypticist's inquiry he is told that the spirit, after leaving the body, first of all adores the glory of the Most High and then enters into a state of misery or bliss, corresponding to its ultimate destiny, according as it belongs to the ungodly or righteous. The spirits of the wicked are destined to a wandering existence in torment, in seven degrees: (a) They shall be consumed with remorse; (b) they will recognize that the past is irrevocable; (c) they shall see the reward laid up for the righteous; (d) they shall catch a glimpse of the torment reserved for them after the last Judgement; (e) 'they shall see the dwelling-places of the others guarded by angels with great quietness'; (f) they shall see the torment henceforth reserved for them; (g) in the light of the vision of God they shall be consumed with agonizing remorse, confusion, and shame (vii. 78-87).

On the other hand, the spirits of the righteous 'shall be filled with joy (a) because they have striven to overcome the *cogitamentum malum*; (b) because they see the perplexity and punishment of the ungodly; (c) because they see the divine witness to their righteousness; (d) because they understand the rest and quiet of their intermediate state, and the glory that awaits them in the final Judgement; (e) because they realize the painful corruption from which they have been delivered, and cherish the hope of immortality; (f) because of the incorruptible radiance and glory that await them; (g) "because they shall rejoice with confidence, and be bold without confusion, and shall be glad without fear, for they hasten to behold the face of him whom in their lifetime they served, and from whom they shall receive their reward in glory" (vii. 88-98).¹

These descriptions, which are psychological in character, apparently portray the emotional experiences of the soul, through which it passes during the entire period of the intermediate state. In its subtle delineation of the soul-life the whole section is remarkable, and by the elevation and refinement of its conceptions affords a striking contrast to similar descriptions in other parts of the apocalyptic literature (e.g. 1 En. xxii). No such detailed description of the state of the soul occurs in the Baruch-Apocalypse.

At the end of the section (vii. 100-101) one other detail is added. The souls shall be free for seven days immediately after death that they may realize the things which have been described, after which they enter into their habitations. Apparently this only applies to the souls of the righteous, as it is explicitly stated in v. 80 that the souls of the wicked do not enter into habitations at all, but wander to and fro in torment. How the souls pass from the states here described to the final Judgement is not told. In 2 Bar. xxx this is accomplished by means of the resurrection, which is there described in detail. See further Volz, p. 135 f.; Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 294 f.

75. thou shalt renew the creation. For the expression cf. *καὶνὴ κτίσις* (= בְּרִיאַת הָעוֹלָם), Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. vi. 17, and for the idea of the renovation of the world, Matt. xix. 28, 'in the regeneration' (*ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ*); 2 Pet. ii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The same phrase occurs in 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, 'when the Mighty One shall renew his creation' (cf. xlv. 12, lvii. 2). The incorruptible world which is to succeed the present order at the final Judgement is meant. Cf. v. 45.

77. a treasure of works. The idea of works being stored up in treasures (in heaven) occurs also in 2 Bar. xiv. 12. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 33 (contrast viii. 36). But much greater stress is laid on good works in 2 Baruch than in 4 Ezra. According to the latter very few indeed have, by their strict performance of the requirements of the Law, been able to claim any such accumulation of merit. It is faith in the Law (i.e. open acknowledgement of its divine character and obligation) which will save most of those who are destined to be saved: cf. ix. 7, 'every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his faith', xiii. 23 and vi. 5 ('treasures of faith'). The most esteemed way in which such treasure in heaven could be gathered, according to the accepted Jewish standard of ethics, was by the practice of benevolence (Hebr. *gemiluth hasadim*), especially by almsgiving (cf. in the N.T. Matt. vi. 20, Luke xii. 33, 1 Tim. vi. 17 f., and illustrate from *Pe'a* i. 1, where it is said that *gemiluth hasadim*, the promotion of peace between man and man, and the study of the Law, are 'the things whose fruits are enjoyed in this life, while their capital remains [invested] for the life to come').

it shall not be showed thee until the last times. The treasures would not be opened till the last Judgement. Cf. 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

78. that it may return to him who gave it. Cf. Eccles. xii. 7. to adore the glory of the Most High, &c. This sentence, as Gunkel points out, is exegetical to the previous line ('that it may return to him who gave it'). The citation from Eccles. xii. 7 is understood by the author in the

¹ The above excellent summary is derived from Maldwyn Hughes's *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Lit.*, p. 305 f.

- and have not kept ^b the ways ^b of the Most High,
^c that have despised his law,^c
 and that hate those who fear God—
- 80 Such souls shall not enter into habitations, but shall wander about henceforth in torture, ever
 grieving and sad, in seven ways.
- 81, 82 The first way (is) that ^d they have scorned ^d the Law of the Most High; the second way, that they
 83 are now unable ^e to make a good repentance for life ^e; the third way (is): they shall see the
 84 reward laid up for those who have believed ^f the covenants of the Most High ^f; the fourth way,
 85 that they shall regard the torture laid up for themselves in the last days ^g; the fifth way, that they
 86 shall see how the habitations ^h of the other souls ^h are guarded by angels in profound quietness; the
 87 sixth way, that they shall see ⁱ how from now henceforth they must pass over into torture ⁱ. The
 seventh way, which exceeds all the aforesaid ways, (is) :
 that they shall pine away for shame,
 and be consumed ^j with confusion ^j,
 and withered ^k with fear ^k,
 in that they see the glory of the Most High, before whom they have sinned in life, and before whom
 they are destined to be judged in the last times.
- 88 Of those, however, who have kept the ways of the Most High this is ^l the order ^l, when they shall
 be separated from this vessel of mortality.
- 89 ^m What time they dwelt therein ^m they painfully served the Most High, and were in jeopardy
 every hour, that they might observe the Law of the lawgiver perfectly.
- 90, 91 Wherefore the matter as it relates to them is as follows: First of all they shall see with great joy
 92 the glory of him who receives them; and they shall rest ⁿ in seven orders ⁿ. The first order (is):
 that they have striven much and painfully to overcome ^o the innate evil thought ^o, that it might not
 93 lead them astray ^p from life ^p unto death. The second order (is): that they see ^q the round ^q
 94 which the souls of the ungodly wander, and ^r the punishment that awaits them ^r. The third order
 (is): they see the witness which their Fashioner attests concerning them, that while they were alive
 95 ^s they faithfully observed the Law which was given to them ^s. The fourth order (is): they under-
 stand the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness

^{b-b} so *S. Ethiop. Ar.*: *U* viam ^{c-c} so *U. Ethiop.*: *S* > ^{d-d} so *U.* (= *ηθέρησαν*): *S* they have resisted (= *ηπειθήσαν*):
 see *EA*, p. 145 ^{e-e} *U* reversionem bonam facere ut vivant: *S* = *ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ ἀγαθοποιεῖν* (*Bensly adopts*) ^{f-f} so *U.*
 (*Ethiop. Ar.*): *S* > ^g here *S* adds a verse which is not original: see *EA*, p. 146 ^{h-h} so *S. Ar.* (cf. *Ethiop.*):
U aliorum ⁱ⁻ⁱ reading quam amodo pertransient in cruciamentum (see *EA*, p. 146) ^{j-j} so *S. Ethiop. Ar.*: *U* in
 honoribus (= *ἐν τιμαῖς* [*for τιμαῖς*]): read *ἐν τιμαῖς* ^{k-k} so *S. Ethiop.*: *U* in timoribus ^{l-l} *U* ordo (= *ἡ τάξις*):
S way ^{m-m} so *S*: *U* in eo tempore commoratae ⁿ⁻ⁿ *U* per septem ordines: *U* here and in following verses
 uses ordo consistently; so *Ethiop. Ar.*: but *S. Ar.* *Arm.* use way (= *ὁδός*) throughout ^{o-o} *U* cum eis plasmatum
 cogitamentum ^{p-p} so *U. S. Ar.*: but *Ethiop.* in their present life ^{q-q} *U* complicationem (= *συμπλοκή*): *Hebr.*
 הצפירה; see *EA*, p. 149) ^{r-r} reading quae eis (*for in eis*) manet punitio ^{s-s} *U* servaverunt quae per fidem

sense that the soul of man after death appears before God for a certain limited time only, and for a certain purpose.
 This follows from his belief as to the intermediate state.

80. Such souls. For *inspirations* = here disembodied souls, cf. *v. 78* above (*recedente inspiratione*). נשמות is used
 of the disembodied soul in Rabbinic Hebrew: cf. e.g. *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *b* צדיקים של צדיקים, 'the souls of the righteous'
 (in reference to the souls deposited beneath the throne of glory). For the theological controversies regarding
inspiratio in this connexion cf. *Bensly, MF*, p. 64.

but shall wander about henceforth in torture. In *T. B. Shabb.* 152 *b* the souls of the wicked are said to be
 given no place of rest until the Judgement, while the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place (מנוח) soon
 after death.

in seven ways, i.e. seven modes or kinds (= *Hebr. derek*). The arrangement of the sufferings and joys in seven
 kinds would appear somewhat artificial to us. According to Gunkel, it is derived from the old Babylonian tradition
 (which passed over to Judaism) of the existence of seven heavens and seven hells (this tradition appears in late
 Jewish literature; cf. *Eisenmenger*, ii, p. 328, for a description of the seven היכלות of Hell). Our passage may be
 a refinement of this idea. See further *EA*, p. 145.

81. The first way, i.e. the first kind (of torture); a Hebraism (*derek*, 'way' = kind, manner): this meaning, rare in
 Biblical Hebrew, is common in *PBH*.

88. from this vessel of mortality, lit. 'from this corruptible vessel'; Lat. *a vaso corruptibili*. The Greek
 equivalent for 'corruptible vessel' would be τὸ φθαρτὸν σκεῦος = *Hebr.* (?) כלי קלין. Cf. τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο, 'this
 corruptible' (that which is liable to corruption), 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice in our passage the implied view of the body as
 the prison-house of the soul. [On the form *vaso* cf. *Bensly, MF*, p. 66 f.]

91. in seven orders, i.e. orders or dispositions of mind (or emotion)—here of joys; for text see *crit. note*. A good
 Hebrew equivalent for τάξις would be מַעְרָכָה or תְּבוּנָה, which is used (in late Hebrew) in the same way of a disposition
 of the mind.

92. The first order. Gunkel correctly interprets this as = 'the first joy'.

93. the round (or circuit). The word might well be used of wild erratic motion (of the ungodly souls).

- S 96 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 straitness and 'painfulness' from which they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are destined 'to receive with enjoyment 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.
- 97 mortality. 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.
- 98 The seventh order, which exceeds all the aforesaid, (is): that
 They shall rejoice with boldness,
 be confident without confusion,
 be glad 'without fear',
 for they are hastening to behold the face of him whom in life they served, and from whom they are destined to receive their reward in glory.
- 99 This is the order of the souls of the righteous as from now henceforward 'is announced', (b) 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?
- 101 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) vii. 102-115. NO INTERCESSION ON THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT (S).

- 102 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, show me, thy servant, this also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to

data est lex (per fidem may have been intended to qualify observed in original) 'I in novissimis eorum
 'reading labore plenum (MSS. plenum only); cf. S (the much toil) Ethiop. 'v-v reading a quo (M) = S:
 quoniam (A C V) 'w-w I recipere fruniscetes et immortales 'x-x so Ethiop. (= ore): I quando (= ore); so S
 'y-y reading amodo (for quomodo); cf. S Ethiop. 'z-z reading non reverentes (for revertentes): Oriental VSS.
 either omit or obscure the clause 'a-a reading adnuntiatur (for annuntientur) 'b-b reading (et) praedictae viae
 (sunt) cruciatus quas (so A) patiuntur amodo qui (the bracketed words being supplied) 'c-c I neglexerint
 'd-d I qui praedicti sunt sermones

96. escaped what is corruptible. Gunkel points out that the implied idea is that what is mortal and corruptible is an alien element in man's essential being.

97. their face . . . as the sun . . . like the light of the stars. The language is based on Dan. xii. 3, and is similarly applied to the righteous (in an eschatological connexion) in Matt. xiii. 43; cf. also 2 Bar. li. 3 (of the transformation of the righteous at the resurrection), li. 10; cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7 ('resplendent as lights of fire' = 'shine as the stars' [Charles]), li. 5, civ. 2 ('soon ye shall shine as the stars of heaven'); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 125. In 1 Cor. xv. 41 the spiritual body of the resurrection is compared to the stars ('one star differeth from another star in glory'); the righteous in the resurrection are compared with the angels in Matt. xxii. 30; cf. 1 En. li. 4 ('they shall become angels in heaven'), civ. 6, and 2 Bar. li. 10 (cited above). Gunkel points out that in the earlier circle of religious ideas from which the higher religion received the first impulse towards the development of the doctrine of the resurrection stars and angels are equivalent conceptions. In this earlier religion the stars were regarded as gods. 'To be made like the stars,' therefore, survived as a figure for immortality in the phraseology of spiritual religion.

98. with boldness. Cf. Wisd. v. 1, and see Volz, p. 264.

to behold the face, &c. Cf. Matt. v. 8.

100. the souls. Here and in the following verse the souls of the righteous only are, apparently, meant. These souls enter into the chambers reserved for them; the souls of the wicked do not (cf. v. 80).

101. Seven days . . . freedom. According to the dictum of R. Hilda, cited in *T. B. Shabb. 152 a*, the soul of a man mourns for him the first seven days after death. It is also said in the same context (152 b) that the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place soon. The origin of the idea of seven days' freedom being given to the soul immediately after death is obscure. It probably depends upon some primitive tradition. See further *EA*, p. 153.

habitations, i.e. in the intermediate state.

(3) vii. 102-115. The previous section (vii. 75-101) opened with the question whether after death the soul was permitted to rest until the Judgement, or whether it entered immediately into torment. The seer was evidently thinking of the souls of the unrighteous, with whom he identified himself. The question was answered in the negative—no peace is allowed for the souls of the lost. Still full of pity for the awful fate that awaits lost souls, Ezra-Salathiel asks whether there is any possibility of escape for the wicked in the Day of Judgement. Will intercession by the righteous for the ungodly be permitted? Again the answer is, No. Father will not be permitted to intercede for son, or son for father, or brother for brother, or friend for friend. This will be just as impossible as for one to take the place of another in illness, or in sleeping or eating: 'every one' in that day 'must bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness'.

The seer again pleads the many examples of intercession that are recorded in the Scriptures (Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, &c.), and is told that while the present (temporary) order endures such intercession is possible. But the Day of Judgement means the closing of all accounts. 'So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor overwhelm him who is victorious.'

The view, met with in Rabbinical literature, that the merits of sons will avail to save the fathers in the Day of Judgement (cf. e.g. *Eccles. rabb. on Qoh. iv. 1*) is thus implicitly condemned: indeed, the whole doctrine of imputed righteousness seems to be emphatically repudiated.

The apocalyptic writer thus here reaches the height of a pure and strenuous individualism. National limitations,

- S 103 intreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kins-
 104 folk for their nearest, friends for their dearest. And he answered me and said: Since thou hast
 found favour in my sight, I will show this also unto thee. The Day of Judgement is ^{da} decisive ^{da}, 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 ^ahe may be ill^a, or sleep, or eat, or be
 105 healed; so shall ^fnone then^f pray for another ^gon that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on
 106 another^g; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. And I answered
 and said: How is it that we now find that first Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, and
 107 Moses for our fathers who sinned in the wilderness; and Joshua after him for Israel in the days ^hof
 108 Achar^h; and Samuel ⁱin the days of Saulⁱ, and David ^jfor the plague^j, and Solomon ^kfor those
 109 that (should worship) in the sanctuary^k; and Elijah for those who received the rain, and for the
 110 dead, that he might live; and Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib, and (others) many
 111 for many? If, therefore, now when corruption is grown up, and unrighteousness increased, the
 righteous have prayed for the ungodly, why shall it not be so then also?
 112 And he answered me and said: The present age ^lis not the End^l; ^mthe glory of God abides not
 113 therein continuously^m; therefore have the strong prayed for the weak. But the Day of Judgement
 shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein
 114 corruption is passed away,
ⁿweaknessⁿ is abolished,
 infidelity is cut off;
 while righteousness is grown,
 and faithfulness is sprung up.
 115 So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor
^ooverwhelm^o him who is victorious.

da-da so S (= ? συντομος): *Ethioph.* suddenly (= ? συντομος): *L* audax (= ? εντολμος *a* corruption of συντομος)
 e-o so S *Ethioph. Arm.* (= ινα νοση): *L* intellegat (= ινα νοη) ^{f-f} so S (cf. *Ar.*¹) = ουδε τοτε: *L* nunquam
 (= ουδεποτε) ^{g-g} so S (cf. *Ethioph.*): *L* > ^{h-h} so *L* (M N A) = S: Achaz (S) ⁱ⁻¹ so S
*Ethioph. Ar.*¹: *L* (S A C M) > ^{j-j} *L* pro confectione ^{k-k} *L* pro eis qui in sanctificationem (= υπερ
 των εν τω ιερω): S *Ethioph.* for the sanctuary (= υπερ του ιερου) ^{l-1} so *L* (non est finis): cf. *Ethioph.*; S has an end
^{m-m} so S *Ethioph.*: *L* gloria in eo (*supply* non) frequens manet ⁿ⁻ⁿ so *Ethioph.* (= η ασθενεια): *L* intemperantia
 (= ? η ασεληγεια: cf. S) ^{o-o} *L* demergere (= καταποντιζειν) ^{p-v} *L* coercere (= κατεχειν): S instructed (= κατη-

distinctions between race and race, are left behind: the individual soul comes to view, and the personal responsibility of each individual soul is asserted with the utmost emphasis. Between God and the departing soul no mediatorial or mitigating agency is allowed to stand. Here we may detect the influence of Alexandrine theology which tended to lay all stress upon the present life as determining the eternal fate of every man (cf. Bousset, *RJ*², p. 337 f.).

It is apparently against some such conceptions as have been described above that our passage is directed. It definitely excludes the entire cycle of such ideas. Probably at the time when our Apocalypse was written these ideas had assumed an exaggerated form in certain circles. It is curious to note that this passage of 4 Ezra gave offence to Christian theologians. Its citation as scriptural proof against the efficacy of intercessions for the dead evoked a severe reproof from Jerome (*Tu . . . proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdrae a te et similibus tuis legitur; ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi: [contra Vigilant. c. vii]*). This objection doubtless accounts for the disappearance of the section from the Latin Cod. S, and nearly all later copies—the lacuna only being made good by the discovery of the missing Fragment by Bensly.

[See, on the section, Volz, pp. 92, 136; Köberle, p. 662 f.; Bousset, p. 339 f.; and cf. *EA*, pp. 153-6.]

104. the seal of truth, i.e. the seal of the Judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel). The representation is again forensic; the sealing of the document recording the sentence being the final act of the Judge.

105. neither shall one lay a burden, &c. The whole passage is a development of Ezek. xviii. 20.

106. first. Of the following series.

Abraham. The reference is to Gen. xviii. 23.

Moses . . . in the wilderness. See Exod. xxxii. 11.

107. Achar. See Joshua vii.

108. in the days of Saul. See 1 Sam. vii. 9, 12, 23.

for the plague. The reference is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.

for those that (should worship) in the sanctuary. See 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.

109. Elijah . . . the rain. See 1 Kings xviii. 42.

for the dead . . . live. See 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.

110. Hezekiah . . . Sennacherib. See 2 Kings xix. 15 f.

112. the glory of God abides not therein continuously. For the various causes (idolatry, blasphemy, pride) which cause the removal of the Shekinah (= the divine presence and glory) from the earth, according to Rabbinic theology, see Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 223 *et al.* Here the idea is that the divine glory cannot permanently remain with what is essentially transitory.

- (4) vii. 116-131. WHAT AVAILS THE PROMISE TO MAN WHO IS BORN TO SIN?
YET, THOUGH TRAGIC, THE SINNER'S DOOM IS DESERVED (S).

S 116 And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; better had it been that the earth had not produced Adam, or else, having once produced him, (for thee) ^p to have restrained ^p him from
117 sinning. For how does it profit us all that in the present we must live in grief and after death look
118 for punishment? O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, ^a the
119 fall was not thine alone, but ours also ^a who are thy descendants! For how does it profit us that
120 the eternal age is promised to us, whereas we have done the works that bring death? And that
there is foretold to us ^r an imperishable hope ^r, whereas we so miserably are brought to futility?
121, 122 And that there are reserved habitations of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly? And
that the glory of the Most High is to defend them who have led a pure life, whereas we have walked
123 in ways most wicked? And that Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and
124 healing, shall be made manifest, but we cannot enter it because we have passed our lives ^a in unseemly
125 manners ^a? And that the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars,
126 whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness? For, while we lived and committed iniquity we
considered not what we were destined to suffer after death!
127 And he answered me and said: This is ^t the condition ^t of the contest which (every) man who is
128 born upon earth must wage; that, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he be
129 victorious, he shall receive what I have said. For this is the way of which Moses, while he was
130 alive, spoke unto the people, saying: Choose thee life, that thou mayst live! Nevertheless they
131 believed not him, nor the prophets after him, no nor yet me who have spoken unto them. ^u Therefore ^u
shall there not be such grief at their perdition, as there shall be joy over the salvation of those who
have believed.

- (5) DOUBTS AS TO HOW THE PERDITION OF SO MANY CAN BE JUSTIFIED FROM THE
POINT OF VIEW OF GOD'S CHARACTER AND ATTRIBUTES: THE DIVINE REPLY (S).

(vii. 132-viii. 62.)

- (a) vii. 132-viii. 3. Will God—so merciful and compassionate—suffer so many to perish? (S.)

132 And I answered and said: I know, Lord, that the Most High is now called compassionate in that

^{χεν} (= *Ethiop.*) ^{a-a} reading non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum (cf. S) ^{r-r} ^u perennis spes
^{a-a} cf. *Ethiop.*: ^u ingratis locis (confusing *τροπος* and *τοπος*); so S ^{t-t} ^u cogitamentum = ο *διαλογισμος* = πη
(law, condition) ^{u-u} so S: ^u quoniam

(4) vii. 116-131. It thus having been demonstrated that no possibility of escape from eternal punishment exists for the doomed race of sinners, the seer now bursts forth into a passionate lamentation over the fate of the mass of humanity. It would have been better if Adam had not been created with freedom of will to sin, than that his descendants should be born only to be doomed. To promise them happiness and immortality on conditions which they must almost inevitably fail to keep is but to mock their misery. To this the archangel can only reply that such are the conditions of the fight; there will be more joy in heaven over those who attain salvation than sorrow over the many who perish.

116. that the earth had not produced. Cf. iii. 5.

or else . . . to have restrained him from sinning. Cf., for the thought, vii. 63.

118. the fall was not thine alone, but ours also. Adam is here charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race; cf. vii. 20f., iv. 30-31, and contrast 2 Bar. liv. 19.

122. is to defend. For the idea of the divine glory (= the Shekinah) being a protection to the righteous, cf. the Rabbinic phrase 'to take refuge under the wings of the Shekinah' (*T. B. Shabb.* 31a, &c., of one acknowledging God), Moses when dead lay in its pinions (*Sifre*, 355).

123. Paradise, i.e. the heavenly Paradise.

wherein (i.e. in which fruit) is delight and healing. For the representation cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12 (Rev. xxii. 2).

125. of such as have practised abstinence. The ascetic note here is discernible. For ascetic tendencies in Rabbinic theology cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 277-8.

shall shine above the stars. Cf. Dan. xii. 3 and Matt. xii. 43.

whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness. The conception at the background of the clause is that of sinners being banished to night and darkness (cf. the phrase in the Gospels, 'to be cast forth into the outer darkness', Matt. viii. 12, &c.). The conception of hell as a place of fire is a distinct and more developed one.

