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THE BOOK OF

THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

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THE BOOK

OF THE

SECRETS OF ENOCH

TRANSLATED FROM THE SLAVONIC

BY

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AND

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDICES

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PREFACE

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch cannot fail to be of interest to students of Apocalyptic literature and of the origins of Christianity. It is with a view to help such that this the first edition of the book has been undertaken. In certain respects it will appeal also to specialists in Assyriology. So far indeed as it does so, I have been able to do little more than refer to the leading scholars in this department, as my knowledge of such subjects is very slight, and all secondhand.

This book has had a peculiar history. For more than 1200 years it has been unknown save in Russia, where acquaintance with it goes several centuries back. Further, by its present name it was never known in any literature save the Slavonic. Even in Slavonic the name was not quite constant, if we may trust one of the MSS. (B); for there it appears as 'The Secret Books of God which were shown to Enoch.' And yet the book was much read in many circles in the first three centuries of the Church, and has left more traces of its influence than many a well-known book of the same literature (see § 5), and it is undoubtedly of much greater importance in respect of exegesis. In its Greek form it passed current probably under the general designation of Enoch. Occasionally we find that it was not distinguished by those who used it from the older book which has come down to us through the Ethiopic. We have, in fact, in this book another fragmentary survival of the literature that once circulated under the name of Enoch.

That such a book had ever existed was not known in Western Europe till 1892, when a writer in a German review stated that there was a Slavonic version of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. By Mr. Morfill's help it soon became clear that there was no foundation whatever for such a statement, and subsequent study showed that we had recovered therein an old and valuable pseudepigraph. The next step was naturally to secure its publication, and this was soon made possible through the kindness of the Delegates of the Press.

It will be generally understood that great difficulties beset such an undertaking, and particularly in the case of a book of whose existence there had never been even a surmise in the world of scholarship, and to which there was not a single unmistakable allusion in all ancient literature. The editor in such a case has to pursue untravelled ways, and if, in his efforts to discover the literary environment, the religious views, the date, and language of his author, he has fallen once and again into errors of perception or judgement, he can therein but throw himself on the indulgence of his critics.

The first edition of such a work must have many shortcomings. The editor will be grateful for corrections and further elucidations of the text.

In order to appreciate the value of this book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought, the reader should consult pp. xxix–xlvii of the Introduction.

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to Mr. Morfill for his great kindness in undertaking the translation of the Slavonic texts, and for his unfailing courtesy and unwearying energy in the prosecution of the task. It is to him that I am indebted for the account of the Slavonic MSS. in § 2.

R. H. C.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. It will suit our convenience to take advantage of this fact, and call it shortly 'the Slavonic Enoch,' in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch. As the latter has come down to us in its entirety through the Ethiopic alone, it will be no less convenient to designate it as 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* pp. 127–158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I at once applied to Mr. Morfill for help, and in the course of a few weeks we had before us printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. It did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was absolutely devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseudepigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In many respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

The Slavonic Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its author or final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it exercised a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (400–500 A. D.), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (70–90 A. D.). It is quoted by name in the Apocalyptic portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali (circ. 1 A. D.)[1]. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

§ 2. The Slavonic Manuscripts.

The Slavonic redaction of the text of the Book of Enoch, which is now for the first time translated into English, has come down to us mainly in two versions. It will be clear from the evidence in § 4 that they are translations from a lost Greek original. The manuscripts may be thus classified. I. First those in which we find the complete text, and of these two have been preserved; (*a*) a MS. in the possession

[1] The grounds for this date of the Testaments cannot be stated here, nor yet for the assumption some pages later that they sprang from a Hebrew original. These I hope to give at length in an edition of these Testaments.

of Mr. A. Khludov; this is a South Russian recension. The MS. belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century, and is found in a *Sbornik* or volume of miscellanies containing also lives of the Saints and other religious treatises. This text was published by Mr. A. Popov in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow 1880). It is unfortunately in many places very corrupt. It forms the basis of the present text, but where it is corrupt attempts have been made to supply a sounder text from other MSS. It is marked by the letter A in the critical notes to the present translation. (*b*) A MS. discovered by Prof. Sokolov of Moscow in the Public Library of Belgrade in the year 1886. This is a Bulgarian recension, and the orthography belongs to the middle Bulgarian period. This MS. is probably of the sixteenth century. It contains the account of the priesthood of Methuselah and Nir, the birth of Melchizedek and the Deluge. Though this legend does not belong to this Book of Enoch, it is added as an Appendix. II. There is also a shortened and incomplete redaction of the text of which three MSS. are known; (*a*) that preserved in the Public Library of Belgrade; a Serbian redaction, which was printed by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Starine* (Agram, 1884). Many of the readings of this MS. are very interesting. It is of the sixteenth century, and is cited as B. (*b*) That in the Vienna Public Library, which is almost identical with the preceding; (*c*) a MS. of the seventeenth century in the possession of Mr. E. Barsov of Moscow.

Of the above MSS. I have direct acquaintance only with A and B: of the other MSS. I have only an indirect knowledge through the text prepared by Prof. Sokolov, which is based on all the above MSS. Unfortunately, however, this text has not fully discriminated these sources. Accordingly, to avoid misconceptions, this text which is designated as *Sok*,

is to be understood as representing all authorities other than A and B.

Other fragments of the Book of Enoch are to found in Tikhonravov's Memorials of Russian Apocryphal Literature (Памятники отреченной русской литературы), and Pypin's Memorials of Old Russian Literature (Памятники старинной русской литературы). By allusions and citations in early Slavonic literature, we can see that these late manuscripts are only copies of much earlier ones, which have perished. Thus Tikhonravov cites from a fourteenth century MS.

The duty of the translator has been a comparatively simple one—to present a text which would be of service to the Western students of apocryphal literature. To this end all philological questions have been subordinated, and therefore my Slavonic friends must not blame me for not going more into linguistic matters. These would be out of place on the present occasion; certainly the time for such a work has not yet come in England. My translation will have served its purpose by enabling my friend, the Rev. R. H. Charles, to treat the subject as fully and learnedly as he has done from the standpoint of Biblical apocryphal literature. In conclusion, I must say that I am glad in however small a way to be able to contribute to such studies through the agency of Mr. Charles. I wish also to express my thanks to Professors Sokolov and Pavlov of the University of Moscow; to the former for allowing me the use of his emendated text and furnishing me with valuable notes on some obscure passages; and to the latter for the kind interest which he has taken in the book.

W. R. M.

§ 3. The Text followed in the Translation.

The formation of the text has been a matter of great difficulty. As I have no knowledge of Slavonic, Mr. Morfill has been so good as to furnish me with literal translations of A, B and of Prof. Sokolov's text. The number of variations

which was unduly great at the outset has to some extent been diminished by Mr. Morfill's critical acumen. This careful scholar, however, I should remark, has conscientiously refrained from all but obvious corrections of the text. Starting then from his translations of the Slavonic MSS. and of Sokolov's text, I resolved after due examination to follow A in the main. B of course is followed when it preserves the obviously better reading, and that it does frequently. When both A and B are corrupt, I have fallen back on the text of Sokolov. Occasionally I have been obliged to follow one reading to the rejection of the others, in cases where all the readings were equally probable or improbable. In only two or three passages have I emended the text, and that in the case of numbers, which are frequently corrupted in tradition through MSS. In all cases the rejected variants are given in the critical notes below, so that, in the event of the discovery of fresh critical materials, the reader can revise the text for himself, and in the process will reverse, no doubt, many of the editor's judgements.

As regards the relative merits of A and B, though the former is very corrupt, it is nevertheless a truer representative of the original than B. B is really a short *résumé* of the work—being about half the length of A. In the process of abbreviation its editor or scribe rejected in some instances and in others recast entire sections with capricious rearrangements of the text. For an example of the method pursued occasionally in B the reader can consult the critical notes on xl.

In A we find many interpolations. Thus in xx. 3 there is a mention of the tenth heaven, and in xxi–xxii. 3 a description of the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens, though the rest of the work directly speaks of and indirectly implies only seven heavens. B omits all reference to this addition in A. The reader will find many other like additions which have as

a rule been relegated to the critical notes or given in the text in square brackets.

The titles at the head of the chapters are given by A. I have enclosed them in square brackets, as they have no claim to antiquity. They are not given in Sokolov's text, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of *Entry of Enoch into the first heaven*, *Entry of Enoch into the second heaven*, &c., &c., *Entry of Enoch into the seventh heaven*.

§ 4. The Language and Place of Writing.

1. The main part of this book was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I gave him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. *ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία*. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Ecclesiasticus, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Ecclus. xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Ecclus. i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Ecclus. vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Ecclus. xxxix. 25: also lxv. 2—Ecclus. xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book were written originally in Hebrew. (See p. xxiv.)

2. This book was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Justit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There is no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, which undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

We should observe further that the arguments that make for a Greek original tend to support the view that the book was written in Egypt, especially when we take them in conjunction with the date of its composition.

§ 5. Relation of the Book to Jewish and Christian Literature.

The discoveries regarding the planets, &c., which Joel (circ. 1200 A.D.) in his Chronography assigns to Seth are, as we have shown on p. 37, most probably derived ultimately from this Book of Enoch. In like manner the statements regarding

the sabbath and the duration of the world, which according to Cedrenus (circ. 1050 A.D.) were drawn from Josephus and the Book of Jubilees are likewise to be assigned to this book; for nothing of this nature appears either in Josephus or the Book of Jubilees. Cedrenus, we should remember, is largely dependent on Syncellus, and Syncellus is very often wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature (see xxxiii. 1, 2 notes). It is natural that these late writers should err regarding all facts derived from this book, inasmuch as it was already lost to all knowledge many centuries before their day. Let us now pass over these intervening centuries to a time when this book was still in some measure known. Now in the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One of these in the ranks of the Archangels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . entertained an impossible idea that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the heights.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem. Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from Slav. En. xxxi. 2: 'And there was light without any darkness continually in Paradise.'

Next in the Apocalypse of Moses (ed. Tischend. 1866), p. 19, we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see **xiv. 2–4** (notes).

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In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v.. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

In Origen (according to Methodius; see Lommatzsch edition, xxi. p. 59) we find a reference to this speculation: *χιλίων γὰρ ἐτῶν περιοριζομένων εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως μέχρι καταπαύσεως μέχρις ἡμῶν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν φάσκουσι δεινοί, ἓξ ἡμέραι συμπεραιοῦνται. Ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν ἄρα ἔτος φασὶν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ εἰς δεῦρο συντείνειν· τῇ γὰρ ἑβδομάδι τῷ ἑπτακισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει κρίσιν ἀφίξεσθαί φασιν.* Whether this passage argues a direct knowledge of the Slavonic Enoch is doubtful. There can be no doubt, however, with regard to the direct reference in the *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now since there is no account of the creation in the Ethiopic Enoch, Origen is here referring to the Slav. Enoch xxiv–xxx; xlvii. 3, 4.

The fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77, is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. (notes).

During the years 50–100 A.D. our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the Ascension of Isaiah, viii. 16, we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that 'there is no difference in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing.'

In 4 Ezra [vi. 71] the words 'ut facies eorum luceant sicut sol' are found in i. 5 'Their faces shone like the sun.'

With the Apocalypse of Baruch, iv. 3 'Ostendi eam (i.e. Paradisum) Adamo priusquam peccaret,' compare xxxi. 2.

In the Epistle of Barnabas xv. 4 *τί λέγει τό· "συνετελέσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις."* *τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη,* we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. In xv. 5–7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase 'the eighth day': *οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοὶ] δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὃ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχή.* It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, the Ethiopic Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους* are derived from our text, xxx. 15, 'I showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.' Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion, if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' compare lii. 11, 'Blessed is he who establishes peace.' With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, 'Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by

Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay.' (See notes.)

With St. Matt. vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'By their works those who have wrought them are known.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt. xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1. 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . as an eternal inheritance.' Next with St. Luke vi. 35 *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες*, compare xlii. 7, 'Expecting nothing in return' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'For in the world to come . . . there are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, evil for the evil.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Do not worship vain gods who did not make heaven and earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Lordships and principalities and powers': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is the truth that he may speak the truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see pp. xxxix–xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come out of invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I will tell thee . . . what things I created from the non-existent, and what visible things from the invisible.' For two other parallels of Hebrews with our text see p. xli. With Rev.

i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 5, 'Their faces shone like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'Those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A great sea greater than the earthy sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxv. 7, 'Then the times shall perish, and there shall be no year,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'Let there be . . . a time when there is no computation and no end; neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the Apocalyptic portions of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, which were written probably about the beginning of the Christian era we find our text quoted directly or implied in several instances. In Levi 3 we have an account of the Angels imprisoned in the second heaven: *ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων.* This must be rendered 'In it are all the spirits of the lawless ones who are kept bound unto (the day of) vengeance.' With this statement compare our text vii. 1, where the fallen angels in the second heaven are described as 'the prisoners suspended, reserved for (and) awaiting the eternal judgement.' Again, in the same chapter of Levi, there are said to be armies in the third heaven, *οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης.* With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. The statement from Enoch in Test. Dan. 5 *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης. Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς* is drawn from xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. *Ἐγρηγοροί*) who with their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' In the Test. Napth. 4 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: *Ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καί γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν*

Σοδόμων. καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς. This is a loose adaptation to later times of xxxiv. 2, 3, 'And they will fill all the world with wickedness and iniquity and foul impurities with one another, sodomy. . . . And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.' The quotation in Test. Sim. 5 is probably derived from the same source, and that in Test. Benj. 9 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ καλὰς ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου· πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπώλησθε ἕως βραχύ, may confidently be traced to it. The words in Test. Juda 18 ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐπ' ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that the main part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis is necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

§ 6. Integrity and Critical Condition of the Book.

In its present form this book appears to be derived from one author. We have in the notes called attention from time to time to certain inconsistencies, but these may in part be due to inaccurate tradition; for the book in this respect has suffered deplorably. There are of course occasional interpo-

lations — of these some are Jewish, and one or two are Christian: xxxvii seems foreign to the entire text.

The text, further, has suffered from disarrangement. Thus xxviii. 5 should be read after xxix, and, together with that chapter, should be restored before xxviii.

§ 7. Date and Authorship.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The portions which have a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian. This follows from the fact of their quotation in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. As I have remarked above (p. xxiv) it is impossible to define the exact extent of such sections.

Turning, therefore, to the date of the rest of the book, we can with tolerable certainty discover the probable limits of its composition. The earlier limit is determined by the already existing books from which our author has borrowed. Thus Ecclesiasticus is frequently drawn upon: see xliii. 2, 3 (notes); xlvii. 5 (note); lii. 8 (note); lxi. 2, 4 (notes), &c. The Book of Wisdom also seems to have been laid under contribution: see lxv. 4 (note). With this book our author shares certain closely related Hellenistic views. Again, as regards the Ethiopic Enoch, our author at times reproduces the phraseology and conceptions of that book: see vii. 4, 5 (notes); xxxiii. 4 (note), 9, 10 (notes); xxxv. 2 (note), &c.; at others he gives the views of the former in a developed form: see viii. 1, 5, 6 (notes); xl. 13 (note); lxiv. 5; at others he enunciates views which are absolutely divergent from the former: see xvi. 7 (note); xviii. 4 (note). It is noteworthy also that our author claims to have explained certain natural phenomena, but the explanations in question are not to be found in his writings but in the Ethiopic Enoch: see xl. 5, 6, 8, 9 (notes). Finally we observe the same advanced view on Demonology appearing in the Slavonic Enoch and in the latest interpolation in the Ethiopic Enoch; see xviii. 3 (note).

Ecclesiasticus, the Book of Wisdom (?), and the Ethiopic Enoch (in its latest and present form) were thus at our author's service. The earlier limit of composition, accordingly, lies probably between 30 B. C. and the Christian era.

We have now to determine the later limit. This must be set down as earlier than 70 A. D. For, (1) the temple is still standing; see lix. 2 (notes). (2) Our text was probably known to some of the writers of the New Testament (see pp. xxi–xxiii; xxxix–xliii). (3) It was known and used by the writers of the Epistle of Barnabas and of the latter half of the Ascension of Isaiah.

We may, therefore, with reasonable certainty assign the composition of our text to the period 1–50 A. D. The date of the Hebrew original underlying certain sections of our text is as we have already seen pre-Christian.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8–10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory,' xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2, note), and Zend (lviii. 4–6 notes) elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

The date (1–50 A. D.) thus determined above makes our author a contemporary of Philo. We have shown above (p. xvii) that they share many speculations in common, but in some they are opposed. Thus our author protests against the Jewish belief in the value of the intercession of departed saints for the living; see liii. 1 (note). Philo undoubtedly taught this, *De Exsecrat.* 9.

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But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biassed its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin [1], xl. 12, 13; xlvi. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners there is no place of repentance after death, xlii. 2, but hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who looks to raise his own hand for labour, but cursed is he who looks to make use of another man's labour, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be unselfishly just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, not for the sake of recompense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing in return, xlii. 7. And men should also practice charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the honest man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, l. 5, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay,

[1] Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4-6.

xlix. 1 ; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2 ; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3 ; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride: for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in deprivation, loving one another till they depart from this world of sickness, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is greater than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 9. The Value of this Book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent Religious Thought.

On the value of this book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought I shall be brief, save in the case of the doctrine of the seven heavens. This doctrine is set forth by our author with a fullness and clearness not found elsewhere in literature. Thus many gaps in our knowledge of this doctrine have been filled up. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we are thus enabled to explain certain mysterious allusions bearing on this conception in the Bible and elsewhere, which have hitherto been doubtful or inexplicable.

Some of the beliefs which appear in our text, and which in some instances are either partially or wholly elucidated, are as follows:

1. *Death was caused by Sin.* This was a comparatively late view: see notes on pp. 43, 44.

2. *The millennium.* This Jewish conception is first found in this book, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2, and the rationale of its origin is clear from this passage when taken together with statements on the same subject in later writers (see notes *in loc.*, and p. xxvii). Its origin was as follows. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded

not only as a history of the past, but as a forecast of the future history of the world so created. Thus as the world was created in six days, so its history was to be accomplished in 6,000 years; for 1,000 years are with God as one day (cf. Ps. xc. 4; Jub. iv. 30; 2 Pet. iii. 8; Barnabas, *Ep.* xiv. 4; Iren. *contra Haer.* v. 28. 2; Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph.* 80), and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of the 6,000 years there would be a rest of 1,000 years, i. e. the millennium.

3. *On the creation of man with freewill and the knowledge of good and evil*, see xxx. 15 (notes).

4. *The Seraphim.* In the Chalkidri[1], xii. 1, we have in all probability the serpents who are mentioned in the Ethiopic Enoch xx. 7 along with the Cherubim. They are a class of heavenly creatures, and like the Cherubim are formed by a combination of the members of different animals. The serpent-like form, however, predominated, and hence they were δρακόντες in Greek (Eth. En. xx. 7), and Seraphim (שרפים) in Hebrew. How the peculiar name Chalkidri (= Χαλκύδραι brazen serpents?) arose I cannot say, as it is by no means appropriate. The main objection to identifying the Chalkidri with the Seraphim of the Old Testament is the fact that our author only mentions them here in connexion with the sun, xii. 1; xv. 1; and speaks directly of Seraphim elsewhere, xx. 1. However this may be, the passage in the Eth. Enoch xx. 7 is conclusive as to the serpent-like forms of the Seraphim. By this interpretation the word receives the meaning which it naturally has in the Hebrew.

5. *On the intercession of Saints*, see liii. 1 (note).

6. *The seven Heavens—an early Jewish and Christian belief.*

Various conceptions of the seven heavens prevailed largely in the ancient world, alike in the far east and in the west. With these we shall deal only in so far as they influenced or were in any degree akin to the views that prevailed on this subject among the Jews and early Christians.

[1] Variously spelt in the MSS. as Chalkadri, Chalkidri, Chalkedry.

For the sake of clearness it may be well to indicate the direction our investigations will take. We shall first set forth or merely mention the beliefs of this nature that prevailed among the Babylonians and the followers of Zoroaster in the East and the speculations of certain Greek philosophers in the West. We shall next touch briefly on certain indications in the Old Testament that point in the direction of a plurality of the heavens, and show that Israel was not unaffected by the prevailing traditions of the ancient world.

That we have not misinterpreted such phenomena in the Old Testament, we are assured, when we descend to Jewish Apocalyptic writings, such as the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Slavonic Enoch, 4 Ezra, and to the Talmud, and the Mandaic Religion. Having thus shown that speculations or definitely formulated views on the plurality of the heavens were rife in the very cradle of Christendom and throughout its entire environment, we have next to consider whether Christian conceptions of heaven were shaped or in any degree modified by already existing ideas on this subject. We shall find that there is undoubted evidence of the belief in the plurality or sevenfold division of the heavens in the Pauline Epistles, in Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse.

In early Christian literature such ideas soon gained clearer utterance in Christian Apocalypses, such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypses of Moses, Ezra, John, Isaac, Jacob, and the Acts of Callistratus. Such writers also as Clement of Alexandria and Origen are more or less favourably inclined to such conceptions. But shortly after this date these views fell into the background, discredited undoubtedly by the exaggerations and imbecilities with which they were accompanied. And thus though a Philastrius declares disbelief in a plurality of the heavens a heresy, Chrysostom is so violently affected against such a conception that he denies any such plurality at all. Finally such conceptions, failing in the course of the next few centuries to find a home in Christian

lands, betook themselves to Mohammedan countries, where they found a ready welcome and a place of authority in the temple of Moslem theology. We shall now proceed as we have above indicated.

Among the Babylonians we find that hell was divided into seven parts by seven concentric walls (see Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, 1887, pp. 221–227; Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strasburg, 1890, pp. 232–3[1]). Hence, we may here observe, this view passed over into the Talmud (Feuchtwang, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, iv. 42, 43).

This sevenfold division of things in general was a familiar one among this people[2]. Thus the cities, Erech and Ecbatana, were each surrounded by seven walls, modelled, no doubt, as Jensen conjectures, on their conception of the seven world-zones (*op. cit.* 172). For the world was held to be divided in this fashion according to the *Gudia* (*op. cit.* 173). This division was due either to the overwhelming importance of the sacred number seven, or else specifically to the number of the planets (*op. cit.* 174). We should observe also that the temple of Erech was called the temple of the seven divisions. Since, therefore, both earth and hell were divided into seven zones, it is only reasonable to infer that a similar conception was entertained regarding the heavens. Jensen, indeed, says that he can find no trace of such a division in the inscriptions. But since the sevenfold division of the planets gave birth to the sevenfold division of earth and hell, it is next to impossible to avoid the inference with Sayce and Jeremias that this same division must have been applied to the heavens through which the planets moved.

In Parseeism we find the doctrine of the seven heavens. This does not appear in the earliest writings, but in the Ardâi-virâf-nâme there is an account of the seven heavens

[1] See also Jeremias, *Die babyl.-assur. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 1887, pp. 34–45.

[2] Cf. Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 82 note.

through which Sosiash made a progress in seven days. In the first heaven are men who feel heat and cold simultaneously. (If we might infer from corresponding ideas in the Slavonic Enoch, and other apocalypses, we should conclude this heaven to be an abode of the wicked, and not of the good. There is, however, a hell independently of this.) The inhabitants of the second heaven shine as the stars; of the third as the moon; of the fourth as the sun. The blessedness of endless light is reserved for heroes, lawgivers, and the preeminently pious. In the seventh heaven Zarathustra sits on a golden throne. As we have already remarked, there is only one hell mentioned in the Ardâi-virâf-nâme. On the influence which such ideas had on the Talmud see Kohut, *Zeitschrift D M G*, xxi. 562.

If we now turn from the East to the West, we meet first of all with the Pythagorean tenfold division of the universe. In the centre there was the central fire around which revolved from west to east the ten heavenly bodies. Furthest off was the heaven of fixed stars; next came the five planets; then the sun, the moon, the earth, and finally the counter earth[1]. According to the *Timaeus* of Plato the universe is shaped as a sphere at the centre of which is placed the earth. Next follow the sun, the moon, and the five other planets, revolving round the earth in orbits separated from each other by distances corresponding to the intervals of the harmonic system. The outermost circle is formed of the heaven of fixed stars.

