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DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

IN THE following paper no attempt is made to provide the reader with an introduction to the various books comprising the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. Most Bible Dictionaries contain brief summaries of the individual writings if such information is required. It is the doctrinal bridge between the Old and New Testaments that is here to be examined. Quotations are given fairly extensively in order to let the writings speak for themselves, and in view of the fact that not all students possess an edition of these works, such as that of R. H. Charles.

The paper was prepared for reading at the 1946 Summer School of the Tyndale Fellowship, and the analytical style was adopted to facilitate the reading. On reflection, the writer decided not to recast the material so as to give it essay form, but to leave it with its divisions and sub-divisions for the sake of those to whom this arrangement may be helpful. It is hoped also that by means of this method the general reader will gain a clearer impression of the trends of this important but neglected period of Israel's religious growth.

I. THE DOCTRINE OF GOD

(1) *His Transcendence.* The tendency to think of God exclusively in transcendent categories resulted in:

(a) *The use of periphrases for the Divine Name.* God is not mentioned by name once in 1 Macc., the most usual name in that book being "heaven". E.g.:

Judas said, It is an easy thing for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with heaven it is all one, to save by many or by few; for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength is from heaven (1 Macc. iii. 18-19).¹

Cf. also the habit of Rabbis to call God by the name "The Holy One, blessed be He", and the exalted title "King of the kings of the kings", as in *Pirke Aboth* iv. 29:

¹ It is now generally recognised that this habit of avoiding the use of the divine name explains why Matthew persistently writes of "the Kingdom of *heaven*" while the other evangelists speak of "the Kingdom of *God*". The first Gospel circulated amongst Jews, to whom this circumlocution was common.

Those that are born are for death, and the dead for making alive, and the living to be judged; to know and to make known and to be known that He is the maker and He the creator, and He the discerner, and He the judge, and He the witness, and He the adversary, and He will judge in whose presence there is neither obliquity nor forgetfulness nor respect of persons nor taking a bribe; for all is his; and know that all is according to reckoning. Let not thy nature make thee believe that the grave is a place of refuge. For not of thy will wast thou formed, and not of thy will dost thou live, and not of thy will dost thou die, and not of thy will art thou to give just account and reckoning before the King of the kings of the kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.¹

Such a conception of God is extremely lofty.

(b) *The development of an elaborate angelology.* In the Old Testament the Lord is a man of war; He fights for Israel. In 2 Macc. angels fight the battles of Israel. In 1 Macc. the process is still further accentuated in that neither God nor angels win battles but the good generalship of the sons of Mattathias; the thought is that such activity ought not to be ascribed to God. But the former mode of thought (i.e. as in 2 Macc.) was most common. The nations are led by their angelic rulers (Dan.). As in history, so in creation, the angels are God's agents, so much so that all the elements have their angels. E.g. Jub. ii. 2 says:

On the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth . . .

An angelology encourages a demonology, which similarly multiplied in this period, but for which other causes were working.

(2) *His Sovereignty.* This is implied in the doctrines of the End which were developed in this period. The End was not only seen from the beginning but ordained. As 2 Baruch puts it:

¹ *Pirke Aboth* (lit. "Chapters of Fathers" but commonly designated "Sayings of the Fathers") is hardly to be classed as a pseudepigraphic book, nor is it an apocalypse. It is a collection of maxims uttered by Jewish teachers between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D. It was probably compiled in the main by the famous Rabbi Judah, who died in A.D. 219, and formed one of the sixty-three treatises of the Mishnah. It is now incorporated in the Jewish Book of Common Prayer. The Sayings are the best representative of the ethics of the period of the Apocalyptists. Their eschatology is similar to that of the Apocalyptists but is expressed in proverbial sayings instead of visions. We accordingly have not hesitated to quote freely from this book in seeking to illustrate the thought of the period in question, recognising nevertheless its different character from the apocalypses generally.

Time shall succeed to time and season to season, and one shall receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation shall everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons (xlii. 6).

Similarly the destiny of all has been pre-ordained:

The judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness (Jub. v. 13).

The recognition of God's sovereignty inevitably leads to individual predestination. It is to be observed, however, that there was usually acknowledged alongside the sovereignty of God, the responsibility of man and his freedom to obey the requirements of God. Ps. Sol. v. 6 seems to state divine sovereignty unequivocally:

Man and his portion lie before Thee in the balance; he cannot add to, so as to enlarge, what has been prescribed by Thee.

Yet cf. ix. 7:

Our works are subject to our own choice and power to do right or wrong in the works of our hands.

(3) *His Fatherhood*. It is assumed in *Aboth* v. 23:

Be bold as a leopard, and light as an eagle, and swift as a gazelle, and strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven.

The messianic hymn of Test. Levi xviii says:

And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits,
And the Lord shall rejoice in his children,
And be well pleased in his beloved ones for ever (*vv.* 12-13).¹

Cf. also Test. Levi iv. 2; Sib. Or. iii. 702; 3 Macc. vi. 28, and especially the saying of Akiba:

Beloved are Israel that they are called sons of God. Greater love was it that it was known to them that they were called sons of God. As it is said, "Sons are ye to the Lord your God" (*Aboth* iii. 19).