129. Choose thee life, that thou mayst live. Cf. Deut. xxx. 19. Such words are interpreted in later Judaism in a deeper sense: 'life' = eternal life, the blessed life in heaven. In the original context 'life' = natural life (regarded as the highest of boons). Cf. Gunkel, *ad loc.*

(5) vii. 132-viii. 62. The seer's doubts still remain. In a fine passage he acknowledges (and implicitly appeals to) the divine mercy and compassion, which are displayed in manifold ways in the present order. This suggests a question which is not directly expressed: Is it possible to reconcile the final perdition of so many with the divine mercy? In reply he is told that the present world is for the many, the future world for the few (vii. 132-viii. 3). Again he asks: Is it possible that God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite care and skill, can have been created only to perish? With this question the seer gives up the problem of the race, and turns to his own people (viii. 4-19). For

S 133 he compassionates those who have not yet come into the world; and gracious, in that he is gracious
 134 towards those ^v who return to his law ^v: and longsuffering, because he shows longsuffering to sinners
 135, 136 ^w as his creatures ^w; and ^x bountiful ^x, since he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact; and of
 great mercy, because he multiplies mercies so greatly to those who are in existence, and who have
 137 passed away, and who are to come:—for if he did not multiply ^y mercy ^y the world with its
 138 inhabitants could not attain unto life—^z and good (?), for if in his goodness he were not gracious ^z, so
 that evil-doers might be eased of their iniquities, the ten thousandth part of mankind could not attain
 139 unto life; and ^a forgiving, for if he did not pardon ^a those that were created by his word, and blot
 140 out the multitude ^b of their iniquities ^b, there would, perchance, be very few left of an innumerable
 multitude.

8 1 And he answered me and said: This age the Most High has made for many, but the age to come
 2 for few. I will tell thee, now, a similitude, *Ezra*: as, when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto
 thee that it produces much more mould from which earthen vessels are made, but little dust from
 3 which gold comes; so also is ^c the course ^c of the present age. Many have been created, but few
 shall be saved!

^{v-v} so *§ Ethiop.* *¶* [illis] qui faciunt conversionem in lege eius

^{x-x} reading munificus: *§* (cf. *Ethiop.*) giver

quoniam si non donaverit (see *EA*, p. 167 f.)

and the righteous judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon (see *EA*, p. 169)

^{b-b} *¶* contemptum = τῶν ἀσθενειῶν: *§* of their sins (= τῶν ἀδικημάτων)

^{w-w} *¶* quasi suis operibus

^{z-z} reading et donator

^{a-a} *¶* et iudex (quoniam) si non ignoverit: *Simonsen* reads:

^{c-c} *¶* actus (= παρῆς:

them and for himself he utters a beautiful prayer, appealing to God to have compassion on those who are destitute of good works (viii. 20-36). The angel briefly replies (viii. 37-40), and proceeds to compare man on the earth to seed. As the husbandman sows much seed, but only part comes up, so out of the multitude of created men only a part shall be saved. The seer answers that much seed perishes for lack or because of excess of rain, and once again appeals to the divine compassion (viii. 41-45). The divine reply that follows (viii. 46-62) constitutes a general answer to what precedes. The seer is told that his love falls far below God's for God's creature; his (the seer's) humility is, however, commended, and he is assured of felicity with the righteous. He is bidden to ask no more questions regarding the fate of the lost, who have brought their doom upon themselves.

(a) vii. 132-viii. 3. The seer, in his fine appeal to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness, obviously has in mind the passage of Scripture which has become classical in this connexion, Exod. xxxiv. 6-7 ('Jahveh . . . a God compassionate and gracious, longsuffering and of great mercy and faithfulness; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). This had already become a stereotyped formula of address to or description of God when the later books of the O. T. were written, and many reminiscences of the language used occur (cf. e.g. Neh. ix. 17, Joel ii. 13, Jonah iv. 2, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, &c.; also Sirach ii. 11 and Wisd. xv. 1). The passage is doubtless based upon, or interweaves, a Midrash on Exod. xxxiv. 6-7, as Prof. Simonsen holds; see further *EA*, pp. 164-165.

132. those who have not yet come into the world. God, in spite of His foreknowledge which enables Him to foresee man's future sins before he is born, is yet tender and compassionate towards him, treating him as righteous and free from sin until he actually commits sin; cf. *Midr. rabb.* to Gen. xxi. 17, where God says 'I judge man' (as to whether he is righteous or wicked) 'according to his time' (i.e. as he is at the time, without taking into account his future sins). In the passage Ishmael (not yet having sinned) is counted as pious.

133. who return to his law. God compassionates man both before he sins (v. 132), and also after he has sinned and made his repentance.

135. he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact. Cf. the following (from *Seder Eliahu*, p. 135): 'God bestows gifts on those who know him and on those who know him not and do not deserve his gifts.' Simonsen understands the clause to mean: God is ready to forgive guilt rather than exact punishment.

137. could not attain unto life, i.e. the future (eternal) 'life'. This agrees with the doctrine of the school of Shammai, according to which the truly pious passed at once, after death, to bliss; the very wicked went at once to Gehenna; while the intermediate class (which comprised the vast majority) were only consigned to Gehenna for a time, God's goodness and kindness being shown in allowing their release therefrom, so that they ultimately passed to eternal life (so Simonsen).

138. and good (?), for if in his goodness, &c. On the textual phenomena of this verse cf. *EA*, p. 167.

139. forgiving. The Lat. has *iudex*, judge; so the other versions. This has usually been supposed to be based on an erroneous reading in the original Hebrew text (שופט for שומט). For a brilliant alternative solution (by Simonsen) see crit. note.

140. very few. Simonsen's suggestion is to read the text of *vv.* 139-140: 'and the righteous Judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon, &c. (Heb. וְשֹׁפֵט בְּצִדְקָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשָּׂא פָנִים וּוּ). This affords a fine paraphrase of Exod. xxxiv. 7 ('forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). God's attributes of mercy are pleaded all through the passage, and the conclusion reached is that if God did not possess these attributes nearly all created would be involved in perdition. This accords with one of the traditional interpretations of the words which follow the second clause of Exod. xxxiv. 7 cited above, viz. וְנָקָה לֹא יִנָּקֶה; i.e. (according to the interpretation referred to) 'He will not utterly extinguish'.

The seer thus, as Moses himself (Num. xiv. 17-18), pleads the revelation of God's attributes made in Exod. xxxiv. 6-7 in mitigation of the severity of the divine judgement. He does so, however, in a paraphrastic form which suggests a midrashic influence.

viii. 3. Many . . . created . . . few . . . saved. Cf. Matt. xxii. 14. The illustration in *vv.* 1-3 is parallel both in thought and expression with vii. 49-61.

(b) viii. 4-19. *Can God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite skill and labour, perish finally?* (S.)

S 4 And I answered and said:

^dO my soul, drink thy fill of understanding^d,
And, ^eO heart^e, ^ffeed on wisdom^f!

5 ^gInvoluntarily thou camest (into the world),
and when thou wilt not departest^g:

6 for ^hpermission^h has been given to thee only to live a brief time. ⁱO Lord above usⁱ, if thou
wouldst but suffer thy servant to pray before thee; and wouldst give unto us the seed of a new
heart and culture to our understanding, whence fruit may come, whereby every corruptible one may
7 be able to live, who bears ^jthe form of man^j! For one art thou ^kand we are all one fashioning,
8 the work of thine hands^k, as thou hast said. ^lAnd when^l thou quickenest ^mthe body which thou
fashionest in the womb^m, and endowest it with members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water,
and nine months does that which thou hast fashioned (i. e. the womb) bear thy creature ⁿwhich thou
9 hast created within itⁿ. But ^othat which keeps and that which is kept^o are both kept ^pby thy
10 keeping^p. And when the womb gives up again ^qwhat has been created in it^q, thou hast commanded
that out of the members themselves, ^rthat is out of the breasts^r, milk, the fruit of the breasts, should
11 be provided, that what has been fashioned may be nourished for a time.

12 And afterwards thou sustainest it in thy mercy
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
Thou disciplinest it through thy law,
and reprovest it in thy wisdom.

13 Thou wilt kill it—as (it is) thy creature,
and quicken it—as (it is) thy work!

14 If, then, ^swith a light word^s thou shalt destroy him who with such infinite labour has been
15 fashioned by thy command, ^tto what purpose was he made^t? But now I will say: Concerning
man in general, ^uthou knowest best^u, but concerning

Heb. דָּרַךְ ^{d-d} so S = absorbe anima mea sensum: Lat. MSS. absolve ^{a-o} cf. S my heart: Ethiop. = το ους
(? for τον νοον): L > ^{f-f} L devoret quod sapit (Greek ? καταφαγε το φρονουν) ^{g-g} so S: L (misreading ακουσα
as ακουσαι) convenisti enim obaudire et profecta es nolens ^{h-h} L spatium (= ? συγχωρησις (cf. S power) ⁱ⁻ⁱ L O
Domine super nos (so v. 45): S O Lord my Lord (so v. 45) ^{j-j} so S: L locum hominis (confusing τονον and τυπον)
^{k-k} so S: L et una plasmatio nos sumus manuum tuarum ^{l-l} L et quoniam (= και οτι: for ore) ^{m-m} L nunc
in matrice plasmatum corpus (= prob. שאתה יוצר בכבן—the two middle words being misread יוצר שעתה)
ⁿ⁻ⁿ so S: L quae in eo creata est ^{o-o} reading ipsum [quod servat et] quod servatur (C) = S A C > words in
brackets ^{p-p} reading servatione tua = S Ethiop. ^{q-q} reading quae in ea creata fuerint ^{r-r} L [membris]
hoc est mamillis: S > [clause may be a gloss] ^{s-s} L facili ordine (= κομφη ταξει: Heb. ? ברבר קל [Gunkel]):
S suddenly and quickly ^{t-t} L et ut quid (= ινα τι και: Heb. ולמה): so Oriental VSS. ^{u-u} L tu magis scis
(= συ μαλλον οιδας)

(b) viii. 4-19.

4. **O my soul . . . feed on wisdom.** The sentiment expressed in this verse serves to reveal the seer's despair of being able to solve the problem by intellectual means. As the discussion proceeds it seems to become ever more unfathomable.

5. **Involuntarily thou camest . . . departest.** Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 14 f.; also xiv. 11.

only to live a brief time. Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 12.

6. **the seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding.** S renders: 'the seed and culture of a new heart.' Possibly 'seed of a new heart' is right. In this case the seer asks for that 'transformation by the renewing of the mind' (τη ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός), of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. xii. 2; cf. Eph. iv. 23), and which amounts to ἀναγεννήσις. The *cor malignum* is to be replaced by a *cor novum*, and the *granum seminis mali* (iv. 30) by the *semen cordis novi*. The epithet 'new' is only found in the Syr.

whereby . . . may . . . live, who bears the form of man. The meaning of the whole verse is well paraphrased by Volkmar: 'O that thou wouldst grant unto thy human children not merely physical life, but also the seed of spiritual life and understanding to be cultivated (by them), so that thereby they might attain true life!'

7. **as thou hast said.** Isa. xlv. 11, lx. 21; cf. lxx. 14 f. The combination of the assertion of God's uniqueness and unity (*solus enim es*) and of His Fatherhood as the one Creator of all is notable; cf. vi. 1-6.

8. **thy creature is preserved in fire and water.** There is here a clear allusion to the Oriental doctrine that man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements ('the things that have intermingled with thy growth', iv. 10, cf. note there). Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51, where the human body is spoken of as compounded from earth, water, air, and fire: for Rabbinic views on the same subject cf. Weber, p. 210 f.

and nine months . . . bear thy creature which thou hast created within it, i. e. within the womb.

13. **Thou wilt kill it . . . quicken it . . . thy work.** Volkmar paraphrases: 'Thou wilt indeed bring man to death, as he is a creature of thine: but thou wilt—such is my hope—summon him also to renewed life, because thou hast once given him (physical) life.' Cf. for a somewhat similar sentiment 1 Sam. ii. 6 ('J. kills and makes alive: he brings down to Sheol and brings up'). The reference will then be to the future life: 'quicken' may, however, mean only 'to preserve alive' (God kills, or allows 'His creature' to live, as He will, viz. in this life). Cf. also 2 Kings v. 7; Deut. xxxii. 39.

14. **him who with such infinite labour has been fashioned.** Cf. Ps. cxxxix. 14 f.

- S 16 Thy people, on whose account I grieve,
and thine inheritance for which I mourn,
And Israel for whom I am sad,
and Jacob's seed for whom I am dismayed—
17 ^v Therefore I would fain pray before thee for myself and for them! For I see ^w the falls ^w of us
18 that dwell in the land, ^x and now also ^x have heard ^y the decree of judgement ^y that is to come!
19 Therefore hear my voice,
and ^z consider my words ^z,
and let me speak before thee!

(c) viii. (19 b) 20-40. *The seer's prayer for compassion on his people, and the divine reply* (S).

(i.)

The Prayer.

- 19 ^a [*The beginning* ^b of the words of the Prayer ^b of Ezra before he was taken up. And he said:] ^a
20 O Lord ^c that dwellest eternally ^c,
^d whose are the highest heavens ^d,
whose chambers are in the air,
21 Whose throne is beyond imagination,
whose glory inconceivable;

^v S for behold ^{w-w} L lapsos (= lapsus: ? τα πτωματα) ^{x-x} so S: L sed ^{y-y} so S: L celeritatem
iudicii (= απορομαι κρισεως: Heb. נִוֵּר רִין: cf. partem iudicii, v. 34) ^{z-z} L intellege sermonum meorum
(Greek construction): S accept the words of my prayer ^{a-a} This superscription is no part of the original
text of the book; but it must have come into the text very early, as it is attested by S and Ethiop. Its presence shows
clearly that the passage was early singled out for separate use for liturgical or devotional purposes ^{b-b} so S
(cf. Ethiop.): L (b) verbi orationis (a) verborum ^{c-c} so S: L qui inhabitas (b habitas) saeculum ^{d-d} so L
(b) cuius altissimi celi (= caeli) sunt: cf. S whose heights (= heavens) are exalted: L (a) cuius oculi elati

16. thine inheritance. Cf. v. 45; Ps. xxviii. 9.

Jacob's seed. Cf. iii. 19.

(c) viii. (19 b) 20-40. The beautiful prayer which follows (viii. 20-36) opens with an invocation to God as the eternal, exalted, and omnipotent One, who is appealed to as the Creator to listen to the petition of one who is His creature (vv. 20-25); a prayer that God will have compassion on His people and regard those who have been loyal to His Law rather than its transgressors follows (vv. 26-30); finally an appeal is made to the fact that God has in the past been so 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. v. 32). The first part of the divine reply that follows (vv. 37-40), while apparently favourable to the seer's petition, really ignores or even negatives it. God will indeed, says the angel, have regard rather to the righteous than to the sinners. He will rejoice over the salvation of the former rather than grieve over, or even think of, the destruction of the latter! The issue is not squarely faced. For a similar indirect reply to the same issue expressed in another form cf. vii. 17 f.; cf. also vii. 64 compared with vii. 71 f.

The apocalyptic writer is still baffled by the problem of the lost. He is still struggling to arrive at a satisfactory solution from the point of view of the Law. One motive of the prayer seems to be to suggest the possibility that the merits of the righteous might avail for the salvation of sinners in Israel—the sinners intended being, it would seem, those mainly who repudiate the divine Law with a high hand and live as the very heathen (cf. vv. 27-30). But the divine reply makes it clear that no such hope can be entertained. Thus the problem of the lost, even when restricted to Israel, remains unsolved. The beauty of the prayer itself has led to its being excerpted and used for liturgical and devotional purposes. As a consequence the Latin manuscript authorities for this particular passage are more numerous than for the text of the rest of the book. It occurs in a separate form in a number of MSS. of the Latin Bible, and also in MSS. of the Mozarabic Liturgy, some of which are earlier than Codices A and S (cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 34). The title often prefixed to the passage is *Confessio Esdrae*.

Another curious and important fact to notice is that the Latin authorities yield two distinct recensions of the text: i.e. two distinct and more or less independent Latin translations of the Greek text of the passage appear to have been made at different times: but, strangely enough, neither recension seems to be represented in a pure form in any extant MS. The two recensions have been reconstructed (with the aid of fresh manuscript evidence) by Violet; and these are referred to below as text *a* (= the normal text of the liturgical MSS. and of S A C) and text *b* (= the divergent text especially represented in M). Both recensions attest good Greek readings, and it is impossible to say which is the older. See further the detailed discussion in *BJ* ('The Two Texts of the Confessio Esdrae'), pp. lxxx-lxxxvi; also Violet, Introduction, § 13 (pp. xxvi-xxix). There is a prayer in 2 Baruch which similarly has a separate title ('Prayer of Baruch'), ch. xlvi. The prayer in *Constit. Apost.* viii. 7 should also be compared.

20. whose are the highest heavens. For the general thought cf. Ps. ciii. 11; Deut. x. 14.

whose chambers are in the air. The figure is derived from an older conception according to which the world was thought of as a house consisting of two stories, in the upper of which God had His dwelling, while the lower formed the world as we see it (Gunkel). Here, however, transcendental ideas are dominant. Perhaps the heavenly Paradise was in the writer's mind.

21. throne is beyond imagination. The mystery of God's throne is the theme of Ezek. i ('the chariot').

whose glory inconceivable. God's glory would suggest to the Jewish mind the ineffable light of the divine presence which pervades heaven; cf. Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

- S^e before whom (heaven's) hosts stand trembling^e,
^f and at thy word change to wind and fire^f;
 22 whose word is sure,
 and behest constant,
 23 whose commandment is strong
 and enactment terrible;
 whose look drieth up the depths,
 whose indignation melteth the mountains;
 whose faithfulness^g standeth eternal^g—
 24 Hear^h the voice^h of thy servant,
 give ear toⁱ thy creature's petitionⁱ,
 and attend to my words!
 25 For so long as I live must I speak,
 and while I possess understanding, answer—
 26 O look not on the sins of thy people,
 but on them that have served thee in truth;
 27 Regard not the deeds of the godless,
 but (rather) them that have kept thy covenants in tortures;
 28 ^j Think not^j upon those that have walked in devious ways before thee,
 but remember them that have willingly recognized thy fear;
 29 Will not to destroy those that have lived like cattle,
 but regard them that have gloriously taught thy Law;
 30 Be not wroth with those that are deemed worse than the beasts,
 but love them that have always put their trust in thy glory—

^{e-g} \mathbb{L} (a) cui adstat exercitus angelorum cum tremore: (b) cui adsunt (v. l. assistant) milicie (militiae) cum pavore
^{f-f} \mathbb{L} (b) et dicto tuo in ventum et ignem convertuntur (= \mathbb{S} ; cf. *Ethiop.*): \mathbb{L} (a) quorum servatio in vento et igni
 convertitur ^{g-g} so *Ar.*² (rightly): \mathbb{L} testificatur = \mathbb{S} (cf. *Ethiop.*): The Greek translator wrongly rendered the
Heb. עֹמֶד לְעַד (which = standeth for ever) as standeth as a witness (misreading לְעַד as לְעַד): apparently the
 mistake was corrected in the Codex used by *Ar.*² ^{h-h} so \mathbb{L} (b) = \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.* *Ar.*¹: \mathbb{L} (a) and *Ar.*² prayer ⁱ⁻ⁱ so
 \mathbb{L} (a): \mathbb{L} (b) deprecationi meae tui plasmati = other *VSS.* ^{j-j} \mathbb{L} neque cogites (= μηδε λογισον): so \mathbb{S} : *Ethiop.*
 be not angry (= μη οργιζου): so *Ar.*¹

and at thy word change to wind and fire. The meaning is that the angelic watchers serve before God by changing at His word into wind and fire. Cf. for the representation Ps. ciii. (Heb. civ.) 4 in the LXX, which renders: 'who makes his angels winds (πνεύματα) and his ministers a flaming fire'. The Heb. text of the passage can be rendered in this way, though it is not usually so rendered (cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses*², p. 262 f.); our passage, therefore, is an interesting addition to the ancient authorities (LXX, Targ. substantially) for so understanding it. The reference here to angelic agency must not, however, be unduly pressed. One of the most remarkable features of 4 Ezra (and especially of S) is its practical ignoring of angelic and demonic agencies. Our present passage is in a poetical context and implies little more than that behind physical phenomena there is to be seen the activity of agents in the service of God. Of the crude popular angelology, with its distinct orders and personal names, there is here no trace.

22. **constant.** Lat. text *a*, *perseverantia*; text *b*, *permanens* = (?) διαμένει. The Heb. equivalent would be יָצִיב: cf. Ps. cxix. (LXX, cxviii.) 89, where *permanet* (Vulg.) = διαμένει (LXX) = Heb. יָצִיב and the subject is God's 'word' ('thy word is fixed in heaven'). There seems to be a clear allusion here to one of the oldest prayers in the synagogue liturgy, the benediction which follows the *Shēma* and is known as *gē'ulla* (Redemption). This piece begins with the two words used in our passage, viz. 'sure (or 'true') and constant' (Heb. יָצִיב וְאֵמֶת), and is so referred to in the oldest Rabbinical sources (cf. e.g. Mishna, *Tamid* v. 1); and the subject of the opening part of the benediction is God's word: 'True and constant, established and enduring . . . is this thy word (i.e. the preceding *Shēma*) unto us for ever,' &c. (cf. Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (Heb.-English), p. 42 f.).

23. **whose look drieth up . . . eternal.** The whole of this clause appears in the *Const. Apost.* viii. 7 οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἀβυσσον καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The seer here appeals to the wonders of creation (according to an older tradition) as attesting God's power. Cf. in Deutero-Isaiah a similar passage (l. 2) introduced with a similar motive and reference ('Behold with my rebuke I parch the sea'); cf. also li. 10 and the introductions to the sections in the present writer's *Isaiah*.

melteth the mountains. An eschatological feature derived from the representation of the destruction of the world by fire; cf. Mic. i. 4; Sir. xvi. 18 f.

27. **them that have kept thy covenants in tortures.** Such witnesses for the faith as the famous seven Maccabean martyrs are probably referred to.

28. **thy fear**, i.e. the fear of Thee. 'The fear of Jahveh' is a well-known term for religion, or the Law as revered (cf. Ps. xix. 10).

29. **those that have lived like cattle.** Probably Jews who live like heathen are in the author's mind. See *EA*, p. 181.

that have gloriously taught thy Law, i.e. the orthodox scribes. For the expression cf. Dan. xii. 3, Matt. v. 14-15.

30. **those that are deemed worse than the beasts**, i.e. live worse than the heathen (a class of Jews even worse than those described in the previous verse). Is there an allusion here to Jewish informers who betray their own countrymen to heathen officials?

- S 31 For we and our fathers ^k have passed our lives in ways that bring death^k: but thou, because of
 32 us sinners, art called compassionate. For if thou hast a desire to compassionate us who have no
 33 works of righteousness, then shalt thou be called 'the gracious One'. For the righteous, who have
 many works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive their reward—
 34 But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?
 Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?
 35 For in truth
 There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,
 and ^l among those that exist^l who has not sinned.
 36 For in this, O Lord, shall thy righteousness and goodness be declared, if thou wilt compassionate
 them that have no wealth of good works.

(ii.)

The Divine Reply.