When we turn to the Stoics we find kindred conceptions; in the centre of the universe the earth is placed in a state of repose. Nearest to the earth revolves the moon, and next in their appropriate orbits the Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

We have thus seen that speculations were rife throughout

[1] For further details see the English translation of Zeller's *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, i. 444–5.

the ancient world on the plurality of the heavens. It is clear further that these speculations were based mainly on astronomical considerations. That ancient Judaism was not unaffected by such views we may reasonably conclude from certain passages in the Old Testament. The plural form of the word for 'heaven' in Hebrew probably points to a plurality of heavens. Such phrases as 'the heaven of heavens,' Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; Ps. cxlviii. 4, cannot be adequately interpreted unless in reference to such a belief. In Job i. 6, 7; ii. 1, 2, 7 we find a further peculiar feature in the ancient conception of heaven. Satan there presents himself along with the angels in the presence of God. The place indicated by the context is heaven. Similarly in 1 Kings xxii. 19–22 an evil spirit presents himself among the heavenly hosts before the throne of God. The presence of evil in heaven, though offensive to the conscience of later times, seems to have caused no offence in early Semitic thought.

We shall find in the course of our investigations that this peculiar idea reasserted itself from time to time in Judaism and Christianity till finally it was expelled from both.

The probability of an Old Testament belief in the plurality of the heavens is heightened, if we consider the fact that the Jews were familiar with and attached names to the planets. Thus Kronos, Aphrodite, Ares, Zeus, Hermes are mentioned respectively in Amos v. 26; Is. xiv. 12; 2 Kings xvii. 30; Is. lxv. 11; xlvi. 1. The Jews were acquainted also with the signs of the Zodiac (Job xxxviii. 32), and offered them an idolatrous worship (2 Kings xxiii. 5).

Since, therefore, we have seen that in the East astronomical considerations, i. e. the sevenfold division of the planets led in due course to a similar division of the heavens, it is not unlikely that this knowledge gave birth to a like result among the Jews.

However this may be, the reasonable probability we have

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description of the seven heavens just given is short, it is too definitely conceived to have appeared thus for the first time in Judaism. In the Slavonic Enoch, whose evidence we shall presently briefly summarize, we have, so far as I am aware, the most elaborate account of the seven heavens that exists in any writing or in any language. 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,' as it is named in the Slavonic MSS. in which it is alone preserved, but which for the sake of brevity I call 'the Slavonic Enoch,' was written in the main in Greek, at Alexandria, although portions of it are merely reproductions of a Hebrew original. In the first heaven there is 'a very great sea, greater than any earthly sea.' (Cf. Rev. iv. 6.) This sea seems to be described in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs as 'water hanging between the first and second heavens.' (See above.) In this heaven also are 'the elders and the rulers of the orders of the stars.' Although the number of these is not given, it is either twelve (and then we have here an account related to Eth. En. lxxxii. 9–18, 20) or possibly it is twenty-four, and thus there may be a remote connexion on the one hand between this class of 'elders and rulers . . . of the stars' and the twenty-four elders in Rev. iv. 4, and on the other between it and the Babylonian idea set forth in Diodorus Siculus, ii. 31 *μετὰ δὲ τὸν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσιν καὶ τέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὁρωμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δ' ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίσθαι νομίζουσιν, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶν ὅλων προσαγορεύουσιν* (quoted by Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 308, who establishes a connexion between Rev. iv. 4 and this Babylonian idea). The first heaven, further, contains treasuries of snow, ice, clouds, and dew.

In the second heaven (chap. vii) Enoch saw the prisoners suspended reserved for and awaiting the eternal judgement. 'And these angels were gloomy in appearance, . . . they

had apostatized from the Lord and transgressed together with their prince.' For a similar account see Test. Levi, above.

In the third heaven (chap. viii) we have the garden of Eden and the tree of life, and likewise 'an olive tree always distilling oil,' i.e. the *arbor misericordiae* (cf. Evang. Nicodemi, ii. 3). We should observe that the location of Paradise in this heaven agrees with the Pauline account 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

But (chap. x) in the northern region of this heaven Enoch sees the place of the damned. 'That place has fire on all sides and on all sides cold and ice, thus it burns and freezes.' When Enoch exclaims, 'Woe, woe! how terrible is this place!' his escort replies: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for those who did not honour God; who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, . . . stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder. (Chap. x. 4.)

In the fourth heaven (chap. xi–xv) Enoch sees the course of the sun and moon, and the angels and the wonderful creatures, the phoenixes and the chalkidri, which wait upon the sun. In the midst of this heaven (chap. xvii) are 'the armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs and unceasing voice.' Cf. Test. Levi on third and fourth heavens above.

In the fifth heaven (chap. xviii) are the watchers whose fallen brethren Enoch had already seen undergoing torments in the second heaven. These are troubled and silent on account of their brethren.

In the sixth heaven (chap. xix) are 'seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious,' who arrange and study the revolutions of the stars and the changes of the moon and the revolutions of the sun, &c.; 'And the angels over all the souls of men who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord. In their midst are seven phoenixes and seven cherubim and seven six-winged creatures.'

In the seventh heaven (chap. xx) Enoch sees all the heavenly hosts, the ten great orders of angels standing before the Lord in the order of their rank, and the Lord sitting on His lofty throne.

With regard to this scheme, I will content myself with calling attention to the fact that a preliminary Tartarus is situated in the second heaven (cf. second heaven in the Test. Levi); and that hell is placed in the north of the third heaven, and that evil in various forms is found in the second and third heavens, and dissatisfaction and trouble in the fifth.

In 4 Ezra (vi. 55–74) there is a detailed description of the seven ways of the wicked and the seven ways of the righteous. These ways are represented in a form so essentially abstract, that as Gunkel rightly remarks (*op. cit.* p. 309), they must be derived from what were originally concrete conceptions such as the seven heavens and the seven hells. To the latter conception there is no reference in the Slavonic Enoch: yet see xl. 12 (note).

Passing onward we come to the Talmud. In the Talmud the views of the Rabbis waver. Some thought as the Rabbi Jehuda that there were two heavens, *Chagiga* 12^{b}, but Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish enumerated seven. This latter view was the usual one. In the *Beresh. rabba* c. 6 and the *Chagiga* 12^{b}, the seven heavens are as follows. The lowest which is called *vilun* is empty. In the second, named *rakîa*, are the sun, moon, and stars. In the third, named *shechaqim*, are the mills which grind the manna for the righteous. In the fourth heaven, *zebul*, are the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael. In the fifth, *maon*, are the angels who sing by night, but are silent by day in order that God may hear the praises of Israel. In the sixth, *machon*, are the treasuries of the snow, hail, rain, and dew. In the seventh, *aravoth*, are judgement and righteousness, the treasures of life, peace, and blessing, the souls of the departed pious as

well as the spirits and souls yet to be born, and the dew wherewith God will awake the dead. Finally there are the seraphim, ophannim, chayyoth and other angels of service, and God Himself sitting on a throne. See Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, pp. 197–8; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 467; Wetstein on 2 Cor. xii.

It is well to observe here that, though the Talmudic description of the seven heavens is puerile in the extreme, its character attests the influence of a growing ethical consciousness.

To such a consciousness the presence of evil in heaven could not but seem incongruous. In banishing evil, however, from the precincts of the heavens, the Rabbis weakened the vigour of the old conceptions; for they were not masters of sufficient imagination to fill up adequately the gaps brought about by their righteous zeal. In connexion with Jewish evidence on this subject, we might point out that the same division of the heavens probably prevailed in the Mandaic Religion, since at all events one of its dogmas was the sevenfold division of hell (Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion*, p. 182).

We have now found that among the Babylonians, the later followers of Zoroaster, the Greeks, in all probability in ancient Judaism, and certainly in Judaism generally from before the Christian Era onward, speculations, and as a rule clearly defined conceptions, were rife on the plurality of the heavens. We have seen also that the prevailing view was that of the sevenfold division of the heavens, and we have observed further that a feature impossible in modern conceptions of heaven shows itself from time to time in pre-Christian religious conceptions, i.e. the belief in the presence of evil in the heavens.

We have now to consider whether Christian conceptions of heaven were shaped, or in any degree influenced, by already existing views of that nature. A knowledge of ancient

thought on this subject would naturally lead us to expect such an influence at work, and we find on examination that our expectations are in certain respects fully realized. First from 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3 we learn that St. Paul believed in a plurality of the heavens. 'I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago . . . such a one caught up even to the third heaven. And I know such a man . . . how that he was caught up into Paradise.'

Heretofore exegetes have been divided as to whether St. Paul believed in the existence of three heavens or of seven. Owing to the fresh evidence on the subject furnished by the Slavonic Enoch there is no longer room for reasonable doubt on the question. In the Slavonic Enoch we have presented to us a scheme of the seven heavens which in some of its prominent features agrees with that conceived by St. Paul. Thus in the Slavonic Enoch Paradise is situated in the third heaven as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, whereas according to later Judaism it belonged to the fourth heaven (see above). In the next place the presence of evil in some part of the heavens is recognized. Thus in Eph. vi. 12 we meet with the peculiar statement 'Against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens,' *πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*. The phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* occurs only in Ephesians of the Pauline Epistles. It is found five times i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; and vi. 12, and always in a local sense. It is thus in fact = *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*.

This phrase is then capable of two interpretations. The 'hosts' in question are the fallen angels in the second heaven, or else the powers of Satan, the prince of the air (cf. Eph. ii. 2). For the latter interpretation the Slavonic Enoch xxix. 4, 5 might be quoted as a parallel: 'One of the ranks of the archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the

heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually above the abyss.' The latter explanation of *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* is probably right. In Col. i. 20, however, we must, if we deal honestly with the context, suppose some such a view of the heavens as that given in the Slavonić Enoch to underlie the words: 'To reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens.' That 'things upon earth' need to be reconciled to God is universally intelligible; but so far as I am aware no exegete has hitherto recognized any such necessity on the part of 'things in the heavens.' Yet this is the obvious meaning of the words. Hence 'the things in the heavens' that are to be reconciled to God must be either the fallen angels imprisoned in the second heaven, or else the powers of Satan whose domain is the air. Though to some universalistic aspects of Paulinism the conversion of Satan is not impossible, it is nevertheless unlikely to be his thought here. Hence we seem to be restricted to the other interpretation, and thus we have therein an indirect parallel to 1 Pet. iii. 19, 'He went and preached to the spirits in prison.' Another statement in Eph. iii. 10 belongs to the same plane of thought: 'To the intent that now unto the principalities and the powers in the heavens (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*) might be made known through the church the manifold wisdom of God.' These 'principalities and powers' may also be taken as the fallen angels in the second heaven; but it is more likely that they are the rulers of the various lower heavens which are mentioned in iv. 10: 'He . . . that ascended far above all the heavens.' This thought of the seven heavens through which Christ passed or above which he was exalted twice recurs in Hebrews iv. 14: 'Having then a great high priest, who hath passed through the heavens' (*διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς*); vii. 26: 'Made higher than the heavens' (*ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος*). Before we pass on to the consideration of the Apocalypse, we should observe

that Paul used *οὐρανός* [1] frequently (cf. Rom. i. 18; x. 6; 1 Cor. viii. 5; xv. 47), though he believed in a plurality of the heavens.

In the twelfth chapter of Revelation we have a record of the war in heaven between Michael and his angels against Satan and his angels, with the subsequent overthrow and expulsion of the latter. These events spiritually interpreted symbolize, it is true, the victory of good over evil, but when studied in reference to their origin, they mark a revolutionizing of the old Semitic conception of heaven. Evil can no longer be conceived as possible in the abode of righteousness, nor can its place be any more found in heaven. And thus Satan and his angels are cast down to the earth. When once evil in all its forms is driven forth from heaven, the rationale of a sevenfold division of it disappears. There are then no longer conflicting elements which must be restricted to certain divisions and kept apart by concrete barriers. The old Semitic doctrine of the seven heavens really presupposes in some respects dualistic influences. Such a conception could not long hold its ground in a monistic faith. It was this dualistic tinge that made it so acceptable with the heretics. We must now follow the subsequent fortunes of this doctrine in the early centuries of Christianity.

First we find in one of the Christian sections (chaps. vi–xi) of the Ascension of Isaiah an elaborate but sinewless account of the seven heavens. Evil has already been expelled, and the inhabitants of one heaven differ from those of another merely in possessing greater degrees of glory and knowledge. This account of the seven heavens is singularly wanting in variety and imaginative power: it is valuable, however, in an historical reference.

[1] The singular and plural of this word are used, according to Sir J. C. Hawkins, in the New Testament as follows:—

	Mat.	Mark	Luke	John	Acts	Paul.	Heb.	James	Pet.	Rev.
οὐρανός	27	12	31	18	24	11	3	2	1	51
οὐρανοί	55	5	4	0	2	10	7	0	5	1*

*xii. 12—a quotation from, or reference to Is. xliv. 23 and xlix. 13.

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coelos, Iesum filium Dei, dicentem: "Volo, ut ubi sum ego, et isti sint mecum."'

We shall now cite the evidence of Christian Apocalyptic works as attesting the prevalence of this belief in the seven heavens.

In the Apocalypse of Moses, p. 19 (*Apocalypses Apocryphae*, ed. Tischendorf, 1866), Eve is bidden to look up to the seven firmaments: *ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἴδε τὰ ἑπτὰ στερεώματα ἀνεῳγμένα.* On p. 21 Michael is bidden: *ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ.* Thus the writer of this Apocalypse, so far as he touches on the subject of the seven heavens, agrees with the teaching of the Slavonic Enoch. In the Apoc. Esdrae (pp. 29, 30 *op. cit.*) there is mention made of a plurality of the heavens, and of Paradise as lying in the east. In the Apoc. Johannis (p. 84 *op. cit.*) the seven regions of the heavens are spoken of: *καὶ γενήσεται κρότος μέγας ἐν τοῖς οὐραιοῖς, καὶ σαλευθήσονται τὰ ἑπτὰ (a. l. ἐννέα) πέταλα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

In our account of the third heaven according to the Slavonic Enoch, we showed that hell was situated in the north of that heaven. Similarly in the Testament of Isaac (*Testament of Abraham*, ed. James, pp. 146–8) hell is understood to be in one of the heavens. The same holds true of the Testament of Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 153), and of the Apoc. Esdrae, p. 29.

Finally in the Acts of Callistratus (ed. Conybeare), pp. 311–12, the seven circles of the heavens are mentioned.

Speculations about the seven heavens prevailed largely among the heretics. Thus according to Irenaeus, *contra Haer.* i. 5, 2, the Valentinians taught: *ἑπτὰ γὰρ οὐρανοὺς κατεσκευακέναι, ὧν ἐπάνω τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγουσι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἑβδομάδα καλοῦσιν αὐτόν, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν Ἀχαμὼθ Ὀγδοάδα . . . τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὐκ (?) εἶναι νοητούς φασιν, ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται . . . ὡς καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον οὐρανὸν ὄντα, τέταρτον ἄγγελον λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν.*

In Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* xx, practically the same account is given: 'Tum ipsam caelorum septemplicem scenam solio

desuper suo finit. Unde et Sabbatum dictus ab hebdomade sedis suae . . . Caelos autem noeros deputant, et interdum angelos eos faciunt . . . sicut et Paradisum Archangelum quartum, quoniam et hunc supra caelum tertium pangunt.'

The heretic Marcus taught according to Hippolytus a similar doctrine of the heavens, but according to Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 17, 1, he reckoned eight heavens in addition to the sun and moon.

Basilides' view as to their being 365 heavens is well known (Augustine, *de Haer.* i. 4).

The Ophites (Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 30. 4, 5) believed in seven heavens ruled over by seven potentates, named Jaldabaoth, Jao, Sabaoth, Adoneus, Eloeus, Horeus, Astaphaeus—a Hebdomad which with their mother Sophia formed a Ogdoad. A fuller account of this Hebdomad will be found in Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 31, and in Epiphanius *Haer.* xxvi. 10.

In the mysteries of Mithras described by Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 22, there are certain speculations akin to the doctrine of the seven heavens.

A fragment of Theodotus preserved by Clement is found regarding the creation of man: *ὅθεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ τετάρτῳ οὐρανῷ δημιουργεῖται* [1].

The doctrine of the seven heavens, therefore, being associated with so many grotesque and incongruous features even in the thoughts of the orthodox, became in due time an offensive conception to the sounder minds in the Church, and this offensiveness was naturally aggravated by the important role it played in heretical theology. Augustine, though he expounds a peculiar doctrine of his own which asserts the existence of three heavens (*de Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 67), feels himself beset with abundant difficulties on this question. On the subject in general he writes: 'Si autem sic accipimus tertium coelum quo Apostolus raptus est, ut quartum etiam, et aliquot ultra

[1] The Valentinians also placed Paradise in the fourth heaven.

superius coelos esse credamus, infra quos et hoc tertium coelum, sicut eos alii septem, alii octo, alii novem vel decem perhibent . . . de quorum ratione sive opinione nunc disserere longum est' (*de Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 57). In the fourth century of the Christian era, Churchmen were required according to the clear tenor of Scripture to believe in the plurality of the heavens, but as to the number of these heavens they were at liberty to decide for themselves without prejudicing their orthodoxy. Thus Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, at the close of the fourth century holds it a heresy to doubt the plurality of the heavens, but a man may without offence believe in seven, three, or two. 'De caelorum diversitate est haeresis quae ambigat. Scriptura enim in primo die caelum et terram facta declarat duo haec elementa, secundo firmamentum aquae factum, et nihilominus ipsum firmamentum caelum appellatum fuisse testatur. David autem dicit de caelis ita: *Laudate dominum caeli caelorum et aquae quae super caelos sunt.* Sive ergo sex caelos, secundum David, et septimum hoc firmamentum accipere quis voluerit, non errat; nam Solomon tres caelos dicit, ita: *Caelum et caelum caeli.* Paulus aeque apostolus usque ad tertium caelum se raptum fatetur. Sive ergo septem quis acceperit, ut David, sive tres, sive duos, non errat, quia et Dominus ait: *Pater qui in caelis est.*' (*De Haeres. Liber* xciv.)

But these and the like speculations had become so objectionable to the master mind of Chrysostom, that despite 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3 he declares the doctrine of a plurality of the heavens to be a mere device of man and contrary to holy scripture: *τίς ἂν οὖν λοιπὸν μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διδασκαλίαν ἀνέχοιτο τῶν ἁπλῶς ἐξ οἰκείας διανοίας φθέγγεσθαι βουλομένων, καὶ ἀπεναντίως τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ πολλοῖς οὐρανοῖς λέγειν ἐπιχειρούντων* (*Hom. in Gen.* iv. 3). And again, in order to discredit the last traces of this view he maintains that the heaven neither revolves nor is spherical (*In Epist. ad Hebraeos, Hom.* xiv. 1).

Our task is now nearly done. It only remains for us to

point out that this doctrine, on its rejection by the Christian Church, passed over with many similar ones into Mohammedanism. In fact, Mohammedanism formed in many respects the *cloaca maxima* into which much of the refuse of Christianity discharged itself.

Thus in the Koran xxiii it is written: 'And we have created over you seven heavens, and we are not negligent of what we have created.' And again in xli: 'And he formed them into seven heavens in two days, and revealed unto every heaven its office.'

Into a detailed representation of these heavens by later Mohammedan writers it is not necessary for us to enter.

So far as I am aware every detail is borrowed from Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. Some form of the Slavonic Enoch seems to have been in Mohammed's hands[1].

[1] The four streams of Paradise (Slav. En. viii. 5) which pour honey and milk and oil and wine, reappear in the Koran xlvii. Again, irrational animals are to be restored to life at the resurrection, to receive the recompense due to them, and then to return to the dust, with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the seven sleepers (cf. Koran iii; xviii; Sale's note on vi; Slav. Enoch lviii. 4–6).

THE

BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

THE SON OF ARED; A MAN WISE AND BELOVED OF GOD [1].

[*Concerning the Life and the Dream of Enoch [2].*]

THERE was a very [3] wise man and a worker of great things: God loved him, and received him, so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, inconceivable and never-changing God, the Lord of all, the wonderful and glorious, and bright and all-beholding station of the servants of the Lord, and the unapproachable throne of the Lord, and the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and should be an eye-witness of the unspeakable ministrations of the multitude of creatures, and of the varying appearance, and indescribable singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the immeasurable world.

I. 1. At that time he said: 'Hardly had I accomplished *165 years, when I begat my son Methusal: after that I lived 200 years and accomplished all the years of my life [4], 365

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[1] This general title appears in B as **These are the secret books of God which were shown to Enoch.**

Introduction. THIS IS ENTIRELY WANTING IN B. [2] Sok. om. I have retained the headings of the Sections which are given in A, as they are valuable for critical purposes; but as they do not belong to the original text I have enclosed them in brackets. [3] Sok. om.

I. [4] B om.; Sok. supports text.

years. 2. *On the first day of the first month[1] I was alone in my house, *and I rested on my bed and slept. 3. And as I slept a great grief came upon my heart, and I wept with mine eyes[2] *in my dream, and I could not understand what this grief meant, or what would happen to me[3]. 4. And there appeared to me two men very tall, such as I have never seen on earth. 5. And their faces *shone like the sun[4], and their eyes *were like burning lamps[5]; and fire came forth from their lips. *Their dress had the appearance of feathers: their feet were purple[6], *their wings were brighter than gold[7]; *their hands whiter than snow[3]. They stood at the head of my bed and called me by my name. 6. I awoke from my sleep and *saw clearly these men standing in front of me[8]. 7. I *hastened and[9] made obeisance to them and *was terrified, and the appearance of my countenance was changed[10] from fear. 8. And these[11] men said to me: "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid; the everlasting[12] God hath sent us to thee, and lo! to-day thou shalt ascend with us into heaven.

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[1] In the second month on an appointed day, B; Sok. is conflate. [2] I had made myself melancholy weeping with my eyes, and I lay down on my bed to sleep, B. [3] B om.; Sok. supports text. [4] Were like the shining sun, Sok. [5] Burnt like lamps, A. [6] So Sok. A reads there was a conspicuousness in their raiment and singing, in appearance purple; B, their dress and singing were wonderful. [7] And on their shoulders as it were golden wings, B. [8] So Sok.; standing up quickly (?), B; A om. [9] A B om. [10] Veiled my face, B. [11] The two, Sok. [12] Almighty, B.

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1. With verses 2, 3, cf. Eth. En. lxxxiii. 3, 5. **5. Faces shone like the sun**: cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra [vi. 71]. **Eyes were like burning lamps**, from Dan. x. 6 עֵינָיו כְּלַפִּידֵי אֵשׁ: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12. **Fire came forth from their lips**: cf. for language Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. **Their dress . . . purple**: the text is corrupt. **Their hands whiter than snow**; cf. Eth. En. cvi. 2, 10 'his body was whiter than snow': Apoc. Petri τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος. **7. Countenance was changed**: Dan. v. 6, 9, 10. **8. Be of good cheer**: Matt. ix. 2 θάρσει; xiv. 27; Mark vi. 50; x. 29; Acts xxiii. 11; xxvii. 22, 25. In LXX Gen. xxxv. 17; Exod. xiv. 13, &c. θάρσει is a rendering of אַל־תִּירָא **Be not afraid**: cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6, &c.; Eth. En. xv. 1. The conjunction of **Be of good cheer** and

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will perish, * and also those who worship them [1]. 3. * But may God make confident your hearts in the fear of Him [2]. 4. And now, my children, let no one seek me till the Lord brings me back to you.'

[*Of the taking up of Enoch; how the Angels took him up into the first heaven.*]

III. 1. It came to pass when I [3] had spoken to my sons, * these men [4] * summoned me and [5] took me on their wings [6] and placed me * on the clouds [7]. * And lo! the clouds moved [8]. 2. * And again (going) higher I saw the air and (going still) higher I saw the ether [9], and they placed me in the first heaven. 3. * And they showed me a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea [10].

[*Of the Angels who rule the Stars.*]

IV. 1. And they brought * before my face the elders, and the rulers of the orders of the stars [11], and they showed me the

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[1] B om. [2] But keep your hearts in the fear of God, B. For the fear of Him A reads His own paths.

III. Instead of 'Of the taking up of Enoch, &c.' B reads 'The entry of Enoch into the first heaven.' [3] Throughout this verse A speaks of Enoch in the third person. [4] The angels, A. [5] A om. [6] A B add and brought me (him A) to the first heaven, which should be read at end of verse 2. [7] There B. [8] A B om. [9] And there I gazed, and as I gazed higher I saw the air, A. [10] B trans. after the 200 angels, iv. 1.