- 37 Then he answered me and said: Some things thou hast spoken aright, and according to thy
 38 words so shall it come to pass. For indeed I will not concern myself about the creation of those
 39 who have sinned, or their death, judgement, or perdition; but I will rejoice (rather) ^m over the creation
 40 of the righteous, (over) their pilgrimage also and their salvation and their recompense ^m. ⁿ As thou
 hast spoken ⁿ, then, so shall it be!

(d) viii. 41-45. *Mankind is like the seed sown by the husbandman* (S).

[The speaker here is still the angel.]

- 41 For just as the husbandman sows much seed ^o upon the ground ^o and plants a multitude of plants,
 and yet not all which were sown shall be saved in due season, nor shall all that were planted take
 42 root; so also they that are sown in the world shall not all be saved. And I answered and said: If
 43 I have found favour before thee, let me speak ^p. ^q The husbandman's seed, if it come not up—
 because it has not received thy rain in due season ^r—or if it be ruined by too much rain, ^s perishes;
 44 but the son of man ^s who has been fashioned with thine own hands, ^t and is made like thine own
 image ^t, for whose sake thou hast fashioned all things—^u hast thou likened him to the seed of the
 husbandman ^u?
 45 ^v Nay, Lord God! ^v but
 spare thy people,
 compassionate thine inheritance,
 for thou compassionatest thine own creation!

^{k-k} reading (L text a) mortalibus moribus egimus (L (b) corruptum locum egimus = φθαρτον τοπον [for τροπον] διηχθμεν): see further EA, p. 182 ^{l-l} L (a) de confitentibus (read confientibus = συνεστηκωτων): see further EA, p. 184 ^{m-m} L super iustorum figmentum peregrinationis quoque et salvationis et mercedis receptionis (for explanation of wrong construction see EA, p. 185) ⁿ⁻ⁿ so Ethiop.: L and other VSS, as I have said ^{o-o} so L = Ar.; S Ethiop. > ^p S + before thee (cf. Ethiop.) ^q L pr. quoniam (= οτι introducing direct speech, and therefore not to be translated: R.V. wrongly forasmuch) ^{r-r} so L: S will then the husbandman's seed, if it does not receive thy rain in its season, live? ^{s-s} reading (with Gunkel) sic patitur; et filius homo (L corrupt: M sic pat et filius: SAC hic pater et filius: see further EA, p. 187) ^{t-t} L et tuae imagini [nominatus quoniam] similatus est: the bracketed words are to be omitted with S (cf. Ethiop. Ar.): see further EA, p. 187 ^{u-u} to be taken as a question: so Oriental VSS. ^{v-v} reading non Domine super nos

33. shall . . . receive their reward. Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 12.
 34. that thou canst be so bitter towards it. The whole verse recalls the bitter parody in Job vii. 17 f.; cf. Ps. viii. 4.
 37. according to thy words . . . shall it come to pass. The angel refers to the form the seer's petition had taken: that God would regard not the sinners but the righteous. This part of the petition shall be granted, but in a totally different sense from that intended in the prayer. God will ignore the destruction of the godless, and think only of the achievements of the righteous! For a similar turning of expressions in the dialogue cf. vii. 64, 71 f.
 39. over the creation . . . recompense. The three words, 'pilgrimage', 'salvation', 'recompense', form contrasted expressions to 'death', 'judgement', and 'perdition' in the previous verse: so 'pilgrimage' (= ἀποδημία) must mean departure from this life to a better, a return home to God; cf. 2 Cor. v. 6 f. for the idea. 'Salvation' here may mean the state of safety, security, and peace of the righteous dead in the intermediate state.

(d) viii. 41-45.

44. hast thou likened him . . . husbandman? To be taken as a question (against R.V.); so the Oriental Versions rightly. The seer warmly protests against the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels. For the image cf. also 4 Ezra iv. 28 f.

45. for thou compassionatest thine own creation, i.e. for (in doing so) thou compassionatest (or wilt compassionate); the creature appeals to the Creator. Note the passionate, almost despairing note of entreaty. The seer is all but overwhelmed with anguish in the face of the problem that confronts him.

(e) viii. 46-62. *The final divine reply: The seer is assured that his lot is with the blessed, and is bidden to contemplate their felicity, and not to think of the fate of sinners (S).*

- S 46 And he answered me and said:
 Things present (match) them of the present,
 Things future them of the future!
 47 For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I!
 Thou, however, hast many times ^wranged thyself with ^wthe ungodly. *This must not be!*
 48, 49 But even on this account thou shalt be honourable before the Most High; because thou hast humbled thyself, as it becomes thee, ^yand hast not assigned thyself a place ^yamong the righteous;
 50 and so thou shalt receive the greater glory. *For* with many afflictions shall they be afflicted that
 51 inhabit the world in the last times, because they have walked in great pride. But do thou (rather) ^athink of thine own case ^a, and of them who are like thyself search out the glory.
 52 For for you
 is opened Paradise,
 planted the Tree of life;
 the future Age prepared,
 plenteousness made ready;

^{w-w} \mathbb{L} te et ipsum proximasti [iniustis] ^{x-x} so \mathbb{S} (= $\mu\eta$ ουτως): \mathbb{L} numquam (= $\mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$) ^{y-y} \mathbb{L} et non iudicasti te ^{a-a} so \mathbb{S} (= $\sigma\tau\iota$): \mathbb{L} propter quod (= $\delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota$) ^{a-a} \mathbb{L} pro te intellege

(e) viii. 46-62. In the reply that follows the angel lightly brushes aside the seer's objection to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the field, by reminding him that the simile suits the present corruptible order; with the future it will be different. Moreover, God's love of His creatures far exceeds that of any other being. A remarkable passage follows in which the seer's self-identification with sinners is partly rebuked and partly commended. He is told not to range himself with the ungodly, but his humility in doing so is commended. Many shall be brought to ruin in the last times by the sin of pride. But let the seer contemplate the glory that awaits him with other righteous—the delights of Paradise, and the abolition of evil, death, and corruption. Let no more questions be asked as to the lost, who have deserved their fate, because they have defied the Most High, and scorned the benefits prepared for them. The conclusion of this section, which follows in ix. 13-22, sets forth the almost total corruption of the world as due to man's sin. Only a remnant of the sinful mass has been rescued with difficulty and by the grace of God.

Here we have the apologia of orthodox Judaism as S conceived it. It is the best answer that can be furnished, from the orthodox standpoint, to meet the objections and difficulties that have been raised; and with it the seer has, perforce to be content. But, at the best, his doubts and perplexities can only have been stilled, they cannot have been really satisfied, by such a reply.

46. **Things present . . . future.** Gunkel renders crisply: 'Heute den heutigen, einst den Einstigen!' For the form of the sentence cf. vii. 25 (*vacua vacuis et plena plenis*). Hilg. renders: $\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$; i.e. present things are like present people, &c. The angel brushes aside the seer's objection (raised in v. 44) to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields, by reminding him that both the comparison and the thing compared belonged to the present order; the future (and all that belongs to it) has standards of its own. Here, again, the dualism of present and future is marked. Cf. vii. 16.

47. **to love my creation.** Cf. v. 33, note.

50. **in the last times.** It should be remembered, however, that the conceptions of S and E regarding 'the last times' are very different. While S thinks of this period as an evil time, when a generation lives that is distinguished by overweening arrogance and pride, and upon which judgement will descend suddenly, according to E the last period is to be a time of felicity for a righteous generation (cf. vi. 26-28), while according to R the final period is the (temporary) Messianic one of 400 years (vii. 28-29).

because they have walked in great pride. The emphasis laid by the author on the virtue of humility and the sin of pride is remarkable. The latter was a conspicuous and besetting fault of a section of the Pharisaic party in the first half of the first century (cf. Mark xii. 38 f., Matt. xxiii. 5 f.; cf. also for a more general reference Luke xiv. 7-11); and the present passage seems to be directed by the author against some of his contemporaries (end of first century A.D.).

51. **of them who are like thyself**, i.e. those whose destiny is like thine own—the righteous dead who in the intermediate state enjoy righteousness and peace, and who are to enjoy even greater glory after the Judgement. Here Salathiel is the subject. Contrast xiv. 9, where Ezra is the subject.

52. **for you is opened Paradise.** In vv. 52-54 the 'glory' spoken of in v. 51 is unfolded in a series of explicit references detailing the happy accompaniments of the future life of the righteous in heaven. In accordance with a mode of representation common in apocalyptic literature these various sources of happiness and delight are declared to be already in existence, prepared beforehand and held in reserve for the future delectation of the righteous. The contemplation of these future joys is regarded as a source of perennial consolation to the faithful in their trials and tribulations on earth: cf. in the N.T. such passages as 1 Pet. i. 4 ('an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, &c.'). Heb. xi. 16, &c. See further Volz, p. 124 f.

By 'Paradise' here is meant the heavenly Paradise, which was shut up on account of Adam's sin, and which will be opened after the last Judgement to receive the righteous and elect. See, further, the additional note in EA, p. 195.

planted the Tree of life. The idealized 'Tree of Life' is one of the striking features of the heavenly Paradise on which the apocalypists love to dwell. Cf. vii. 123; Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2; 1 En. xxiv f.

- S a City builded,
a Rest appointed;
b Good works established^b,
c wisdom preconstituted^c;
53 The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
d Hades fled away^d;
e Corruption forgotten^e,
sorrows passed away;
54 and in the end^f the treasures of immortality^f are made manifest.
55, 56 Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish; for having received liberty
they despised the Most High;
scorned his Law,
and g forsook^g his ways:
57, 58 Moreover^h his saints^h they have trodden under foot; and have said in their heart that there
59 is no God—yea, though knowing full well that they must die. ⁱTherefore asⁱ the things aforesaid
j abide for you^j, so thirst and anguish^k await them^k. For the Most High willed not that men
60 should come to destruction; but they—his creatures—have themselves defiled the Name of him
that made them, and have proved themselves ungrateful to him who prepared^l life for them^l.
61, 62 Therefore my judgement is now nigh at hand; and this I have not made known unto all men,
but only unto thee and to a few like thee.

(6) THE SIGNS OF THE END REVIEWED AND APPLIED TO THE AUTHOR'S
OWN TIMES (R) (E).

(viii. 63-ix. 12.)

- R 63 Then I answered and said: Behold, O Lord, thou hast already shown me a great number of the
signs which thou art about to do in the last times, but at what time thou hast not shown me.

b-b perfecta est bonitas e-c \mathbb{L} ante perfecta sapientia d-d \mathbb{L} infernum fugit e-e so \mathbb{S} : \mathbb{L} et corruptio in oblivionem,
which joined with the previous clause infernum fugit has led to the rendering¹ hell and corruption are fled into forgetful-
ness¹ (R. V.) f-f so \mathbb{S} : \mathbb{L} thesaurus immortalitatis g-g so \mathbb{L} Ethiop. (= κατελιπον): \mathbb{S} they made to cease (= κατελυον)
h-h so \mathbb{S} (= τοις οσιους αυτου): \mathbb{L} iustos eius (= τοις δικαιους αυτου): so Ethiop. i-i so \mathbb{S} (cf. Ethiop.): \mathbb{L} sicut
enim j-j so \mathbb{S} : \mathbb{L} vos suscipient k-k \mathbb{L} quae parata sunt which prob. disguises a verb (= ? μελλει Heb. יִהְיֶה)

a City builded, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem which will more than compensate for the loss of the earthly city. Apparently S did not contemplate a restoration or rebuilding of the earthly Jerusalem. See further, EA, p. 198f.

a Rest appointed. The 'rest of God' is the final sabbath-rest (σαββατισμός, Heb. iv. 9) which awaits the people of God.

Good works established (founded). Cf. Eph. ii. 10.

wisdom preconstituted. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

53. The (evil) root is sealed up from you. Cf. iii. 22.

Death is hidden. For the abolition of death cf. Isa. xxv. 8; 2 En. lxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 14.

Hades fled away. Cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 3; notice the personification of Hades, as in Rev. vi. 8. For the juxtaposition of Death and Hades cf. Isa. xxviii. 15; Rev. i. 18, xx. 12, 14.

54. and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest. The sequence of thought in vv. 53-54 is noticeable; first the sources of sin are abolished, then its consequences (death, Hades, corruption, sorrows), and lastly the positive boons of the future life are revealed (the treasures of immortality).

59. thirst and anguish. For the representation cf. Luke xvi. 24.

62. to a few like thee, i.e. prophets (apocalyptists) like Salathiel or Ezra.

(6) viii. 63-ix. 12. At this point the divine reply in the dialogue (of S) is interrupted by a section which has obvious affinities with the eschatological sections describing the signs of the approaching End, derived from the older source E (iv. 56-v. 13a, vi. 11-28). It has been inserted in its present position by R, who, as in vii. 26-44, has embodied other material summarized partly from S. The composite character of the section as thus described will appear from an examination of its contents.

The seer begins by asking to be informed something as to the time of the End. He is told in reply to note carefully that when a certain number of the predicted signs are past, that is the very time when the Most High will visit the world (ix. 2). A short enumeration of the Messianic 'woes' follows—describing a time of physical, social, and political convulsions (ix. 3). This is particularly interesting here as it seems clear that R intends this description to apply to the times in which he himself is living (ix. 4-6). All who are able to escape by works or by faith shall see God's salvation (i.e. the Messianic Age that precedes the End of the world) within the borders of the Holy Land, which has been sanctified from the beginning (ix. 7, 8). The verses that follow (ix. 9-12) recall the tone of S, and have probably been derived in some way from that source by R. They describe the punishment and pains of those who have defied the Law and been unbelieving. Their punishment comes immediately after death, in accordance

R 9¹ And he answered me and said: Measure (the matter) carefully in thy mind, and when thou seest
 2 that ^ma certain part^m of the predicted signs are past, then shalt thou understand that it is the very
 3 time when the Most High is about to visit the world which he has made. When in the world there
 shall appear

E
ⁿ quakings of placesⁿ,
 tumult of peoples,
^o schemings of nations^o,
^p confusion of leaders^p,
 disquietude of princes,

R (E) 4 then shalt thou understand that it is of these things the Most High has spoken since the days that
 5 were aforetime from the beginning. For just as ^uwith respect to all that has happened in the world ^u
 6 ^rthe beginning is obscure (?), but the end (issue) manifest^r, so also are the times of the Most High:
 the beginnings ^aare [visible]^a in portents and secret signs^t, and the end ^uin effects^u and marvels^u.
 7 And every one that shall (then) be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his
 8 faith^v by which he has believed^v, ^wsuch shall survive^w from the perils aforesaid, and shall see my
 9 salvation in my land, and within my borders which I have sanctified for myself eternally. Then
 shall they be amazed that now have abused my ways; they shall abide in the torments which they
 10 have spurned and despised. For ^xall who^x failed to recognize me in their lifetime, ^yalthough
 11 I dealt bountifully with them^y; and all who have defied my Law, while they yet had liberty, and,
 12 while place of repentance was still open to them, gave no heed but scorned (it); these must be
 brought to know after death by torment.

1-1 ^l eis nunc vitam ^{m-m} reading pars quaedam (so ^S Ethiop.) ⁿ⁻ⁿ ^l motio locorum (= κίνησις τόπων)
 0-0 ^l gentium cogitationes (? read coagitationes) ^{p-p} ^l ducum inconstantia (= ηγεμονων ακαταστασια) ^{q-q} ^l
 omne quod factum est in saeculo (casus pendens) ^{r-r} ^l corrupt: ^S the beginning is known and the end manifest:
 perhaps Greek had εν αφαιει . . . εν εμφαιει: see further EA, p. 202 ^{s-s} ^l manifesta: so ^S ^{t-t} ^l in prodigiis
 et virtutibus = εν τερασσι και δυναμει (δυναμις = העלומה Job xi. 6 LXX: see further EA, p. 203) ^{u-u} so Ethiop.:
^l in actu et in signis (reading σηματοισ for θαυμασις) ^{v-v} reading in qua credidit ^{w-w} reading is relinquetur
^{x-x} ^l quotquot (= οσοι) ^{y-y} so ^S: ^l beneficia consecuti

with the theology of S, whereas the older view is that punishment only comes completely after the resurrection; while it is partly effected by the destruction of the ungodly in the wars and tumults which precede the Messianic Age, and which the righteous survive.

The inconsistency of the section, as a whole, with S can easily be shown (see EA, p. 200). The whole section is a compilation from the hand of R, who has drawn partly upon E (ix. 3, 7, 8), and partly upon S (ix. 9, 12). It thus exhibits phenomena essentially the same as vii. 26-44.

63. at what time. Contrast Acts i. 7.

ix. 3. tumult of peoples. Cf. Isa. xvii. 13.

4. then shalt thou understand . . . these things . . . from the beginning. The author is conscious that the tradition he is citing is extremely old. The antiquity of one element in the eschatological tradition will, perhaps, account for its association with such names as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah—the heroic figures of the primeval age. See RWS (ed. 2), p. 36.

5-6. For just as . . . marvels. For text see crit. notes. The point of the saying seems to be that the portents of the last times can be detected and read beforehand by the initiated, though their true significance is missed by the world at large; just as the real significance of the obscure beginnings of things that develop into great events or issues in human life and history generally is only grasped at first by the discerning.

6. in effects and marvels. Gunkel renders v. 6: 'so also are the times of the Most High: their beginning is in word (i.e. the prophetic word revealed to the apocalyptists referred to in v. 4) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels' (αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐν φωναῖς καὶ ἐν σημείοις, καὶ ἡ συντέλεια ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει). He compares Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 12, where it is remarked that it is God's property to announce beforehand what is to occur, and then to bring it to pass. For the text adopted by Gunkel cf. EA, p. 203.

7. on account of his works or his faith, &c. R here combines the statements of S regarding faith and works. Cf. vi. 5, vii. 77.

8. my salvation, i.e. the Messianic salvation.

which I have sanctified for myself eternally. The Holy Land as sacrosanct—chosen by God—will be the scene of the Messianic salvation. Cf. xii. 13, 34, xiii. 48, 49; 2 Bar. xxix. 2, xl. 2. The idea of the specially privileged and sacrosanct character of the Holy Land lived on in various forms, even after the destruction of Jerusalem. Cf. Volz, p. 308 f., and see Charles's note on 2 Bar. xxix. 2.

12. while place of repentance was still open to them. For the phrase 'place of repentance' cf. Wisd. vii. 10, 20; Heb. xii. 17.

after death by torment. Verses 9-12 represent the point of view of S, and refer to the state of the wicked immediately after death; this representation is essentially inconsistent with the previous verses, which refer to Messianic blessedness.

(7) THE DIVINE REPLY CONCLUDED: FINAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE FEWNESS OF THE SAVED (S).

(ix. 13-22.)

- S 13 So, then, be thou no longer curious as to how the ungodly shall be punished, but inquire (rather) how the righteous ^a shall be saved ^a—they to whom the world (belongs) and for whose sakes, also, the world has come into existence ^a. And I answered and said: I have already said, and say now, and 14, 15 shall say (it) again: There are more who perish than shall be saved, even as the flood is greater than a drop!
- 16 And he answered me and said:
- 17 As is the ground, so the sowings;
as are the flowers, so are the colours;
As is ^b the workman ^b, so is the work;
as is the husbandman, so is the threshing-floor—
- 18 ^c For there was (a time) in the eternal ages when I prepared for those who now exist—before they had come into being—a world wherein they might dwell ^c; and then none gainsaid me—for none 19 existed. But now they that have been created in this world—(a world) made ready with both an unfailing table and an enexplorable pasture—have become corrupt in their manners.
- 20 Then I considered my world, and lo! it was destroyed;
and my earth, and lo! ^d it was in peril ^d—
on account of ^e the tumults ^e of those who are (living) in it ^f.
- 21 And I saw, and spared (some) ^g with very great difficulty ^g, and saved me a grape out of a cluster, 22 and a plant ^h out of a great forest ^h. Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected!

^{a-a} so *Ar.*¹: but *S. Ethiop.* live (as often elsewhere) ^a *L*+et quando: but other *VSS.* > ^{b-b} *L* opera (= *εργασία*: Heb. *לַעֲשׂוֹת*: the latter = workman or work) ^{c-c} so *S*; cf. *Ethiop.*: *L* quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent ^{d-d} *L* erat periculi ^{e-e} reading coagitationes (for cogitationes); cf. *S* ^{f-f} cf. *Ethiop.*: *L* quae in eo advenierunt ^{g-g} *L* vix valde (= *πανυ μογος*) ^{h-h} so *S. Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar.*¹) = *αφ' υλης πολλης*: *L* de tribu multa (*φυλης* for *αφυλης*)

(7) ix. 13-22. The first verse of this section forms the immediate continuation of viii. 62. The seer had been assured that the Judgement was near at hand, and had been revealed only to him and a few like him. Now he is once again told not to concern himself with the fate of the ungodly, but to fix his attention, rather, on the salvation which the righteous attain (cf. viii. 55). This declaration is not, as Volkmar and, later, Gunkel have supposed, the enunciation of a new subject for discussion in the visions that follow, but merely a recapitulation of what has already been discussed in the former part of the present vision. The seer's reply is also a repetition of former complaints about the large number of those who perish (ix. 15-16). The final form of the divine reply follows (xxv. 17-22). The evil of the present world is due to man's sin. There was a time—before the generation of men had been created—when none defied the Most High; but now those who have been placed in the world, which has been provided and furnished for their needs, have degenerated and become corrupt. In order that the purpose of Creation shall not be entirely frustrated a few have been spared—'a grape out of a cluster, a plant out of a great forest': 'Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected.'

It should be noted that the preservation of a small remnant from the corrupt mass is due entirely to special efforts on God's part. In other words, it must be attributed entirely to the divine grace.

13. be thou no longer curious . . . the righteous shall be saved. Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 48.

15. more who perish than shall be saved. Cf. vii. 47.

16. as the flood is greater than a drop. Cf. iv. 48-50.

17. as are the flowers, so are the colours. Brilliant colouring betokens a beautiful flower.

18. For there was (a time) in the eternal ages . . . they might dwell. So *S* (cf. crit. note). The Latin (apparently misreading the Greek, see *EA*, p. 207) renders: *quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent* = 'For there was a time in the world, even then when I was preparing for them that now live, before the world was made for them to dwell in; [and then, &c.]; R.V. The Latin misses and obscures the point. To say that there was a time in the history of the world—which had been created for man's sake—when sin and rebellion did not exist, viz. before man had appeared on the scene, adds point to the divine indictment of the human race that follows: but to say (as the Latin text says) that before the world was made man did not exist, and therefore could not sin, is banal. The Ethiop. agrees essentially with the Syr. (cf. Violet); but the original Greek text appears to have been in some disorder in the MSS. used by the Latin and Ethiop.

19. (a world) made ready with both an unfailing table and an unexplorable pasture. The reference is to Paradise and its marvellous fruits ('an unfailing table') which its trees bear without cessation. The banquet which the righteous are to enjoy in the future world is often referred to (sometimes also in Messianic passages): cf. Rev. ii. 7 ('hidden manna') and see Bousset, *RJ*², p. 327: the Greek of the phrase 'an unexplorable (= mysterious) pasture' = (*εις*) *νομόν ἀνεξίχνετον* (Volk.). The Versions read *νόμον*, 'law', for *νομόν*, 'pasture' (or? *νομήν*): hence 'unsearchable law' (R. V.).

IV EZRA 9. 23-27

VI. ix. 23-25. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (S).

- S 23 But if ⁱthou wilt separate thyselfⁱ yet seven more days—thou shalt not, however, fast in them,
24 but shalt go into a field of flowers, where no house has been built, and eat only ^jof the fruit of the
25 field^j; and thou shalt taste no flesh and drink no wine, but (eat) only the fruit—and pray unto the
Most High continually, then I will come and talk with thee.

THE FOURTH VISION.

(ix. 26-x. 59.)

I. ix. 26-28. INTRODUCTION (S).

- 26 So I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called ^kArdat^k, and there I sat among
27 the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field; ^land the eating thereof satisfied me^l. And it

^{i-l} so S: \mathfrak{L} [si] intermittas ^{j-j} so Ethiop. \mathfrak{L} de floribus campi ^{k-k} so \mathfrak{L} (S**); = Ar.²(?); v. Z. Adar, Ardad, Ardas, Ardat: S Ethiop. Arpad (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 34); Ar.¹ Araab or Araat; Arm. Ardab ^{l-l} \mathfrak{L} et facta est esca earum mihi in saturitatem

ix. 23-25. This short section forms the conclusion of the long third vision and the transition to the fourth. The seer is bidden to wait another seven days, when a further revelation shall be vouchsafed to him. He is, however, expressly told not to fast—as he had done in preparation for former visions—but to go into a field of flowers, and eat only flowers (?) or herbs of the field; he is, moreover, to abstain from tasting flesh and wine, and is bidden to pray continually. The field is to be destitute of any building. As the following vision makes clear, this locality is to be the scene of a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The direction as to eating only of the produce of the field is remarkable. What is its significance? It is clearly not to be regarded as on a par with the strict fast, from which it is expressly distinguished. Moreover, in the introduction to the third vision (vi. 35) the seer says that he fasted seven days in order to complete the three weeks of fasting that had been commanded him (i.e. a week of fasting before each of the first three visions). Thus this form of preparation had reached its climax at the beginning of the third vision, and it is curious to note that no further direct mention of fasting is met with in the remaining chapters of the book (x-xiv), though contexts occur in which such might have been expected (cf. xi. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1).¹

Is, then, the direction as to eating herbs or flowers here to be regarded as a substitute for fasting proper—as a form of half-fasting? This is possible, as abstinence from flesh and wine is decidedly in the direction of a mild asceticism. But it may be argued that more probably what is intended is rather in the nature of an antithesis to strict fasting. It should be remembered that the destruction of the Holy City—and, above all, of the Temple—in A.D. 70 gave rise to a widespread ascetic movement among the Jewish people who survived, especially in Palestine. Many gave expression to their grief in severe and regular forms of fasting. It is this situation which is contemplated here. The seer is about to receive a vision in which grief at the desolation—bitter as it is—of the earthly Sion is to be transcended by a vision of the heavenly City. He is bidden, therefore, not to fast, but, in solitude, and far from human habitation and proximity, to prepare himself by partaking of the simplest food of nature, and by prayer, for the coming revelation. The food most appropriate in the circumstances would be that of the primæval age and the age of man's innocence. See further *EA*, p. 209 f.

24. thou shalt taste no flesh . . . no wine, but (eat) only the fruit, i.e. eat only what grows in the field. So Daniel and his companions ate only vegetable food, and drank water rather than suffer defilement; cf. 2 Macc. v. 27.

ix. 26-x. 59. THE FOURTH VISION. The following vision seems to have been preserved largely without interpolation, and as it was composed by the author of S, the pen of the Redactor (R) only coming into evidence in one or two places and in the transitional verses at the end (x. 58-59). The composition is even and flowing, and moves in an easy logical sequence. The seer proceeds, as he has been commanded, to a field which bears the mysterious name of 'Ardat', and there lives on herbs for seven days (ix. 26-28). Then he addresses God, giving utterance to the thoughts that have arisen within him. Israel had been entrusted with the divine Law—it had been sown in their hearts—but they had failed to keep it. The vessel that received it was doomed to perish because of sin, while the Law remained 'in its honour', imperishable (ix. 29-37). This speech is interrupted by a vision of a woman in distress, who is mourning the death of an only son—a son who, born after thirty years of sterility, had died on the very morning of his wedding. The seer, therefore, by way of consolation, admonishes her that her loss is small compared with the disasters that have befallen the chosen people as a whole, and more especially the crowning disaster of the destruction of Sion (ix. 38-x. 24). Then suddenly the scene changes: the woman vanishes, and in her place appears a great and splendid city—the heavenly Sion (x. 25-28). The section closes with an account of the intervention of the angel (Uriel) and the explanation of the vision given by him to the seer (x. 29-57, followed by the conclusion x. 58-59).

The whole section thus falls into the following divisions:—

- i. Introduction (ix. 26-28);
- ii. The abiding glory of the Law and Israel: a contrast (ix. 29-37);
- iii. The vision of the Disconsolate Woman (ix. 38-x. 24).

With this vision, which transports him into the heavenly world, the Apocalypse of Salathiel doubtless ended. The visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources. Some fragments of the work of S are embedded in these later visions (xii. 40-48 and xiv. 28-35); these will be discussed later in connexion with their present contexts.

ix. 26-28. The mysterious locality which is described as 'the field which is called Ardat', whither the seer went, in accordance with the divine command, and meditated for seven days, living on 'the herbs of the field,' has been the subject of much debate. The view that the name means 'the wilderness of Judah' (Lücke) or (as *Arbah* = ערבה,

¹ This fact affords a strong confirmation of the correctness of the critical analysis which separates these chapters from the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

S 28 came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart was again troubled as before. Then ^m I opened my mouth ^m, and began to address the Most High.

II. ix. 29-37. THE ABIDING GLORY OF THE LAW, AND ISRAEL: A CONTRAST (S).

29 And I said: ⁿ O Lord ⁿ, thou didst verily reveal thyself unto our fathers ^o in the wilderness ^p when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they walked through the untrodden and unfruitful wilderness; and thou didst say:

O Israel, hear thou me;

O seed of Jacob, attend unto my words!

31 For, behold, I sow my Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever.

32 But our fathers, who received the Law, observed it not, and the statutes they did not keep, and yet 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. ^a Now, it is a general rule ^a that, when the ground has received seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel food or drink, ^r and when it happens that what is sown ^r, or ^a what is launched ^s, 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. 36 We who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken 37 it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory.

^{m-m} so *Ethioph. Ar.*: \mathbb{L} apertum est os meum: so *S. Ar.* ⁿ⁻ⁿ so \mathbb{L} : but *S. Ethiop.* O Lord my Lord (= *Δεσποτα κυριε*)
^o \mathbb{L} + in nobis (*prob. a gloss*): other *VSS.* > ^p \mathbb{S} + of Sinai ^{a-a} = \mathbb{S} and this is the rule (*Heb.* וְהָיָה הַכֶּלֶל): \mathbb{L} et ecce consuetudo ^{r-r} so \mathbb{L} : \mathbb{S} > ^{s-s} \mathbb{L} quod missum est ^{t-t} so *S. Ar.* *Arm.* \mathbb{L} et respexi oculis meis ^{u-u} reading adii-

'desert') is a symbolical name for the Holy Land generally, which might have been represented at the end of the first century A.D. as a veritable wilderness to the Jews (Volkmar), may be at once dismissed. More plausible is the suggestion put forward by Mr. Rendel Harris (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch* [Cambridge, 1889], pp. 35-39) that the locality intended is the neighbourhood of Abraham's oak, near Hebron. This would be a highly suitable place for a divine revelation; and, moreover, Hebron is mentioned in 2 Baruch as one of the seats of prophetic inspiration (xlvi. 1). Prof. Harris concludes that the scene of the fifth vision in 4 Ezra (ch. xi) is Hebron, and that this is identical with the scene of the fourth vision, i.e. 'the field of Ardat'. But in this view no account has been taken of the different sources which appear in these chapters; the connexion of the scene of the two visions is a purely artificial one, and is due to the compiler. Nor is it at all certain that the 'oak' mentioned in 4 Ezra xiv. 1 as the place where Ezra received the revelation is 'Abraham's oak', as Prof. Harris supposes. It may have been some well-known tree in Jerusalem (see notes *ad loc.*).

Thus the attempt to locate 'the field of Ardat' at Hebron cannot be regarded as successful. Whatever may be the true explanation of the name 'Ardat', it seems clear that its significance must be mainly of a symbolical character. The repeated statement that the mysterious place was one 'where no house has been built' (ix. 24, x. 51) not only excludes the actual site of the ruined earthly Jerusalem, but also points to a place which was still untouched by human hand, and so fit to be the spot where the heavenly city could (temporarily) rest. Presumably the reader was expected to think of this locality as in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, where Salathiel is represented as residing at the beginning of the Apocalypse (4 Ezra iii. 1).

One slight indication (cf. x. 58) suggests that the time when this revelation took place was during the day, and not by night, as is the case with the dream-visions. See further *EA*, p. 212 f.

ix. 29-37. After seven days' meditation in 'Ardat' the seer gives characteristic expression once again to the thoughts which have agitated his heart. This takes the form of a soliloquy on the relation of Israel to the Law. At the Exodus from Egypt—when Israel became a nation—God had sown the Law in the heart of His people, with the promise: 'It shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever' (ix. 31). But the fathers observed it not; yet 'the fruit of the Law did not perish'—it could not—because it was essentially divine. But 'they who received it perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them'. The law that obtains in the natural world is that the receptacles remain after that which they have received has passed away—for instance, the ground remains after the seed that has been sown in it has sprung up and been gathered, the sea remains after the ship that has been launched in it has come to an end, and so on. But with Israel it is different. For 'we who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory'.

The application of the moral remains. The divine element is eternal!—the corruptible vessel that receives it perishes. Even so the eternal reality which was partially and imperfectly expressed by the earthly Jerusalem remains; but the vessel that mediated it has perished. The earthly vessel (i.e. the earthly Jerusalem) has been destroyed—it has perished: how foolish and perverse to look for its revival! Hope should rather be fixed on the eternal City which exists—and has always existed—in the incorruptible world, and which is to be enjoyed by those who pass into the blessed immortal life of the age that is to come. The confirmation of the truth of these hopes—and the answer to any lingering doubts that may remain—is the burden of the vision that follows (ix. 38 f.).

29. *thoudidst verily reveal thyself.* The reference is to such passages as Ex. xix. 9, xxiv. 10, &c.

when they went forth out of Egypt. Cf. Judges xi. 16.

31. *For, behold, I sow my Law in you . . . in it for ever.* This is the author's paraphrase of the O.T. description of the relation set up between God and Israel by Israel's acceptance of the Law, and entry into the covenant-relation with God. He reads into the naive O.T. promises of temporal reward his own transcendental views, and understands the glory promised to Israel to mean the unfading glory of the eternal and incorruptible heavenly world. For a similar heightening of O.T. language cf. vii. 129, where Deut. xxx. 19 is cited ('Choose thee life', &c., i.e. eternal life).

37. *the Law, however, &c.* The Law does not perish because it comes from heaven: it is spiritual (*πνευματικός*, 602

III. ix. 38—x. 24. THE VISION OF THE DISCONSOLATE WOMAN (S).

- S 38 And when I spake thus in my heart ^tI lifted up my eyes^t, and saw a woman upon the right; and lo! she was mourning and weeping with a loud voice, and was much grieved in mind, and her clothes 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 weepest thou? And why art thou grieved in thy mind? And she said unto me: Suffer me, my lord, to indulge my sorrow and ^ucontinue my grief^u, for I am embittered in soul and deeply afflicted.
- 42 And I said unto her: What has befallen thee? tell me.
- 43 She said unto me: I, thy servant, was barren, and bore no child, though I had a husband thirty years. Both hourly and daily during these thirty years I besought the Most High night and day.
- 45 And it came to pass after thirty years
 God heard thy handmaid
 and looked upon my affliction;
 He considered my distress,
 and gave me a son.

And I rejoiced in him greatly, I and my husband and ^vall my fellow townsfolk^v, and we gave great glory unto ^wthe Mighty One^w. And I reared him with great travail. So when he was grown up, I came to take ^xhim^x a wife, and made ^ya feast day^y.

- 10 1 And it came to pass when my son entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down and died.
- 2 Then ^zI removed the lights^z, and all my fellow townsfolk rose up to comfort me; but I remained quiet ^auntil the night of the next day^a. ^bAnd it came to pass when they were all quiet (and desisted) from consoling, as I remained quiet^b, I rose up by night, and fled, and came to this field, as thou seest. And I purpose ^cnever again^c to return to the city, but here to stay and neither eat nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast till I die. 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? How Sion, the mother of us all, is in great grief and deep affliction? ^dIt is right now to mourn^d, seeing that we all mourn, and to grieve, seeing that we are all grief-stricken; thou, however, art grief-stricken for one son^e. But ask the earth, and

ciam dolere ^{v-v} so \S (lit. all the sons of my town) *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.²: \mathbb{L} omnes cives mei* ^{w-w} \mathbb{L} Fortem (= *rov* $\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$ = הַלֵּל in LXX) ^{x-x} reading ei ^{y-y} \mathbb{L} diem epuli: \S +and great rejoicing ^{z-z} cf. \S (1st pers. sing.): \mathbb{L} evertimus omnes lumina (everti = ? $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega\nu$ = *Heb.* הִסִּיר) ^{a-a} so *Ethiop.* \mathbb{L} usque in alium diem usque in noctem ^{b-b} \mathbb{L} et factum est cum omnes quievisset ut me consolarentur ut quiescerem (original *Heb. text* perhaps was: $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה בְּהִיוּתָם מִהַרְיָשִׁים כִּנְם מִנְחָם לִפִּי שְׁאֵנִי מִהַרְיָשִׁים}$) ^{d-d} so \S *Ar.¹ = \mathbb{L} (Violet): lugere validissimum est nunc* (*EJ* *lugete validissime* [*end of v. 7*]. Et nunc) ^{e-e} \S +but we the whole world for our mother

Rom. vii. 14): cf. also 2 Cor. iii. 7 f. [With *vv.* 36, 37 cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 19: 'And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.']

ix. 38—x. 24. We now reach the final sections of the Salathiel-Apocalypse. It is altogether fitting that the close of the (Salathiel) book should contain a revelation of the realities of the future world where, according to the theology of S, the felicity and blessedness of the righteous can alone be consummated; and it accords with what would be expected that this revelation should be concerned with that part of the heavenly realities (viz. the heavenly City) whose earthly counterpart (viz. Jerusalem), in its humiliation and ruin, had formed the starting-point of the debates of the Apocalypse (cf. iii. 27). It has already been declared (cf. viii. 52) that the heavenly Sion is one of the things which belong to the eternal order, and which should be made freely available for the enjoyment of the righteous after the final Judgement. It is this heavenly reality which is now manifested to the seer. An examination of this section and the following makes it clear that the disconsolate woman who appears to the seer, mourning the death of her only son, must be the heavenly Sion: she cannot be identified with the earthly Jerusalem, as Kabisch justly points out, without making the story meaningless. See further *EA*, p. 216 f.

38. ashes upon her head. A sign of grief and humiliation. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. lxi. 3.

45. we gave great glory. To 'give God the glory' (cf. Luke xvii. 18) for boons bestowed was an all-important religious duty. The fact that this duty was religiously performed seems to be emphasized here in order to exclude the possibility of a suggestion that the calamity which followed was a judgement of God (so Gunkel).

47. a feast day. Cf. Matt. xxii. 2; Luke xiv. 16.

x. 1. and died. With the death of the bridegroom here cp. the story in Tobit (esp. ch. viii). Kabisch thinks this points to a knowledge of the Book of Tobit by S; but this does not necessarily follow.

2. I removed the lights. For the wedding lights cf. Matt. xxv. 7. Note the violent contrast between the brilliant illumination of the wedding-feast and the sudden darkness following on the death of the bridegroom.

to comfort me. To condole with mourners as well as to assist in the burial of the dead is a part of the practice of benevolence.

I remained quiet. A mother's grief would normally show itself in loud lamentation; but here she remains dumb.

7. Sion, the mother of us all. Cf. Gal. iv. 26 (but there of the heavenly Jerusalem).

8. It is right now to mourn, &c. The point of the passage is that the nation is now plunged into calamities, and therefore all may now properly mourn.

- S she shall tell thee, that it is she who ought to mourn^f the fall of so many^f that have sprung into
 10 being upon her. ^gYea, from the beginning all who have been born, and others who are to come—
 11 lo! they go^g almost all into perdition, and the multitude of them comes to destruction. Who, then,
 should mourn the more? Ought not she that has lost so great a multitude? or thou who grieveest
 12 but for one? But if thou sayest to me: My lamentation is not like the earth's, for I have lost the
 fruit of my womb
 which I bare with pains
 and brought forth with sorrows—
 13^h but as regards the earth, (it is) according to the course of nature^h; the multitude present in it is
 14 gone as it came: then I say to thee: Just as thou hast borne (offspring) with sorrow, even so also
 the earth has borne (given) her fruit, namely man, from the beginning unto him that made her.
 15 Now, therefore, keep thy sorrow within,
 and bear gallantly the misfortunes that have befallen thee.
 16 For if thou wilt acknowledge God's decree to be just, thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time,
 17, 18 and shalt be praised among women. Therefore go into the city to thy husband. And she said unto
 19 me: ⁱI will not do soⁱ: I will not enter the city, but here will I die. So I proceeded to speak further
 20 unto her, and said: ^jNo, woman! no, woman!^j do not do so;
 but ^ksuffer thyself to be prevailed upon by reason of Sion's misfortunes^k,
 be consoled by reason of Jerusalem's sorrow.
 21 For thou seest how
 our sanctuary is laid waste,
^lour altar^l thrown down;
 our Temple destroyed,
 our harp laid low;
 22 our song is silenced,
 our rejoicing ceased;
 the light of our lamp is extinguished,
 the ark of our covenant spoiled;
 our holy things are defiled,
 the name that is called upon us^m is profaned^m;

^{f-f} reading tantorum casum (MSS. > casum): so *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ ^{g-g} *ℒ* (Violet) et ex ipso initio omnes nati et alii venientes, ecce, &c.; cf. *ℒ* ^{h-h} *ℒ* terra autem secundum viam terrae ⁱ⁻ⁱ so *ℒ* (cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*¹): *ℒ* non faciam ^{j-j} so *ℒ*: other VSS. > ^{k-k} so *ℒ* *Arm.*: *ℒ* consenti persuaderi quid enim casus Sion ^{l-l} *ℒ* > ^{m-m} so *ℒ* (cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*¹): *ℒ* paene profanatum est

14. even so also the earth. The idea is peculiar and the parallel intended not quite clear. Man is earth's highest production; but this her choicest fruit is produced only to be gathered in by the Creator (i.e. ? by the death of man); and the constant loss of her best, in this way, involves the earth in ceaseless anguish. Such seems to be the general meaning intended.

16. thou wilt acknowledge . . . to be just. Cf. Ps. of Sol. viii. 7, 27, 31; ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35. To acknowledge the justice of God's decree is equivalent to pious submission to His will.

thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time, i.e. either the dead son shall be restored to life, or another son shall be given to her in his stead, and so she shall win honour among women. It is possible that, as Gunkel suggests, the sequel of the original story set forth the restoration of the dead son to life; but it is significant that the writer here says nothing of this. He stops short at relating the son's death.

21. our Temple, i.e. the Temple-building proper, exclusive of the outer court.

our harp laid low: 'harp' here probably symbolizes the service of praise which has ceased in the ruined sanctuary.

22. our rejoicing ceased. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 8, 9.

the light of our lamp . . . extinguished. The extinction of the continual lamp marked the cessation of the functions of the Temple-services and sacrifices; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 36-59.

the ark of our covenant spoiled. This detail, of course, fits the position of the historical Salathiel (in the Exile), and can only be referred in strictness to the first Temple. The ark of the Covenant disappeared at the destruction of Solomon's Temple, and nothing took its place in the later Temples. Two divergent traditions are met with as to its fate; according to the one (which our text follows) the ark was carried off with the other holy vessels into Babylonia (cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10); according to the other, the ark was concealed within the Temple; cf. 2 Macc. ii. 5-8 and 2 Bar. vi. What is the significance of the mention of the spoiling of the ark in our passage? Perhaps the writer intended to suggest that it was vain to look for the restoration of the ark and other holy things in the Messianic Age in the last times. In other words, there would be no Messianic Age, and no restoration of the Temple on earth. The other form of the legend which makes the ark to be concealed within the Temple precincts seems to be governed by the idea that it would be brought to light again in the Messianic Age. It is significant that these two contradictory ideas are represented in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch respectively.

our holy things are defiled, i.e. the holy vessels which fell into the hands of the heathen. The writer, though the reference is directly to the first Temple, is thinking of the similar events connected with the destruction in A.D. 70 (e.g. the great candelabrum fell into the hands of Titus).

the name that is called upon us, i.e. the sacred name that has been bestowed upon us by God, the name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.

- S our nobles are dishonoured,
 our priests burnt,
 our Levites gone into captivity;
 our virgins are defiled,
 our wives ravished;
ⁿ our righteous are seized,
 [our saints scattered,]
 our children are cast outⁿ,
 our youths are enslaved,
 our heroes made powerless:
 23 and, what is more than all—
 Sion's seal^o is now sealed up dishonoured^o,
 and given up into the hands of them that hate us.
 24 Do thou, then, shake off thy great grief,
 abandon thy much sorrow,
 That the Mighty One may again forgive thee,
 and the Most High give thee rest,
 a respite from thy troubles!

IV. x. 25-28. SION'S GLORY: THE VISION OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM (S).

- 25 And it came to pass, while I was talking to her, lo!
 her countenance on a sudden shone exceedingly,
 and ^pher aspect became brilliant as lightning^p,
 so that I was too much afraid^a (to approach her, and my heart was terrified exceedingly)^a: and
 26 while I was debating what this might mean, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the
 27 earth shook at the noise. And when I looked, lo! the woman was no longer visible to me,^r but
 there was a City builded^r, and a place showed itself of large foundations. Then I was afraid, and
 28 cried with a loud voice, and said: Where is Uriel, the angel who came unto me at the first? For he
 it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment;
 and so ^smy prayer^s is made futile,
 and my request disappointed!

V. x. 29-57. INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION (S).

- 29 And while I was speaking thus, lo! the angel came to me, who had come to me at the first; and
ⁿ⁻ⁿ All VSS. give only two clauses here, except Ar.² which has three; clauses 1 and 3 are attested by \mathfrak{L} Ethiop. Ar.¹:
 \mathfrak{L} (in an emended form) supports clause 2 and omits clause 3; see for details EA, p. 228 f. ^{o-o} \mathfrak{L} resignata
 est de gloria sua nunc. ^{p-p} \mathfrak{L} species coruscus fiebat vultus eius ^{a-a} so \mathfrak{L} Ethiop. Ar.¹: but \mathfrak{L} ad eam
^{r-r} so Oriental VSS.: \mathfrak{L} sed civitas aedificabatur ^{s-s} \mathfrak{L} finis meus = \mathfrak{L} Ethiop. Ar.¹ (cf. R.V. mine end):
 prob., as Violet suggests, there was a corruption in the Hebr. text here, תכלית being misread תכלית

our priests burnt. An allusion to the destruction of the Temple by fire. Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 5. 1) specially mentions two priests of eminence, who threw themselves into the fire 'and were burnt together with the holy house'.

23. Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured, lit. 'is sealed up away from its honour', i.e. is robbed of its honour. The 'seal of Sion' is doubtless a symbolical representation of Sion's independence. A more specific allusion to the issue of a national coinage may be intended; see EA, p. 229. In vv. 22-23 the utter ruin of Israel is set forth in detail.