IV. [11] Me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the orders of the stars; and showed me their goings and comings from year to year, B.

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3. Make confident your hearts in the fear of Him: Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. Placed me on the clouds. And lo! the clouds moved: cf. Eth. En. xiv. 8 'the clouds invited me . . . and the winds gave me wings and drove me.' The air . . . and the ether. This corresponds to the firmament in Asc. Is. vii. 9 'Ascendimus in firmamentum et ibi vidi Sammaelem ejusque potestates . . . 13. et postea me ascendere fecit supra firmamentum: hoc jam est (primum) coelum.' 3. A very great sea: cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2 'sea of glass.' In Test. xii. Patriarch. Levi 2 this sea lies between the first and second heavens, *ὕδωρ κρεμάμενον ἀνάμεσον τούτου κἀκείνου.*

IV. 1. Rulers of the orders of the stars, &c. For a full but divergent account of these see Eth. En. lxxxii. 9–18, 20. The 200 angels. In the Eth. En. Uriel is the sole ruler of the

two hundred angels * who rule the stars and their heavenly service [1]; 2. * And they fly with their wings [2] * and go round all (the stars) as they float [1].

[*How the Angels guard the Habitations of the Snow.*]

V. 1. And * then I looked and saw [3] the treasuries of the snow * and ice [4] and the angels [5] who guard their terrible [6] store-places; 2. And the treasuries of the clouds from which they come forth and into which they enter.

[*Concerning the Dew and the Oil, and different Colours.*]

VI. And they showed me the treasuries of the dew, like † oil for anointing [7], † and its form was in appearance like that of [8] all earthly colours [9]: also many [10] angels keeping their treasuries, * and they shut and open them [10].

[**How Enoch was taken into the second Heaven* [11].]

VII. 1. And the men took me and brought me to the

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[1] B om. [2] B reads immediately after earthly sea, iii. 3. Sok. om.

V. [3] They showed me, B. There I saw, Sok. [4] A om. [5] Terrible angels, B. [6] B om.

VI. [7] The balm of the olive tree, Sok. [8] And the appearance of it as also of, A. And their robes are like, B. [9] May be rendered *flowers*. [10] B om.

VII. [11] The Entry of Enoch into the second Heaven, B; Sok. om.

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stars: cf. lxxii. 1; lxxx. 1. In Eth. En. vi. 5 this is the number of angels that apostatized.

V. 1. Treasuries of the snow and ice: Job xxxviii. 22; cf. Eth. En. lx. 17, 18. These treasuries are placed in the second heaven by the Test. xii. Patriarch. Levi 3 ὁ δεύτερος (οὐρανὸς) ἔχει πῦρ χιόνα κρύσταλλον. 2. Treasuries of the clouds: cf. Eth. En. lx. 19.

VI. 1. Treasuries of the dew: cf. Eth. En. lx. 20. In the *Bereshch. rabba* c. 6, *Bammidbar rabba*, c. 17, and the *Chagiga* 12[b], there is an enumeration of the seven heavens. The lowest of these which is called וילון (Lat. velum) is empty. According to some, it appears in the morning and disappears in the evening (see Weber, p. 197): according to Berachoth 58[b] the Wilôn is rolled up in order that the light of the second heaven, the Rakia, may be seen. This heaven seems also to be empty according to the Test. xii. Patr. Levi 3 ὁ κατώτερος διὰ τοῦτο στυγνότερός ἐστιν ἐπειδὴ οὗτος ὁρᾷ πάσας ἀδικίας ἀνθρώπων.

second heaven, and showed me[1] * the darkness, and there I saw[2] the prisoners suspended[3], reserved for (and) awaiting[3] the eternal[4] judgement. 2. * And these angels were gloomy in appearance, more than the darkness of the earth[3]. * And they unceasingly wept every hour[5], and I said to the men who were with me: 'Why are these men continually[3] tortured?' 3. * And the men[6] answered me: 'These are they who apostatized from * the Lord[7]: who obeyed not the commandments of God, and took counsel of their own will * and transgressed together with their prince and have been already confined to the second heaven[8]. 4. And I felt great pity for them. * And lo! the angels[9] made obeisance to me, and said to me: "O man of God! * pray for us to the Lord[10]." 5. And I answered[11] them: "Who am I, a mortal

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[1] Sok. adds and I saw. [2] B om.; after darkness, A adds greater than the darkness on earth. [3] B om. [4] Great and immeasurable, A; immeasurable, Sok. [5] And I saw those who were condemned weeping, B. [6] And they, A; The men, Sok. [7] God, A. [8] B om. For second A Sok. read fifth. [9] They, A; and these angels, Sok. [10] Oh! that thou wouldst pray to God for us! B. [11] Sok. adds and said unto.

VII. 1. The darkness and . . . the prisoners . . . reserved for . . . judgement: cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4 'Committed them (the angels that sinned as here) to pits of darkness to be reserved unto judgement.' These prisoners are the angels that 'kept not their first estate' and are 'reserved . . . under darkness unto the judgement of the great day,' Jude 6. They appear to be referred to also in Test. xii. Patr. Levi 3 ἐν αὐτῷ (τῷ δευτέρῳ οὐρανῷ) εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, where ἐπαγωγῶν seems corrupt. Observe that the angels who sinned with women are imprisoned *under the earth* in the Eth. En. x as also in our text xviii. 7. On the other hand the angels who sinned through lust for empire are prisoners in the second heaven. 3. Took counsel of their own will. For phraseology cf. Eph. i. 11; Is. xlvi. 10. These angels wished to form a kingdom of their own. Cf. Weber, p. 244. Their prince Satanail: xviii. 3. Second heaven. This emendation is necessary. When the angels of the fifth heaven rebelled they were cast down to the second heaven and imprisoned there. 4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, exactly as in Eth. En. xiii. 4. 'They besought me to draw up a petition that they might find forgiveness.' Man of God: Deut. xxxiii. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 17. 5. Cf. Eth. En. xv. 2 'Say to the watchers of heaven . . . you should intercede for men and not men

man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what awaits me: or who prays *for me[1]?".'

[**Of the taking of Enoch to the third Heaven*[2].]

VIII. 1. And these men took me from thence, and brought me to the third heaven, and placed me *in the midst of a garden[3]—*a place[4] such as has never been known for *the goodliness of its appearance[5]. 2. And *I saw[6] all the trees of beautiful colours and[7] their fruits ripe *and fragrant[6], and all kinds of *food which they produced[8], springing up with delightful fragrance[9]. 3. And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise. And this tree cannot be described for its *excellence and sweet odour[10]. 4. And it is beautiful more than any created thing. And on all sides in appearance it is like gold and crimson and transparent as fire, and it covers everything[11]. 5. *From its root in the

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[1] B om.

VIII. [2] Entry into the third Heaven, B. [3] So B and Sok. A reads There, I looked below and I saw gardens. [4] I looked below and saw that place, Sok. [5] Their goodliness, A and Sok. [6] B om. [7] And I beheld, A. [8] Agreeable food, B. [9] B adds and four rivers flowing with soft course and every kind of thing good that grows for food. These words belong to verse 6. [10] The excellence of its sweet odour, B. [11] The whole garden, Sok. After this A adds and the gardens have all kinds of fruits; Sok. adds and the garden has all kinds of trees planted and all fruits. B OMITS VERSE 4.

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for you. Who knows whither I go, &c.: cf. ii. 1.

VIII. 1. A garden: as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4 Paradise is placed in the third heaven. 2. All the trees . . . fragrant: cf. Gen. ii. 9; Eth. En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis (p. 20) . . . All kinds of food which they produced: cf. Rev. xxii. 2 'Bearing twelve manner of fruits.' 3. In the midst the tree of life: Gen. ii. 9. This is a familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypses. Cp. Eth. En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi 18. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. When we come to Epiphanius we find it denounced as a Manichaean doctrine, *Haer.* 66, p. 27[8]. The tree of life . . . on which God rests. This is reproduced in a modified form in the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 64) *δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.* There is a modification of this idea in Apoc. Mosis (ed. Tischend. p. 12) *καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐντρεπίζετο.* 5. From its root, &c. This is the source of the words in Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 64) *καὶ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο πᾶν εὐωδέστατον ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα.* The

garden[1] there go forth four[2] streams which pour honey and milk[3], oil and wine, and are separated in four directions, and go about with a soft course. 6. And they go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence[4] they go along the earth, and have a revolution in their circle like also the other elements[5]. 7. * And there is another tree, an olive tree always distilling oil[6]. And there is no tree there without fruit, and every tree[7] is blessed[8]. 8. And there are * three hundred angels very glorious, who keep the garden[9], and with never ceasing voices and blessed singing, they serve the Lord * every day[10]. And I said[11]: 'What a very[12] blessed place is this!' And those men spake unto me:

[*The showing to Enoch of the Righteous, and the Place of Prayers.*]

IX. 'This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous

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[1] Emended with Apoc. Pauli from its root; B omits; A and Sok. add in the going out towards earth Paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. This is clearly a corrupt addition. See quotation from Apoc. Pauli in explanatory notes. [2] Two, A and Sok. See note 9 on p. 7 for text of B. [3] A adds and the streams pour. [4] Sok. adds they go forth and are divided into forty (four ?) and; B omits verse 6. [5] Sok. adds of the air. [6] A Sok. om. [7] Place, A. [8] Sok. adds in its fruit and every place is blessed. [9] Angels guarding them, very bright in appearance, B. [10] Every day and hour, A; the whole day, Sok. [11] A adds lo! [12] B om.

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writer has tried to reduce to one organic conception the two originally different conceptions of the heavenly and the earthly Paradise. The latter seems to have been the older: Gen. ii. 8–17; Eth. En. xxxii. 3–6; lxxvii. 3. The heavenly Paradise is referred to in Eth. En. lx. 8; lxi. 12; lxx. 3. Four streams which pour honey and milk and oil and wine. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 52) *ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες ἐκύκλουν αὐτήν, ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον.* These four streams are taken over into the Koran xlvii, save that instead of a river of oil there is a river of incorruptible water. The earthly Paradise is said to be between corruptibility and incorruptibility, because existence in it was a probation and might issue either in corruptibility or incorruptibility: or because it lay on the confines of the regions of corruptibility and incorruptibility. 7. Another tree . . . distilling oil: Cf. xxi. 7. These are the *arbor misericordiae* and the *oleum misericordiae* of Evang. Nicodemi ii. 3: cf. ch. xxii. 8.

IX. 1. Prepared for the righteous:

who endure * every kind of attack [1] * in their lives [2] * from those who [3] afflict their souls: who turn away their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgement, and also give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and assist the * orphans who are [4] oppressed, and who walk * without blame [4] before the face of the Lord, and serve him only. For them this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance.'

[*Here they showed Enoch the terrible Places, and various Tortures.*]

X. 1. And the men then [5] led me to the Northern region [6], and showed me there [7] a very terrible place. 2. And there are all sorts of tortures in that place. Savage [7] darkness and impenetrable [7] gloom; and there is no light there [7], * but

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IX. [1] Attacks, B. [2] A om. [3] Who, B. [4] B om.
X. [5] Removed me from thence and, B. [6] Part of the heavens, B. [7] B om.

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cf. Matt. xxv. 34. See note on Eth. En. lx. 8. **Turn away their eyes from unrighteousness**: Ps. cxix. 37; cf. Is. xxxiii. 15. **Execute righteous judgement**: Ezek. xviii. 8. **Give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked**: Ezek. xviii. 7: cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404–405. **Assist the orphans who are oppressed**: cf. Is. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16. **Walk without blame before . . . the Lord**: cf. Luke i. 6. **Eternal inheritance**: cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1. Northern region. To the modern mind it may seem strange that a division of heaven should be assigned to the wicked, but this idea presented no difficulty to the Jews and early Christians. Thus in the O. T. Satan can present himself in heaven, Job i. 7, 8; while in the N. T. evil may not only appear, but can also have a settled habitation there: Eph. vi. 12 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens' (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*). In Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 this condition of things is represented as being at an end. Satan is cast out of heaven with his angels, and the sphere of his activity and residence is now limited to the earth, Rev. xii. 12. The old idea of wickedness being in heaven reappears in Test. Levi 3, where however it is limited to the second heaven (see also Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153); but it was subsequently banished from Christian and Jewish thought. See Introduction. **2. Darkness and . . . gloom**: Apoc. Petri 12 *τόπῳ σκοτεινῷ*: Apoc. Pauli, p. 62, where one region of

a gloomy fire is always burning[1], *and a fiery river goes forth[2]. *And all that place has fire on all sides, and on all sides[3] cold and ice, *thus it burns and freezes[4]. 3. *And the prisoners are very savage[2]. And the angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage[2] weapons, and their torture was unmerciful. 4. And I said: *'Woe, woe[2]! How terrible is this place[5]!' And the men said to me: 'This place,

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[1] Neither fire nor flame and a gloom is over that place, B. [2] B. om. [3] In that place; on both sides fire and on both sides, Sok.; B om. [4] So Sok. A reads thirst and freezing, B; and murkiness. [5] What a terrible place is this! A.

Hades is said *σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπλη-ρωμένον.* **There is no light there:** quoted by Apoc. Pauli (p. 57) *οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς.* **Fiery river.** This idea appears first in Eth. En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, but not there as an instrument of punishment. It seems however to have been applied early to that purpose, as here, and in the form of a lake of fire in Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8. Or. Sibyll. ii. 196–200, 252–253, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411: cf. Apoc. Petri 8 *λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου φλεγομένου.* Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 57) *ἔνθα ἐπέρρεεν ποταμὸς πύρινος.* In Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 the two ideas are combined: *ποταμὸς ἐκπορεύεται πυρὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ῥεῖ εἰς τὸ κενὸν τοῦ ἐκτισμένου, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ γέεννα* (quoted by James, *Test. Abraham*, p. 160). **Fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice.** This seems to be drawn from Eth. En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling in heaven is said to be 'hot as fire and cold as ice.' **3. Angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons.** Angels of destruction are mentioned in the O. T. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15. A class of destroying angels may be referred to in Ecclus. xxxix. 28 *πνεύματα, ἃ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἔκτισται.* In Eth. En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish is mentioned and the conception is evidently a familiar one, though here found for the first time in Jewish literature. This idea appears in the N. T. Rev. ix. 11, 15; xvi. Of these the angel mentioned in ix. 11 is *Ἀπολλύων.* In Matt. xiii. 49 good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. These angels of destruction or punishment are frequently referred to in Latin literature. Test. Levi 3 *αἱ δυνάμεις... οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλανῆς.* These angels of punishment are placed in the third heaven as in our text. Cf. Apoc. Petri 6 *οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι*: 8 *ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.* The words angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons seem to have been before the writer of Test. Abraham A. xii *ἄγγελοι . . . ἀνηλεεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀπότομοι τῷ*

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* And I measured [1] their goings, * and computed their light. 2. And I saw that [2] the sun has a light * seven times [3] greater than the moon. * I beheld their circle, and their chariot [4] on which * each goes [5] like a wind * advancing with astonishing swiftness [6], and * they have [7] no rest day or night coming or going. 3. There are four great stars; * each star has under it a thousand stars [6] at the right of the chariot of the sun; and four at the left [8], * each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand [6]. 4. * Fifteen myriads of [9] angels go * out with the sun and attend him during the day, and by night one thousand [6]. * Each angel has six wings. They go [10] before the chariot of the sun [11]. 5. And a hundred angels * keep warm and light up the sun [12].

[*Of the wonderful Creatures of the Sun.*]

XII. 1. * And I looked and saw other flying creatures, their names phoenixes and chalkadri wonderful and strange

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[1] Their dimensions, B. [2] And I saw their goings, B. [3] A om. [4] His circle and his chariot, A; and around them is a chariot, B. [5] They go always, A. [6] B om. [7] He has, A. [8] B adds always going with the sun. [9] Fifteen, A; B om. [10] Six winged creatures go with the angels, A; B om. [11] A adds in a fiery flame. [12] Minister unto him fire, Sok.; B om. verse 5.

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of the sun and moon: cf. Eth. En. lxxii–lxxviii. 2. The sun has a light seven times, &c.: Eth. En. lxxii. 37. Their chariot on which each goes like a wind: Eth. En. lxxii. 5 'the chariots on which he (the sun) ascends are driven by the wind': so also of the moon in Eth. En. lxxiii. 2 and of both in lxxv. 3; lxxxii. 8. Have no rest day or night: Eth. En. xli. 7 '(the sun and moon) rest not': lxxii. 37 'rests not . . . day and night.' Sibyllines iii. 21 'Ηέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα. 3, 4. There is nothing corresponding to these verses in Eth. En. 5. Cf. Eth. En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. Phoenixes and chalkadri. This seems to be the only reference to such creatures in literature. The phoenix, which according to all ancient writers was solitary and unique ('unus in terris,' Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; cf. Mart. v. 7; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392) in its kind, is here represented as one of a class. The phoenix is mentioned in Job xxix. 18 according to Jewish authorities, where for 'I shall multiply my days as the sand' they render 'as the phoenix' כחול. There are many references to it among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv.

in appearance, with the feet and tails of lions, and the heads of crocodiles[1]; * their appearance was of a purple colour, like

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XII. [1] **And the flying creatures are in form like two birds, one like a phoenix and the other like a chalkedry. And in their shape they resemble a lion in their feet and tail and in the head a crocodile,** Sok.; B om.

392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. The fable regarding it is recounted as sober fact by 1 Clem. *ad Corinth.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Resurrect. Carn.* xiii; Ambrose, *Hexaem.* v. 23; Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* lxxxiv; and the *Apostolic Constitutions* v. 7. Origen, *contra Celsum* iv. 98, doubts it: so also Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxi. 10, and among the later Greeks Maximus and Photius, and among the Latins Augustine *de Anima* iv. 33. To those who believed the fable we should add Rufinus *Comment. in Symb. Apost.* xi. and the Pseudo-Lactantius, from whose poem *De Phoenice* we draw the following references, which seem to be derived either directly or indirectly from our text. The phoenix in that poem is an attendant of the sun, 'satelles phoebi' ver. 33, as in xii. 2 are the phoenixes: when the sun appears it greets him with strains of sacred song (verses 43–50) and claps its wings (verses 51–54) exactly as the phoenixes in xv. 1. This poem belongs probably to the fourth century. The voice of the phoenix was celebrated for its sweetness: cf. the Jewish poet Ezekiel v. 10 *φωνὴν δὲ πάντων εἶχεν εὐπρεπεστάτην*: Pseudo-Lactantius, *de Phoenice* 46 'miram vocem': 56 'innarrabilibus sonis.' Its colour was purple—purpureus (Pliny); *κυάνεός ἐστιν ῥόδοις ἐμφερής* (Achil. Tat.), cf. xv. 1 and xii. 1. On the two different legends in the Talmud about the origin of the phoenix see Hamburger, *R. E. für Talmud* 908–9. On the question generally see Lightfoot, and Gebhardt and Harnack on 1 *Clem.* xxv. 1; Eckermann in *Ersch und Grueber* sect. iii. xxiv. 310–16; Creuzer, *Symbol. und Mythol.* ii. 163 (third ed.); Piper, *Mythol. und Symbol. der Christl. Kunst* i. 446, 471; Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters* i. 93–98; Seyfarth, *Z. D. M. G.* 1849, 63–89; Gundert, *Z. f. luth. Theol.* 1854, 451–54. Chalkadri. This may be a transliteration of Χαλκύδραι, brazen hydras, or serpents. They are classed with the Cherubim in Eth. En. xx. 7 'Gabriel . . . who is over Paradise and the Serpents (*τῶν δρακόντων* in the Greek) and the Cherubim.' Hence they seem to have been a class of heavenly creatures, i.e. the Seraphim שְׂרָפִים. The idea of flying serpents was a familiar one from the O.T. Is. xiv. 29; xxx. 6 שְׂרָף מעופף. It was not unfamiliar to the rest of the ancient world: cf. Herod. ii. 75; Lucan ix. 729–30; Ovid, *Met.* v. 642–4; *Fast.* iv. 562; also Claudian, Valerius Flaccus, Ammianus, Aelian, Apollonius. In the O.T. these flying serpents are venomous in such passages as Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Is. xiv. 29; xxx. 6. What relation these seraphim bear to those in Is. vi. 2, 6 it is hard to determine. That these latter were winged dragons we must assume according to Delitzsch (*Das Buch Jesaia*, pp. 124, 5). The analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5–11 is

the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures [1]. 2. * Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve, and they attend the chariot of the sun, and go with him [2], bringing heat and dew * as they are ordered by God [3]. 3. * So the sun makes his revolutions, and goes [4] * under the heavens,

[1] B om. [2] So A and Sok., but that the former omits chariot of the. Twelve flying spirits and twelve wings to each angel who accompanies the chariot, B. [3] And as he is ordered by God, Sok. [4] B om.; A adds and proceeds.

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certainly in favour of this view. The serpent was anciently a symbol of wisdom and healing among the Greeks, the Egyptians (Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth.* pp. 103, 4), and the Hebrews, Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14. Hezekiah's destruction of the 'brazen serpent' as associated with idolatry may have caused the symbol to bear almost without exception an evil significance in later times, so that at last it became a designation of Satan: cf. Rev. xii. 9. We are therefore inclined to identify these Chalkadri with the Seraphim or heavenly creatures of Isaiah vi. These Chalkadri, we should add, sing in xv. 1 as do the Seraphim in Is. vi. 3, though their functions in the main are different. The idea here appears in a developed form and is no doubt indebted for its enlargement to Egyptian mythology. The Seraphim first appear in conjunction with other orders of angels in Eth. En. lxi. 10. Here their original character seems already to have been forgotten almost as wholly as in modern days, and they are regarded merely as a special class of angels; whereas in Eth. En. xx. 7 their true nature is still borne in mind. In the N. T. neither Cherubim nor Seraphim appear, but the characteristics of both reappear, fused together in the 'four living creatures' of Rev. iv. 6–8. However, though the N. T. takes no notice of the Seraphim save the indirect one of Rev. iv. 6–8, the conception obtained in later times the recognition of the Church through Dionysius the Areopagite's scheme of the nine heavenly orders. See Cheyne's *Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 36, 42; ii. 283–6. Feet and tails of lions. The feet of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet. Their size nine hundred measures. In Bochart's *Hierozoicon* iii. 225–227 we find by citations from Strabo, Aelian, Valerius, Philostorgius, Diodorus, &c., that the ancients were ready to believe in monstrous dragons or serpents. Aelian, for instance, speaks of one 210 feet long, while an Arabian writer describes one of 8,000 paces in length. In the Talmud there is frequent mention of angels and creatures of a like monstrous size. 2. Each with twelve. As the ordinary angels in xi. 4 have six wings each, these creatures are assigned twelve each. It would seem more natural to read this verse immediately after xi. 5; xii. 1 however must in some form and in some place appear in the text, as we see from xv. 1. Bringing heat and dew. Contrast

and goes under [1] the earth with the light * of his beams unceasingly [2].

[*The Angels t ok Enoch, and placed him on the East at the Gates of the Sun.*]

XIII. 1. These men brought me to the East [3] and * showed me the gates [4] by which the sun * goes forth [5] at the appointed seasons, and according to the revolution of the months * of the whole year [6], and * according to the number of the hours, day and night [7]. 2. And I saw the six great [8] gates * open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium [6]; * and I truly measured them and understood their size to be so much [9], by which the sun goes forth; and he goes to the west * and makes his course correspond. And he proceeds through all the months [6]. 3. * And by the first gates he goes out forty-two days; by the second gates thirty-five days; by the fourth gates thirty-five; by the fifth gates thirty-five; by the sixth gates [8] forty-five [10]. 4. * And so he returns [11] * from the sixth gates in the course of time [6]: * and he enters by the fifth gates during thirty-five days, by the fourth gates thirty-five, by the third gates during thirty-five days; by the second gates thirty-five [10]. 5. * And so the

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[1] To descend upon, B; under the heaven and under, Sok. [2] The rays of the sun, B; Of his beams, Sok.

XIII. [3] B adds of the heavens. [4] Placed me at the gates of the sun, A. [5] Enters, B. [6] B om. [7] At the shortening up to the lengthening of the days and nights, B. [8] A om. [9] And I measured their size, and I could not comprehend their size, B. [10] A B om. [11] B om. A adds to rest.