24. may again forgive thee. The death of the son manifested God's wrath; therefore divine forgiveness was necessary.

x. 25-28.

25. her aspect became brilliant as lightning. This recalls the representation of the heavenly bride (= the heavenly Jerusalem) of Rev. xxi. 9; cf. Rev. xii. 1.

27. of large foundations. Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

28. my prayer is made futile, &c. The seer hastily concludes that the revelation regarding Israel's future glory—how it was to be attained (cf. ix. 29-37)—which he had been expecting and for which he was longing so ardently, has been denied him, because the vision he has seen has simply left him in a state of bewilderment and terror, while in fact it is but the prelude to a revelation all the more complete. This, as Gunkel remarks, is a fine touch.

The state of terror into which the seer falls at the marvellous transfiguration of the woman is a feature derived, doubtless, from the actual experience of such ecstasies; cf. similar features in *Hermas*.

x. 29-57. The interpretation of the vision by the angel follows. The seer is told that the transfigured woman is Sion. Which Sion? the heavenly or the earthly? The most natural interpretation is that the heavenly Sion is represented by the woman. In this case her son must stand for the earthly Jerusalem, and the son's death for the downfall and ruin of the earthly city. It is difficult on any other interpretation to understand the significance of the son in the allegorical interpretation. If the woman stands for the earthly Sion, whom does her son represent? According to Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vi, p. 219 n.), the Messiah! But how can the Messiah have been pictured as being born when the Temple was founded by Solomon, and dying when the Temple was destroyed? The true explanation seems to be

- S 30 when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead, 'my understanding being confused', he grasped my right hand and strengthened me, and set me on my feet, and said to me:
- 31 What aileth thee?
Why art thou so disquieted?
Wherefore is thy understanding confused,
and the thoughts of thy heart?
- 32 And I said: Because thou hast forsaken me! Yet I did as thou commandedst, and went into the field, and lo! I have seen—"and yet see"—that which I am unable to express.
- 33, 34 And he said unto me: Stand up like a man, and I will advise thee. Then said I: Speak on, my lord; only forsake me not, lest I die to no purpose.
- 35 For I have seen what I did not know^v and heard^v what I do not understand.
- 36 Or is my mind deceived,
and my soul in a dream?
- 37 Now, therefore, I beseech thee to show thy servant concerning this perplexity!
- 38 And he answered me, and said:
Hear me, and I will teach thee,
and tell thee concerning the things thou art afraid of;
for the Most High hath revealed many secrets unto thee.
- 39 For he hath seen^w thy righteous conduct^w,
how thou hast sorrowed continually for thy people,
and mourned greatly on account of Sion—
- 40, 41^x The matter, therefore, is as follows.^x The woman who appeared to thee a little while ago, whom
42^y thou sawest^y mourning and beganst to comfort: whereas now thou seest no likeness of a woman
43 any more, but^z a builded City^z hath appeared unto thee: and whereas she told thee of the misfortune
44 of her son—this is the interpretation: This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion, whom thou now
45 beholdest as a builded City; And whereas she said unto thee that she was barren thirty years: the reason is that there were^a three thousand years^a in the world before any offering was offered^b in (it)

^{t-t} *Et intellectus meus alienatus erat* (= ? *καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ἠλλοτριώθη*) ^{u-u} *Et video*; so *S*: but *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm. >
^{v-v} *reading audiui* (C M) = *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.: *S* I hear = audio (S A) ^{w-w} *Et rectam viam tuam*: *S* (cf. *Ethiop.*) = *την εὐθετήτα σου* ^{x-x} so *S* (= *οὗτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος*: *וזה הדבר*): cf. *Ethiop. Arm.*: *Et hic ergo intellectus visionis* ^{y-y} *S* > ^{z-z} so *Oriental VSS.*: *Et civitas aedificari* (R.V. a city in building) ^{a-a} so all the Versions except the *Arm.* (which has many years) and *Et* (best *MSS.*) anni . . . tres ^{b-b} *reading in eo* (for in**

that the mother represents the heavenly, and the son the earthly Sion. For a full discussion of alternative views see *EA*, p. 233 f.

The original meaning of the vision has been obscured by two slight alterations in the text from the pen of R; in v. 45, 'in it' (= *ἐν αὐτῇ*, i.e. in the world) has been changed to 'in her' (= *ἐν αὐτῇ*, i.e. in Sion), thus producing the meaning that for 3,000 years no oblation was offered in Sion, i.e. the earthly Sion; and in v. 46 'David' has been altered into 'Solomon'. In this way R secures the interpretation that the woman = the earthly Sion; the son = the Temple (the son's birth = the founding of the Temple by Solomon), &c.; while the transfiguration of the woman is a prophecy of the future glory of the earthly Sion. But this destroys the original significance of the vision, and cannot be harmonized with the theology of S. See further *EA*, loc. cit.

29-30. and when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead. For the representation cf. Dan. viii. 17, 18; x. 9, 10, 15; Rev. i. 17, &c.

and set me on my feet. Cf. v. 15; vi. 13, 17.

32. and yet see. The vision of the City is still before the seer's eyes.

that which I am unable to express. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4 (also of an ecstatic experience).

33. Stand up like a man. Cf. v. 15; vi. 13, 17.

45. three thousand years. For text see crit. note. Gunkel adopts the Latin 'three years', and (with Wellhausen) explains thus: the three years = the three years that elapsed after Solomon became king and before he began to build the Temple (cf. 1 Kings vi. 1 with vi. 38); and these three years mystically = three millennial years, i.e. 3,000 years. But according to v. 45 in the Latin the three years = thirty years, i.e. thirty generations (?); thus it would have a mystical meaning (3,000), a literal (three), and again a literal (= thirty generations) meaning, all in juxtaposition. It is better to adopt the reading of the Versions (3,000), and to regard this as an actual reckoning (see next verse).

before any offering was offered in it (i.e. in the world). The Lat. has *quando non erat in ea adhuc oblatio oblata* = 'when as yet there was no offering offered in her' (i.e. in Sion; so all the other Versions). By the slight emendation suggested by Kabisch (viz. to read *in eo* [*ἐν αὐτῇ*] for *in ea*) the difficulty of the text-reading can be removed. *In her* can only mean in the *civitas aedificata*, which for 3,000 years was without a son, i.e. the heavenly Sion; but the statement that no offering was as yet offered in the heavenly Sion is meaningless. The unfruitfulness of the heavenly Sion consisted rather in the fact that for 3,000 years there was on the earth—in this aeon—no corresponding reality, no *aedificata civitas* where the cultus of the sacrificial worship was established. (So Kabisch.)

It is true altars had been erected and sacrifices offered before the time of David (e.g. by Abraham, Gen. xxii. 9, and others); but no 'regular system of sacrifice' had been established in one spot which was sufficient to make this the earthly dwelling-place of Jahveh. At any rate such seems to have been the view of S, who in his survey of the

- S 46 (*i.e.* in the world)^b. And it came to pass after ^cthree thousand years that ^d(David) ^dbuilt the City,
 47 and offered offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son. And whereas she told thee that she
 48 reared him with travail: ^ethat was the (divine) dwelling in Jerusalem^e. And whereas she said unto
 49 thee: 'My son entering into his marriage-chamber died,' ^fand that misfortune befell her ^f—this was
 49 the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass. And lo! thou hast seen ^gthe (heavenly) pattern of her ^g,
 how she mourned her son, and thou didst begin to comfort her for what had befallen ^h.
 50 Now, the Most High seeing
 that thou art grieved ⁱdeeply ⁱ
 and art distressed whole-heartedly on account of her;
 hath showed thee the brilliance of her glory,
 and ^jher majestic beauty ^j.
 51, 52 Therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house has been builded; for I knew that the
 53 Most High was about to reveal all these things unto thee. ^k[Therefore I bade thee come into the
 54 field where no foundation of any building is, for in the place where the City of the Most High was
 about to be revealed no building-work of man could endure ^k.]
 55 Therefore be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be terrified; but go in and see the brightness
^land ^lvastness of the building, as far as it is possible for thee with the sight of thine eyes to see!

ea) ^{c-c} see note a above ^{d-d} all the VSS. read Solomon; see exegetical note ^{e-e} *ℒ* haec erat habitatio
 Hierusalem ^{f-f} so *ℒ* Ar.¹; *Ethiop.* has direct speech (this grief befell me): *ℒ* > ^{g-g} *ℒ* similitudinem eius
^h *ℒ* + haec erant tibi aperienda = Ar.²; other VSS. > (doubtless a gloss) ⁱ⁻ⁱ *ℒ* ex animo ^{j-j} *ℒ* pulchritudinem
 decoris eius (Hebr. תפארת הנהגה) ^{k-k} vv. 51-52 and 53-54 are doublets: perhaps 53-4 are more original
^{l-l} so all VSS. except *ℒ* which has vel

world's history in ch. iii ignores all previous sacrifices and offerings till he reaches the name of David. The earthly Jerusalem became the holy city—the *civitas Dei*—when David offered sacrifices in it. Cf. iii. 24.

46. after three thousand years. According to the LXX at least 4,227 years elapsed from the Creation to the founding of the Temple; thus S here follows the Hebrew text against the LXX. The period between the Creation of the world and the foundation of the Temple is estimated by Gutschmidt to be 3,043 years. Allowing 430 years for the oppression which ended in the Exodus (cf. Exod. xii. 40), and deducting from this the first three years of Solomon's reign and the forty years of David's, we reach 3,000 as the sum of the years from Creation to the beginning of David's reign, which may be the point of time fixed on by the apocalyptic writer as that of the founding of the earthly Zion, though, as a matter of fact, it was seven years later. This presupposes the emendation of 'Solomon' in the next clause to 'David' (see following note).

[It is true that in vii. 28 the reckoning 400 for the years of the oppression, in accordance with Gen. xv. 13, is implied; but that passage belongs to a different source.]

David built the City. All the Versions read 'Solomon'; but this is inconsistent with iii. 24 ('David; and thou commandedst him to build the City (which is called) after thy name, and to offer thee oblations therein of thine own'). There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the emendation adopted above (proposed by Kabisch) is right. If the reading of the Versions is retained 'City' must be understood to mean 'Temple'; so Ar. and Arm. add 'Temple' here ('the City and the Temple'). Volkmar is obliged to explain that in the apocalyptic writer's thought Temple and City are identical, so that he can speak indifferently now of one, now of the other, and similarly interchange David and Solomon. From the language of S, however, it seems clear that it was the inauguration of the regular 'offering of oblations' to God in the earthly Zion that constituted it as the *civitas Dei*. The altar erected to the Lord (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 f.; 1 Chron. xxi. 28, xxii. 1) by David marked the turning-point; this was the most sacred spot in the Holy City—the Temple, erected later, being regarded merely as the shelter or covering which contained it. To the apocalyptic writer (S) David was the founder and builder of Jerusalem, regarded as the one holy city of God (cf. iii. 24).

a son, i.e. the earthly Jerusalem (the heavenly Jerusalem being the mother). The representation of Jerusalem as a son, and not as a daughter, is certainly peculiar. It is probably due to the fact that the writer is adapting a popular tale to the purposes of his allegory; see further EA, p. 239.

47. reared him with travail. The difficulty referred to ('with travail') lay in the fact that during the existence of the first Temple the sins of the people (especially lapses into idolatrous worship) constantly threatened to interrupt the continuance of the divine dwelling (see next note) in the Holy City.

that was the divine dwelling in Jerusalem. The (divine) dwelling = the 'Shekinah' or visible manifestation of the divine presence in Jerusalem. It was the presence of the Shekinah in Jerusalem and the Temple, which sanctified the Holy City. According to one current view the visible Shekinah was one of the five things lacking in the second Temple (cf. Targ. to Hag. i. 8 and parallels in Talmud)—its throne being between the cherubim on the ark, which was absent after the destruction of the First Temple. But so long as a Temple existed in Jerusalem, and the sacrificial cultus was maintained, these, in a sense, were pledges and symbols of the divine presence. With these all visible tokens of the divine presence disappeared (in A.D. 70).

48. the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass. The death of the son, according to this verse = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem, which confirms the interpretation that the son = the earthly Jerusalem.

49. the (heavenly) pattern (or 'model') of her. The 'heavenly pattern' or model of the earthly city is the heavenly Zion. The conception is similar to that which is met with in the Ep. to the Hebrews (xi. 10, 16 ['The City which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God'], xii. 22, xiii. 14), according to which the heavenly Zion is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly City, 'the eternal reality of which the literal City is but a shadow.' For the idea of the heavenly counterpart or model cf. Heb. viii. 5; Exod. xxv. 9 and 40. The vision of the heavenly reality is the culminating point in the disclosures made to the seer.

how she mourned her son, i.e. how she (the heavenly City) mourned her son (the ruined earthly Jerusalem).

55. as far as it is possible for thee . . . to see. The permission given to the seer implies that he saw and heard

- S 56 Then shalt thou hear as much as the hearing of thine ears can hear.
 57 For thou art blessed above many,

and art named before the Most High as but few!
(The true sequel should be xii. 39 b, xiii. 57-58, and xii. 40-48 (xiv. 29-35); see introductions to the two latter sections. The sequence is shown by the following verses:)

[xii. 39 b] And he departed from me. [xiii. 57] And I went forth and walked in the field greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season; [xiii. 58] and because he governs the times, and the things which come to pass in due time. [xii. 40 f.] And it came to pass when all the people heard, &c.]

VI. x. 58-59. REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE FIFTH VISION (R).

- R 58, 59 But ^mon the night of to-morrow ^mthou shalt remain here; so will the Most High reveal to thee
 59 ⁿin dream-visions ⁿwhat the Most High will do unto the dwellers upon earth in the last days.

THE FIFTH (EAGLE) VISION.

(x. 60-xii. 35) (A).

I. THE VISION.

(x. 60-xii. 3a) (A) (R).

- A 60 So I slept that night and the following as he had commanded me.

^{m-m} nocte . . . quae in crastinum futura est ⁿ⁻ⁿ \mathbb{E} eas visiones somniorum (= ταυτα τα οραματα των ενυπνιων;
 ? ταυτα a corruption of kata: so Volk.)

(see next verse) much more than is told in the vision. As Gunkel remarks, this statement (obviously natural and unforced) makes it clear that the vision is the record of an actual experience. In the end what the seer saw and heard was so overpowering and marvellous that his powers of describing it all failed. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4. With *vv.* 55-56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Isa. lxiv. 9. It should be noted that the City is conceived as still standing before the seer's eyes.

58-59. The seer is bidden to remain where he is (i.e. in the field of Ardat) for another two nights, in order that he may receive in dream-visions a revelation of what shall happen to the dwellers upon earth in the last days. It is obvious that these verses, which form the transition to the visions that follow, are the work of R. The situation presupposed is hardly a possible one for S. The seer had been bidden to resort to Ardat—the field untouched by any work of human hand—in order to receive a vision of the heavenly City. This has been accomplished, and to represent him as still remaining there in order to receive further revelations in dream-visions is in the nature of an anti-climax. Moreover the burden of the dream-visions, the revelation of what is to happen in the last days, has already formed the subject of long debates in the former visions of S. The dream-visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources; and the transitional verses have been inserted by R in order to fit in and link together these other elements with the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

58. **on the night of to-morrow**, i.e. the night that follows to-morrow. Thus the words would be spoken during the day. The vision in the field of Ardat, accordingly, was not a night- but a day-vision.

The chapters that follow are drawn from three main independent sources, viz.:

A (= Adlgeresicht), the Eagle-Vision, ch. xi-xii;

M (= Menschensohn), the Son of Man Vision, ch. xiii;

E² = the Ezra-legend, ch. xiv.

x. 60-xii. 35. **THE EAGLE-VISION.** The famous Eagle-Vision—the last, apparently, of a series of dream-visions—follows. The seer in his dream sees an eagle, furnished with twelve wings and three heads, ascending out of the sea. It stretched its wings over all the earth, and all the winds of heaven blew upon it. From its wings eight other smaller wings developed; the three heads, of which the middle one was larger than the others, remained at rest. The Eagle flew with its wings, and reigned with undisputed sway over the whole earth. It stood up upon its claws, and told its wings that they should not all waken together, but each should sleep in its place, and awaken and keep watch in its own proper time; the heads were to be kept to the End. The voice announcing this proceeded not from the Eagle's head, but from the midst of his body. Presently a wing arose on the right side, reigned over the earth, and disappeared. The second arose and reigned a long time—a voice announced that none after it should reign even half as long—and this also disappeared. So it happened to the third and following wings. The seer now saw that the little wings were set up, on the right side, in order to rule; and of these some held it, but disappeared at once, while others rose up, but did not exercise rule. After this it was seen that the twelve wings had disappeared, and also two of the little wings—nothing remained in the Eagle's body but the three heads at rest and six little wings. Two of these latter were seen to detach themselves, and remained under the head at the right-hand side, while four remained in their place. These thought to set themselves up and reign. One did so and forthwith disappeared; and the second vanished even more quickly than the first. Two were now left in their original place, and while these were thinking to reign the middle head awoke and, uniting with itself the other two heads, devoured them. This head exercised rule over the earth with much oppression; but it, too, suddenly disappeared even as the wings. The two remaining heads reigned over the earth; but that on the right side devoured the one on the left. At this point the seer hears a voice telling him to look carefully and note what he should see. He saw a roaring lion come out from the wood,

- 11 ¹ And it came to pass the second night that I saw a dream: and lo! there came up from the sea
² an eagle which had twelve (?) feathered wings, and three heads. And I beheld, and lo! he spread
his wings ^o over ^o the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him, and ^p (the clouds) were
³ gathered together (unto him) ^p. And I beheld, (and lo!) out of his wings there grew ^a anti-wings ^a;
⁴ and they became wings petty and small. But his heads were at rest; the middle head was greater
⁵ than the other heads, yet it rested with them. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle flew with his wings

^{o-o} so *Ar.² Arm.*: \mathbb{L} in = \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.*

^{p-p} so *Oriental VSS.* (except *Arm.*) \mathbb{L} colligebantur (> nubes ad eum)

^{q-q} \mathbb{L} contrariae pennae (= ? ἀντιπτερύγια): other *VSS.* = πτερύγια

which, with a man's voice, upbraided the Eagle for his tyranny and cruel oppression, and announces his coming destruction:

'Therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle,
and thy horrible wings,
and thy little wings most evil,
thy harm-dealing heads,
thy hurtful talons,
and all thy worthless body!

And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her' (xi. 45-6).

While the Lion spoke, the last head disappeared; the two little wings which had detached themselves and gone over to it rose up to reign, but their reign was short and full of uproar. Then they, too, vanished, the whole body of the Eagle was consumed in flames, and the earth was greatly terrified.

On awaking from his dream-vision the seer, much perturbed by what he has seen, prays that the interpretation of it may be granted him. He is told that the Eagle is the fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel. The twelve wings represent twelve kings who shall reign in it one after the other. The second reign shall be longer than any of the other twelve. The voice proceeding from the midst of the body signifies that in the middle period (xii. 18, 'in the midst of the time of that kingdom,' according to the true text) great commotions shall arise, and it shall stand in peril of falling; but it shall recover, and regain its stability. The interpretation of the eight under (little) wings is: there shall arise in this kingdom eight kings 'whose times shall be transient and years swift'; two of these shall perish when the middle time of the kingdom approaches; four are to be kept for the time 'when its time for dissolution shall approach'; but two are to be reserved for the End. The interpretation of the three heads is: in the last days of the kingdom the Most High will raise up three kings who shall renew many things in the kingdom, and shall rule over the earth with much oppression above all that were before them. They are called the heads of the Eagle, because they shall bring its wickedness to a head and consummate its end. The disappearance of the largest (i.e. the middle) head signifies that the first of these three kings shall die upon his bed, but yet with torment. The other two are destined for the sword—one is to fall by the sword of the other, and the latter shall perish himself by the sword in the last days. The two wings that passed over to the right-hand head are reserved for the End. They shall reign for a brief time after the disappearance of the last head; but their reign shall be full of trouble and uproar. The Lion is the Messiah whom the Most High has reserved for the End.

Such is the vision and its interpretation as they lie before us in our present text. At first sight all seems clear; but a closer examination of the details reveals, as will appear, many grave difficulties. For a discussion of these see the introduction to the interpretation of the vision (xii. 36-39) below.

The vision must thus be regarded as an independent writing. It apparently belongs to a series of dream-visions, of which it forms the last, and which already existed in written form in a book when our vision was excerpted by R (cf. xii. 37). As in similar cases elsewhere R has inserted harmonistic additions designed to bring the matter into accord with other elements in our Apocalypse. Such are clearly xii. 9 and 34. But further, there seems to have been a revision of a more far-reaching character, as will appear when the details of the interpretation come to be examined.

The whole vision is clearly much influenced by, if it is not actually based upon, Dan. vii. The identification of the Eagle with the fourth kingdom of Dan. vii is an interesting case of the reinterpretation of prophecy.

With the Eagle-Vision should be compared the fountain and forest vision of 2 Baruch (xxxvi-xli), which remarkably enough is a dream-vision of the fall of the Roman power. As in our vision, this is effected by the Messiah; the last leader of the hostile host is taken captive to Mount Sion, where the Messiah, after upbraiding him with his wickedness, destroys him.

For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. 244-9. The vision in its original form appears to have been composed some time in the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) or possibly later (A.D. 96-97).

xi. 1. **I saw a dream.** Cf. Dan. vii. 1. A dream-vision (not merely a dream) is meant.

from the sea. Cf. Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1. In the latter passage, as here, the monster that ascends out of the sea = the Roman Empire. The latter, for the Orientals, came up, as a matter of historical fact, from the sea (i.e. the Mediterranean), and it is this fact that is doubtless present in the apocalypticist's thought here. [It is clear that the (perhaps contemporary) apocalyptic writers of Rev. xiii and our chapter both identified the fourth beast of Dan. vii with Rome: cf. esp. 4 Ezra xii. 10f.]

an eagle. The eagle of the following vision undoubtedly represents the Roman Empire. The symbolism was particularly appropriate to Rome, whose military emblem was the eagle.

three heads, i.e. according to the probable original meaning of the vision the three Flavian Emperors (Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian). Cf. the four wings and four heads of the leopard in Dan. vii. 6.

2. all the winds of heaven blew on him. Cf. xiii. 2, and Dan. vii. 2.

3. out of his wings there grew anti-wings. As πτέρυξ = βασιλεύς, so ἀντιπτερύγων would = ἀντιβασιλεύς (so Volk.). Usurpers or military commanders who might prove to be dangerous rivals to the Emperors are apparently meant.

- A 6 to reign over the earth and over them that dwell therein. And I beheld how all things under heaven were subject unto him, and no one spake against him—not even one of the creatures upon earth. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and uttered his voice to his wings, saying*, Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his place, and watch by course: but let the heads be preserved for the last. And I beheld, and lo! the voice proceeded not from his heads, but from the midst of his body. And I numbered his anti-wings, and lo! there were eight.
- 12 And I beheld, and lo! [on the right side] there arose one wing, and reigned over the whole earth. 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*^t 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 even as the former, and it also disappeared. And so it fell to all the wings [“in turn”] to rule and then disappear. And I beheld, and lo! in process of time^v the little wings^v also were set up [“upon the right side”] that they also might hold the rule; and some of them bare rule but
- 21, 22 disappeared suddenly: and some of them were set up but did not hold the rule. After this I beheld, and lo! the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings; and 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; 27, 28 a second also, and this disappeared more quickly than the first. And I beheld, and lo! the two 29 that remained thought also in themselves to reign; and *while they were thinking thus*, lo! *one

* S (against all the other VSS.) + Go, rule over the whole earth: but remain quiet now (? an explan. gloss)
 ** L non apparuit ^{t-t} reading hoc (v. l. haec) adnuntio ^{u-u} L singulativum ^{v-v} so S Ar.²: L sequentes pennae ^{w-w} so L S Ethiop. Arm.: but Ar.¹ Ar.² > ^{x-x} L in eo cum cogitarent (= εν τω λογιζεσθαι αυτα)
 y-y L unum de quiescentium capitum (imitating Greek construction)

8. Watch not all at once: . . . watch by course. Each wing (or pair of wings) is to be awake and watch (i.e. reign) for a certain season, its allotted time (*per tempus* = κατὰ καιρόν) and in succession; all are not to be awake at once.

12. [on the right side]. This certainly looks like an addition. If it were an original feature in the vision there would be a corresponding mention of the wings ‘on the left side’, and we should expect some comment upon the symbolical significance of right and left in the interpretation. But nothing of the kind occurs there. Consequently we are justified in regarding the words here as an interpolation: if by R, or some other reviser, then it would seem he is dividing the wings into two sets, right and left, and this might imply that previously they had been reckoned by pairs. But the words may be a gloss.

one wing. Lat. *una penna* = ἐν πτερὸν: if pairs of wings were in the original writer’s thought here we should expect ‘the first wing’ (Hebr. ? מִן־הַכְּנָפִים). Possibly something like this originally stood here, and has been modified by R; in this case ‘the first of the wings’ would have meant the first pair of wings.

17. shall none bear rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it. The reference is clearly to the long reign of Augustus (over fifty years).

19. it fell to all the wings. The expression ‘all the wings’ is noticeable; it refers, apparently, to all the twelve wings: therefore what follows in v. 20 must refer to the other set of ‘little’ wings.

20. the little wings. The verse describes the general character and fate of the eight little wings. Some such introductory statement is required before v. 22, where it is said that the twelve great wings and two of the little wings had disappeared (so Drummond, *JM*, p. 102 f.).

[upon the right side]. If the wings referred to were the twelve greater wings this clause could have no meaning; the left side would be required by the context (and so Hilg. renders here ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς: but against all the textual evidence, though five MSS. of the Ethiopic have ‘on the left side’). In reference to the little wings it may be meant to suggest their elevation to actual power. The clause may possibly be an incorrect gloss.

22. the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings, i.e. (according to the original significance of the vision) the six Julian Emperors came to an end, and, about the end of the reign of the last emperor, Nero, ‘two little wings’ rose and disappeared: perhaps the fate of the conspirators Vindex (March, A.D. 68) and Nymphidius (a few months later) is referred to. Both were active in the last months of Nero’s reign.

24. under the head that was upon the right side. This, according to the original meaning of the vision, must mean Domitian. Who the two ‘little wings’ represent in this case it is difficult to say—two Roman governors or generals probably who were expected to claim the imperial throne. Gunkel suggests Mucianus, proconsul of Syria, and Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt (A.D. 69). But these leaders attached themselves to the cause of Vespasian (the middle head); it does not appear that either played any prominent part in the reign of Domitian (‘the head on the right side’). Gfrörer suggests Agrippa II and Berenice, who went over to the Romans and were in favour with the Flavian family.

27. a second . . . disappeared more quickly than the first. Perhaps Galba’s colleague (for a short time) is meant, viz. Piso. But more probably Galba and Otho are intended.

28. the two that remained. Perhaps Civilis (died June, 69) and Vitellius (died December, 69).

- A of the heads that were at rest^v—it, namely, that was in the midst—awoke; for this one was greater
 30, 31 than the two [other] heads. And I beheld how it allied with itself the two other heads; and lo!
 the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two under-wings that thought
 32 to have reigned. This head^a bare rule over the whole earth^z, and exercised lordship over the
 dwellers therein with much oppression; [and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than
 33 all the wings that had been.] And after this I beheld, and lo! the middle head^a suddenly^a
 34 disappeared, even as the wings^b. But there remained the two heads which also reigned over the
 35 earth, and over the inhabitants therein. And I beheld, and lo! the head upon the right side
 36 devoured that which was upon the left. Then I heard a voice, which said unto me: Look before
 37 thee, and consider what thou seest. And I beheld, and lo! as it were a lion, roused out of the
 wood, roaring; and I heard how he uttered a man's voice against the eagle; and he spake, saying:
 38, 39 Hear, thou Eagle^c—I will talk with thee; the Most High saith to thee: Art thou not it that
 remainest of the four beasts which I made to reign in my world, that the end of^d my times^d might
 40 come through them? ^eThou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome^e all the beasts that
 are past;
^fThou hast wielded power over the world^f with great terror,
 and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression;
^gThou hast dwelt^g so long in the civilized world with fraud,
 41 and hast judged the earth, (but) not with faithfulness:
 42 For thou hast afflicted the meek,
 and oppressed the peaceable;
 Thou hast hated^h the upright^h,
 and loved liars;
 Thou hast destroyedⁱ the strongholdsⁱ of the fruitful^j,
 and laid low the walls of such as did thee no harm—
 43 And so thine insolence hath ascended to the Most High,
 and thy pride to the Mighty One.
 44 Then the Most High regarded his times—
 And lo! they were ended;
 And his ages—
 (and) they were fulfilled.
 45 Therefore^k shalt thou disappear^k, O thou Eagle,
 and thy horrible wings,
 and thy little wings most evil,
 thy harm-dealing heads^l,
 thy hurtful talons^m,
 and all thy worthless body!

^{z-z} reading percontenuit omnem terram ^{a-a} so \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{S} : other VSS. > ^{b-b} \mathfrak{L} et hoc sicut alae (= και τουτο καθως αι πτερυγες) ^{c-c} so \mathfrak{S} : but other VSS. (including \mathfrak{L}) > ^{d-d} so \mathfrak{L} : other VSS. of the (Ar.² all) times
^{e-e} reading et quartus veniens devicisti: cf. \mathfrak{S} Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.: Ethiop. Lat. MSS. have 3rd person ^{f-f} so \mathfrak{S} (cf. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.) ^{g-g} so \mathfrak{S} (cf. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.): \mathfrak{L} inhabitant to be emended to inhabitabas (Violet) ^{h-h} so \mathfrak{S} (cf. Ar.¹: Ar.² the pious): \mathfrak{L} verum dicentes (cf. Ethiop. Arm.) ⁱ⁻ⁱ so Oriental VSS. (= τα οχυρωματα): \mathfrak{L} habitationes (? dependent upon variant Hebr. readings: מעוני and מעוני) ^{j-j} \mathfrak{L} qui fructificabant: \mathfrak{S} of the prosperous (= των ευθηνουντων: ευθηνουσα = פרוּה Ps. cxxviii. [cxxvii] 3) ^{k-k} \mathfrak{L} non apparens non appareas (= αφανισθεις αφανισθησθ) ^{l-l} et capita tua maligna ^{m-m} \mathfrak{L} unguis tui pessimi

32. [and it wielded . . . that had been]. This clause is somewhat tautologous after the two preceding, and is probably an addition of R, who identified the middle head with Trajan. The statement, as applied to Trajan, would have special point in view of his conquests and vast additions to the Roman empire. Volkmar supposes that in the first clause *omnem terram* ('over the whole earth') should be rendered 'over all the land', i.e. the land of Palestine, and that *orbem terrarum* in the last clause stands in contrast with this.

35. the head upon the right side devoured that which was upon the left. In the original form of the vision this doubtless referred to Domitian (the right head) and Titus (the left head), whose death was at the time supposed to have been brought about by Domitian. But R probably identified the right head with Hadrian, who recalled and executed Lusus Quietus (the left head). See introduction to the next chapter.

39. the four beasts. Cf. Dan. vii. 3. The eagle is here identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii, as in the interpretation below (xii. 11).

44. And his ages—(and) they were fulfilled. The meaning is: the predetermined time is fulfilled. The conviction was common to all the apocalyptists that they were standing at the end of the age. It should be remembered, however, that in the eschatology of A the end of the present age coincides with the downfall of Rome; the future age is the Rule of God that is to succeed the heathen empire on the present earth.

45. thy hurtful talons. It should be noted that this detail receives no explanation in the interpretation that follows in chap. xii. Probably the Roman armies are meant.

A 46 And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, "shall be refreshed again", and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her.

12 1,2 And it came to pass, while the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I beheld, and lo! the head
3 that remained disappeared. And the two wings, which went over unto it, set themselves up to reign; and their rule was short and full of uproar. And I beheld, and lo! these also disappeared, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was terrified greatly.

II. xii. 3 b-39. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION (A) (R).

A (R) Then I awoke °by reason of great perplexity of mind° and from great fear, and said unto
4 my spirit: Lo! this hast thou brought unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High.

°-° *refrigeret et revertetur* (Hebr. תשוב חנפוש)

°-° *reading a multo (for tumultu) excessu mentis*

46. and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her, i.e. after the world-empire has been destroyed the Rule (or Sovereignty) of God follows. 'Judgement' here cannot have the same sense as in S, where it means the judgement of the last day: it here = the Hebr. *mishpat* and means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is condemned and destroyed.

xii. 3 b-39. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION. It has already been pointed out that a close examination of the details of the vision and its interpretation reveals many grave difficulties, and it has been suggested that these are probably due to later revision and readjustment. No solution known to the present writer has so far been proposed that entirely meets these difficulties. A most illuminating review and critical discussion of the more important of the suggestions and hypotheses that have been made is given in Dr. Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 99-114. For a full discussion of later views reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 262 ff.

A NEW SOLUTION.

Is it possible to frame a hypothesis which will meet the objections that have been adduced and satisfy the data of the text? The following seems to the present writer to be a possible solution. It may be taken for granted that whatever revision or readjustment has taken place in the text of the chapters must have been the work either of the editor who compiled our book, or of some redaction previous to his use of the special source. As there is no trace of specifically Christian influence in the text of the vision the possibility of later redaction is ruled out. It becomes important, therefore, to fix approximately the date of the editor (R), and to determine the meaning of the vision for him. Kabisch fixes the date of R at about A.D. 120, and this—or possibly even a later year—may be accepted as correct. It may be assumed that in the original form of the vision the three heads represent the three Flavian Emperors; the twelve wings represent the six Julian Emperors from Caesar to Nero, reckoning the wings by pairs. The present writer suggests that the reckoning by pairs in the original vision was intended only to apply to the twelve wings, and had a symbolical significance. The pairs served to emphasize the greater dignity and power of the real Emperors as contrasted with the ephemeral rulers symbolized by the little wings. In order to exaggerate the contrast the latter were intended to be reckoned singly. The eight little wings represent, in the original form of the vision, Vindex (March, 68), Nymphidius (a few months later)—these disappeared about the same time as the last of the twelve wings (end of Nero's reign), as represented in our text (xi. 22). The middle four represent Galba, Otho, Civilis (died June, 69), and Vitellius (died Dec., 69).

The two little wings that were to survive the last head probably signify Roman governors or generals who were expected to claim the imperial throne at the last, or possibly the two last members of the Herodian family, Agrippa II and Berenice. In its original form, then, the vision may date from the closing years of Domitian's reign (circa A.D. 95).¹ But if the editor did not incorporate it into his book—our Ezra-Apocalypse—till A.D. 120 or later (some time certainly in the reign of Hadrian), what, it may well be asked, was the significance he himself attached to the vision? He can no longer have identified the three heads with the Flavian Emperors, seeing that the reigns of these had already long ended and the predicted deliverance had not yet come.

It seems to the present writer that the requirements of the situation will be met by the hypothesis that R identified the three heads with Trajan, Hadrian, and Lusius Quietus. The last mentioned was a favourite of Trajan, of princely birth, who was generally expected to succeed to the Empire. His memory is deeply impressed upon the Jews owing to the stern part he took in suppressing Jewish rebellions first in Mesopotamia, and later in Palestine (A.D. 116-117). In the Rabbinical sources he is sometimes spoken of as if he were actual emperor. As a matter of fact he was recalled by Hadrian, soon after the latter's accession to the throne, and executed.

Having identified the three heads in this way, the editor reinterpreted the twelve wings to be the 'twelve Caesars'—a numeration which is found in Suetonius—i.e. the six Julian Emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and the three Flavian Emperors. In accordance with this view the present text of the vision has been redacted. Thus in xi. 12 the words 'on the right side', if not a gloss, are probably due to R, so also in xi. 19 'in turn' (*singulatin*). In xi. 20 the words 'on the right side' (they are omitted in the Arabic Version) may be a gloss; and in xi. 32 the clause 'and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than all the wings that had been' would apply with special force to Trajan, whose conquests were remarkable, though the possibility of their application to Vespasian is not excluded. They may be due to later revision.

In the interpretation of the vision in ch. xii the marks of revision are naturally more in evidence. Thus v. 14 ('In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other') we have the later interpretation clearly expressed. Coming to the

¹ Or possibly in some part of Vespasian's reign.

- (R) 5 Lo! I am yet weary in my soul,
and very weak in my spirit,
nor is there (left) the least strength in me on account of the great fear wherewith I have been
6 affrighted this night. Therefore will I now beseech the Most High, that he will strengthen me unto
7 the end. And I said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, if I am justified with
8 thee above many, if my supplication in truth be come up before thy countenance—Strengthen me,
and show me, thy servant, the interpretation and ^p distinct explanation^p of this fearful vision, that
9 thou mayst *completely* comfort my soul! [*For thou hast judged me worthy to show me^a the end of the
times and the last of the periods^q.*]
10, 11 And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. The eagle
which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy
12, 13 brother Daniel; [but it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted
it]. Behold, the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth, and it shall be^r more
14, 15 terrible^r than all the kingdoms that were before it. [*In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other;*]
16 And the second that shall reign, he shall bear rule a longer time^s than (any of) [*the twelve*]^s. This is the
17 interpretation of the twelve wings which thou didst see. And whereas^t thou didst hear^t a voice which
18 spake, going out not from his heads, but from the midst of his body, ^u this is the interpretation^u. ^v In
the midst^v of the time of that kingdom there shall arise no small contentions, and it shall stand in peril
19 of falling; nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again^w to rule^w. And whereas thou
20 didst see eight under-wings grow up with his wings, this is the interpretation: In it there shall arise eight
21 kings, whose times shall be transient and years swift: and two of them shall perish when the middle
time (of the kingdom) approaches; and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution

p-p \mathbb{L} distinctionem (= την σαφήνειαν) q-q \mathbb{L} temporum finem et temporum novissima: other VSS. = των χρονων
το τέλος και των καιρων τα εσχατα r-r reading timorator s-s \mathbb{L} prae xii (prae = υπερ) t-t so \mathbb{L} Arm.: but
S Ethiop. Ar.¹ thou didst see u-u \mathbb{L} haec est interpretatio: but S Ethiop. Ar.¹ = ουτος εστιν ο λογος (Hebr.
וזה הדרך) v-v so S (cf. Ethiop.) and Arm. (= μεταξυ): \mathbb{L} post (= μετα: a mistake) w-w so Ethiop. (cf.
Ar.¹) Arm.: \mathbb{L} in suum initium (misunderstanding eis αρχην αυτης)

heads we read: 'And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—[one of them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also shall fall by the sword in the last days'].

This description would suit admirably the circumstances of Trajan's end. He died in Cilicia in the year 117, upon his bed, it is true, but mortified by his half-successes and by the unrest in the East. It need hardly be added that 'the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him' suits the identification of right and left heads with Hadrian and Lusius Quietus admirably. Further, if, as is suggested in the note on xii. 21, the four wings (or anti-wings) that are kept for the time when the dissolution of the Empire approaches can be identified with the four senators who were executed by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, we have a further confirmation of the correctness of the hypothesis of reinterpretation already set forth.

7. if I am justified with thee above many. Cf. vi. 32, vii. 26, ix. 49, x. 39, xviii. 14.

8. completely. This implies that the seer had already been partially consoled (by the vision of the heavenly Sion)—a mark of R's hand.

9. the end of the times, &c. The whole verse reveals the hand of R. The Eagle Vision is not concerned with, and is not a revelation of, the 'last things'—these are treated in the preceding work of S and E—A is concerned only with the downfall of the Roman Empire. The reference here, therefore, to the end of the world is out of place, and is due to R (so Kabisch).

11. is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is a particularly clear and interesting case of the way in which apocalyptic prediction was reinterpreted and reapplied. It is interesting to note that in the Talmud (*T. B. Abodā Zārā* 1 b), Dan. vii. 23 (i.e. the fourth kingdom) is interpreted of Rome. cf. Rev. 13

14. In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other. This sentence is evidently the work of R, who understood the twelve kings to be the 'twelve Caesars'. It cannot be explained as an interpretation of the original form of the vision, as it is impossible to enumerate twelve rulers, beginning with Julius Caesar and excluding the three heads (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), who ruled consecutively. R may have altered a number merely, or may have recast the entire sentence.

15. than (any of) [the twelve]. The number 'twelve' here reflects *ex hypothesi* the later interpretation.

18. In the midst of the time of that kingdom. The time referred to is the period of anarchy that ensued at the close of Nero's reign, and was put an end to by Vespasian (A. D. 68-70).

21. and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution shall approach. Apparently four usurpers or possible candidates for the imperial dignity are meant, who are to rise and fall as the time for the dissolution of the Empire approaches, i.e. presumably in the reign of one of the three heads (probably either Trajan or Hadrian). Now it is worth noting that at the beginning of his reign Hadrian found it necessary to put to death four 'consular senators, his personal enemies, and men who had been judged worthy of empire' (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i, ch. iii). If the rise and fall of these four anti-wings is to be placed in the reign of Hadrian, unless the revision of the interpretation be credited to R at this point, it must already have reached an advanced stage before he incorporated A into our present book. In the original vision these four anti-wings apparently represent Galba, Otho, Civilis, and Vitellius (cf. xi. 27). In the reinterpretation Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are included in the twelve large wings (Civilis could be omitted as unimportant), thus involving the reinterpretation of the four anti-wings.

- A(R) 22 shall approach: but two shall be kept for the end. And whereas thou didst see three heads resting,
 23 this is the interpretation: In the last days thereof the Most High will raise up ^athree kings^x; and
^ythey shall renew^y many things therein, and shall exercise lordship over the earth and over the
 24 dwellers therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them. Therefore are they
 25 called the heads of the eagle: for these are they that shall bring to a head his wickedness, ^zand
 26 consummate his last end^z. And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—one of
 27 them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour
 28 them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also
 29 shall fall by the sword in the last days. And whereas thou didst see two under-wings ^apassing over
 30 to the head^a that is upon the right side; this is the interpretation: These are they whom the Most
 High hath kept for his (i.e. the eagle's) end; and their rule shall be short and full of uproar, as thou
 31 hast seen. And as for the lion whom thou didst see roused from the wood and roaring, and speaking
 32 to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness and all his deeds, as thou hast heard: This
 is the Messiah whom the Most High hath kept unto the end ^b(of the days, who shall spring from the
 seed of David, and shall come and speak^b) unto them;
 he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
^crebuke them^c for their unrighteousness,
^dreproach them to their faces with their treacheries^d.
 33 For at the first he shall set them alive for judgement; and when he hath rebuked them ^ehe shall
 34 destroy them^e. [But my people who survive he shall deliver with mercy, even those who have been
 saved throughout my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the End come, even the Day of
 35 Judgement, of which I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.] This is the dream that thou
 36 didst see, and this is its interpretation. Thou alone hast been found worthy to learn ^fthis mystery^f
 37 of the Most High—Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and put them in

^{x-x} = τρεις βασιλεις: so all the VSS. except L, which has tria regna (= τρεις βασιλειας) ^{y-y} so S Ethiop.
 Arm.: L renovabit ^{z-z} L et qui perficient novissima eius ^{a-a} so S: (= μεταβαττα εις την κεφαλην):
 L traicientes super caput ^{b-b} so S (and the other Oriental VSS. substantially): L > ^{c-c} so S (cf. Arm.):
 L > ^{d-d} L et infulciet coram ipsis spretones eorum (= ? και επιπληξει ενωπιον αυτων τα καταφρονημα αυτων):
 S set in order (= ? επιταξει) before them, &c.: Ethiop. heap up (= ? επιπλησει) before them, &c. ^{e-e} read-
 ing corruptet eos: so S Ethiop. Arm. (inferior reading corripet eos = A.V. correct them) ^{f-f} L secretum hoc

- two shall be kept for the end, i.e. till after the disappearance of the third head; cf. xi. 24.
 23. in the last days thereof, i.e. of the kingdom.
 they shall renew many things therein. The statement would apply equally well to the new period
 inaugurated by Vespasian or Trajan; in both cases the new régime consolidated and strengthened the Empire
 generally.
 with much oppression. This would apply with special point to Trajan and Lusius Quietus, who suppressed
 with great severity the Jewish rebellions of A. D. 116 and later; and also to Hadrian later.
 26. shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. This description would certainly better suit the circumstances
 of Trajan's end than Vespasian's (see introduction to this section).
 28. the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him, i.e. the sword of Hadrian shall devour Lusius
 Quietus; the latter was deposed and executed by Hadrian. On the other hand, the terms do not suit the case of
 Domitian and Titus.
 32. This is the Messiah. Cf. Rev. v. 5, where 'the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah' is identified with the 'Root
 of David' and = the Messiah.
 whom the Most High hath kept unto the end (of the days), i.e. the Messiah is already pre-existent in
 heaven. This representation suits the idea of the heavenly Messiah, but is inconsistent with the next clause, which
 applies to the earthly Messiah: probably the clause is due to R, and is a harmonizing interpolation.
 reproach them, &c. Cf. xiii. 37.
 33. For at the first, &c. One of the principal tasks of the Messiah is to overthrow hostile wicked powers. Here
 it is the power of Rome that is first rebuked and then destroyed; cf. xiii. 37 f.; 2 Bar. xi. 1 f.
 34. [But my people who survive, &c.] This whole verse is an insertion of R, according with his view that before
 the End of the world a temporary Messianic kingdom was to be set up (cf. vii. 25 f. and notes). In its present context
 the verse is out of harmony with the representation. The End of the age in ch. xii = the end of the heathen
 domination of the world, and is followed by the rule of the righteous embodied in Israel.
 [even those who have been saved throughout my borders], i.e. those who shall have survived the Messianic
 woes in Palestine; but the writer of the Eagle Vision contemplated a world-wide deliverance in which all earth's
 inhabitants should participate, after the overthrow of the Roman Empire; cf. xi. 46. The clause is meaningless in its
 present connexion (cf. xii. 48).
 [he shall make them joyful]. Cf. vii. 28.
 37. Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book. The secret revelation is to be written
 down in a book and preserved in a secret place for the future till the time for publishing it arrives. This representa-
 tion is common in apocalyptic literature. It partly serves to reflect the originally esoteric character of the teaching
 which was treasured in apocalyptic circles—'apocrypha' in its original connotation (ἀπόκρυφος) = 'esoteric', 'secret',
 and carried with it no disparaging meaning—and partly serves to explain why, when the books were made known,
 their existence for so long a time previously had been unsuspected. Cf. Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4 (cp. xii. 9); 1 En. lxxxii. 1,
 civ. 11-13; Ass. Mos. i. 16, x. 11, xi. 1; cf. also 4 Ezra xiv. 26, 47.