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the conception in Eth. En. lx. 20.

3. Goes under the earth. This is undoubtedly corrupt, as the sun does not go under the earth but through the fourth heaven when he sets in the west. See xiv. 2 (note).

Unceasingly: cf. xi. 2 (note).

XIII. 1. The gates by which the sun goes forth. These are the six gates mentioned in the next verse. For an account of the sun's six eastern gates and six western see Eth. En. lxxii. 2-4. Six gates: Eth. En. lxxii. 3. The rest of the chapter is hopelessly corrupt. The account seems to be derived originally from Eth. En.

days of the whole year[1] are finished according to the alternation of the four[2] seasons.

[*They took Enoch to the West.*]

XIV. 1. And *then these[3] men took me to the *West of the heavens[4] and showed me six great gates open, *corresponding to the Eastern gates[5], opposite *to which the sun goes out by the Eastern gates[6], according to the number of the days *three hundred and sixty-five, and the quarter of a day[7]. 2. *So he sets by the Western gates[8]. When he goes out by the Western gates[9] *four hundred angels

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[1] By his regular departure the years, B. And so the whole year, A. [2] B om.

XIV. [3] The, B. [4] Western regions, A. [5] Corresponding to the Eastern entrance, B. Opposite to the circuit of the Eastern gates, Sok. [6] Where the sun retires, A. By which the sun passes, Sok. [7] B om. [8] A om. [9] A adds he conceals his light under the earth and the glories of his luminary.

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lxxii. 2–37. 5. Four seasons: cf. xl. 6. The account of two of these seasons is found in Eth. En. lxxxii. 15–20: that of the remaining two is lost.

XIV. 1. Three hundred and sixty-five, and the quarter of a day. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. En. pp. 190–91 that the writer of chs. lxxii-lxxxii. was familiar with the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, but that owing to national prejudices he refused to acknowledge it. 2. According to the Eth. En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north in order to reach the east. In our text, however, the sun revolves through the fourth heaven, xi; xxx. 3, and when he rises in the east goes under the heavens and appears to men. During the night while he passes through the fourth heaven he is *without light*, or in the words of the text *his crown is taken from him*: when he is about to reappear in the east his crown, or in other words his light, is restored to him. The reason why the sun is obliged to surrender his crown in passing through the fourth heaven before God is presumably that which is given in the Apoc. Mosis (ed. Tischend. p. 19): the sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe (*ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν ὅλων*). The passage in this Apocalypse appears undoubtedly to be founded on the present text. Eve is there represented as seeing the sun and moon praying for Adam before God but *without their light*. She thereupon asks: *ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τί γεγόνασιν μελανοειδεῖς; καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ Σήθ. οὐ δύνανται φαίνειν ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς*

take his crown and bring it to the Lord [1]. 3. And the sun revolves [2] in his chariot *and goes without light [3] *for seven complete hours in the night [4]. *And when he comes near the East [5] *at the eighth hour of the night [6], *the four hundred angels bring his crown and crown him [7].

[*The Creatures of the Sun; the Phoenixes and Chalkidri sang.*]

XV. 1. Then sang the creatures [8] called the Phoenixes and the Chalkidri. On this account every bird claps its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, *and they sang a song at the command of the Lord [9]. 2. The giver of light comes to give his brightness to *the whole world [10]. 3. *And they showed me the calculation of the going of the sun. And the gates by which he enters and goes out are great gates, which God made for the computation of the year [11]. 4. *On this account the sun is great [12].

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[1] So B and Sok., but that the former reads four instead of four hundred. A reads but the crown of his splendour is in heaven before the Lord: and there are four hundred angels attending Him. [2] Revolves, B Sok. Goes under the earth, A. [3] And rests, A. [4] B om.; A Sok. support text, but that Sok. omits complete. After night A adds and reaches half his course under the earth. [5] At the Eastern gates, B; Sok. om. [6] B om. [7] He brings forth his luminary and his shining crown, and the sun is lighted up more than fire, A. And places on it again the crown, B.

XV. [8] A adds of the sun; B OMITS VERSES 1, 2. [9] Singing with their voices, Sok. [10] His creation, Sok.; A adds and there will be the guards of the morning, which are the rays of the sun and the earthly sun will go out and will receive his brightness to light up all the face of the earth. [11] So A and Sok. B reads this arrangement of the gates by which he enters and goes out the two angels showed me; these gates the Lord made for the computation and his yearly record of the sun. [12] B om.; A adds its revolutions extend to twenty-eight years, and so it was from the beginning.

τῶν ὅλων, καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐκρύβη τὸ φῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 3. Seven complete hours in the night. This is corrupt. The writer must have known that the length of the night varied with the season. In the Eth. En. a chapter (lxxii) is devoted to the explanation of the varying lengths of the day and night.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note). Every bird. We should expect 'all these winged creatures,' i. e. the Phoenixes and Chalkidri. Or are we to take it that the early song of birds at sunrise is here referred to? but this is unlikely.

[*The Men took Enoch and placed him at the East, at the Course of the Moon.*]

XVI. 1. *The other, the computation of the moon these men showed me[1]; *all the goings and revolutions[2]. *And they pointed out the gates to me[3], twelve great[4] gates extending *from the West to the East[5], by which the moon enters *and goes out[6] at the customary times. 2. She enters *the first gate when the sun is in the West thirty-one days exactly[7]; by the second gate thirty-one[8] days exactly; by the third gate thirty days exactly; by the fourth gate thirty days exactly; by the fifth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the sixth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the seventh gate thirty days exactly; by the eighth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the ninth gate thirty-one[9] days exactly; by the tenth gate thirty[10] exactly; by the eleventh gate thirty-one days exactly; by the twelfth gate twenty-eight days[11] exactly. 3. And so by the Western gates in her revolutions, and corresponding to the number of the Eastern gates she goes, and accomplishes the year[12]. 4. *And unto the sun there are three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter

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XVI. [1] They also showed me the other arrangement, that of the moon, B. [2] And all its course. And the men showed me all the movements of these two, B; A om. [3] A Sok. om. [4] Eternal, B. [5] Towards the East, B. [6] B om. [7] B OMITS ENTIRE VERSE. Sok. reads the first gates (western place of the sun) 31 days to the place of the sun exactly. For 31 A reads 1. [8] Emended from 35 A Sok. [9] 35, A. [10] 31, Sok. [11] 22, Sok. [12] Sok. adds in the days.

XVI. 1. Twelve great gates. These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii. **2–3.** It is obvious that the text is here corrupt, as this account cannot possibly apply to the moon. In order to correct it we have only to read 'sun' instead of 'moon' wherever it occurs. We have thus a description of the Solar year. The numbers when added together = 365. Hence in ver. 4 we are told that a Solar year = $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Then in ver. 5 we proceed to consider the lunar year which amounts not to 365 but to 354 days, there being a difference of eleven days, or more exactly eleven and a quarter days.

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the winds of the heavens, and there are spirits and creatures, and angels flying[1], with six wings to each of the angels[2]. 8. *And seven (months) are computed to the circle of the moon during a revolution of nineteen years[3].

[*Of the singing of the Angels, which cannot be described.*]

XVII. 1. In the middle of the heavens I saw an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals, and organs, and unceasing voice[4]. I was delighted at hearing it.

[*Of the taking up of Enoch into the fifth Heaven.*]

XVIII. 1. The men took *and brought[5] me up into the fifth heaven[6], and I saw there many hosts *not to be counted

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[1] So Sok. but that it omits of the heavens and of the angels. B reads, So their circle goes as it were round the heavens and their chariot. The wind goes with it, urging its course and the flying spirits draw on the chariots. [2] B adds and such is the arrangement of the moon. [3] So Sok.; and its course is in seven different directions for nineteen years, A; B om.

XVII. [4] A adds and noble and continuous and varied singing, which it is not possible to describe. And so wonderful and strange is the singing of these angels that it amazes every mind. Sok. adds and with noble singing.

XVIII. [5] A B om. A [6] adds and placed me there.

Spirits . . . with six wings. The moon has its attendant *six-winged* spirits as the sun has its *twelve-winged* attendants (xii. 2). **8.** This verse deals with the Metonic cycle. This cycle consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year. As nineteen solar years = 6,939·1860 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. An armed host. The purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi 3, though in this Testament they are placed in the third heaven: *ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ* Βελίαρ. Serving the Lord with cymbals . . . and unceasing voice. This is exactly the conception which Test. Levi 3 gives of the functions of the inhabitants of the fourth heaven: *ἐν δὲ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσὶ θρόνοι, ἐξουσίαι, ἐν ᾧ ὕμνοι ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται.*

XVIII. 1. Fifth heaven. Our text and Test. Levi 3 differ absolutely

called Grigori[1]; and their appearance was like men, and their size was * greater than that of the giants[2]. 2. And their countenances were withered, and their lips are always silent. And there was no service in * the fifth[3] heaven. And I said to the men who were with me: 'Why are these men very withered, and their faces melancholy, and their lips silent, and there is no service in this heaven?' 3. And they said to me: 'These are the Grigori, who, with their prince Satanail,

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[1] B om. [2] Greater than great wonders, B. Great and they were huge limbed, A. B OM. REST OF CHAPTER. [3] This, Sok.

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as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are *οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου.* This view, however, seems limited to the Test. of Levi, whereas we find in *Chag.* 12[b] the same view expressed as here: i. e. in מעון the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: *ἆρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.* This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted. **Grigori.** These are the Watchers, the Ἐγρήγοροι, or עירים, of whom we have so full accounts in the Eth. En. vi–xvi.; xix.; lxxxvi. **3. The Grigori.** These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See Eth. En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in Eth. En. vi–xvi. The leaders in the Eth. En. vi–xvi. are not Satans, but 'watchers,' like their followers. In Eth. En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in Eth. En. lxix. and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244. **Who with their prince Satanail.** Quoted in Test. Dan. 5 .. *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης. Ἀνέγνων*

rejected the holy[1] Lord[2]. 4. And *in consequence of these things[3] they are kept in great darkness in the second heaven; *and of them there went three[4] to the earth from the throne of God to the place Ermon; and they entered into dealings on the side of Mount Iermon, and they saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took unto themselves wives. 5. And they made the earth foul with their deeds[5]. And they acted lawlessly in all times of this age, and wrought confusion, and the giants were born, and the strangely tall men, and there was much wickedness. 6. And on account of this God judged them with a mighty judgement. And they lament for their brethren, and they will be punished at the great day of the Lord. 7. And I said to the Grigori: 'I have seen your brethren and their works, and their great[1]

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[1] Sok. om. [2] Sok. adds to the number of twenty millions. [3] Those who followed them are the prisoners who, Sok. [4] Who went, Sok. [5] Sok. adds And the wives of men continue to do evil.

γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς. ὑμῶν is here corrupt for αὐτῶν. The text cannot mean that all the watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is, of course, just possible that the writers' scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels who followed them are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the watchers who went down to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but is open to more difficulties of interpretation than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 is indeed in its favour, but then for 'prince and' in the same verse we must read 'prince and leaders who.' The main objections to this interpretation, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3, where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the watchers. In xxx. 1–3 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven. **4. Kept . . . in the second heaven:** see vii. 3. **Three.** According to Eth. En. ix. 6 Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza: according to *Jalkut* Schim., Beresch 44 Assael and Semjaza. **Ermon:** see Eth. En. vi. 2–6 (notes). **Entered into dealings on . . . Mount Iermon:** Eth. En. vi. 5. 5. Eth. En. x. 8; vii. 2. 6. Eth. En. x. 4–15. **They will be punished:** i. e. the lustful watchers. 7. There is a confusion in this verse. In vii. Enoch has seen the rebellious watchers being tortured in the second heaven; whereas he says here that he

torments[1]. And I have prayed for them, but God has condemned them (to be) under the earth, till the heaven and earth are ended for ever.' 8. And I said: 'Why do ye *wait, brethren[2], and not serve before the face of the Lord? and perform your duties[3] before the face of the Lord, and do not anger your Lord[4] to the end.' 9. And they listened to my rebuke. And they *stood in the four orders in this[5] heaven, and lo! as I was standing with these men, four trumpets resounded together with a loud voice, and the Grigori sang with one voice, and their voices went forth before the Lord[6] with sadness and tenderness.

[*The taking up of Enoch into the sixth Heaven.*]

XIX. 1. And these men took me thence and brought me to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious, and their faces shining more than *the rays of[7] the sun. *They are resplendent[7], and there is no difference *in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing[8]. 2. *And these orders[9] arrange and study *the revolutions of the stars, and the changes

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[1] Sok. adds and their great entreaties. [2] Await your brethren, Sok. [3] Sok. adds and serve. [4] Sok. adds your God. [5] Spoke to the four orders in, A. [6] Sok. adds God.

XIX. [7] B om. [8] Of form between them nor in the fashion of their raiment, Sok. [9] Some of these angels, B.

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has seen the lustful watchers who are punished under the earth. I have prayed for them: cf. vii. 5 (note). 8, 9. The watchers are silent out of sympathy with their brethren who are punished in the second heaven and under the earth, but at Enoch's rebuke they resume the worship they had left off. Even so their singing is still marked with sadness.

XIX. 1. The account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi 3, with that of *Chag.* 12[b], and with the colourless account in the Asc. Is. There is no difference in their countenances, &c.: Asc. Is. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven (cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5–7). 2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in Eth. En. lxxii–lxxxii.

of the moon, and revolutions of the sun, and superintend the good or evil condition of the world[1]. 3. *And they[2] arrange teachings, and instructions, and sweet *speaking, and[3] singing, and all *kinds of glorious[4] praise. *These are the archangels who are appointed over the angels! They hold in subjection all living things both in heaven and earth[5]. 4. And there are the angels who are over seasons and years, and the angels who are over rivers and the sea, and those who are over the fruits *of the earth, and the angels over every herb, giving all kinds of nourishment to every living thing[6]. 5. And the angels over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives[7] before the face of the Lord. 6. In the midst of them are seven phoenixes and seven cherubims, and seven six-winged creatures, *being as one voice and singing with one voice[8]; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and *they rejoice before the Lord[9] at His footstool.

[*Thence Enoch is taken into the seventh Heaven*[10].]

XX. 1. And these men took me thence †and brought me[11]

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[1] The peaceful order of the world, and the revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars. [2] Other heavenly angels, B. [3] And clear, A; voiced, Sok. [4] Things concerned with, A. [5] So A Sok.; but that A reads measure for hold in subjection, B om. [6] So A Sok.; but that A reads all those who give nourishment for giving all kinds of nourishment; B reads and grass and all things that grow. [7] And the angels who write down all the souls of men and all their works and their lives, A; Other angels arrange the things of all men and all living things, and write, B. [8] With one voice they sing in harmony, A; Each uttering words by himself, and singing by himself things in harmony, B. [9] The Lord rejoices with them, B.

XX. [10] Entry of Enoch into the seventh heaven, B. [11] A om.

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4. In Eth. En. lx. it is subordinate spirits that are over these natural objects. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14; xvi. 5. 5. It is Raphael in Eth. En. xx. 3. 6. Six-winged creatures: i. e. seraphim. Cf. xii. 1 (notes). Observe that both cherubim and seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. *Chag.* 12^{b} places the Seraphim, Ophannim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi 3 in agreement with this verse represents the inhabitants of the sixth heaven as *οἱ ἄγγελοί εἰσι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου, οἱ λειτουργοῦντες.*

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts cf. Is. vi; Ezek.

to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very [1] great light and *all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and incorporeal powers [2] †and lordships, and principalities, and powers; cherubim and seraphim, thrones [1] *and the watchfulness of many eyes. There were ten troops, a station of brightness [3], and I was afraid, and trembled *with a great terror [1]. 2. And those men *took hold of me and brought me into their midst [4] and said to me: 'Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid.' 3. And they showed me the Lord from afar sitting on His lofty [5] throne [6]. And all the heavenly hosts having approached stood [1] on the ten [1] steps, *according to their rank: and [1] made

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[1] B om. [2] A fiery host of great archangels of spiritual forms, A. All the fiery and bright host of the incorporeal archangels, B. [3] And the ten many-eyed bands of bright station, Sok.; B om. After brightness A Sok. add the gloss like the followers of John. For nine (A) I have read ten with Sok. [4] Placed me in their midst, B. For unto their midst A reads after them. [5] Very lofty, Sok., B om. [6] A adds for it is that upon which God rests. In the tenth heaven, in the tenth heaven is God. In the Hebrew language it is called Avarat.

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i; Eth. En. xiv. 9–17; lxxi. 7–9; Rev. iv. For *Chag.* 12[b] see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above. Lordships, and principalities, and powers . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 *εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι.* Cf. Eph. i. 21 *ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος*: also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Eth. En. lxi. 10. Watchfulness of many eyes seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophannim, Eth. En. lxi. 10. Ten . . . brightness. These are the ten orders of angels mentioned in ver. 3. Was afraid and trembled: Eth. En. xiv. 14. 2. Be of good cheer, &c.: cf. i. 8. 3. The Lord . . . on His lofty throne: Is. vi. 1; Eth. En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4. All the heavenly hosts . . . on the ten steps according to their rank. These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; Jesode Thora C. 2, they are: Chajjoth, Ophannim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophannim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i.e. *Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἄγγελοι.* These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

obeisance to the Lord. 4. And so they proceeded to their places in joy and mirth, and in boundless light *singing songs with low and gentle voices [1], *and gloriously serving Him [2].

[*How the Angels placed Enoch there at the limits of the seventh Heaven, and departed from him invisibly.*]

XXI. 1. They leave not *nor depart day or night [3] standing before the face of the Lord, working His will [4], cherubim and seraphim, standing round His throne. *And the six-winged creatures [5] overshadow all [6] His throne, singing *with a soft voice [6] before the face of the Lord: *'Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabaoth! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory [6]!' 2. When I had seen all these things, *these men said unto me: 'Enoch, up to this time we have been ordered to accompany thee.' And [6] those men departed from me, and I saw them no more. And I remained alone at the extremity of the heaven [7], and was afraid, and fell on my face, *and said within myself: 'Woe is me! what has come upon me! [8].' 3. And the Lord sent one of His glorious archangels [6], Gabriel, and he said to me: 'Be of good cheer, Enoch, *be not afraid [9], *stand up, come with me [10], and stand up before the face of the Lord for ever. 4. And I answered him, *and said [11]: 'Oh! Lord, my spirit has departed from me with fear *and trembling [6]! *call to me the men [12] who have brought me to this place: upon them

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[1] B om. [2] The glorious ones seeing Him, Sok.

XXI. [3] A om. [4] B adds and the whole host of. [5] With six wings and many eyes, A. [6] B om. [7] Seventh heaven, A. [8] B om. [9] Fear not thou these hosts, B. [10] Come unto me, B. A transposes these words after for ever. [11] B om.; A adds within myself. B adds Woe is me, O Lord! [12] I called the men, A B.

XXI. 1. Leave not nor depart day or night. This is derived from Eth. En. xiv. 23 'The holy ones of the holy—leave not by night nor depart.' 'Six-winged creatures . . . Holy, holy, holy, &c.,' Is. vi. 2, 3. 3. Be of good cheer, be not afraid. See i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 5; Eth. En.

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Enoch, be not afraid: rise up and stand before my face for ever.' 6. And Michael, the chief captain, *lifted me up, and [1] brought me before the face of the Lord, and the Lord said to His servants making trial of them: 'Let Enoch come to stand before My face for ever!' 7. And the glorious ones made obeisance *to the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch proceed according to Thy word [2]!' 8. And the Lord said to Michael: '*Go and take from Enoch his earthly robe, and anoint him with My holy [3] oil, and clothe him with the raiment of My glory.' 9. And so Michael *did as the Lord spake unto him. He [4] anointed me [5] and clothed me, and the appearance of that oil was more than a great light, and its anointing was like excellent dew; and its fragrance like myrrh, shining like a ray of the sun. 10. *And I gazed upon myself, and I was like one of His glorious ones [6]. *And there was no difference, and fear and trembling departed from me [7]. 11. And the Lord called one of His archangels, by name Vretil [8], who *was more wise than the other archangels, and [9] wrote down all the doings of the Lord. 12. And the Lord said to Vretil [8], 'Bring forth

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[1] B om. and transposes verses 8–10 before 5. [2] And told me to come forth, B. [3] Take Enoch and strip from him all earthly things and anoint him with fine, B. [4] Stripped me of my clothes and, B. [5] With blessed oil, B. [6] Sok. om. [7] A Sok. om. [8] Pravuil, A; Vrevoil, Sok. [9] With wisdom, B.

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to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them]. **6. Michael.** Cf. Eth. En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is likewise the chief of the archangels, Eth. En. xl. 9. As being the angel set over Israel, Eth. En. xx. 5, he is naturally the chief captain. **8.** This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου of *Apoc. Mosis* ed. Tischend. p. 6. **Holy oil.** See viii. 7: Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. This oil is described in ver. 9, and its effects in vèr. 10. **Raiment of my glory.** These are the garments of the blessed. Cf. Eth. En. lxii. 15; cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. *Sim.* viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9. **11. Vretil.** I cannot find this name anywhere else. **12. Give a reed to Enoch.** These words are drawn upon in *Liber S. Joannis Apocryphus* (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N. T. vol. i. p. 890) 'Elevavit Hencc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ci dari calamum . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros.

the books from my store-places, * and give a reed to Enoch [1], † and interpret to him the books [2].' * And Vretil made haste and brought me the books, fragrant with myrrh, and gave me a reed from his hand [3].

[*Of the Writing of Enoch how he wrote about his wonderful Goings and the heavenly Visions, and he himself wrote* 366 *Books.*]

XXIII. 1. And he told me all the works of * the heaven and [4] the earth and the sea, * and their goings and comings [5], * the noise of the thunder; the sun and moon and the movement of the stars; their changings; the seasons and years; days and hours [6]; and [7] goings of the winds; and the numbers of the angels; * the songs of the armed hosts [8]. 2. And everything relating to man, and every language of their songs, and the lives of men, and the precepts [9] and instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all which it is suitable to be instructed in. 3. * And Vretil instructed me thirty days and thirty nights, and his lips never ceased speaking; and I did not cease thirty days and thirty nights writing all the remarks [10]. 4. And Vretil [11] said to me: * 'All the things which I have told thee, thou hast written down. Sit [12] down and * write all about [13] the souls

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[1] And take a reed for speedy writing and give it to Enoch, A Sok. [2] A om. [3] And show him the books wonderful and fragrant with myrrh from thy hand, A; Sok. agrees with text, save that he adds wonderful before books, and adds for speedy writing after reed.

XXIII. [4] B om. [5] The movements of all the elements, B; A om. [6] The living things and the seasons of the year, and the course of his days and their changings, and the teaching of the commandments, B; Sok. supports text, save that for movement of the stars he reads stars and their goings. After hours Sok. adds and the coming forth of the clouds. [7] B OMITS from and goings to end of ver. 2. [8] The fashion of their songs, A. [9] Narratives, A. [10] A om.; Sok. supports text, but that for remarks he reads marks of every creature. After creature Sok. adds and when I had finished the thirty days and nights. [11] Pravuil, A; Vrevoil, Sok. So a'so in previous verse. [12] Lo! what things I have instructed thee in and what thou hast written: and now sit, Sok. [13] Write down all, Sok.

XXIII. 1. This verse would not unsuitably describe the Book of Celestial Physics in Eth. En. lxxii–lxxxii. Songs of the armed hosts: see xvii.

of men, those of them which are not born, and the places prepared for them for ever. 5. For every soul was created eternally[1] before the foundation of the world.' 6. And I *wrote all out continuously[2] during thirty days and thirty nights, †and I copied all out accurately, and I wrote 366 books[3].

[1] For eternity, Sok. [2] Sat, Sok. [3] And so I ceased and I had written 360 books, B.

5. Every soul was created . . . before the foundation of the world. The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. *Wisdom of Solomon*, viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἦμην εὐφυής, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον.* This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίασιν ἐνδεθησόμεναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn.* i. 22). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκεῖναι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβᾶσαι τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμοῦ δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἁρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant.* 3). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Gigant.* 3). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn.* i. 22), and who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn.* i. 22; cf. *De Gigant.* 4). This doctrine of the preexistence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μέν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἱρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ καταπωμένας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι.* It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma*, Pikkude 3) or in the seventh heaven (*Chagig* 12^{b}) or in a certain chamber (אוצר) (*Sifre* 143^{b}) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba* c. 8, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217–220). See xxx. 16 (note).

[*Of the great Secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him Face to Face.*]

XXIV. 1. And the Lord called me *and said to me: 'Enoch, sit thou on My [1] left hand with Gabriel.' And I made obeisance to the Lord. 2. And the Lord spake to me: 'Enoch [2], *the things which thou seest at rest and in motion were completed by me [3]. I will tell thee *now, even [4] from the first, what things I created from the non-existent, and what visible things from the invisible [5]. 3. Not even to My angels have I told My secrets, nor have I informed them of *their origin, nor have they understood My infinite creation [6] which I tell thee of to-day. 4. *For before anything which is visible existed [7], *I alone held my course among the invisible things [8], like the sun from the east to the west, *and from the west to the east. 5. But even the sun has rest in himself, but I did not find rest,

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XXIV. [1] And placed me on His, B. [2] Beloved Enoch, A. [3] Thou seest the things which are now completed, A. [4] All, Sok. [5] A adds Listen Enoch and pay attention to these words, for. [6] Their origin nor of My infinite empire, nor have they understood the creation made by Me, A. My mysteries nor their explanations nor My boundless and inexplicable plans in creation, B. [7] B om. [8] I revealed the light: I went about in the light as one of the invisible.

XXIV. 2. From the non-existent. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—*ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὤν* (*De Somn.* i. 13). Probably, however, from the non-existent is a rendering of *ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων*. This will harmonize with xxv. 1. Visible things from the invisible: cf. passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'The worlds have been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear.' These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 LXX we find the idea of invisible elements introduced, as it gives *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος* as a rendering of what we translate with 'the earth was waste.' 3. Not even to My angels: cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

because I was creating every thing [1]. And I planned to lay the foundations and to make the visible creation.

[*God tells Enoch how out of the lowest Darkness, there comes forth the visible and the invisible.*]

XXV. 1. '*And I commanded in the depths that visible things should come out of invisible. And out came Adoil very great [2], *and I gazed upon him. And lo! his colour was* red, of great brightness [3]. 2. And I said unto him: "Burst asunder, Adoil [4], and let that which comes from thee be visible." 3. And he burst asunder, and there came forth a great light [5], and *I was in the midst of a great light, and as the light came forth from the light [6], there came forth the great world, *revealing all the creation [3], which I had purposed to make, and I saw that it was good. 4. And I made for Myself a throne, and sat upon it, and I said to the light:

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[1] B om.

XXV. [2] I summoned from the regions below the great Idoil to come forth who had in his belly a great stone, B. [3] B om. [4] A om. [5] Stone, B. [6] I was in the midst of light, and the light thus appearing out of it, Sok.; B om.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης. Cf. also Philo, *De Justitia* 7 Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις . . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193–196. Adoil. Is this from יד אל, the hand of God? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth. 2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Recog.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypter*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: 'der erste Schöpfungsact began mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt herausbrach.' 3. There came forth a great light. This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on *Die Geburt des Lichtes.* There came forth the great world. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter. 4. I made for Myself a throne. This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with

"Go forth * on high [1] and be established above My throne [2], and be the foundation for things on high.' 5. And there was nothing higher than the light, and as I reclined, I saw it from My throne.

[*God again calls from the Depths and there came forth Arkhas, Tazhis* [3], *and one who is very red.*]

XXVI. 1. And I summoned a second time from the depths, *and said: 'Let the solid thing which is visible come forth from the invisible [4].' And Arkhas *came forth [5] firm [6] and heavy [3] and *very red [7]. 2. And I said: 'Be thou divided, O Arkhas, and let *that be seen which is [8] produced from thee.' And when he was divided, the world came forth, very dark and great, *bringing the creation of all things below [9]. 3. And I saw that it [10] was good. And I said to him: '*Go thou down [11] and be thou established. *And be a foundation for things below'; and it was so. And it came forth and was established [12], and was a foundation for things below. *And there was nothing else below the darkness [12].

[*How God established the Water, and surrounded it with Light, and established upon it Seven Islands.*]

XXVII. 1. *And I ordered that there should be a separation between the light and the darkness, and I said: 'Let

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[1] Above My throne, Sok. [2] Sok. om.

XXVI. [3] Corrupt in A, from ТАЖЕСТЬ = heaviness (Old Slav.). [4] I told him to come forth from the unseen into that which is fixed and visible, B; and said: 'let the strong Arkhas come forth,' and he came forth strong from the invisible, A. [5] A om. [6] Very firm, B. [7] Black, B. [8] The thing, A; B OMITS ENTIRE VERSE. [9] Bearer of the created things from all things below, A. [10] All, B. [11] Come forth from below, A Sok. [12] B om.

God at the creation when he established His throne upon the winds (*ὅτε ἀφώριζεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον ἐπ' ἀνέμων*).

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not creation, of the earth. Arkhas may be from רָקִיעַ or even from *ἀρχή*.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt. 1. Separation between the light and the darkness: Gen. i. 4. I do

there be a thick substance,' and it was so[1]. 2. * And I spread this out and there was water, and I spread it over the darkness[2], below the light. 3. And thus I made firm the waters, that is, the depths, and I surrounded the waters with light, and I created seven circles and I fashioned them like crystal, moist and dry, that is to say, like glass and ice, and as for the waters, and also the other elements, I showed each of them their paths, (viz.) to the seven stars, each of them in their heaven, how they should go; and I saw that it was good. 4. And I separated between the light and the darkness; that is to say, between the waters here and there. And I said to the light: 'Let it be day[3]'; and to the darkness, 'Let it be night.' And the evening and the morning were the first day[4].

XXVIII. 1. [5] And thus I * made firm the circles of the heavens, and caused the waters † below, which are under the heavens to be gathered into one place, and that the waves should be dried up, and it was so. 2. Out of the waves I made firm and great stones, and out of the stones I heaped together a dry substance, and I called the dry substance earth. 3. And in the midst of the earth I appointed a pit, that is to say an abyss. 4. I gathered the sea into one place, and I restrained it with a yoke. And I said to

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XXVII. [1] **And I ordered that they should take from the light and the darkness and I said: 'Let it be thick and covered with light,'** Sok.; B om. [2] So A Sok., but that A adds **with light after out.** B reads **And having clothed (spread out?) certain things with light, I made broad and stretched out the path of the waters above the darkness.** B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. [3] **Be thou day,** Sok. [4] A adds as title of XXVIII, **Sunday. On it God showed to Enoch all His wisdom and power: during all the seven days how He created the powers of the heaven and earth and all moving things and at last man.**

XXVIII. [5] A and Sok. agree in this chapter. B is fragmentary and transposed, and reads: (2) **And I made the great stones firm,** (1) **and ordered**

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not pretend to understand what follows. 3. Seven stars: see xxx. 5. 4. Gen. i. 4, 5.

XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9. 2. **I called the dry substance earth.** An exact rendering of Gen. i. 10. 3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters: cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; Eth. En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jubilees ii.

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their garment is a burning flame, and I ordered them to stand each in their ranks[1].

[*Here Satanail was hurled from the Heights with his Angels.*]

4. * One of these in the ranks of the Archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. 5. And I hurled him from the heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually, above the abyss[1].

XXX. 1. * And so I created all the heavens, and it was the

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[1] B om.

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3. From the fire I made the . . . angels. So Pesikta 3ª : see Weber L. d. J. 161. **4. One of these . . . with the rank below him.** This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii. and xviii. with notes: vii; xix; xxxi. 3-7 (notes). **Make his throne higher than the clouds.** If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. vi. is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan . . . set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' **5. He was flying in the air continually.** This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. 3 *τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ*: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi . . . descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat.' Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament . . . and there the souls of the demons are.' Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the watchers of the

third day. On the third day [1] I ordered the earth to produce * great trees, such as bear fruit, and mountains [2], and * every sort of herb and every [3] seed that is sown [4], * and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed fiery angels armed, and so I made a renewing. 2. Then it was evening, and it was morning, being the fourth day [5]. On the fourth day [6] I ordered that there should be great lights in the circles of the heavens. 3. In the first and highest circle I placed the star Kruno; and on the second [7] Aphrodite; on the third

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XXX. [1] B om. In verse 1 A adds **Tuesday** as title before **On the third day.** [2] All sorts of trees and high mountains, B. [3] A om. [4] B adds before **I produced** living things and prepared food for them. [5] B om.; Sok. supports text, but adds of the earth after renewing. A adds **Wednesday** as title of 2[b]–7. [6] B OMITS VERSES 2–7[a]. [7] Sok. adds lower **I placed.**

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fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however, when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11. **Mountains.** This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 *τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα.* **Every seed that is sown.** This phrase is found in Jubilees, ii. 7, as one of the third day creations. **Paradise.** Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day. 2. **Circles of the heavens.** In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: *τὸν οὐρανόν φασιν ἑπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις.* 3. Gen. i. 14–19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. 1200 A. D., p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the Zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, *ὁ δὲ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ*

Ares; *on the fourth the Sun[1]; on the fifth Zeus; on the sixth Hermes; on the seventh[2] the moon. 4. And †the lower air I adorned with the lesser stars. 5. And[3] I placed the sun to give light to the day, and the moon and the stars to give light to the night; the sun that he should go †according to each sign of the Zodiac[4]; and the course of *the moon through the twelve signs of the Zodiac[5]. 6. And I fixed their names *and existence, the thunders, and the revolutions of the hours, how they take place[6]. 7. Then it was evening and the morning, the fifth day. *On the fifth day[7] *I commanded the sea to produce[8] fish, †and

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[1] A om. [2] A adds the lesser. [3] And I adorned it with the lesser stars, and on the lower, A. [4] To every living thing, A. [5] The twelve months, A. [6] And their reverberations, and new births, and making of the hours as they go, Sok. [7] B om. After fifth day A adds Thursday, and after sixth day it adds Friday. [8] B adds and multiply.

γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μόνον· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν. In the mysteries of Mithras, described in Origen, *Contra Celsum* vi. 22, the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. From the first words of the preceding ch. we see that these heavenly bodies had some connexion with the seven heavens, as in our text. The order in which the planets and the sun and moon are mentioned in *Contra Celsum* differs from that given above, and is as follows: Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. The five planets are first referred to by Philolaus, a Pythagorean, and later by Plato in his *Timaeus*, but not by their individual names (ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα ἐπίκλην ἔχοντα πλανήται). These names, which are not found till we come down to the *Epinomis*, the work of a disciple of Plato, are enumerated as follows, each with an appellation derived from a god: τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου, τὸν τοῦ Διός, τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος, τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. According to Archimedes (Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) the order of the planets was as follows: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this order was generally adopted by Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 43), Manilius (i. 803, 6), Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 6. The five planets were known to Israel in O. T. times: Kronos as כיון Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הילל Is. xiv. 12; Ares as נרגל 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as גד Is. lxv. 11; Hermes as נבו Is. xlvi. 1. 5. The Sun . . . according to each sign of the Zodiac. See ch. xiii–xiv. and Eth. En. lxxii. The moon, &c. See lvi. and Eth. En. lxxiii–lxxiv. 7. Cf. Gen. i. 20–26. Observe that most of the creations of the sixth day, Gen.

winged fowls of all kinds[1], and all things that creep upon the earth, and four-footed things that go about the earth, and the things that fly in the air, * male and female, and every living thing breathing with life. 8. And it was evening and morning the sixth day[1]. * On the sixth day[1] * I ordered My Wisdom to make man[2] of seven substances. (1) His flesh from the earth; (2) his blood * from the dew; (3) his eyes from the sun[3]; (4) his bones from the stones; (5) his thoughts from the swiftness of the angels, and the clouds; (6) his veins[4] and hair from the grass of the earth[5]; (7) his

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[1] B om. [2] And when I had finished all I ordered My Wisdom to make man, B. B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. [3] From the dew and the sun (3) his eyes form the abysses of the seas, Sok. [4] For veins we should probably read nails. See quotation from Philo in the Commentary on this verse. —a manifest dittography. [5] A Sok. add and from the wind

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i. 24–26, are here assigned to the fifth. **8. Ordered my Wisdom.** Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman.' In the Book of Wisdom, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Compare further this conception of Wisdom with that of the Logos of Philo, which was the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 *σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει* : *De Cherubim* 35 *εὑρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θεόν, ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη.* **Of seven substances.** The list of these substances is corrupt. See Critical Notes. It seems to have some connexion with the speculations of the Stoics (G. Sext. *Math.* ix. 81) and of Philo. Thus, as in our text, man's body is derived (1) from the earth, *De Mundi Op.* 51. Again, whilst in (4) his bones are derived from stones, in Philo, *Leg. All.* ii. 7, he is said at the lowest stage to have a nature in common with the stones and trees (*ἡ μὲν ἕξις κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὀστέα*): again whilst in our text (6) his veins (?) and hair are from the grass of the earth, in Philo, *Leg. All.* ii. 7, he is said in the next higher stage to be allied to plant-nature, such as the nails and hair (*ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά· καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δέ εἰσιν ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες*): finally, (7) agrees with Philo's doctrine: cf. *De Mundi Op.* 46. If we could restore the text as it stood originally the resemblance would probably be closer. Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν*

spirit from My spirit and from the wind. 9. And I gave him seven natures: hearing to his body, sight to his eyes, smell to the perception, touch to the veins, taste to the blood, the bones for endurance, sweetness for thought. 10. *I purposed a subtle thing[1]: from the invisible and visible nature I made man. From both are his death and life, *and his form[2]; *and the word was like a deed[3] *both small in a great thing[4], and great in a small thing. 11. And I placed him upon the earth; like a second angel, in an honourable, great, and glorious way. 12. And I made him a ruler *to rule upon the earth, and to have My wisdom[5].

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[1] Lo! I purposed to say a subtle word, Sok. [2] Sok. om. [3] A word is a message as it were something created, Sok. [4] Both in great things and in little things, A. [5] Upon the earth having rule by My wisdom, Sok.

ᾠκείωται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἄπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκριται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἑκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσηται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα. For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202–204; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209–15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubeus est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhela frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.' 9. Seven natures. Here again the text is very untrustworthy and the following words seem corrupt: body, veins, blood, whilst the clauses the bones . . . thought are quite irrelevant. Here we should possibly follow Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 *τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἑπταχῆ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον*, and thus for the corrupt clauses read the vocal organ and the generative power. Cp. Test. Napht. 2. Philo's division of man's nature is derived from the Stoics: cf. Plut. *Plac.* iv. 4 *οἱ Στωικοὶ ἐξ ὀκτὼ μερῶν φασὶ συνιστάναι (τὴν ψυχήν), πέντε μὲν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν, ὁρατικοῦ, ἀκουστικοῦ, ὀσφρητικοῦ, γευστικοῦ, ἁπτικοῦ, ἕκτου δὲ φωνητικοῦ, ἑβδόμου σπερματικοῦ, ὀγδόου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ.* Cf. also Plut. *Plac.* iv. 21. 10. Man's spiritual and material nature. 11. Like a second angel. According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, i. 10, Adam is called a 'bright angel.' 12. Gen. i. 26, 28. 13. This verse may

And there was no one like him upon the earth of all My creations. 13. And I gave him a name from the four substances: the East, the West, *the North, and the South[1]. 14. And I appointed for him four special stars, and I gave him the name Adam. 15. *And I gave him his will[2], and I showed him the two ways, the light and the

[1] A transposes. [2] A om.

either be the source of or may be derived from the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 24–26

Αὐτὸς δὴ θεός ἐσθ' ὁ πλάσας τετρα-
γράμματον Ἀδάμ,
Τὸν πρώτον πλασθέντα, καὶ οὔνομα
πληρώσαντα
Ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε
καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line is used frequently, though with a different application, in the Oracles, i. e. ii. 195; viii. 321; xi. 3. It will be observed that this arrangement gives the initials Adma in the wrong order. This etymology is next found in the anonymous writing *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebreicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta," eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno conprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno conprehendi terram et confinxi hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam; invenimus in Scripturis, per singulos cardines orbis terrae esse a conditore mundi quattuor stellas constitutas in singulis cardinibus. Prima stella orientalis dicitur anatole, secunda occidentalis dysis, tertia stella aquilonis arctus, quarta stella meridiana dicitur mesembrion. Ex nominibus stellarum numero quattuor de singulis stellarum nominibus tolle singulas litteras principales, de stella anatole *a*, de stella dysis δ, de stella arctos *a*, de stella mesembrion *μ*; in his quattuor litteris cardinalibus habes nomen *αδαμ*.' This etymology is given with approval by Bede, *In Genesim Expositio* iv. 'Hae quattuor literae nominis Adam propria habent nomina in partium nominibus, id est anatole, disis, arctus, mesembria; id est criens occidens, septentrio, meridies. Et haec proprietas significat dominaturum Adam in quattuor supradictis partibus mundi.' It is found also in the *Chronikon* of Glycas (circ. 1150), p. 143: *κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὀνόματι προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ὅρα τὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνόματος γράμματα· τὰ τέσσαρα γὰρ ὑπεμφαίνουσι κλίματα· ἄλφα ἀνατολή, δέλτα δύσις, ἄλφα ἄρκτος, μῦ μεσημβρία.* See Jubilees iii. 28 (notes); Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ii. 7.

14. Four special stars. These stars are named from the four quarters of the earth, and Adam's name is formed from their initial letters. See citation from *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, which seems to be derived from our text. *Stars* may here mean 'angels.' According to the Jalk. Rub. fol. 13; Jalk. Shim. fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215) certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam. **15. I gave him his will**: cf. Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208), 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the hands of the man

darkness. And I said unto him: 'This is good and this is evil'; that I should know whether he has love for Me or hate: that he should appear in his race as loving Me. 16. I knew his nature, he did not know his nature. Therefore his ignorance is *a woe to him that he should sin, and

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only.' In the text free-will is conceded to man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (ver. 16): cf. Ecclus. xv. 14, 15 *αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς συντηρήσεις ἐντολὰς καὶ πίστιν ποίησαι εὐδοκίας.* On the question generally see Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8. 14; *Antt.* xiii. 5. 9; xviii. 1. 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96. **15. The two ways,** the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; Ecclus. xv. 17 *ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ*: xvii. 6 *καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς.* For parallel N. T. expressions cf. Mt. vii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xviii. 1 *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους.* In the *Didachè* i. 1 we have *ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου*: cf. *Test.* Asher 1 *δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ*: Sibyll. Or. viii. 399, 400 *αὐτὸς ὁδοὶς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε Καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελέσθαι*: cf. also Pastor Hermae *Mand.* vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; *Clem. Homilies* v. 7. **I said unto him: 'This is good and this is evil,'** &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit. **That I should know whether he has love for Me or hate.** Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God.' **16. Ignorance is a woe to him that he should sin.** This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הטוב and יצר הרע). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words *πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἑκὼν ἄδικος* (Plato, *Legg.* 731 C): *οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἑκόντα ἐξαμαρτάνειν* (*Prot.* 345 D): *κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἑκὼν οὐδείς* (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 C; *Hipp. Maj.* 296 C. Herein it is taught that no man wilfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted: and that, should this course

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him a rib [1], and I made him a wife. 18. And by his wife death came, and I received his last word. And I called her by a name, the mother; that is Eve.

[*God gives Paradise to Adam, and gives him Knowledge, so as to see the Heavens open, and that he should see the Angels singing a Song of Triumph.*]

XXXI. 1. Adam had a life on earth [2], . . . and I made a garden in Eden in the East, and (I ordained) that he should observe the law and keep * the instruction [3]. 2. I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph. And there was light * without any [4] darkness continually in Paradise. 3. And the devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth, to rule it and have lordship over it. 4. The devil is to be the evil spirit of the lowest places [5]; * he became Satan, after he left the heavens. His name was formerly Satanail [6]. 5. And then, * though he became different from the angels in nature, he did not change his understanding of just and sinful

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[1] Sok. adds as he slept.

XXXI. [2] There is evidently a lacuna here. [3] It, Sok. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER. [4] That never knew, Sok. [5] A adds as he wrought devilish things. [6] As flying from the heavens he became Satan, since his name was Satanail, Sok.

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of the writers of the Book of Wisdom. When, however, we come down to N. T. times we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles: cf. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see Eth. En. vi–viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcviii. 4, with notes. **18. By his wife death came**: cf. Ecclus. xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See preceding note. **I received his last word.** Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. This verse is almost quoted in the *Book of Adam and Eve* I. viii. 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven.' According to S. Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall (Malan). Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii. *in Gen.*, believes 'oculis illos praeditos esse quibus potuerunt etiam eas quae in coelo sunt.' For the continual light in Paradise see *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii; xiii; xiv. **3.** On the envy of Satan see Wisdom, ii. 24; Joseph. *Antt.* i. 1. 4; Weber, 211, 244. **4.** See notes on xviii. 3 and xxix. 4.

thoughts[1]. He understood the judgement upon him, and the former sin which he had sinned. 6. And on account of this, he conceived designs against Adam; in such a manner he entered[2] and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam. 7. * But I cursed him for (his) ignorance[3]: but those I previously blessed, them I did not curse[4], 8. nor man did I curse, nor the earth, nor any other things created, but the evil fruit of man, and then his works.

[*On account of the Sin of Adam, God sends him to the Earth, 'From which I took thee,' but He does not wish to destroy him in the Life to come.*]

XXXII. 1. I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and to earth also from whence I took thee shalt thou return. I will not destroy thee, but will send thee whence I took thee. Then I can also take thee in My second coming'; and I have blessed all My creation, visible and invisible[5]. 2. And I blessed the seventh day, * which is the Sabbath[6], for in it I rested from all My labours.

[*God shows Enoch the Duration of this World, 7000 Years, and the eighth Thousand is the End. (There will be) no Years, no Months, no Weeks, no Days.*]

XXXIII. 1. Then also I established the eighth day. Let

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[1] Though he was changed from the angels, he did not change his nature, but he had thought, as is the mind of just men and sinners, Sok. [2] Sok. adds into Paradise. [3] Sok. om. [4] Sok. adds and those whom before I had not blessed, them also I did not curse.

XXXII. [5] A adds (against B Sok.) And Adam was five and a half hours in Paradise. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER. [6] Sok. om.

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6. See xxx. 18, note; Weber, 211, 244.

7. Cursed him for (his) ignorance. This ought to refer to the Serpent or to Satan.

XXXII. 1. My second coming. God's coming to judge the earth, to bless His people, and to punish their enemies. This is called *καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς* and *ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως* in the Book of Wisdom, iii. 7, 18. It is referred to again in xlii. 5 of our text. God's first coming to the earth was for the sake of Adam and to bless all that He had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1000 years

the eighth be the first * after My work [1], and let * the days [2] be after the fashion of seven thousand. 2. * Let there be at the beginning of the eighth thousand a time when there is no computation, and no end; neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours [3]. 3. And now Enoch, what

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XXXIII. [1] **Of my rest,** Sok. B OMITS VERSES 1, 2. [2] A om. [3] **And let the eighth day be for a beginning in the likeness of eight thousand. So concerning the first day of My rest, and also the eighth day of My rest, let them return continually,** Sok. Margin of Sok.'s MS. reads: **the beginning of unrighteousness, the time without end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours.**

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old, the author of the Book of Jubilees, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7000 years—6000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: *ὅσαις . . . ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελεῖται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ϛ′ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ζ′ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς ͵α ἔτη. ἐν ἓξ οὖν ἡμέραις συντετέλεσται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ ͵ϛ ἔτος ἐστί.* Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: *τούτου χάριν ηὐλογήθη καὶ αὕτη (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγιάσθη καὶ σάββατον ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἑβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰώσηππος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus' statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the Book of Jubilees, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustin, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta

things I have told thee, * and what thou hast understood, and what heavenly things thou hast seen [1], and what thou hast seen upon the earth, and what * thou hast [2] written in books, by My wisdom all these things I devised * so as to create them [3], and I made them from the highest foundation to the lowest, * and to the end [1]. 4. And there is no counsellor [4] †nor inheritor of My works [1]. I am the eternal One, and the One not made with hands: * My thought is without change, My wisdom is My counsellor [5] and My word is reality; and My eyes see all things, * if I look to all things [3] they * stand fast [6]. If I turn away My face, all are in need of Me. 5. And now pay attention, Enoch, and know thou who is speaking to thee, and do thou take the books which thou thyself hast written. 6. And I give thee * Samuil and Raguil [7] who brought thee * to Me [3]. And go * with them [8] upon the earth, and tell thy sons what things I have said to

[1] B om. [2] I have, A. [3] A om. [4] Lamp, B. [5] My thought is a lamp, B. [6] Stand and tremble with fear, A Sok. [7] Semil and Rasuil, B; B adds and him. [8] B Sok. om.

nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod crit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. iii. A time when there is no computation . . . neither years nor months, &c. Sibyll. Or. viii. 424–427 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness:

Οὐκ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐρεῖς λυπούμενος "αὔριον ἔσται,"
Οὐκ "ἐχθὲς γέγονεν·" οὐκ ἤματα πολλὰ μερίμνης,
Οὐκ ἔαρ, οὐ χειμών, οὐτ' ἀρ θέρος, οὐ μετόπωρον,
Οὐ δύσις ἀντολίη· ποιήσω γὰρ μακρὸν ἦμαρ.