A (R) 38 a secret place; and thou shalt teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest are
39 able to comprehend and keep these mysteries. [*But do thou remain here yet seven days more, that
there may be shown unto thee whatsoever it may please the Most High to show thee.*]

III. xii. 39b-48. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (S).

- S 39 And he departed from me.
40 And it came to pass when all the people heard that the seven days were past and I not returned
to the city, they assembled themselves together, ^aall ^a 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 ^balone ^b art left to us,
as a cluster out of the vintage,
as a lamp in a dark place,
ⁱas a haven of safety for a ship in a stormⁱ.
43, 44 Are not the evils that have befallen us sufficient ^j(that thou shouldst forsake us also)^j? If thou
shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us if we also had been consumed in the burning of
45 Sion! For we are not better than they who died there. And ^kthey wept^k with a loud voice.
46 And I answered them and said:
Take courage, O Israel;
be not sorrowful, O House of Jacob!
47 For you are remembered before the Most High,
the Mighty One hath not forgotten you ^lfor ever^l.
48 But as for me, I have not forsaken you, neither will I depart from you; but I have come to this
place
to pray for the desolation of Sion
and to supplicate mercy for ^mour ^m sanctuary's humiliation.

[Originally it is probable that xiv. 29-35 immediately followed xii. 48 (see introductory section to
xiv. 27-36).]

IV. xii. 49-51. REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SIXTH VISION (R).

- R 49, 50 And now go every one of you to his own house, and after these days I will come unto you. So
51 the people went into the city as I had told them. But I sat in the field seven days, as he had
commanded me: and I did eat only ⁿof the flowers of the fieldⁿ; my food was of the herbs in
those days.

^{g-g} so \mathfrak{L} (omnis): \mathfrak{S} Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm. all the people ^{h-h} so Ethiop. Arm.: \mathfrak{L} (best MSS.) > ⁱ⁻ⁱ \mathfrak{S} Ar.¹
which = καθως λιμνη σωτηρίας νηι εν χειμωνι (cf. Arm.): \mathfrak{S} as a haven of life to a ship that is set in the tempest: \mathfrak{L} sicut
portus navis (v. l. navi) salvatae a tempestate ^{j-j} cf. \mathfrak{S} (Ar.²): \mathfrak{L} Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm. > ^{k-k} so \mathfrak{L} Ethiop. Ar.²
Arm.: but \mathfrak{S} Ar.¹ I wept ^{l-l} so \mathfrak{S} (= εις αιωνα): \mathfrak{L} in contentione (= εις αγωνα) ^{m-m} so \mathfrak{S} Ethiop. (cf. Arm.):
 \mathfrak{L} vestrae ⁿ⁻ⁿ so \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{S} : Ethiop. of the fruit of the field

[vv. 36-38 clearly form the conclusion of the original vision.]

xii. 39b-48. The section that now forms the conclusion of the fifth vision is plainly a fragment of S, and has been
transposed to its present position by R. It forms the true conclusion to the former vision, that of the heavenly Sion.
For a discussion of the reasons for this analysis reference must be made to EA, p. 276 f. The passage is parallel to
v. 14-16, which is also a misplaced fragment of S.

39. And he departed from me. 'He', sc. the angel Uriel: the verse forms the immediate continuation of x. 57.

40. the seven days, i. e. the seven days mentioned in ix. 23 f.

42. a cluster out of the vintage. For the figure cf. ix. 21, Isa. x. 6.
a lamp in a dark place. Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19.

45. they wept. For the representation cf. 2 Bar. xxxii. 8.

xii. 49-51. The verses that follow are clearly the work of R. The latter has introduced another seven days' stay in
the field of Ardat as a preparation for the vision that follows (ch. xiii), which, however, is a dream-vision. We have
already seen that the seven days' preparation in Ardat was for the final and crowning vision of the heavenly Sion,
which concluded the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S). It cannot, therefore, have been repeated. In v. 49 (see note below)
the expression 'after these days' must be due to R.

49. after these days, viz. those mentioned in xii. 39; but R has forgotten that this command to the seer had not
been communicated to the people; to the latter 'these days' would be unintelligible.

THE SIXTH VISION.

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA.)

(xiii. 1-58) (M) (R).

I. xiii. 1-13 a. THE VISION (M).

M 13 1, 2 And it came to pass after seven days that I dreamed a dream by night: °(and I beheld,)° and lo!
 3 there arose °a violent wind° from the sea, and stirred all its waves. And I beheld, and lo! °(the
 wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas as it were the form of a man. And I beheld,
 and lo!)° this Man °flew° with the clouds of heaven. And wherever he turned his countenance to
 4 look everything seen by him trembled; and whithersoever the voice went out of his mouth, all °that
 5 heard his voice° °melted away°, as the wax melts when it feels the fire. And after this I beheld,
 and lo! there was gathered together from the four winds of heaven an innumerable multitude of men

0-0 so \mathbb{L} (cf. *Arm.*): but \mathbb{S} *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.²* >

v-p so \mathbb{S} (= *μεγας ανεμος*) *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.*: \mathbb{L} a wind

4-4 so \mathbb{S} (cf. *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.*): \mathbb{L} > (by *homoioteleuton*)

t-t reading convolabat (for convalescebat):

so *Oriental VSS.*

s-s reading qui audiebant vocis (MSS. voces, vocem) eius = *οι ηκουσαν της φωνης αυτου*

t-t so \mathbb{S} (cf. *Ar.¹ Arm.*) = *ερακησαν*: \mathbb{L} ardescebant = *εκαησαν*

xiii. 1-58. THE SIXTH [SON OF MAN] VISION. A fresh dream-vision reveals a storm-tossed sea, a violent wind having arisen. The wind brings up from the midst of the sea the figure of a Man, who flies with the clouds of heaven. Everything trembles at his look; whoever hears his voice is consumed with fire. From the four quarters of the world a multitude of men presently gather to wage war against him. He carves out—whence, it is not stated—an immense rock, which he mounts and from which he annihilates the hostile host with a stream of fire and tempest which proceeds out of his mouth. His weapons, it is to be noticed, are not sword and spear, but fire and storm. When the hostile multitude has been consumed the Man descends from the mountain, and summons to his side a peaceable host, all who—whether from friendliness or fear—had not attacked him.

The seer, awaking from his dream, prays that the vision may be interpreted to him. The interpretation follows. The Man from the Sea is the Messiah; his enemies are the nations of the world; the graven rock, whose origin was so mysterious, is the heavenly Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven. The annihilation of the hostile powers is effected by the fire of the Law. Then the Messiah gathers the ten tribes out of alien lands, and with the joint aid of these and of the others who are already in Palestine, he establishes a kingdom of peace and glory.

A careful examination of the vision proper and the interpretation that follows it reveals certain incongruities between what is explained and the explanation. This is a common phenomenon in apocalyptic, and shows that the apocalyptic writers were handling traditional material which was already extremely old when they wrote. Thus the first point to be noted is that when the vision first assumed a written form (i.e. probably some considerable time before the redactor (R) compiled our present book) the real significance of many features in the original vision was already lost, and was obscured by a more or less artificially adjusted interpretation. In other words religious thought and outlook had long outgrown those of the fixed tradition. It had become necessary to reinterpret the latter to suit later conditions.

For a full discussion of 'the original significance' of the vision reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 282-4. Here it can only be noted that the term 'the Man' (or 'one like unto a son of Man' in Dan. vii) apparently denoted, in the earlier stages of the tradition, an angelic being who was invested with attributes, proper only to Jahveh Himself, and ultimately developed into the heavenly Messiah. In the earliest stage of all this 'Man' was the Cosmic Man—the 'Urmensch'—who, endowed with supernatural gifts, fights and overcomes the monster of chaos (see further, Volz, pp. 214 f., 216 f.).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION. As has already been pointed out, the written source used by R included not only the Vision proper (*vv.* 1-13 a), but also its interpretation (*vv.* 25-53). Here the details of the Vision have been forced to adjust themselves to a later eschatological scheme. The Man from the Sea = the pre-existent Messiah, who shall deliver creation (*vv.* 25-26); he will first of all destroy with wind, fire, and storm the hostile powers that assemble against him (*vv.* 27-28 and 33-35 [*vv.* 29-32 may be an interpolation by R]), after rebuking them for their offences (*vv.* 37-38); the fire with which he destroys them is the fire of the Law (*v.* 38). The assembly of the hostile nations and their destruction thus described correspond to the 'wars of Gog and Magog', which is a regular feature in the eschatological scheme. After the destruction of his enemies the Messiah gathers his subjects—the peaceable multitude of *v.* 12. These, it is significant to notice, are identified (*v.* 40 f.) with the Ten Tribes (= Israel's exiles), who now are led back and, together with the two tribes already in Palestine (*v.* 48), enjoy the Messianic kingdom of peace. Nothing is said in the interpretation of the vision of any heathen nations being included in the peaceable multitude, though such were certainly included in the representation of the vision itself (*v.* 12). Possibly, however, proselytes were intended to be included.

A number of considerations, which cannot be discussed here, show that the vision and its interpretation (i.e. M) form an independent source; and the historical situation presupposed clearly points to a date anterior to A.D. 70 (see further *EA*, p. 285 f.).

THE REDACTION OF M. The redactional readjustments made by R are mainly by way of supplement from the other sources of the book. The most considerable of his additions is in the section xiii. 13 b-24 (see introduction to this); his hand is also apparent in xiii. 26 b, xiii. 29-32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48 (see notes on these passages). The vision and its interpretation fall naturally into the following divisions: i. *The Vision* (xiii. 1-13 a); ii. *The Apocalyptic's reflections on the Vision* (xiii. 13 b-24); iii. *The interpretation of the Vision* (xiii. 25-53 a).

1. from the sea. Cf. xi. 1.

4. as the wax melts when it feels the fire. A standing figure in the O.T., especially in theophanic descriptions; cf. Ps. xcvi. 5, Micah i. 4; also Judith xvi. 15, 1 En. i. 6, &c.

M 6 to make war against the Man that came up out of the sea. And I beheld, and lo! he cut out for
 7 himself a great mountain and flew up upon it. But I sought to see the region or place from whence the
 8 mountain had been cut out; and I could not. And after this I beheld, and lo! all who were gathered
 together against him to wage war with him were seized with great fear; yet they dared to fight.
 9 And lo! when he saw the assault of the multitude as they came he neither lifted his hand, nor held
 10 spear nor any warlike weapon; but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it were "a fiery
 stream", and out of his lips "a flaming breath", and out of his tongue he shot forth "a storm of
 11 sparks". And these were all mingled together—the fiery stream, the flaming breath, and "the
 . . . storm", and fell upon "the assault of the multitude" which "was prepared to fight, and burned
 them all up, so that suddenly nothing more was to be seen of the innumerable multitude save only
 12 dust of ashes and smell of smoke. When I saw this I was amazed. Afterwards I beheld the same
 Man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.
 13 Then drew nigh unto him the faces of many men, "some of whom were glad, some sorrowful"; while
 some were in bonds, some brought others who should be offered.

II. xiii. 13b-24. THE APOCALYPTIST'S REFLECTIONS ON THE VISION (mainly R).

Then through great fear I awoke. And I supplicated the Most High and said:

R 14 Thou from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders, and hast counted me worthy to
 15, 16 receive my prayer: oh show me now moreover the interpretation of this dream! For as I conceive
 in my mind, woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that
 17, 18 do not survive! For they that do not survive must be sorrowful, knowing as they do what things are
 19 reserved in the last days, but not attaining unto them. But woe unto them also that survive, for
 20 this reason—they must see great perils, and many distresses, even as these dreams do show. Yet
 "it is better" to come into "these things" incurring peril, than to pass away as a cloud out of the
 21 world and not to see what shall happen in the last time. And he answered me, and said: The
 interpretation of the Vision I will tell thee, and I will also explain unto thee the things of which

u-u *fluctum* (v. l. *flatum*) ignis v-v *spiritum flammae* w-w *reading* *scintillas tempestatis* x-x *multitudo*
tempestatis (we should expect *scintillae tempestatis* to be repeated) y-y *reading* *multitudinis impetum* z-z *quod*
(sc. multitudo = πληθος—retaining the Greek gender) a-a *quorundam gaudentium quorundam tristantium*
 = *ων μεν ηδομενων, ων δε λυπουμενων* b-b *so* *Ethiop.* (cf. *Arm.*): *facilius* (? *read* *felicis*: *so* *Hilg.*) c-c *reading*
haec = *Ethiop.*

6. he cut out for himself a great mountain. Cf. Dan. ii. 45 ('the stone cut out without hands').

10. a storm of sparks. The whole representation is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27, 1 En. lxii. 2. It is a striking feature that the Messiah, without the aid of weapons or allies, destroys the opposed nations by supernatural means. See further Volz, p. 224 f.

11. the . . . storm. The description is a threefold delineation of the fiery stormy emission from the Messiah's mouth—fire like a stream, flame like wind, a sea of sparks like a snowstorm, all forming a mingled mass (Volkmar).

12. and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable. The Messiah first destroys his enemies and then gathers his subjects, as in Ps. of Sol. xvii (cf. especially verses 27, 28); cf. Isa. xi. 12.

13. the faces of many men. The faces betray the moods (joy, sorrow, &c.) described in the following clause.

some . . . glad, some sorrowful. Jews and heathen, pious and godless, are meant (Gunkel).

some were in bonds, i.e. Jews in captivity.

some brought others who should be offered, i.e. the heathen bring in Jews as an oblation to the Messiah; cf. Isa. lxvi. 20 (Ps. Sol. xvii. 34).

xiii. 13b-24. As would be expected, R has not allowed the old source (M) from which he excerpted this vision to remain without revision and interpolation. In the section that follows (vv. 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 v. 25, as the form of that verse clearly indicates. The whole passage exhibits essentially similar features to those of viii. 63-ix. 12. It is a compilation made by R. Its reflective tone also accords with this view of its general character.

Possibly some of the language of the earlier source lies behind vv. 13b-14, but if so it has apparently been revised by R. See further EA, p. 290.

13. And I supplicated the Most High. The prayer is addressed directly to God. [What here followed originally has, it seems, been worked over by R.]

14. from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders. Cf. viii. 63. R here alludes to the disclosures which have been made in the former Visions.

hast counted me worthy to receive my prayer. Cf. ix. 24, 25.

18. what things are reserved in the last days. 'The last days' here = the temporary Messianic kingdom that precedes the End. This view harmonizes with the eschatology of E and R. Cf. vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

19. even as these dreams do show. By 'these dreams' R here means the whole series of preceding visions.

- R 23 thou hast spoken. Whereas thou hast spoken of those who survive ^d(and of those who do not survive) ^d—this is the interpretation: He that shall bring the peril in that time ^ewill himself keep ^e them that fall into the peril, even such as have works and faith toward ^f(the Most High and) ^f the Mighty One. Know, therefore, that those who survive (to that time) are more blessed than those that have died.

III. xiii. 25-52, 53 a. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION (M) (R).

- M 25 These are the interpretations of the vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from
26 the heart of the Sea: this is he whom the Most High is keeping ^g many ages ^g [(and) ^h through whom
27 he will deliver his creation ^h], and the same shall order the survivors. And whereas thou didst see
28 that out of his mouth there came wind, and fire, and storm; and whereas he held neither spear, nor
any warlike weapon, but destroyed the assault of that multitude which had come ⁱ to fight against
R 29 him ⁱ—this is the interpretation: [Behold, the days come when the Most High is about to deliver them
30, 31 that are upon earth. And there shall come astonishment of mind upon the dwellers on earth: and
they shall plan to war one against another, ^j city against city ^j, place against place, people against
32 people, and kingdom against kingdom. And it shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the
signs shall happen which I showed thee before, then shall my Son be revealed whom thou didst see as
M 33 a Man ascending.] It shall be, when all the nations hear his voice, every man shall leave his own
34 land and the warfare which they have one against another; and an innumerable multitude shall be
35 gathered together, as thou didst see, desiring to come and to fight against him. But he shall stand
R 36 upon the summit of Mount Sion. [And Sion shall come and shall be made manifest to all men,
M 37 prepared and builded, even as thou didst see the mountain cut out without hands.] But he, my Son,
shall reprove the nations that are come for their ungodliness—which things (i.e., the rebukes) are
38 like unto a storm—; and shall reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts and with the
tortures with which they are destined to be tortured—which are compared unto a flame—; and then
39 shall he destroy them without labour ^k by the Law ^k which is compared unto fire. And whereas
thou didst see ^l that he summoned and gathered to himself ^l another multitude which was peaceable—

^{d-i} so S Ar.¹ (cf. Ethiop.): L >

^{e-g} reading ipse custodibit

^{f-f} so S (cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹): L >

^{g-g} L multis temporibus (= πολλοῖς χρόνοις) ^{h-h} L qui per semetipsum (a misunderstanding of אֲשֶׁר-בְּרָא = ὅς δι' αὐτοῦ): the correct translation is given by Ar.¹ (cf. S Ethiop. Arm.) ⁱ⁻ⁱ L ad (so S, &c.) expugnare eum (= πρὸς τὸ ἐκπολεμεῖν αὐτοῦ) ^{j-j} L civitatis (a false nom. = civitas) civitatem ^{k-k} so S: L et legem ^{l-l} so S (cf. Ar.¹): L eum colli-

23. even such as have works and faith. A reminiscence of the theology of S; so in a similar composite passage, ix. 7 (cf. viii. 33 S).

xiii. 25-52, 53 a.

26. many ages. The pre-existent heavenly Messiah (= 'the Son of Man' of 1 En. xxxvii-lxx) is meant. His being hidden with God is referred to in v. 52 below. This heavenly pre-existence must be carefully distinguished from the earthly pre-existence which is attributed in various forms to the earthly Messiah in Rabbinic literature.

[through whom he will deliver his creation]. This clause does not accord with the rest of the interpretation; it has probably been interpolated by R from the former vision (A); cf. xi. 46. So, again, v. 29 in this chapter (the deliverance of creation).

and the same shall order the survivors. This is probably due to R (cf. v. 48).

29-32. [Behold, the days come, &c.] These verses appear to be an interpolation by R intended to explain how the nations had previously been engaged in internecine strife. The contents are in the style of E; cf. iv. 52-v. 12. The verses really interrupt the sequence of the interpretation, which is restored by their elimination.

29. [Behold, the days come]. Cf. v. 1, vi. 18.

31. [people against people, and kingdom against kingdom]. Cf. Isa. xix. 2, Matt. xxiv. 7.

34. [and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together]. An important point in the eschatological drama is assigned to the final conflict of the assembled heathen nations against the people of God (the 'wars of Gog and Magog'). The annihilation of these hosts forms an indispensable preliminary to the inauguration of the Messianic era. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii-xxxix; Joel iii (Hebr. iv) 12; Zech. xiv. 2; Isa. xxv. 2; and see further EA, p. 294 f.

35. But he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Sion. The identification of the mysterious mountain (which the Man cut out for himself and upon which he flew) with Mount Sion is implied. This is natural from a later point of view; cf. Ps. ii. 6. For the original significance of this feature cf. EA, p. 295.

36. [And Sion shall come, &c.] Another interpolation by R. Here Sion = the heavenly City which descends from heaven at the end of the Messianic age (cf. vii. 26). Cf. also Rev. xxi. 2, 9 f.

[without hands]. Cf. Dan. ii. 34, 35.

37. shall reprove the nations. Cf. xii. 32.

shall reproach them, &c. Cf. xii. 32.

38. shall he destroy them. Apparently the hostile multitude here destroyed includes all the heathen nations, as 'the peaceable' multitude which is preserved is identified with the Ten Tribes. Contrast the original vision (v. 13 a), which contemplates the submission of some of the heathen to the triumphant Messiah (so 2 Bar. lxxii. 2, 3; Ps. of Sol. xvii. 32). For the older view see Ps. lxxii. 11; Isa. lxvi; Zech. xiv; Dan. vii. 14. Possibly in our passage, however, proselytes are intended to be included in the 'peaceable' multitude. For the conflict of opinion on the ultimate fate of the heathen see Volz, p. 322-325; RWS², ch. xi. 2 b.

M 40 These are ^mthe ten tribes^m which were led away captive out of their own land in the days ⁿof
 Josiah ⁿthe king, ^owhich (tribes)^o Salmanassar the king of the Assyrians led away captive; he
 41 carried them across the River, and (thus) they were transported into another land. ^pBut they took
 this counsel among themselves^p, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth
 42 into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their
 43 statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they entered by the narrow passages
 44 of the river Euphrates. For the Most High then wrought ^qwonders^q for them, and stayed the
 M(R) 45 springs of the River until they were passed over. And through that country there was a great way
 46 to go, (a journey) of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth. There they have dwelt
 47 until the last times; and now, when they are about to come again, the Most High will again stay
 the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over. Therefore thou didst see a multitude
 48 gathered together in peace. [*But the survivors of thy people, even those who are found within my holy*
 49 *border, ^r(shall be saved)^r.] It shall be, therefore, when he shall destroy the multitude of the nations
 50 that are gathered together, he shall defend the people that remain. And then shall he show them
 51 ^svery many wonders^s. And I said: O Lord my Lord, show me this: wherefore I have seen the
 52 Man coming up from the heart of the sea. And he said unto me: Just as one can neither seek out
 nor know what is in the deep of the sea, even so can no one upon earth see my Son [*or those that*
 53 *are with him*], but in the time ^tof his day^t. Such is the interpretation of the dream which thou
 hast seen.*

IV. xiii. 53b-58. EPILOGUE AND TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION
 (partly E², partly S R).

E² 53b ... Therefore ^uhas this been revealed to thee^u, and to thee alone,
 54 because thou hast forsaken ^vthe things of thyself^v,
 and hast applied thy diligence unto mine
 and searched out my Law;

gentem ad se ^{m-m} so \mathbb{L} : \mathbb{S} the nine and a half tribes = *Ethiop.* (some MSS.: but others nine) *Ar.*¹ *Arm.*: *Ar.*² the rem-
 nant of the nine tribes ⁿ⁻ⁿ \mathbb{L} (best MSS.) Josiae; so \mathbb{S} *Ar.*²: \mathbb{L} (M) Oseae ^{o-o} so \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.* *Ar.*¹: \mathbb{L} quem (due to
 misunderstanding the reference of אֲשֶׁר) ^{p-p} \mathbb{L} ipsi autem sibi dederunt consilium hoc ^{q-q} so *Oriental VSS.*:
 \mathbb{L} signa ^{r-r} so \mathbb{S} : other VSS. (including \mathbb{L}) > ^{s-s} \mathbb{L} multa plurima portenta (= נִפְלְאוֹת רַבּוֹת נְדוּלוֹת ?) \mathbb{S}
 many wonders (*Violet regards multa in \mathbb{L} as an uncorrected mistake for plurima*) ^{t-t} so \mathbb{S} (cf. other *Oriental*
VSS.): \mathbb{L} diei only ^{u-u} \mathbb{L} inluminatus es haec = ἐφωτισθης ταῦτα ^{v-v} \mathbb{L} tua = τα ὁ α

40. the ten tribes. This is a purely ideal designation of the Northern Kingdom here. For the legends concerning the Ten Tribes cf. *EA*, p. 300 f.; and for the explanation of the variant 'nine and a half' cf. *EA*, p. 296.

in the days of Josiah the King. This is the true reading of \mathbb{L} and the other versions. An historical error is involved, Hosea being the name of the king in whose reign the Captivity took place (cf. 2 Kings xvii). The error may be due to the original writer (cf. Dan. i. 1, 2 Bar. i. 1), or to textual corruption in the original Hebrew.

the River, i.e. the Euphrates.