3. I made them from the highest foundation to the lowest: cf. Ecclus. xviii. 1 ὁ ζῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔκτισε τὰ πάντα κοινῇ, where κοινῇ is a rendering of יַחְדָּיו. 4. My thought is without change. *Num.* xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Ezek. xxiv. 14. My wisdom is My counsellor. See xxx. 8 (note). Cf. Ecclus. xlii. 22 καὶ οὐ προσεδεήθη οὐδενὸς συμβούλου. My word is reality. So Eth. En. xiv. 22 (Gk.) πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9; Ecclus. xlii. 15 ἐν λόγοις κυρίου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. My eyes see all things: cf. Ecclus. xxxix. 19. If I turn away My face, &c. Ps. civ. 29 'Thou hidest Thy face, they are

thee, and what thou hast seen from the lowest heaven up to My throne. 7. For I have created all the hosts, and all the powers, and there is none that opposes Me, or is disobedient to Me. For all are obedient to My sole power, and labour for My rule alone. 8. Give [1] them the works written out by thee, *and they shall read them, and know Me to be the Creator of all; and shall understand that there is no other God beside Me [2]. 9. *They shall distribute the books of thy writing to their children's children [3], and from generation to generation, and from nation to nation. 10. *And I will give thee, Enoch, My messenger, the great captain Michael, for thy writings and for the writings of thy fathers, Adam, Seth, Enos, Kainan, Malaleel, and Jared, thy father [4]. 11. *And I shall not require them till the last age, for I have instructed My two angels, Ariukh and Pariukh, whom I have put upon the earth as their guardians. 12. And I have ordered them in time to guard them that the account of what I shall do in thy family may not be lost in the deluge to come [5].

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[1] I will give, A. [2] B om. [3] Let the children give them to the children, B. [4] As being the messenger Enoch of my captain Michael. Because that thy writings and the writings of thy fathers, Adam and Sit, B. [5] (Because these) will not be required till the last age, I have ordered my angels, Oriokh and Mariokh, to give orders to guard in season the writings which I have placed upon the earth, and that they should guard the writings of thy fathers, so that what I have wrought in thy family may not be lost, B; A om. In the text I have followed Sok., but that for to punish them I have read to guard them with B.

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troubled.' 6. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxi. 5, 6. Samuil. This is either from שְׁמוּעֵ אֵל = heard of God, 1 Sam. i. 20, or from שְׁמוּ and אֵל = name of God. Raguil is a transliteration of רְעוּאֵל = friend of God. 9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7–9; liv; lxv. 5; Eth. En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, exactly as here, the books are to be transmitted straightway to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. See verses 11, 12. 10. Michael was the guardian angel of Israel: Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1. See Eth. En. ix. 1; x. 11; xx. 5 (note); xl. 4, &c.; Weber, 165. 11. Till the last age. At last the time for the due comprehension of these books will arrive: see ver. 9, note; xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); Eth. En. xciii. 10; civ. 12. Ariukh. This proper

[*God accuses the Idolators; the Workers of Iniquity, such as Sodom, and on this account He brings the Deluge upon them.*]

XXXIV. 1. * For I know the wickedness of men that they will not bear the yoke which I have put upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but will cast off My yoke and accept another, and sow vain seeds and bow to vain gods, and deny Me the only God [1]. 2. And they will fill all the world with * wickedness and iniquity, and foul impurities with one another, sodomy and all other impure practices, which it is foul to speak about [2]. 3. And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth * and I will destroy all [3], and [4] the earth shall be destroyed in great corruption.

[*God leaves one Just Man from the Family of Enoch, with all his House, which pleased God according to His Will.*]

XXXV. 1. And I will leave a righteous man *of thy race [5], with all his house who shall act according to My will. From

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XXXIV. [1] Sok. supports text but that it omits **nor sow ... given them.** A reads: **They turned from My law and My yoke and raised up worthless races such as feared not God nor worshipped Me, but began to bow before vain gods, and denied Me, the only God.** [2] **Unjust** deeds and harlotries and services of idols, B; Sok. adds and evil service. [3] B Sok. omit. [4] A adds all.

XXXV. [5] A B om.

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name is found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14. The derivation is doubtful, being êri-aku = servant of the moon-god (Delitzsch), or a compound from אֲרִי: hence a lionlike man (Gesenius).

XXXIV. 1. Cast off My yoke: cf. for phrase xlviii. 9; Ecclus. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29. **Sow vain seeds.** This is obscure. The words seem to be metaphorical and not to refer to Deut. xxii. 9. **Deny, &c.:** cf. Josh. xxiv. 27. **2.** It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Napht. 4, though it is there somewhat differently applied: *ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καίγε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν Σοδόμων.* **3.** The words immediately subsequent to those just quoted from Test. Napht. seem to be in part derived from this verse: *καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς* is simply an adaptation of **I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.**

XXXV. 1. Righteous man, i. e.

their seed * after some time [1] will be raised up a numerous [2] generation, but * of these, many will be [1] very insatiable. 2. Then on the extinction of that family, I will show them the books of thy writings, and of thy fathers, and the guardians of them on earth will show them to the men who are true, * and please Me, who do not take My name in vain [1]. 3. And they shall tell to another [3] generation, and these * having read them [1], shall be glorified at last more than before.

[*God ordered Enoch to live on the Earth thirty Days, so as to teach his Sons, and his Sons' Sons. After thirty Days he was thus taken up into Heaven.*]

XXXVI. 1. And now, Enoch, I give thee a period [4] of thirty days to work in thy house. And tell thou thy sons [5], * and all thy household before Me; that they may listen to what is spoken to them by thee [6]; that they read and understand, how there is no other God beside Me; * and let them always keep My commandments, and begin to read and understand the books written out by thee [6]. 2. And after thirty days, I will send My angels [7] for thee, and they [8] shall take thee from the earth, and from thy sons, * according to My will [9].

[*Here God summons an Angel.*]

[XXXVII. 1. And God called one of His greatest angels,

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[1] B om. [2] Another, Sok. [3] That, B.
XXXVI. [4] Sok. adds of preparation. [5] B adds all that thou guardest in thy heart. [6] B om. [7] Angel, A Sok. [8] He, A Sok. [9] To Me, A Sok.

Noah. 2. On the extinction of that family. This seems to refer to the destruc'ion of the wicked during the period of the sword. About the same time the books of Enoch were to be given to the righteous. See for the same connexion of ideas Eth. En. xciii. 9, 10; xci. 12. The guardians. See xxxiii. 9, 11 (notes). 3. The period of the sword and the disclosure of Enoch's books introduces the Messianic age.

XXXVI. 1. In Eth. En. lxxxi. 6 the period is one year. Read and understand, &c.: cf. Eth. En. lxxxii. 1–3. 2. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxi. 6.

XXXVII. This chapter, which

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judgement. 2. Hear, my children, for I do not speak to you to-day from my lips, but from the lips of the Lord who has sent me to you. For you hear[1] *the words of my lips, a mortal man like yourselves[2]. 3. *I have seen the face of the Lord as it were iron that is heated in the fire, and when brought out sends forth sparks and burns. 4. Look at the eyes of me[3], *a man laden with a sign for you[4]. *I have seen the eyes of the Lord shining like a ray of the sun and striking with terror human eyes. 5. You, my children, see the right hand of a man[3] *made like yourselves[5] *assisting you. I have seen the right hand of the Lord assisting me, and filling the heavens. 6. You see the *compass of my actions, like to your own[6]. I have seen the measureless and harmonious[7] form of the Lord. To Him there is no end. 7. You therefore hear the words of my lips, but I have heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder, with continual agitation of the clouds. 8. And now, *my children[3], listen to the[8] discourses *of your earthly father[3]. It is terrible and awful to stand before the face of an earthly prince—*terrible and very awful[3] because the will of the prince is death and the will of the prince is life[9]; how much more is it terrible and awful to stand before the face of the *Lord of lords, and of the earthly[10] and the heavenly hosts. Who can endure this never-ending terror?

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[1] 1. Hear, my children, my beloved ones, the admonition of your father: how according to the will of God, I am sent to you now. What exists and what was, and what is happening now, and what will be before the day of judgement, I do not now tell you from my own lips, but from the lips of the Lord; for the Lord sent me to you. 2. And do you therefore hear, A. I was sent of late to tell you from the lips of the Lord what things are, and what shall be before the day of judgement. And now, my children, I do not speak to you from my own lips, but from the lips of the Lord, B. [2] B om.; Sok. adds I have heard from the fiery lips of the Lord: for the lips of the Lord are like a fiery furnace, and his angels [winds] are a flame of fire going forth. You, my children, as that of a man made like yourselves, but. [3] B om. [4] A man in his marks just like you, Sok.; B om. [5] A B om. [6] So A Sok., but that for actions Sok. reads body; B om. [7] Incomparable, B. B transposes 6[b] after 7. [8] My, B. [9] A om.; B adds or great terrors, and omits the rest of the verse. [10] Heavenly Ruler, the Lord of the living and the dead, A.

[*Enoch instructs faithfully his Children about all Things from the Mouth of the Lord; how he saw, and heard and wrote them down.*]

XL. 1. And now, my children, I know all things[1] from the lips of the Lord; for[2] my eyes have seen from the beginning to the end[3]. 2. I know all things and have written all things in the books, both the heavens and the end of them, and their fulness, and all the hosts, and I have measured their goings, and written down the stars and their innumerable quantity. 3. What man has seen their alternations and their goings? Not even the angels know their number; I have written down the names of all. 4. And I have measured the circle of the sun, and I have measured his rays; * and his coming in and going out, through all the months, and all his courses, and their names I have written down. 5. I have measured the circle of the moon, and its waning which occurs during every day, and the secret places in which it hides every day and ascends according to all the hours. 6. I have laid down the four seasons, and from the seasons I made four circles, and in the circles I placed the years; I placed the months, and from the

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XL. [1] A Sok. add **One thing I have learned.** Throughout this chapter B is transposed in every way imaginable. B OMITS VERSES 2–7. [2] **And** another, A Sok. [3] Sok. adds **and from the end to the return.**

XL. 1. I know all things ... my eyes have seen, &c. This seems to be the passage to which Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) refers: *ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνὼχ τῷ εἰρηκότι 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας'*: and Origen (*de Princ.* iv. 35) 'scriptum namque est in eodem libello dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi.' Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 375, where, in a passage recalling several phrases of this chapter, *ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οἶδα, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισα καὶ γῆν.* **2. Stars and their innumerable quantity.** Cf. Eth. En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14. **3. Not even the Angels, &c.** Cf. xxiv. 3. **4.** See xiii, xiv (notes). **5.** See xvi (notes). **Its waning which, &c.** There is not a single reference to this phenomenon in the Slav. Enoch, but there is a complete account of its waxing and waning in Eth. En. lxxiv. **Secret places in which it hides, &c.** Corrupt. **6. I have laid down the four seasons.** In xiii. 5 we have a reference to the four seasons, but in Eth. En. lxxxii. 11–20 there is an account which, though

months I calculated the days, and from the days[1] I have *calculated[2] the hours[3]. 7. Moreover, I have written down all things *moving[4] upon the earth[5]. *I have written down all things that are nourished[6], all seed sown and unsown, which grows on the earth, and all things belonging to the garden, and every herb and every flower, and their fragrance and their names. 8. And the dwellings of the clouds, *and their conformations and their wings[7], how they bring rain and *the rain-drops, I investigated all. 9. And I wrote down the course of the[7] thunder *and lightning[7], and they[8] showed me the keys, *and their guardians[9] and their path[10] by which they go. They are brought forth in bonds, in measured degree, *and are let go in bonds[1], lest by their *heavy course and vehemence[11] they should overload the clouds of wrath and destroy everything on earth. 10. I have written down the treasuries of the snow, and the store-houses of the hail, and the cool breezes. *And I observed the holder of the keys of them during the season: and how he fills the clouds with them[12], and yet does not exhaust their treasuries. 11. I *wrote down[13] the abodes of the winds, *and I observed and saw[7] how those who hold *their keys[14] bear balances and measures, and in the first place they put them on a balance, in the second they[15] let them go in measure *moderately, with care[7] over the whole earth, so that with their heavy breathing they should

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[1] A om. [2] Measured and calculated, Sok. [3] Sok. adds and written them down. [4] That were arranged, Sok. [5] Sok. adds making inquiries into them. [6] Sok. om. [7] B om. [8] The angels, B. [9] Which guarded them, B. [10] Coming in and going out, Sok. [11] Grievous vehemence, B. Heavy opening (?) and vehemence, Sok. [12] I saw at that time how the clouds are restrained by them as a key does prisoners. B. I watched their seasons: how those that hold the keys of them fill the clouds with them, Sok. [13] Saw, B. [14] Keys of their prisons, B. [15] B adds measure and.

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now defective, was clearly complete originally. 8. Cf. Eth. En. lx. 19–22 for an account of these phenomena. 9. Course of the thunder, &c. This is to be found in Eth. En. lix; lx. 13–15. 10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; Eth. En. lx. 17, 18. 11. See Eth. En. xli. 4.

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[*How Enoch wept for the Sins of Adam.*]

XLI. 1. And I saw † all our forefathers from the beginning with Adam and Eve [1], and I sighed and wept, * and spake of the ruin (caused by) their wickedness [2]: * Woe is me for my infirmity and that of my forefathers [1]. 2. And * I meditated in my heart and said [3]: 'Blessed is the man who was not born, or, having been born, has never sinned before the face of the Lord, so that he should not come into this place, to bear the yoke of this place!' ✓

[*How Enoch saw those who keep the Keys, and the Guardians of the Gates of Hades standing by.*]

XLII. 1. I saw * those who keep the keys, and are the guardians of the gates of hell, standing [4], like great serpents,

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XLI. [1] Bom. [2] **The destruction of the unholy, B.** [3] **I said in my heart, B.**

XLII. [4] **The guardians of hell holding the keys, standing opposite to the gates, B.** B blends xli and xlii. 1–2 together in this order, xlii. 1; xli; xlii. 2. It will be seen that it omits reference to Adam and Eve.

From being the scribe of God's works, as he is universally in the Eth. and the Slav. Enoch, the transition was easy to the conception of Enoch as a scribe of the deeds of men. Cf. for later tradition Test. Abraham (ed. James), p. 115 *καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, . . . τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἁμαρτίας; καὶ λέγει Μιχαὴλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ . . . ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράφωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἑκάστου.*

XLI. 1. It seems to be implied here that the forefathers of Enoch, including Adam and Eve, are in the place of punishment, and that they are to remain there till God comes to judge the world (xlii. 5, note). That Adam and the patriarchs were in Hades was a prevalent early Christian belief. Cf. *Descensus ad Inferos*, viii–ix. 2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12 'Melius erat nos non adesse quam advenientes . . . pati.' Eth. En. xxxviii. 2; Apoc. Bar. x. 6.

XLII. 1. Who keep the keys. In Sibyll. Or. viii. 121–2 we have a strange application of this idea:

αἰὼν κοινὸς ἅπασιν
κλειδοφύλαξ εἱρκτῆς μεγάλης ἐπὶ
βῆμα θεοῖο.

Keys. Cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1. **Guardians of the gates of hell.** According to Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). The Greek word here may have been *τημελοῦχοι*. In the singular number it has become a proper name in Apoc. Pauli. Like

and their faces were like quenched lamps, and their eyes were fiery [1], and their teeth were sharp [2]. *And they were stripped to the waist [3]. 2. And I said *before their faces [4], 'Would that I had not seen you, *nor heard of your doings [5], *and that those of my race had never come to you [6]! *Now they have only sinned a little in this life, and always suffer in the eternal life [7].' 3. *I went out to the East, to the paradise of Eden, where rest has been prepared for the just, and it is open to the third heaven, and shut from this world [8]. 4. *And guards are placed at the very great gates of the east of the sun, i.e. fiery angels, singing triumphant songs, that never cease rejoicing in the presence of the just. 5. At the last coming they will lead forth Adam with our forefathers, and conduct them there, that they may rejoice, as a man calls those whom he loves to feast with him; and they having come with joy hold converse, before the dwelling of that man [7], *with joy awaiting his feast, the enjoyment and the immeasurable wealth, and joy and merriment in the light, and eternal life [9]. 6. *Then

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[1] Like a darkened flame, B. [2] B Sok. om. [3] A om. [4] To the persons (there), B. [5] B om. A OMITS VERSES 2–14[a]. [6] Nor brought my family to you, Sok. [7] B om. [8] B seems to recall this verse in the words: And I saw there a blessed place and every created thing blessed. B introduces this section with the words: Entry of Enoch unto the Paradise of the Just. [9] And all living there in joy and in boundless happiness and eternal life, B.

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quenched lamps. Contrast the faces and eyes of the heavenly angels, i. 5. 2. Cf. xli. 2. 3. The expression 'open to the third heaven' is strange; it would seem to imply that this is not the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven, but the original Garden of Eden. On the other hand, as this Paradise is prepared for the righteous, we are obliged to identify it with the Paradise of this third heaven described in viii–ix. 5. The last coming. See xxxii. 1 (note); lviii. 1. Adam with our forefathers. See xli. 1 (note). The idea that the patriarchs were in hell or hades is at variance with what is stated or implied in some parts of the Eth. En. Cf. lx. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4, where we find Paradise already peopled with the righteous; but it is not incompatible with lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8, where apparently Enoch and Elijah are its only inhabitants. According to xxii the patriarchs were to remain in hades till the final judgement. This would, in some degree, harmonize with our text. 6–14. Nine

I said[1], 'I tell you, my children: blessed is he who fears * the name of the Lord, and serves continually before His face, and brings his gifts with fear continually in this life[2], * and lives all his life justly, and dies[3]. 7. Blessed is he who executes a just judgement, * not for the sake of recompense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing in return: a sincere judgement shall afterwards come to him[3]. 8. * Blessed is he who clothes the naked with a garment, and gives his bread to the hungry. 9. Blessed is he who gives a just judgement for the orphan and the widow, and assists every one who is wronged[4]. 10. Blessed is he who turns from the † unstable path of this vain world[5], and walks by the righteous path * which leads to eternal life[3]. 11. Blessed is he who sows just seed,

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[1] Sok. om. [2] And serves the Lord; and do you, my children, learn to bring gifts to the Lord that you may have life, B. [3] B om. [4] Blessed is he who has given a just judgement, and assists the orphan and the widow, and every one who is oppressed: clothes the naked, and gives bread to the hungry, B. [5] Path of deceit, B.

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beatitudes. These are very colourless. 7. Executes a just judgement. Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8. This verse recalls in some measure the words of Antigonus of Socho: 'Be not like servants who serve their master for the sake of reward, but be like those who do service without respect to recompense, and live always in the fear of God.' Expecting nothing in return. Cf. Luke vi. 35. Sincere. Corrupt. With the entire verse we have a good parallel in Orac. Sibyll. ii. 61, 63

πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μηδ' εἰς ἄδικον
κρίσιν ἐλθῇς.
ἣν σὺ κακῶς δικάσῃς, σὲ θεὸς μετέ-
πειτα δικάσσει.

8. These words are found in ix. 9. Cf. ix; Ps. x. 18; Is. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10. 10. Walks by the righteous path. Cf. Prov. iv. 11; Or Sibyll. iii. 9–10

τίπτε . . . οὐκ εὐθεῖαν ἀταρπὸν
βαίνετε ἀθανάτου κτιστοῦ μεμνημένοι
αἰεί:

also Fragm. i. 23 sq. 11. Is the blessing for those who sow seed that is justly their own? In Orac. Sibyll. ii. 71–72, 'he who steals seed is accursed for ever':

σπέρματα μὴ κλέπτειν· ἐπαράσιμος
ὅς τις ἕληται
ἐς γενεὰς γενεῶν, ἐς σκορπισμὸν
βιότοιο.

On the other hand, the reference may be metaphorical and the sense as follows: 'From your righteous deeds ye will reap sevenfold.' This is probably an adaptation of Ecclus. vii. 3 *μὴ σπεῖρε ἐπ' αὔλακας ἀδικίας, καὶ οὐ μὴ θερίσῃς αὐτὰς ἑπταπλασίως.* Cf. Job iv. 8;

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man on account of many possessions, that man on account of the wisdom [1] of the heart; this man on account of understanding, another on account of cunning; this man for the silence of the lips [2]; * this man on account of purity, that on account of strength; this man on account of comeliness, another on account of youth; this man on account of sharpness of mind, another on account of quicksightedness of body, and another for the perception of many things. 3. Let it be heard everywhere [3]; there is no one greater than he who fears God. He shall be the most glorious for ever.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons that they should not revile the Persons of Men, whether they are great or small.*]

XLIV. 1. God [4] made man with His own hands, in the likeness of His countenance, both small and great the Lord created him. He who reviles the countenance of * man, reviles the countenance of the Lord [5]. 2. * He who shows wrath against another without injury, the great wrath of the Lord shall consume him. 3. If a man spits at the face of another [6] * insultingly, he shall be consumed [7] * in the great judgement of the Lord [8]. 4. Blessed is the man who * does not direct his heart with malice against any [9] man, and who assists the man who is * injured, and [10] under judgement, and raises up the oppressed, * and accomplishes the prayer of him who asks [11]! 5. For in the day of the great judgement,

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[1] Benevolence, B. [2] Tongue and lips, B. [3] B om.

XLIV. [4] B adds fashioned and. [5] The prince, and loathes the countenance of the Lord; despises the countenance of the Lord, A. Man reviles the countenance of the prince and loathes the countenance of the Lord, Sok. [6] There is the anger of the Lord, and a great judgement for whoever spits in the face of a man, B. [7] His insolence will consume him, Sok.; B om. [8] B om. [9] Puts confidence in, B. [10] A, Sok. om. [11] Performs a kindness to him who wants it, Sok.; B om.

XLIV. 1. He who reviles the countenance, &c. We may reasonably compare James iii. 9. 2. Cf. Matt. v. 22. 4. This beatitude seems out of place here. It would come in fittingly at the close of xlii.

every measure and standard and weight, * which is for traffic, namely, that which is hung on a balance and stands for traffic [1], knows its own measure, and *shall receive its reward by measure [2].

[*God shows that He does not wish Sacrifices from Man, nor Burnt-Offerings, but pure and contrite Hearts.*]

XLV. 1. * He who hastens and brings his offering before the face of the Lord, then the Lord will hasten the accomplishment of his work, and will execute a just judgement for him [3]. 2. He who increases his lamp before the face of the Lord, the Lord increases greatly his treasure *in the heavenly kingdom [4]. 3. God does not require bread, nor a light, *nor an animal, nor any other sacrifice [5], *for it is as nothing [6]. 4. * But God requires a pure heart [4], and by means of all this, He tries the heart of man.

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[1] Hang as on a balance, that is on the scale and which stands for traffic, Sok. B OMITS ENTIRE VERSE. [2] Its measure shall receive its reward, Sok.