41. where the human race had never dwelt. As Gunkel remarks, the fact that the Ten Tribes were not known to exist in any definite land made it necessary to suppose that they had removed to a locality not otherwise accessible, and out of contact with the rest of the world.

44. and stayed the springs of the River until they were passed over. Cf. Josh. iii. 15 f. This will explain why it is that the country in which the Ten Tribes are supposed to be dwelling is inaccessible (Gunkel).

45. Arzareth, i.e. as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (*Journal of Philology*, iii [1871], p. 114) correctly pointed out, the 'eres 'achereth (= 'another land') of Deut. xxix. 25-28 (Hebr. 24-27). The words of this passage are applied to the Ten Tribes in the Mishnah (*Sanh.* x. 3). See further *EA*, p. 298.

48. [But the survivors . . . who are found within my holy border, &c.] This verse must be an interpolation of R; it represents the point of view of E (cf. vi. 25), which R is fond of insisting upon (cf. vii. 28). The logical connexion is much improved by its omission. For the idea that Palestine is, in a special sense, the land of salvation (cf. ix. 8), and that to dwell there is in itself a source of protection and happiness, cf. 2 Bar. xl. 2 (also xxxix. 2) and notes there. See also Volz, p. 308.

49. defend the people that remain, i.e. those, presumably, who do not come under the destructive fire that proceeds out of the Messiah's mouth, viz. Israel, which includes the people in Palestine and the Ten Tribes. The latter may be intended to embrace the Dispersion generally, together with proselytes.

51. show me this. The meaning of the coming up of the Man from the Sea was already obscure to the apocalypticist. The explanation that follows is clearly an artificial one, the product of later reflection.

52. [or those that are with him]. There is no hint in the vision itself, or elsewhere in the interpretation, that the Messiah is accompanied by other beings; probably the words are an insertion by R (cf. vii. 28—also R). The Messiah's immortal companions may be meant (cf. vi. 26), or, possibly, angels.

xiii. 53b-58. The verses that follow form, in their present position, a short epilogue to the sixth, and a transition to the seventh vision. Probably vv. 53b-55 (which are vigorous and distinctive both in thought and diction) were derived by R from E², while vv. 57-58 are a misplaced fragment of S, which should follow x. 57. See *EA*, p. 301 f. In order to adjust these verses to their present context R has added the redactional link 'and there I sat three days'. This finds its explanation in the opening words of the next vision.

- E² 55 Thy life thou hast ordered unto wisdom
and hast called understanding thy mother.
56 Therefore have I showed thee this; for there is a reward (laid up) with the Most High. And it shall be after three more days I will speak other things unto thee, and will declare to thee things difficult and marvellous.

REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION

[vv. 57-58 (S) misplaced: proper position after x. 57].

- S(R) 57 [vv Then I went forth and walked in the field vv, greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on
58 account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season; and because he governs the times and the things which come to pass in due season.] *And there I abode three days.*

THE SEVENTH VISION.

(THE EZRA-LEGEND.)

(Chap. xiv) (E²) (S) (R).I. xiv. 1-17. EZRA'S COMMISSION (E²) (R).

- E² 14 1, 2 And it came to pass w after the third day w, while I sat under the oak, lo! there came a voice out
vv-vv so S Ethiop. (cf. Arm. Ar.²): \mathbb{L} et profectus sum et transii in campum w-w so Ar.² Arm. (cf. S after this): \mathbb{L} tertio die

55. hast called understanding thy mother. Cf. Prov. vii. 4.

57. Then I went forth and walked in the field, i.e. the field of Ardat, the scene of the Vision of the heavenly City. The proper position of this and the following verse is, therefore, after x. 57. In its original context the clause means that the seer avails himself of the permission given him in x. 55 to go in and look more carefully at the wonders of the heavenly City, still conceived as being visible to his eyes in the field. So he passes from the spot, where he has received the revelation, further into the field to gaze upon the City.

xiv. THE SEVENTH VISION. The so-called 'Seventh Vision' begins with a narrative description of Ezra sitting 'under the oak', and 'on the third day' (i.e. at the end of the three-day period prescribed in xiii. 56) hearing a voice from a bush (as to Moses), which commanded him to recall carefully the things (of Scripture and tradition) that he had learnt, because his departure from the world is at hand—he is assured that he is to be translated to the heavenly regions to be with the Messiah and his companions. The age is hastening to its close. Of the twelve periods which the world had to run nine and a half have elapsed already, and only two and a half remain. Therefore the prophet is bidden to prepare to take his departure. On his asking who is to take his place after he himself has gone, and praying that he may be inspired, while he remains on earth, to write down again all the Scriptures that have been burnt, he is told to withdraw from the people forty days: during this interval, with the aid of five specially equipped scribes, he is to write down all that he has seen and heard. Part of the writings is to be published openly; part to be kept secret. The seer, after delivering a farewell address to the people (vv. 27-36), does as he is commanded. A cup is given him 'which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire', after drinking which he is specially inspired and strengthened to remember all the sacred writings. For forty days he dictates to the five scribes, with the result that in all ninety-four books are written down, twenty-four of which (= the Old Testament Books) are to be published, while seventy are to be treasured in secret among the wise of the people. In the Oriental Versions a short postscript gives the year, according to the Era of Creation, when these events took place, and ends with the announcement of Ezra's assumption.

For a full discussion of the significance of the Ezra-legend for the interpretation of the book reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 304 ff. It should be noted that the legend represents Ezra as the restorer not only of the lost canonical but also of the dispersed apocalyptic books.

This amounts to a claim that the apocalyptic tradition occupies an essential place in genuine Judaism. It claims for itself the great names of Moses and Ezra, 'the second Moses.' When the date of the formation of our book is taken into consideration (? A.D. 120 or somewhat later) it seems impossible to dissociate its appearance with the controversies regarding the Canon. The motive of R in compiling his Apocalypse and associating with it the name of Ezra seems to have been a desire to reassert the claim of apocalyptic tradition to secure (or maintain) for itself an officially recognized place within Judaism as part of the oral tradition.

While there was, at this time, a party among the Rabbis more or less favourable to apocalyptic, a larger number took up a hostile attitude. Our book seems to be due to an attempt to win over opponents by publishing one of the secret books (or a collection of selections from them) associated with the great name of Ezra, in which the cruder elements of apocalyptic are refined away.

A number of considerations go to show that E² is an independent source. For a full discussion of these reference must be made to *EA*, p. 306 f. The fitting in of ch. xiv to its present context by R was not accomplished without some adjustment and adaptation. This can be seen clearly in vv. 8b, 17b, 28, and v. 37 ('into the field'): in vv. 29-35 we have, apparently, a misplaced section of S; while vv. 49-50 are obviously the work of R. The chapter falls naturally into the following divisions: (i) vv. 1-17; (ii) vv. 18-26; (iii) vv. 27-36; (iv) vv. 37-48; (v) vv. 49-50.

xiv. 1-17.

1. under the oak. Evidently some well-known oak is meant which had been fixed upon by tradition as a place where revelations were given. Such an oak is mentioned in several passages in 2 Baruch (vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, cf. lv. 1), and is there located in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Doubtless the same oak (in or near Jerusalem) is meant here; it cannot be identical with 'Abraham's oak' at Hebron.

2. there came a voice out of a bush. Cf. Exod. iii. 8.

- of a bush over against me; and it said, Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Here am I, Lord. And I rose upon my feet. Then said he unto me: I did manifestly reveal myself^x in the bush^x, and talked with Moses when my people were in bondage in Egypt; and I sent him,^y and led^y my people out of Egypt, and brought them to Mount Sinai; and I held him by me for many days.
- I told him many wondrous things,
showed him the secrets of the times,
^z declared to him^z the end of the seasons:
Then I commanded him saying:
These words shalt thou publish openly, but these keep secret. And now I do say to thee:
The signs which I have shewed^a thee^a,
*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.
- For the world has lost its youth,
The times begin to wax old.
- For the world-age is divided into^b twelve^b parts; ^c nine (parts) of it are passed already^c, and the half of the tenth part; and there remain of it two (parts), besides^d the half^d of the tenth part.
- Now, therefore, set in order thy house,
and reprove thy people;
Comfort the lowly among them,
^e and instruct those that are wise^e.
Now do thou renounce the life that is corruptible,
let go from thee^f the cares of mortality^f;
cast from thee the burdens of man,
put off now the weak nature;
lay aside thy burdensome cares,
and hasten to remove from these times!
- For still worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen^g shall yet take place^g. For the weaker the world grows through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon the dwellers on earth.
- Truth shall withdraw further off,
and falsehood be nigh at hand:
for already the Eagle is hastening to come whom thou sawest in vision.

^{x-x} \mathbb{L} super rubum (= επι της βατου): *Ar.*² in Mount Sinai (confusion of סנה [Aram. סני] bush and סיני) ^{s-y} reading eduxi (SA): the v. l. eduxit is supported by \mathbb{S} *Ar.*¹ *Ar.*² ^{a-a} so \mathbb{S} (cf. other Oriental VSS.); \mathbb{L} > ^{a-a} so \mathbb{S} *Ethiop.* *Ar.*¹: but \mathbb{L} (best MSS.) > ^{b-b} so \mathbb{L} *Ar.*²: *Ethiop.* ten [vv. 11-12 are not attested in \mathbb{S} and *Arm.*] ^{c-c} reading et transierunt eius ix iam (MSS. of \mathbb{L} have x [decem] = *Ar.*²) ^{d-d} reading dimidium ^{e-e} so Oriental VSS.: \mathbb{L} > ^{f-f} \mathbb{L} mortales cogitationes (= τους θανασίμους λογισμούς) ^{g-g} reading iterum . . . facientur (MSS. facient)

4. I held him by me, i.e. 'I held' Moses (viz. on Mount Sinai); cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28.
5. the secrets of the times . . . the end of the seasons, i.e. the secret tradition regarding the crises of the world's history (measured by certain periods of time) which was associated with the name of Moses: a specimen of this exists in the *Assumption of Moses*; see i. 16 f., x. 12, xi. 1. There are traces of a larger apocryphal literature which circulated under the name of Moses, but which is no longer extant.
6. These words . . . publish openly, but these keep secret. Cf. the narrative in Deut. v. What was published openly by Moses was the Torah; what was kept secret was, according to our author, the apocalyptic tradition. So Gunkel. The terms of v. 5 certainly suggest an apocalyptic rather than an oral legal tradition, such as the oral Law which was treasured in Rabbinic circles, and which was largely traced back (in theory, at any rate) to Moses.
8. The dreams . . . interpretations . . . heard. These lines have probably been added by R to connect what follows with the contents of the previous visions.
9. with my Son, and with such as are like thee. The Messiah is here conceived as pre-existing in heaven, and (as in the Parables of 1 Enoch) as surrounded by a community of elect ones (cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7). So, too, in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 En. lxx. 1 f.), just as Ezra is here. See further *EA*, p. 309.
- until the times be ended. The heavenly Messiah does not appear till the End; cf. 1 En. xlv. 3 f.
10. the world has lost its youth, the times begin to wax old. Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; see the idea worked out in 4 Ezra v. 50-55.
12. the half. For vv. 11-12 the *Ethiop.* has: 'For the world is divided into ten parts and is come to the tenth; and there remains the half of the tenth' (cf. the half-week in Dan. ix. 27 = the last 3½ years of tribulation). So in *Sibyll. Oracles*, iv. 47 f., and in the apocalypse of ten weeks, 1 En. xciii (xci). The twelve-period division appears in 2 Bar. liii f. In our passage it is probable that the time-definition is intended to apply to the historical Ezra. See further *EA*, p. 310.
13. thy house, i.e. the house of Israel.
14. cast from thee the burdens of man. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.
17. for already the Eagle, &c. This is obviously a redactional link to bring in ch. xi.

II. xiv. 18-26. EZRA'S PRAYER FOR INSPIRATION TO RESTORE THE SCRIPTURES (E²).

- E² 18, 19 And I answered and said: ^hLet me speak ^hbefore thee, O Lord! Lo, I will depart, as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who (now) exist: but they that shall be born later, who shall admonish them?
- 20 For the world lies in darkness,
and the dwellers therein are without light.
- 21 For thy Law is burnt; and so no man knows the things which have been done by thee, or the
22 works that shall be done. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me the Holy Spirit, that I may write all that has happened in the world since the beginning, even the things which were written in thy Law, in order that men may be able to find ⁱthe pathⁱ, and that they who would live at the last, may live.
- 23 And he answered me and said: Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee
24 for forty days. But do thou prepare for thyself many ^jwriting-tablets^j; and take with thee Saraia, Dabria, Selemia, ^kElkanah^k, and Osiel, these five, because they are equipped for writings wiftly;
25 and (then) come hither, and I will light the lamp of understanding in thy heart, which shall not be
26 extinguished until what thou art about to write shall be completed. And when thou shalt have finished, some things thou shalt publish, and some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise. To-morrow, at this hour, thou shalt begin to write.

III. xiv. 27-36. EZRA'S LAST WORDS (E²) (S) (R).

- E² 27 Then I went forth as he commanded me, and assembled all the people and said:
R 28 [*Hear, O Israel, these words!*]
S 29 [Our fathers were at the beginning strangers in Egypt, and they were delivered from thence.
30 And (then) they received the Law of life, which they kept not, ^leven as^l you also after them have
31 transgressed (it). Then was a land given you for an inheritance ^min the land of Sion^m, but ye and

^{h-h} *reading* loquar (Lat. MSS. mostly >) = Oriental VSS.

buxos (= πύλα: Hebr. לְחִיט)

^{k-k} so S and Arm. (cf. Ethiop.): L Ethanus

ⁱ⁻ⁱ so L S: Ethiop. + of life

^{j-j} L

prob. an original Hebr. כֹּאשֶׁר was misread אֶשֶׁר (so Violet)

^{m-m} so L S (cf. Ethiop.): Ar.¹ >: Ar.² on Mount

xiv. 18-26.

20. **the dwellers therein are without light**, i.e. without the light of God's Law. For the idea of the Law = light of divine revelation cf. Ps. xix, especially v. 8 b. Often, in apocalyptic, light and darkness correspond to piety and godlessness.

21. **thy Law is burnt**. The reference here is primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar when, with other things, the Law is presumed to have been burnt.

the things which have been done by thee, i.e. the narrative of the sacred (historical) books of the Old Testament.

the works that shall be done, i.e. according to Gunkel, the eschatological passages of the Old Testament. The Old Testament thus consists primarily of sacred history and eschatology.

22. **Law**. 'Law' here, apparently, has the wide sense of Scriptures of the Old Testament generally; cf. John x. 24, xv. 25; 1 Cor. xiv. 21.

that they who would live at the last, may live. Cf. 2 Bar. xli. 1 and notes, and lxxvi. 5.

23. **for forty days**. As at the first giving of the Law (to Moses) and its writing down; cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. The precedent is followed in the case of the second Moses here.

24. **these five**. In Ezra and his five companions there may be a covert allusion to Johanan b. Zakkai—the re-founder of Judaism in A.D. 66-70—and his five famous disciples, Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, Joshua b. Hananya, Jose the Priest, Simeon b. Nathanael, and Eleazar b. Araq. (so Rosenthal).

26. **some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise**. Just as Moses, according to Rabbinic tradition, had delivered the substance of the oral law to the teachers and wise of his people to be handed down to future ages.

xiv. 27-36. The section that follows is apparently of composite origin. In v. 23 God had said to Ezra: 'Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.' Instead of simply carrying out this command Ezra, according to the present form of the section, assembles the people and delivers an address in which he reminds them that their fathers, though they were delivered from Egypt and received the Law of life, were unfaithful to their trust, and had not kept the behest of the Most High. In this unfaithfulness the assembled people had themselves shared. Therefore their land had been taken from them. If they will rule their understanding and instruct their hearts they shall be preserved alive, and after death obtain mercy. For after death there is the judgement, when the names of the righteous shall be made manifest, and the works of the ungodly declared. Ezra concludes by requesting that no one shall seek after him for forty days.

It seems probable that the passage as a whole formed no original part of E², and has been compiled by R, who has detached the original conclusion of S, and placed it here (it forms the true sequel to xii. 48). See further EA, p. 315. In its original form E² here simply had, it is probable, vv. 27 and 36.

28. [*Hear, O Israel, these words!*] This clause may have been added by R.

30. **the Law of life**, i.e. the Law which, if it was observed, would confer life and immortality—a characteristic thought of S.

- S your fathers have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which ^athe Most High ^acommanded you. ^oAnd ^oforasmuch as he is a righteous judge he took from you in due time that which he had bestowed. And now ye are here [^pand your brethren are . . . ^p].
- 34 If ye, then, will rule over your own understanding
and will discipline your heart,
Ye shall be preserved alive
and after death obtain mercy.
- 35 For after death shall the Judgement come,
[when we shall once more live again:]
And then shall the names of the righteous be made manifest,
and the works of the godless declared.]
- E² 36 Let no man, then, come unto me now, nor seek me for forty days.

IV. xiv. 37-48. THE RESTORATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES (E²).

- 37 So I took the five men as he had commanded me, and we went forth [*into the field*] and remained there.
- 38 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! a voice called me, saying:
Ezra, open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!
- 39 Then I opened my mouth, and lo! there was reached unto me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.
- 40 And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk
My heart poured forth understanding
wisdom grew in my breast,
and my spirit retained its memory:
- 41 and my mouth opened, and was no more shut.
- 42 And the Most High gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote what was dictated ^ain order ^a, ^rin characters which they knew not ^r.
- 43 ^aAnd so they sat ^a forty days:
They wrote in the day-time
and at night did eat bread;

Sinai ⁿ⁻ⁿ so *Ar. (cf. Ethiop.)*: *S* Moses the servant of the Lord: *Ar.*¹ > ^{o-o} so *Oriental VSS.*: *L* > *P-P* *L* et fratres vestri introrsum vestrum sunt (*cf. Ar.*¹): *S* and your brethren are further inland than you in another land (*cf. Ethiop. Arm.*): *Ar.*² your brethren are in the furthest East ^{q-q} *L* ex successione (= *καθεξής*; *cf. Luke* i. 3) ^{r-r} *reading* [ex successione] *notis (MSS. noctis) quae non sciebant (so S: cf. Ethiop.) (corrupt text is [quae dicebantur] excessionis noctis: the wonderful visions of the night that were told A.V.)* ^{a-a} so *L* *Ethiop.*: but *S* (*cf. Ar.*¹ *Arm.*) I sat

33. ye are here, i.e. in Babylon (if the passage belongs to S). In its present context 'here' ought to mean in Jerusalem.

[and your brethren are . . .] The text is very uncertain (see crit. notes). If 'your brethren' = the Ten Tribes the verse is clearly a harmonistic addition based on xiii. 41.

34. Ye shall be preserved alive, i.e. spiritually alive.

35. [when we shall once more live again]. This clause seems certainly to refer to the bodily resurrection (preceding the last Judgement). But such a reference would not harmonize with the theology of S. Kabisch thinks the clause may have been originally a marginal gloss, which was added by a pious reader who believed in a general resurrection, and which afterwards got into the text.

37. [into the field]. This is probably due to R, who identified the spot to which Ezra and his five companions retired with the field of Ardat. Some other expression may have stood in the text originally.

39. was full as it were with water . . . fire. The cup is the cup of inspiration full of the holy spirit, which, clear as water, is like fire. Ezra after drinking it is inspired. The representation that is given in our passage of the inspired state is very interesting. It may be compared with Philo's conception which was influenced by the Platonic idea of the ecstatic or God-intoxicated seer. For an extended reference to this cf. Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, §§ 51-52.

The representation of the cup here as being the medium by which the prophet receives inspiration is peculiar. It certainly suggests Essene affinities; the idea of divine power being sacramentally mediated was familiar to the members of this sect. See further *EA*, p. 318 f.

40. and my spirit retained its memory. The effect of ecstasy was often such that the subject of it lost consciousness and memory. In Ezra's case, however, the natural faculties are immensely strengthened and intensified. This is inspiration, so our passage seems to imply, in its highest form. The apocalyptic writer here is obviously well acquainted with the experiences and phenomena of the ecstatic state.

42. in characters which they knew not, i.e. in a new Hebrew script, the square or 'Assyrian' character used in our printed Hebrew Bibles. Ezra was traditionally regarded as the inventor of this form of Hebrew writing; cf. Jerome in his Preface to the Books of Kings (the so-called *prologus galeatus*): *certum est Esdras scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolimam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias litteras repperisse quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Ebraeorum characteres fuerint.*

- E² but as for me, I spake in the day,
and at night was not silent.
- 44, 45 So in forty days were written ^tninety-four books^t. And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me saying: "The twenty-four books^u 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.
- 46 written publish, that the worthy and unworthy may read (therein): but the seventy last thou shalt keep, to deliver them to the wise among thy people.
- 47 For in them is the spring of understanding,
the fountain of wisdom,
and the stream of knowledge.
- R 48 ^v And I did so ^w, ^xin the seventh year, of the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation and three months and twelve days^w.

V. xiv. 49-50. CONCLUSION OF THE BOOK (R).

- 49 And then was Ezra caught away, and taken up ^xinto the place of such as were like him,^x after
50 having written all these things. And ^yhe is called the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever^y.

^{t-t} so Σ Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.: the number given in the Lat. MSS. varies between 904, 970, and 974 (Ar.¹): Σ priora (cf. Ethiop. Arm.)—omitting the number ^{v-v} here the Latin text breaks off ^{u-u} so Σ (= 5,042 years) see exeget. notes ^{x-x} so Σ Ethiop. (cf. Arm.): Ar.¹ to the land of the living of such as were like him ^{y-y} so Σ ^{w-w} so Σ

43. but as for me, &c. Cf. 2 En. xxiii. 3 f.

45. The twenty-four books. The twenty-four books are, of course, the books of the O.T., which were read openly in the synagogue, and were open for all to read. The number 24 is the ordinary reckoning of the O.T. books (5+8+11). In the Talmud and Midrash the O.T. is regularly termed 'the twenty-four holy Scriptures'. Another reckoning was 22 (cf. Joseph. c. *Apion*, i. 8) in accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (so also Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome). This total seems to have been obtained by combining Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

46. the seventy last, i.e. the apocalypses which were secret books.

47. the spring of understanding. The high estimation in which the apocalyptic literature was held within certain circles in Judaism comes here to clear expression.

48. And I did so. Here the Latin text breaks off. The last verses of the Apocalypse are preserved in the Oriental Versions. They were eliminated from the Latin text when the additional chapters that conclude the book in its Latin form (15 and 16) were appended by a Christian editor.

in the seventh year, &c. So Syr. = 5,042 years after the creation of the world (Ethiop. and Arm., 5,004; Ar.¹, 5,025). The Versions also vary as to the month: Syr., 3 months 12 days; Ethiop., 3 months 22 days; so Ar.¹; Arm., 2 months. Kabisch has shown that it is impossible to bring this date into chronological relation with any known system of reckoning the years of Creation. The verse is probably the work of R, and may possibly refer, as Kabisch suggests, to the time at which R himself wrote. But the minute specification of 3 months 12 (or 22) days is strange. Gunkel remarks that it recalls the 3½ months of the Book of Revelation.

xiv. 49-50. CONCLUSION OF THE BOOK. These verses, which are in the third person, are obviously the work of R.

49. such as were like him, i.e. the Messiah and his immortal companions; cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.

50. the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High. This is otherwise the title of Enoch; cf. 1 En. xii. 3 f., xv. 1; also (?) of the archangel Vretil, 2 En. xxii. 11.