XLV. [3] If a man hastens to work folly before the Lord, the Lord furthers him in the carrying out of his work, and makes his judgement faulty. So A through a corruption of приносъ into прасно and insertion of не before сотворить; B om. [4] B om. [5] Nor food of any kind nor meat, B. Nor an animal, nor an ox, nor any other victim, Sok. [6] That is not so, Sok.; B om.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6; li. 16; Is. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6–8; Eccl. xxxii. 1–3; Orac. Sibyll. viii. 390, 391

οὐ χρήζω θυσίης ἢ σπονδῆς ὑμετέρηφιν
οὐ κνίσσης μαρῆς, οὐχ αἵματος ἐχθίστοιο:

also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism: see lix. 1–3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in Ecclus. xxxii. 1–5 side by side with injunctions to offer them: ὁ συντηρῶν νόμον πλεονάζει προσφοράς, θυσιάζων σωτηρίου ὁ προσέχων ἐντολαῖς ἀνταποδιδοὺς χάριν προσφέρων σεμίδαλιν, καὶ ὁ ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύναν θυσιάζων αἰνέσεως καὶ ἐξιλασμὸς ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ πονηρίας. 4. A pure heart. Ps. li. 10. Tries the heart of man. Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Ps. xxvi. 2.

[*How an earthly Prince will not receive Gifts from Man which are contemptible and impure. How much more does God loath impure Gifts, and rejects them with Wrath, and will not receive the Gifts of such a Man.*]

XLVI. 1. * Hear, my people, and pay attention to the words of my lips[1]. If any one brings gifts to an earthly prince, but having unfaithfulness in his heart: if the prince knows it, will he not be angry with * him on account of that, and he will not take[2] his gifts, and will hand him over to condemnation? 2. Or if a man flatters another * in his language, but (plans) evil against him in his heart, will not the other understand the craft of his heart, and he himself will be condemned, so that his unrighteousness will be evident to all[3]? 3. But when God shall send a great light, by means of that there will be judgement[4] to the just and unjust, and nothing will be concealed.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons from the Lips of God, and gives them the Manuscripts of this Book.*]

XLVII. 1. Now, my children, put my thoughts in your hearts; pay attention to the words of your father, which * have come to[5] you from the mouth of the Lord. 2. Take these books of the writings of your father, and read them, * and in them ye shall learn all the works of the Lord. There have been many books from the beginning of creation, and shall be to the end of the world, but none shall make

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XLVI. [1] Sok. om. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER. [2] Sok. om. [3] With falsehood and is good in his tongue but evil in his heart, will not his heart perceive this and he will judge by himself so that he is proved not to be right, Sok. [4] Just judgement that is no respecter of persons, Sok.
XLVII. [5] I tell, Sok. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER.

XLVI. 2. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 120 *μηδ' ἕτερον κεύθοις κραδίῃ νόον ἄλλ' ἀγορεύων.* 3. What the great light means is not clear.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2. 2. None shall make things known

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heavens, *and I gave him[1] 182 thrones when he goes on a short day, and also 182 thrones when he goes on a long day. 2. And he has two great thrones on which he rests, returning hither and thither above the monthly thrones. From the month Tsivan[2] after[3] seventeen days he descends to the month Thevan[4], and from the seventeenth day of Thevad[4] he ascends. 3. And so the sun goes through all the courses of the heaven[3]; when he goes near the earth, then the earth rejoices and produces its fruit; when he departs, then the earth is sad, and the trees and all the fruits have no development. 4. *All this by measure and minute arrangement of time He has arranged by His wisdom[5], both in the case of things visible and invisible. 5. He has made all things visible out of invisible, Himself being invisible. 6. Thus I tell you, my children, distribute the books to your children, in all your families, and among the nations. 7. Those who are wise let them fear God, and let them receive them *and let them love them more than

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[1] Which are the support of the, A. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER. [2] Pamorus, Sok. [3] A om. [4] Thibith, Sok. [5] Hereby he gives a complete measure and with good arrangement of the times and has fixed a measure, A.

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and unintelligible. According to xi. 1; xxx. 3 the sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens and does not revolve through the seven circles. Again the twice-mentioned 182 thrones are really when added the 364 world-stations of which we have some account in the Eth. En. lxxv. 2, i.e. 'the harmony of the course of the world is brought about through its separate 364 world-stations.' These world-stations or thrones as in our text are the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. Just as in the Eth. En. lxxii–lxxxii and Jubilees iv no attempt is made here to get the complete number of days in the solar year, i.e. $365\frac{1}{4}$: contrast xiv. 1. This passage therefore either belongs to or is built upon the oldest literature of Enoch. This reckoning of the year at 364 days may be due partly to opposition to heathen systems and partly to the fact that 364 is divisible by 7, and amounts to 52 weeks exactly. See Eth. En. 190–91. 2. **Tsivan . . . Thevad.** The text is here corrupt. As apparently the two solstices are meant, we should read either **Sivan . . . Kislev** or **Tamuz . . . Tebet.** 5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xlvii. 2 (note). **Has made** here was no doubt ἔπλασε, not ἐποίησε 6. See xxxiii. 9 (note). 7. **Let them love them more than any kind of food.**

any kind of food [1], and read them [2]. 8. * But those who are senseless and have no thought of the Lord and do not fear God [3] will not receive them but turn away, and * keep themselves from them [4], * the terrible judgement shall await them [5]. 9. Blessed is the man who bears their yoke, and puts it on, for he shall be set free in the day of the great judgement.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons not to swear either by the Heaven or the Earth; and shows the Promise of God to a Man even in the Womb of his Mother.*]

XLIX. 1. For [5] I swear to you my children [6], but I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. God [7] said: 'There

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[1] And the books will be more profitable to them than all good food on earth, Sok. A adds or earthly advantage. [2] Sok. adds And let them cling to them. [3] And it shall result to them if they have no thought of God nor fear him, and if they, A. [4] Do not receive the books, A. [5] Sok. om.

XLIX. [6] B om. rest of verse. [7] For the Lord, Sok.

So Eth. En. lxxxii. 3 'this wisdom will please those that eat (thereof) better than good food.' Cf. xlvii. 2 (note). 8. Those who . . . will not receive them . . . the terrible judgement shall await them. The punishment denounced against those who refuse the disclosures of this book is more severe than anything to be found in the Eth. En. For a perfect parallel we must go to Rev. xxii. 18, 19. 9. The appeal for reception is far wider in this book than in the Eth. En. There only 'the elect of righteousness,' 'the righteous and the wise,' 'those who understand,' receive the revelations of Enoch: cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12. Bears their yoke, cf. xxxiv. 1.

XLIX. 1. Swear . . . neither by heaven, &c. From this passage and from Philo it is clear that Mt. v. 34–35 was a Jewish commonplace. For in Philo *de Special. Leg.* ii. 1 we find: ὁ γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου, φησί, λόγος ὅρκος ἔστω βέβαιος, ἀκλινής, ἀψευδέστατος, ἐρηρεισμένος ἀληθείᾳ . . . εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀναφθεγξάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον 'νὴ τόν,' ἢ 'μὰ τόν,' μηδὲν παραλαβόντες, ἐμφάσει τῆς ἀποκοπῆς, τρανοῦν ὅρκον οὐ γενόμενον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παραλαβέτω τις, εἰ βούλοιτο, μὴ μὴν τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον εὐθὺς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ γῆν, ἥλιον, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον: *De decem Orac.* 17 Κάλλιστον δὴ καὶ βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἁρμόττον λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνώμοτον, οὕτως ἀληθεύειν ἐφ' ἑκάστου δεδιδαγμένῃ, ὡς τοὺς λόγους ὅρκους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι. Cp. also *Leg. All.* iii. 72; *De Sac. Abelis et Caini*, 28; *De Plant. Noe* 19; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12. It was Mr. Conybeare

is no swearing in me, nor injustice, but truth. If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay. 2. * But I swear to you, yea, yea [1], that * there has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place has not been prepared for every soul [2]; * and a measure is fixed how long a man shall be tried in this world [3]. * O! my children, be not deceived [1] * there is a place prepared there for every soul of man [4].

[*How Nobody born upon the Earth can hide himself, nor are his Deeds concealed. (God) commands that he should be on the Earth a short time, endure Temptation, and Annoyance, and not injure the Widow and Orphan.*]

L. 1. I have laid down in the writings the actions of every man, * and no one born on the earth can hide himself, nor can his deeds be concealed; I see all [5]. 2. Now, therefore, my children, in patience and meekness accomplish the number of your days, and ye shall inherit the endless life which is to come. 3. * Every wound, and every affliction, and every

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[1] B om. [2] So A Sok. but that for every A reads the rest of that. B reads Even before man was created a place of judgement was prepared for him. [3] And a measure and a standard how long a man shall live in this world, and shall be tried in it, Sok.; And it was measured out and fixed, and there man will be tried, B. [4] So A Sok. but that Sok. adds previously after place. B reads As before it was appointed for him.

L. [5] B om.; Sok. adds as in a looking-glass.

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that first called my attention to these passages in Philo. On the various forms of swearing usual among the Jews and censured in Mt. v. 33–36 and indirectly in the text, see Lightfoot *in loc.*; Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

XLIX. 2. A place . . . prepared for every soul. So *Tractat Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said that a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or Hell (Eisenmenger, ii. 315).

L. 1. Nor can his deeds be concealed. Eth. En. ix. 5. 2. In patience, &c. Cp. Luke xxi. 19 'In your patience ye shall win your souls.' A blessed immortality for the righteous is taught in this book, but apparently no resurrection of the body. 3. Cp. Ecclus. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19;

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† assist the honest man in his affliction, and affliction shall not come upon you, in the time of your labour. 3. And whatever violent and grievous yoke shall be put upon you, endure all for the Lord's sake[1], and so you will receive your reward in the day of judgement. 4. Morning, afternoon, and evening, it is good to go into the house of the Lord to glorify * the Creator of all[2]. 5. Wherefore[3] let every thing that hath breath glorify Him, and let every creature visible and invisible give forth praise.)

[*God instructs His faithful Servants how they are to praise His Name.*]

LII. 1. Blessed is the man who opens * his lips to praise the God of Sabaoth, and praises the Lord with his heart[4]. 2. Cursed is every man who opens his * lips to abuse and to calumniate his neighbour[5]. 3. Blessed[6] is he who opens his lips to the blessing and praise of God! 4. Cursed is he who opens his lips to swearing and blasphemy before the face of the Lord all his days. 5. Blessed is he who

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[1] B om. [2] **Your Creator**, A. [3] **For**, Sok.; Sok. also puts the verbs in the indicative; B OMITS VERSE.

LII. [4] **Heart and lips to the praise of the Lord**, B. [5] **Heart to abuse, abusing the poor and calumniating his neighbour**, Sok.; B supports text but that it omits and to calumniate. After neighbour A adds **for him shall God rebuke.** [6] B OMITS VERSES 3, 4.

τὸν λίθον. Assist... in his affliction. Cf. Ecclus. iv. 4 ἱκέτην θλιβόμενον μὴ ἀπαναίνου. 3. Ecclus. ii. 4 πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι . . . μακροθύμησον. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. L. 3. 4. Ps. lv. 17: Cf. Dan. vi. 10. These three Jewish hours of prayer—the *third* (that of morning sacrifice), the *sixth* (noon), the *ninth* (that of evening sacrifice)—are observed in Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9. See Lightfoot *in loc.* for his Talmudic references. House of the Lord. This means the temple; for though the author is a Jew living in Egypt, he is writing for Judaism as a whole, and is giving herein the ideal conduct of an inhabitant of Jerusalem. In LIX. 2, 3, he prescribes the right method of sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem. 5. Every thing that, &c. Ps. cl. 6.

LII. With these beatitudes compare xlii. 6–14. Like the latter these are wanting in vigour. They seem to be in the main derived from Ecclesiasticus. 2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης. 4 Swearing and blasphemy. Cf. Ecclus. xxiii. 9–12. 5. Cf. Ecclus.

blesses all the works of the Lord. 6. Cursed is he who speaks ill of[1] the works of the Lord. 7. Blessed is he who * looks to raise his own hand for labour[2]. 8. Cursed is he who looks to[3] make use of another man's labour. 9. Blessed is he who preserves the foundations of his fathers * from the beginning[4]. 10. Cursed is he who breaks the enactments[5] of his fathers. 11. Blessed is he who * establishes peace and love[6]. 12. Cursed is he who troubles those who * are at peace[7]. 13. Blessed is he who * does not speak peace with his tongue, but in his heart there is peace to all[8]! 14. Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, but in his heart there is no peace[9]. 15. For all these things in measures and in books will be revealed in the day of the great judgement[10].

[*Let us not say that our Father is with God, and will plead for us at the Day of Judgement. For I know that a Father cannot help his Son, nor a Son a Father.*]

LIII. 1. And now, my children, do not say; Our father

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[1] Sok. adds all. [2] Looks to the work of his own hands, B. Looks to raise up the fallen, A. [3] A adds and is eager to. [4] B om. [5] B adds and ordinances. [6] Goes to seek peace and leads others to peace, B. [7] Love their neighbours, A. [8] Speaks peace, for peace abides with him, B. Speaks with a humble tongue and heart to all, A. [9] A adds a sword. B OMITS ENTIRE VERSE. [10] B adds Therefore, my brethren, preserve your hearts from everything unjust that you may inherit an habitation of light for ever.

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xxxix. 14 *εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.* 7. Cf. Eph. iv. 28. 8. Seems to be derived from Ecclus. xxxi. 26 *φονεύων τὸν πλησίον ὁ ἀφαιρούμενος συμβίωσιν, καὶ ἐκχέων αἷμα ὁ ἀποστερῶν μίσθον μισθίου.* Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 56–57:

μὴ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὁσίων βιοτεύειν.

ἀρκεῖσθαι παρεοῦσι· καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι.

10. Cf. Eth. En. xcix. 2, 14; Ecclus. xvii. 11. 11. Cf. Mt. v. 9. 12. This is derived from Ecclus. xxviii. 9 *ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλὸς ταράξει φίλους καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον εἰρηνευόντων ἐκβάλλει διαβολήν.* Cf. also Ecclus. xxviii. 13. 14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Orac. Sibyll. ii. 120, 122.

LIII. 1. This idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Is. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 107–108; 299–300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development

stands before God, and prays * for us (to be released) from sin [1]; * for there is no person there to help any man who has sinned [2]. 2. You see how I have written down all the works of every man * before his creation [2], * which is [3] * done in the case of all men for ever [2]. 3. And no man * can say or unsay [4] what I have written with my hand. For God sees all things, * even the thoughts of wicked men [5], * which lie in the storeplaces of the heart [2]. 4. And now,

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LIII. [1] **Concerning our sins**, A. [2] B om. [3] **And I shall write what things are**, Sok.; B om. [4] **Destroy**, B; contradict, Sok. [5] **The thoughts of man that they are vain**, A; B om.

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among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Is. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in the Eth. En. xxii. 12; xcvii. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: *ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερεμίας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης.* This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Execrat.* 9: *τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν . . . δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνυμέναις πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς.* The same view was obviously held by Joseph. *Antt.* i. 13. 3. where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: *μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος ἔσῃ μοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον.* And also in Orac. Sibyll. ii. 330–333:

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος
ἄλλο παρέξει
εὐσεβέεσσ', ὁπότ' ἂν θεὸν ἄφθιτον
αἰτήσωνται·
ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρός τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων
ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο
ποιήσει.

Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N. T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24–31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1 ?; Rev. vi. 9–11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger, ii. 357–9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 3. 2. Enoch is the universal scribe. 3. Cf. Ps. xciv. 11; Ecclus. xvii. 15. 20.

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put food[1] before thy face and then, having blessed our houses and thy sons, *and all thy family[2]; let thy people be glorified by thee; and then afterwards thou wilt depart, *as God hath said[3].' 2. Enoch answered his son *Methosalem and said[4]: 'Hear, my child, since God has anointed me with the oil of his glory, there has been no[2] food in me, *and my soul remembers nothing of earthly pleasure[5] nor do I desire *anything earthly[6].

[*Enoch orders his Son Methosalem to call all his Brothers.*]

LVII. 1. But[7] call all[8] thy brothers, and all your[9] families, and the elders of the people, that I may speak to them and depart *as is appointed for me[8]. 2. And Methosalem hastened, and called his brethren, Regim, Riman[10], Ukhan[11], Khermion, [Gaidal[8]], and[12] the elders of[13] the people, *and brought them all[14] before the face of his father Enoch[15]. And having blessed them, he spake to them[16].

[*The Instruction of Enoch to his Sons.*]

LVIII. 1. 'Listen to me, my sons. *In those days when the Lord came upon the earth for the sake of Adam, and visited[17] all his creation, which He Himself had made[18]. 2. The[19] Lord[20] called all the cattle of the earth[21], and all

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[1] Let me do, A: let us put food, Sok. [2] A om. [3] As God wishes, Sok.; B om. [4] And said, Sok.; B om. [5] B om. [6] Earthly food, B.
LVII. [7] My son Methosalem, A. [8] B om. [9] Our, B. [10] Rim, B. [11] Azukhan, B. [12] A adds all. [13] Sok. adds all. [14] And called them, Sok.; A om. [15] Sok. adds and they bowed before his face, and Enoch saw them. [16] Sok. adds saying.
LVIII. [17] So A and Sok., but that Sok. adds your father after Adam; B reads in the days of our father Adam the Lord came to visit him and. [18] A adds and after all these created Adam: Sok. adds in brackets in the previous thousand years and after all these created Adam. [19] And the, A B Sok. [20] Lord God, B. [21] B adds and all the wild beasts and all the fourfooted things.

LVI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; Eth. En. xci. 1. 2. Riman, Ukhan, and Khermion are not mentioned in i. 10. On Gaidal, see i. 10 (note).

LVIII. 1. When the Lord came

creeping things, and all the fowls that fly *in the air[1], and brought them all[1] before the face of our father Adam[2], and he gave names to all living things on the earth. 3. And the Lord made him lord over all, and put all things under his hands[3], and *subdued (them) to submission and to all obedience[4] *to man[5]. So the Lord created[6] man as master over all His possessions. 4. The Lord will not judge any soul of beast on account of man, *but he will judge the soul of man on account of the souls of beasts in the world to come[7]. 5. *For as there is a special place for mankind for all the souls of men according to their number, so there is also of beasts. And not one

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[1] B om. [2] Sok. adds that he should give names to all fourfooted things. [3] Made subject to Adam all the newly created things, B. [4] Secondly he placed all things under the rule of and made them obedient, B. Made them dumb and made them deaf to obey, A. [5] As unto every man, Sok. [6] A adds every. [7] But the soul of man shall judge the animals in this world, A; B gives the sense of the verse; but there shall nct be a judgement of every living soul but only of that of man, and (?) in the great life to come.

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upon the earth . . . and visited. See xxxii. 1 (note).

5. Special place . . . for all the souls of men. See xlix. 2 (note). So also of beasts. As the Jews believed at the beginning of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and therefore in some degree possessed rationality (Jubilees iii. 28; Joseph. *Antt.* i. 1. 4), it was only natural that they should proceed to infer a future existence of the animal world. The O. T. indeed does not show a single trace of this belief, though it always displays a most tender solicitude for their well-being; nor do we find it in any pre-Christian Jewish writing, with the exception of the present text. Even here the future life is of a limited nature. It is ethically motived. This further term of existence is not conceded for the brute's own sake, but wholly with a view to the punishment of man. The brute creation is to live just long enough to bring an indictment for ill-treatment against man at the final judgement. Though this idea of any future life in connexion with the brute creation may move the wonder of the modern mind, it is justified by perfectly analogous ideas in the ancient world. Not to speak of the doctrine of metempsychosis in Greece and the deification of animals in Egypt, such conceptions as those in the text would not unnaturally flow from the powers and qualities frequently assigned to animals by Greek thinkers. Thus, according to Plut. *Plac.* v. 20, 4, the souls of brutes were rational though

soul shall perish which God has made till the great judgement. 6. And every soul of beast shall bring a charge against man if he feeds them badly[1].

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[1] I have followed Sok. in verses 5, 6. B partly preserves the sense there is one place and one fold for the souls of beasts. For every living soul which God has made was not reserved for the great judgement. And every soul of beasts, &c,. as in text. A is transposed and corrupt; There is a special place for mankind; as there is every soul of man according to his number, so the beast also shall not perish. And every soul of beast which God has made shall bring a charge against man at (or until) the great judgement if, &c., as in text.

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incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, *καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου ἔννοιαν Ξενοκράτης . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις* (Clem. *Strom.* v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in *Tim.* p. 148 b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, *πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχήν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσαν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζῴων* (Porph. *V. P.* 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, *ὡς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τἆλλα θηρία γενήσοιντο, ἠπίσταντο οἱ ξυνιστάντες ἡμᾶς* (*Tim.* 76 D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. *Georg.* iv. 219-221), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (*H. N.* viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta Vendidad *Fargard* 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1–4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20–28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: 'Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.' Eisenmenger, i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale's note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be

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own flesh. 5. And if any one does an injury to an animal secretly, it is an evil custom and he sins against his soul.

[*How we ought not to kill a Man, neither with Weapon nor with Tongue*[1].]

LX. 1. If he does an injury to the soul of man, he does an injury to his own soul; and there is no salvation for his flesh, *nor forgiveness[2] for ever[3]. 2. He who kills the soul of a man, kills his own soul, and destroys his own body, and there is no salvation for him for ever. 3. He who prepares a net for another man *will fall into it himself and there is no salvation for him for ever[4]. 4. He, who prepares a weapon against a man, shall not escape punishment in the great judgement for ever. 5. If a man acts crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, he shall have no righteousness for himself for ever.

[*Enoch admonishes his Sons to preserve themselves from Unrighteousness, and to stretch out their hands frequently to the Poor, and to give them something from their Labours.*]

LXI. 1. Now therefore, my children, preserve your hearts from every unrighteousness which the Lord hates. As a man asks his soul from God, so let him do to every living soul[5]. 2. *For in the world to come[2], *I know all things

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LX. [1] A inserts this title after verse 1. [2] B om. [3] B adds but when a man is in Paradise he is liable to judgement no more. [4] Shall not lose the punishment for it in the day of judgement for ever, Sok. B OMITS VERSES 2–5.

LXI. [5] B adds Even if it be not for eternal life.

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strangling beasts. 5. Bestiality may be here referred to.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6. 3. Cf. Pss. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. In this verse and the next two there is an utter want of proportion between the sin and its punishment. 5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. Unrighteousness which the Lord hates. Cf. Jud. v. 17; Ecclus. xv. 11, 13. 2. In the world to come . . . many mansions. Cf. Eth. En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John

how that[1] there are many mansions prepared for men; *good for the good; evil for the evil; many and without number[2]. 3. Blessed are those who shall go to the mansions of the blessed[3]; for in the evil ones there is no rest nor any means of return from them. 4. Listen, my children, both small and great: When a man *conceives a good thought in his heart and brings[4] gifts before the Lord of his labours—if his hands have not wrought them[5] then the Lord turns away His face from the labour of his hands, and *he cannot gain advantage from[6] the work of his hand. 5. But if his hands have wrought, but his heart murmurs *and he does not make an offering of his heart, but murmurs[7] continually, he has no success.

[How it is proper to bring one's Gifts with Faith, and how there is no Repentance after Death.]

LXII. 1. Blessed is the man who in patience shall bring

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[1] I know that, Sok.; B om. [2] Numberless abodes for the good and the evil, B. [3] B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. [4] Sets it in his heart to bring, Sok. [5] The labour, Sok. [6] It is impossible for him to find, Sok. [7] The sickness of his heart will not cease and making a murmur, Sok.

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xiv. 2. Good for the good, evil for the evil. This is adapted from Ecclus. xxxix. 25 *ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔκτισται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οὕτως τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς κακά.* Cf. Or. Sibyll. Fragm. iii. 18–19 *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὸν προφέρων πολὺ πλείονα μισθόν, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἀδίκοις τε χόλον.* 4. The text seems corrupt. The idea is: it is a good thing to offer gifts to God; but if a man sacrifice to God that which is another man's or is gotten wrongfully, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2. The author appears to have had before him Ecclus. xxxi. 21 *θυσιάζων ἐξ ἀδίκου, προσφορὰ μεμωκημένη,* 22 *καὶ οὐκ εἰς εὐδοκίαν μωκήματα ἀνόμων.* 23 *οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν προσφοραῖς ἀσεβῶν.* Further in ver. 24 *ὁ προσάγων θυσίαν ἐκ χρημάτων πενήτων* is condemned. Finally with he cannot gain advantage from, &c., compare ver. 28 *τί ἀφέλησαν πλεῖον ἢ κόπου*; If his hands have not wrought them. Cf. Or. Sibyll. viii. 403, 405:

τούτῳ μὲν καθαρὴν θὲς ἀναίμακτόν τε τράπεζαν
ἐκ μύχθων ἰδίων πορίσας ἁγναῖς παλάμῃσιν.

5. Men must offer willingly: only those are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5; Prov. xi. 25. But his heart murmurs. Cp. lxiii. 2; Deut. xv. 10 'thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.' Ecclus. xxxii. 10, 11 *ἐν ἀγαθῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δόξασον τὸν κύριον . . . καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἁγίασον δεκάτην.*

his gifts[1] before the face of the Lord, for he shall avert the recompense of his sin. 2. *If he speaks words out of season[2] *there is no repentance for him: if he lets the appointed time[3] pass and does not *perform the work, he is not blessed; for[4] there is no repentance after death. 3. For every deed which a man does *unseasonably is[5] an offence before men, and a sin before God.

[*How one must not despise the Humble, but give to them truly, so that thou mayest not be accursed before God.*]

LXIII. 1. When a man clothes the naked and feeds the hungry, he gets a recompense from God. 2. If his heart murmurs, *he works for himself a double evil: he works destruction to that which he gives and there shall be no reward for it[6]: 3. *And the poor man, when his heart is satisfied or his flesh is clothed[7] and he acts contemptuously, he destroys the effect of *all his endurance of poverty[8] and *shall not gain the blessing of a recompense[9]. 4. For the Lord hates every contemptuous *and proud-speaking[10] man: *and likewise every lying word: and that which is covered with unrighteousness. And it is cut with the sharpness of a deadly sword, and thrown into the fire, and burns for ever[11].)

LXII. [1] A adds with faith. [2] If he remembers the appointed time to utter his prayer, B. If before the time he recalls his word, Sok. [3] B omits, AND ALSO THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. [4] Act righteously, A. [5] Before the time and after the time is altogether, Sok.

LXIII. [6] He works for himself a double destruction and when he gives anything to a man there shall be no reward for that which he has given, A. B reads He renders his deeds of mercy profitless. [7] Nay more if food fill his heart to the full or his flesh is clothed, A. If he becomes overfed B. [8] His good works, B. [9] Does not return with gratitude the benefits he has received, A. Gains nothing, B. [10] B om. [11] And every lying word is sharpened with unrighteousness, and is cut with the sharpness of a deadly sword, and that cutting has no healing for ever, Sok. B om.

LXII. 1. Forgiveness is not the message of this book. For most sins there is no pardon. 2. Words out of season. The text is hopeless here.

LXIII. 1. See ix (notes). 2. See lxi. 5 (note). 4. The Lord hates, &c. Pss. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

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had come and were passed, understand how[1] after all these things He made man in His own image *after His[1] likeness, and placed in him eyes to see; and ears to hear; and a heart to understand, and reason[2] to take counsel. 3. And the Lord *contemplated the world for the sake of man[3], and made all the creation* for his sake[4], and divided* it into times. And from the times He made years, and from the years He made months, and from the months He made days, and of the days He made seven. 4. And in these He made the hours[5] † and divided them into small portions[1], that a man should understand *the seasons, and compute years and months, and hours; their alternations and beginnings and ends: and[6] that he should compute *his life from the beginning till death[7], *and should meditate upon his sin, and should write down his evil and good deeds. 5. For nothing done is concealed before the Lord. Let each man know his deeds, and not transgress the commandments and let him keep My writings securely from generation to generation[1]. 6. When *all the creation of visible and invisible things[8] comes to an end which the Lord has made; then every man shall come to the great judgement of the Lord[9]. 7. Then[10] the times shall perish, † and

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[1] B om. [2] With his mind, A. [3] Saw all the works of man, A. B om. [4] A om. B transposes it into next sentence. [5] Time for the sake of man, and determined the times and the years, and the months and the hours, B. [6] The changes of the times and the end and the beginning of the years, and the end and the days and hours, B. [7] The death of his life, B. [8] The world, B. [9] A om. [10] And then all, A.

'devised,' if it is original. 2. Made man in his own image . . . understand. This agrees too closely to be accidental with Ecclus. xvii. 3 *κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.* 5. . . . *ὀφθαλμούς, ὦτα καὶ καρδίαν ἔδωκε διανοεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.* 4. Understand the seasons . . . beginnings and ends. We have here a close resemblance to Wisdom vii. 17–18 *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔδωκε . . . εἰδέναι . . . ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων, τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν.* 5. See xxxiii. 9 (note). 6. The judgement closes the existence of man on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing to suggest that there is a resurrection of the body. 7. See

there shall be no year, nor month, nor day, and there shall be no hours nor shall they be reckoned [1]. 8. There shall be one eternity, and all the just * who shall escape the great judgement of the Lord [2] shall be gathered together in eternal life *and for ever and ever the just shall be gathered together and they shall be eternal [3]. 9. Moreover there shall be no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, *nor anxiety, nor need [4], nor night, nor darkness, but a great [5] light. 10. *And there shall be to them a great wall that cannot be broken down [2]; and bright [6] *and incorruptible [2] paradise *shall be their protection, and their eternal habitation [7]. *For all corruptible things shall vanish [2], *and there shall be eternal life [8].

[*Enoch instructs his Sons, and all the Elders of the People: how with Fear and Trembling they ought to walk before the Lord, and serve Him alone, and not to worship Idols; for God made Heaven and Earth and every Creature and its Form.*]

LXVI. 1. And now, my children, preserve your souls from all unrighteousness, which the Lord hates [9]. Walk before His face with fear †and trembling [10], and serve Him alone.

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[1] And the years moreover shall perish and the months and days and hours shall be dispersed and moreover shall not be counted, Sok. For hours . . . counted A reads there shall be no hours nor shall there be any addition to them or calculation. [2] B om. [3] And there shall be one everlasting time for the just and they shall live for ever, A. And there shall be everlasting life for the just, being eternal, Sok. After eternal B adds and incorruptible. [4] A adds nor violence; Sok. reads nor necessary anxiety nor constraint. [5] B adds unending and never disturbed. [6] Great, B Sok. [7] B om. Sok. reads and there shall be the roof of the eternal habitation, and transposes to end of Chapter. [8] And incorruptible things shall come, Sok.
LXVI. [9] B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. [10] Sok. om.

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xxxiii. 2. 8–9. A blessed immortality. 10. Wall. This may be the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x). 11. Cp. Ecclus. xiv. 19 *πᾶν ἔργον σηπόμενον ἐκλείπει.*

LXVI. 1. Unrighteousness which the Lord hates. Cf. Deut. xii. 31; Wisdom xiv. 9. Walk before His face with fear and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12 'work out your own salvation with fear and

*Worship the true God, and not dumb idols. 2. But pay attention to His command [1], and bring every just offering before the face of the Lord. But the Lord hates that which is unrighteous. 3. For the Lord sees every thing; whatever man meditates in his heart, †and what counsel he plans [2], and every thought is continually before the Lord. 4. *If ye look at the heavens there is the Lord, as the Lord made the heavens. If ye look at the earth then the Lord is there since the Lord made firm the earth and established every creature in it [3]. If ye scrutinize the depths of the sea, and every thing under the earth there also is the Lord. For the Lord created all things. 5. Do not bow down to the work of men, *nor to the work of the Lord [4], leaving *the Lord of all creation [5]; for no deed is concealed before the face of the Lord. 6. Walk, my children, in long suffering, in humility [6], in spite of calumny, and insult; in faith, and truth: in the promises, and sickness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, *in nakedness, in deprivation [7], loving one another, till ye depart from this world of sickness. Then ye shall be heirs of eternity. 7. Blessed are the just, who shall escape the great judgement [8]! And they shall be seven times brighter than the sun, for in this age altogether the seventh part is separated. 8. (Now concerning) the light, the darkness, the food, the sweetnesses,

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[1] Sok. om. [2] Then his reason counsels, Sok. [3] So Sok. transposed and defective in A. Who made firm the earth, and established every creature in it. If ye look at the heavens there is the Lord. [4] A om. [5] The works of the Lord, A. [6] A adds honour. [7] Deprivation and nakedness, Sok. [8] Sok. adds of the Lord.

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trembling.' For fear and trembling cf. also 2 Cor. vii. 15; Eph. vi. 5. 2. Bring every just offering. See lxi. 4 (note). 3. Sees every thing whatever man meditates, &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. vi. 30; Ps. xciv. 11; Prov. xv. 11; Dan. ii. 30. 4. Founded partly on Ps. cxxxix. 8–12. The author has rightly omitted all reference to Sheol as this is already included in his conception of the heavens. 5. No deed is concealed, &c. Cf. Jer. xvi. 17; Ecclus. xvii. 15. 6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35; 2 Cor. xi. 27; 2 Pet. i. 4. 7. Cf. lxv. 8. 8. Sweetnesses, &c. Eth. En. lxix. 8.

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thirty days [1], and thus he was taken to heaven in the same [2] month Tsivan [3] on the *same day the [2] sixth day; the day on which he was born, and the same hour. 4. As each man has *but a dark existence [4] in this life, so also is his beginning *and birth [5], and departure from this life. In what hour he began; in that he was born, and in that he departs. 5. And Methusalem hasted, and all [5] his brethren [6], the sons of Enoch, and built an altar in the place called Achuzan, *whence and when Enoch [7] was taken up *to heaven [5]. 6. And they took [8] cattle, and invited all the people and sacrificed victims [9] before the face of the Lord. 7. *All the people came and the elders of the people; all the host of them to the festivity, and brought their gifts to the sons of Enoch, and made a great festivity, rejoicing and being merry for three days; praising God who had given such a sign by means of Enoch, who had found favour with Him. And that they should hand it down to their son's sons, from generation to generation, for ever. Amen [5].

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[1] Sok. adds having spoken with them. [2] A om. [3] Pamorus, Sok. [4] An equal nature, Sok. [5] Sok. om. [6] Sok. adds and all. [7] Where, Sok. [8] Sok. adds animals and. [9] Victim, Sok.

APPENDIX.

THE following fragment of the Melchizedekian literature was found by Professor Sokolov in the chief MS. on which he has based his text. In this MS. it is given as an organic factor of the Slavonic Enoch. This is done by omitting all the words in A lxviii. 7, after 'merry for three days,' and then as we see below immediately proceeding 'And on the third day,' &c. No hint of this large addition is found in A or B, but Sokolov writes that it appears in several MSS. to which he had access. The reader will observe that in many passages it implies the Slavonic Enoch. The text is obviously corrupt in many places.

We have in this fragment a new form of the Melchizedek myth. For the other forms it took see Bible Dictionaries *in loc.* This fragment seems to be the work of an early Christian heretic as we may infer from iii. 34 ; iv. 8.

I. 1. And on the third day at the time of the evening the elders of the people spake to Methusalam saying : 'Stand before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all the people, and before the face of the altar of the Lord, and thou shalt be glorified among the people.' 2. And Methusalam answered his people : 'Wait, O men, until the Lord God of my father Enoch—shall himself raise up to himself, a priest over his people.' 3. And the people waited yet a night to no purpose on the place Akhuzan. 4. And Methusalam was near the altar, and prayed to the Lord and said, 'Oh ! only Lord of all the world, who hast taken my father Enoch, do thou raise up a priest for thy people, and teach their hearts to fear thy glory, and to do all according to thy will. 5. And Methusalam slept, and the Lord appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him 'Listen, Methusalam, I am the Lord God of thy father Enoch, hear the voice of this people, and stand before My altar and I will glorify thee before the face of all the people, and thou shalt be glorified all the days of thy life.' 6. And Methusalam arose from his sleep,

and blessed the Lord who had appeared to him. 7. And the elders of the people hastened to Methusalam and the Lord God inclined the heart of Methusalam to hear the voice of the people, and he said: 'The Lord God gives His blessing upon all these people before my eyes to-day. (May the Lord your God) do what is a good thing in His eyes to this people.' 8. And Sarsan and Kharmis, and Zazus, the elders of the people hastened and clothed Methusalam in beautiful garments and placed a bright crown on his head. 9. And the people hastened, and brought sheep and cattle and of birds all that was known (to be proper for) Methusalam to sacrifice before the face of the Lord, and in the name (before the face) of the people. 10. And Methusalam went out to the altar of the Lord, and his face shone like the sun, as it is rising in the day, and all the people were following after him. 11. And Methusalam stood before the altar of the Lord. and all the people stood round the altar. 12. And the elders of the people took sheep, and oxen, and bound their four feet, and laid them on the top of the altar, and said to Methusalam; 13. 'Lift the knife and kill them according to the proper way before the face of the Lord.' 14. And Methusalam stretched out his hands to the heavens and called to the Lord, saying thus: 'Woe is me, O Lord! who am I to stand at the head of Thy altar and at the head of these people. 15. Now, Lord, look down on Thy servant and on all these people. Now let all the things sought for happen and give a blessing to Thy servant before the face of all the people, that they may understand that thou hast appointed a priest over Thy people. 16. And it came to pass that when Methusalam had prayed, the altar shook, and a knife rose from the altar, and leaped into the hand of Methusalam before the face of all the people. And the people trembled, and glorified the Lord. 17. And Methusalam was honoured before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all the people from that day. 18. And Methusalam took the knife, and killed every thing that was brought by the people. And they rejoiced, and were merry before the face of the Lord and before the face of Methusalam on that day. 19. And afterwards the people departed each to his own house.

II. 1. Methusalam began to stand at the altar before the face of the Lord and all the people from that day for ten years, trusting in an eternal inheritance, and having taught well the whole land and all his people; and no man was found to turn from the Lord in vanity during all the days in which Methusalam lived. 2. And

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Methusalam called to the people: 'Lo! Nir will be before your face from to-day as a prince and a leader.' 15. And the people said to Methusalam, 'Let it be unto us according to thy word, and let the voice of the Lord be as He spoke to thee.' 16. And when Methusalam had spoken to the people before the altar, his spirit was confused, and he bent his knees, and stretched out his hands to the heavens, and prayed to God. And as he prayed his spirit went forth to the Lord. 17. And Nir and all the people made haste and made a grave for Methusalam in the place Aruzan. 18. And Nir came in glorious attire in all his priestly robes, with lights, with much pomp, and the people lifted up the body of Methusalam, and having glorified it, laid it in the grave, which they had made for him, and buried him, and said: 'Blessed was Methusalam before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all people.' 19. When they were about to depart to their own households, Nir said to the people: 'Go quickly now, and bring sheep and heifers, and turtle-doves, and pigeons, and let us offer them before the face of the Lord, and then go to your houses.' 20. And the people listened to Nir the priest, and hastened and brought the victims, and bound them to the head of the altar. 21. And Nir took the sacrificial knife, and slew all the [victims] that were brought, and offered them before the face of the Lord. 22. And all the people rejoiced before the face of the Lord, and glorified on that day the Lord of Nir, the ruler of heaven and earth. From that day there was peace and order over the whole earth in the days of Nir, during 202 years. 23. And then the people turned from God and began to be jealous one of another, and people rebelled against people, and tongue arose against tongue, in reviling. 24. And if lips were the same, hearts chose different things. 25. And then the devil began to reign for the third time, the first time before paradise, the second time in paradise, the third time outside of paradise, he continued (doing so) till the deluge. 26. And there arose a great dispute and confusion. And Nir the priest heard it, and was greatly grieved, and said in his heart, 'In truth I have understood that the time has drawn near, and the end which the Lord spake to Methusalam, the father of my father Lamech.

III. 1. And the wife of Nir, named Sopanima, being barren, brought forth no child to Nir. 2. And Sopanima was in the time of her old age, and on the day of her death she conceived in her womb, and Nir the priest did not sleep with her, nor knew

her from the day that the Lord appointed him to serve before the face of the people. 3. When Sopanima knew of her conception she was ashamed, and felt humbled, and concealed herself all the days, till she brought forth, and no one of the people knew. 4. And when 282 days were accomplished and the day of birth began to draw near, Nir remembered about his wife, and called her to himself in his house, that he might talk to her. 5. And Sopanima came to Nir, her husband, being with child, and the appointed day of the birth was drawing near. 6. And Nir saw her and was very much ashamed, and said to her: 'What hast thou done, wife, and hast shamed me before the face of these people. And now depart from me, and go where thou didst commence the shame of thy womb, so that I defile not my hand upon thee, and sin before the face of the Lord!' 7. And Sopanima spake unto Nir, her husband, saying: 'My lord, lo! the time of my old age, and the day of my death has come (and there was no youth in me) and I do not know when the period of my years is past, and the unfruitfulness of my womb begin.' 8. And Nir did not believe his wife, and said to her a second time: 'Depart from me lest I do thee an injury, and sin before the face of the Lord!' 9. And it came to pass, when Nir had spoken to his wife, Sopanima fell at the feet of Nir, and died. 10. And Nir was very much grieved, and said in his heart: 'Was this from my voice, since a man by his voice and thought sins before the face of the Lord. 11. Now the Lord is merciful to me; I know in truth in my heart, that my hand was not upon her. And so I say: "Glory to thee, oh! Lord, since no one on earth knows this deed, which the Lord has wrought!"' 12. And Nir hastened and shut the doors of the house, and went to Noe, his brother, and told him all, that had happened concerning his wife. 13. And Noe hastened, and came with Nir, his brother, into the house of Nir, on account of the death of Sopanima, and they talked to themselves (and saw) how her womb was at the time of the birth. 14. And Noe said to Nir: 'Let it not be a subject of sorrow to thee, Nir, my brother, that the Lord has to-day concealed our shame because no one of the people knows this. 15. Now let us go quickly, and bring her secretly, and may the Lord hide the ignominy of our shame. 16. And they laid Sopanima on the bed, and they wrapped her with black robes, and shut her in the house ready for burial, and dug a grave in secret. 17. And then came an infant from the dead Sopanima, and sat on the bed at her right hand. And Noe, and Nir entered, and saw the infant sitting by the dead Sopanima

and wiping its clothes. 18. And Noe, and Nir were tempted with a great fear, for the child was complete in its body, like one of three years old; and spake with its lips, and blessed the Lord. 19. And Noe, and Nir gazed upon it; and lo! the seal of the priesthood was on its breast, and it was glorious in countenance. 20. And Noe, and Nir said 'See the Lord renews the consecration according to our blood, as he desires (this is from the Lord, my brother, and the Lord renews the blood of consecration in us).' 21. And Noe and Nir hastened, and washed the child, and clothed it in priestly raiment, and gave it the blessed bread. And it ate. And they called its name Melchizedek. 22. And Noe and Nir took the body of Sopanima, and stripped from her the black robes, and clothed her in very bright robes, and built a church for her (another house—a beautified grave). 23. And Noe, and Nir, and Melchizedek came and buried her publicly. And Noe said to his brother Nir: 'Watch this child in secret till the time, because deceitful people shall arise over all the earth and shall begin to reject God, and having perceived nothing shall put him to death. And then Noe went out to his own place. 24. And great lawlessness began to multiply over the whole earth, in the days of Nir. 25. And Nir began to be very anxious, especially about the child, saying: 'Woe is me, eternal Lord. In my days have begun to multiply all kinds of lawlessness upon the earth, and I understand, how that the end is near unto us more (than ever), and upon all the earth for the lawlessness of the people. 26. And now, Lord, what is the vision, and what is the solution of it, and what shall I do for (the child)?—Will it also go with us to destruction?' 27. And the Lord heard Nir, and appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him: 'Nir, I do not endure the great lawlessness that has been on the earth in many things, and lo! I wish now to send a great destruction upon the earth, and every earthly creature shall perish. 28. But do not trouble thyself about the child, Nir, for in a short time I will send my chief captain Michael, and he shall take the child and place him in the paradise of Eden, in the garden where Adam was formerly during a period of seven years, having the heaven always open until the time of his sin. 29. And this child shall not perish with those who perish in this generation, as I have shown, but shall be a holy priest in all things, Melchizedek, and I will appoint him that he may be the chief of the priests who were before (*alia lectio*—that he may be a priest of priests for ever, and I will consecrate him, and will appoint him over the people being made greatly holy). 30. And

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and place him in the paradise of Eden for preservation, because the time draws nigh, and I will discharge all the water upon the earth, and all that is upon the earth shall perish. 2. (And I will establish another race, and Melchizedek shall be the chief of the priests, in that family, just as Seth is to me in this family[1].') 3. And Michael hastened, and came by night, and Nir was sleeping in his bed. And Michael appeared to him, and said to him: 'The Lord says unto thee, Nir: "Send the child to me; I entrusted him to thee."' 4. And Nir did not know that the chief captain Michael was speaking to him, and his heart was confused, and he said: 'If the people know about the child, and take him, they will slay him. For the heart of this people is crafty before the face of the Lord. And Nir said to him who spoke to him 'The child is not with me, and I do not know who thou art, who art speaking to me.' 5. And he who was speaking to me answered: 'Be not afraid, Nir, I am the chief captain of the Lord. The Lord hath sent me, and lo! I will take thy child to-day, and will go with him, and will place him in the paradise of Eden, and there shall he be for ever. 6. And when the twelfth generation shall be, and a thousand and seventy years shall be, in that generation a just man shall be born, and the Lord shall tell him to come out upon that mountain where the ark of thy brother Noe shall stand, and he shall find there another Melchizedek who has lived there seven years, concealing himself from the people who worship idols, so that they should not slay him, and he shall lead him forth and he shall be priest, and the first king in the town of Salem after the fashion of this Melchizedek, the commencement of the priests. And 3432 years shall be fulfilled till that time from the beginning and creation of Adam. 7. And from that Melchizedek there shall be twelve priests in number till the great Igumen, that is to say leader, who shall bring forth all things visible and invisible. 8. And Nir understood his first dream, and believed it, and having answered Michael, he said: 'Blessed is the Lord, who has glorified thee to-day to me, and now bless thy servant Nir, as we are drawing near our departure from this world, and take the child, and do unto him as the Lord hath spoken unto thee. 9. And Michael took the child on that night on which he came, and took him on his wings, and placed him in the paradise of Eden. 10. And Nir having risen on the following day, went to his house, and did not find the child, and there was instead of joy very great sorrow, because he had no other son except this (*alia lectio*—because he

[1] Clearly a variant of iii. 37.

looked upon this child in the place of a son). 11. So died Nir, and after him there was no priest among the people. And from that time a great confusion arose on the earth.

V. 1. And God called Noe on the mountain of Ararat, between Assyria, and Armenia, in the land of Arabia, by the sea, and said to him: 'Make there an ark of 300 ells in length, and in breadth 50 ells, and in height 30, and two stories in the midst, and the doors about an ell. 2. And of those 300 ells, and of ours 15,000, and so of those 50, and of ours 2000 and 500, and so of those 30, and of ours 900, and of those one ell, and of ours 50.' 3. According to this number the Jews keep this measure of the ark of Noe, as the Lord said to him, and (so) they make each measure, and each rule even up to the present time. 4. The Lord God opened the doors of the heavens, and rain came on the earth 150 days, and all flesh died. 5. Noe was in the 500th year and begat three sons: Shem, Ham, and Japhet. 6. 100 years after the birth of his three sons, he went into the ark in the month according to the Hebrew Itsars, according to the Egyptian Famenoth in eighteen days. 7. And the ark floated forty days. And altogether they were in the ark 120 days. 8. And he went into the ark, being 600 years (old), and in the sixth hundred and first year of his life he went out of the ark in the month Farmut according to the Egyptians, and according to the Hebrews Nisan about twenty-eight days. 9. Then he lived 250 years, and died; he lived altogether 950 years according [to the will of] the Lord our God, to him be glory from the beginning, and now, and to the end of the world. Amen. 10. Enoch was altogether 365 years old.

11. In another way it is written here concerning Noah's ark. Of their 300 ells, and of ours 15,000, of theirs 100, and of ours 5000: of theirs 20, and of ours 1000; of theirs 10, and of ours 500: of theirs 5, and of ours 250: of theirs 1, and of ours 50! This is the truth spoken.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE PHOENIXES.

When I wrote the note on the Phoenixes in XII. 1 I was not aware that mention of a class of these birds was to be found elsewhere. I have, however, since found in Dr. Kohler's article on 'The pre-Talmudic Haggada' (*Jewish Quarterly*, 1893, pp. 399-419) a quotation from an old Essene Mishna—*Massecheth Derech Eretz*—in which it is said that 'the generation of the bird מלוח' went alive into Paradise. This bird Dr. Kohler identifies with the Phoenix. The question is discussed in the *Alphabetum Siracidis* edited by Steinschneider, 1858, p. 28^{b}.

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