II. THE LAW

(1) *It is Eternal and of Supreme Importance*. Jubilees above all other writings sets forth the importance of the Law. It regards all the enactments as having been instituted from the beginning and as having been observed by the righteous men before its *re-promulgation* at Sinai. Hence i. 29:

¹ Compare Luke ix. 19-20.

The angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees, from the day of the creation until the heavens and the earth shall be renewed . . .

The Law thus covers the whole span of time, from the first creation to the second, and indeed, before the first creation (for the angels were subject to the Law, being created circumcised, xv. 27) and unto eternity.

The Law is thus prior to all other learning and is the sum of the revelation of God.

Offerings of birds and purifications, these are the main rules. Astronomy and geometry are mere fringes to wisdom (*Aboth* iii. 23).

(This statement is possibly a defence for the studying by the rabbi of these subjects at all!)

(2) *It includes, for most Jews, the oral as well as the written requirements.* Hence *Torah* includes both elements, both being binding. The Oral Law was contained in multitudinous *halakoth*, defining all possible varieties of application of the written precepts. These together formed the Mishnah. The latter was itself expanded and explicated in the Gemara. Mishnah and Gemara together form the Talmud. Two collections of Talmud exist, the Jerusalem Talmud, completed about A.D. 400 and the Babylonian Talmud, completed about A.D. 500 and representing 1,000 years of growth. The Sadducees refused to accept the authority of the Oral Law, the Pharisees regarded it as binding. The attitude of the latter is reflected in the three precepts attributed to the men of the Great Synagogue:

Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence for the Torah (*Aboth* i. 1).

(3) *The Torah became identified with Wisdom.* A typical statement is seen in Ecclus. xxiv. 23; after a description of the attributes and activities of wisdom, it is declared:

All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the law which Moses commanded us for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob.

The significance of this cannot be gained until Wisdom itself is defined more closely.

III. WISDOM

(1) *Wisdom is a religious and ethical conception.* "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom" is presupposed in all that is said about Wisdom and in all the practical and seemingly prosaic observations that are given in its name. The attributes of Wisdom as set forth in Prov. viii. 22-31 were much pondered. The results are to be seen in such passages as Wisd. vii. 22-viii. 1:

There is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy,
 Alone in kind, manifold,
 Subtil, freely moving,
 Clear in utterance, unpolled,
 Distinct, unharmed,
 Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,
 Beneficent, loving toward man,
 Stedfast, sure, free from care,
 All powerful, all surveying,
 And penetrating through all spirits
 That are quick of understanding, pure, most subtil:
 For wisdom is more mobile than any motion;
 Yea she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness.
 For she is a breath of the power of God,
 And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;
 Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
 For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
 And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
 And an image of his goodness.
 And she, being one, hath power to do all things;
 And remaining in herself, reneweth all things;
 And from generation to generation passing into holy souls
 She maketh men friends of God and prophets . . .

See also Eccus. xxiv. 3-5.

(2) *Wisdom has, as a parallel conception, an existence as the Logos.* The two are identified, it would seem, in Wisd. ix. 1-2.

O God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest thy mercy,
 Who madest all things by thy word;
 And by thy wisdom thou formedst man . . .

Its activity is startlingly portrayed in Wisd. xviii. 14-16.

While peaceful silence enwrapped all things,
 And night in her own swiftness was in mid course,
 Thine all powerful word leaped from heaven out of the royal throne,
 A stern warrior, into the midst of the doomed land,
 Bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment;
 And standing it filled all things with death;
 And while it touched the heaven it trode upon the earth.

(3) *Wisdom is identified with the Torah.* This is clear in most of the wisdom literature, most of all in the *Pirke Aboth*. E.g., vi. 7 says:

Great is Torah, for it gives to them that practise it life in this world and in the world to come; as it is said, "For they are life to them that find them, and health to all their flesh".

There follows a series of blessings conveyed by the Torah which are quotations of Scripture statements concerning wisdom. Such a practice is common in rabbinical maxims.

The student of the New Testament is particularly interested in this development, since the prologue of the Fourth Gospel appears to have them all in mind in its declarations as to the nature and attributes of the Logos who has become flesh. What the Jew claimed for the Law, and wisdom and the *logos*, the Christian sees fulfilled in Christ. This is the more striking in view of Jewish claims that God created the world by means of Torah. Cf. *Aboth* iii. 19:

Beloved are Israel in that to them was given the instrument wherewith the world was created . . .

IV. SIN

(1) *Its Origin was much discussed in this Era.* Answers to the problem varied, yet tended largely in one direction:

(a) Eve:

From a woman was the beginning of sin,
And because of her we all die (*Ecclus.* xxv. 24).

(b) The Devil:

By the envy of the devil death entered into the world,
And they that of his portion make trial thereof (*Wisdom* ii. 24).

This theme is developed in *Vita Adæ et Evæ* xii-xvii.

(c) Adam:

O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee (2 *Esd.* vii. 118).

(d) Fallen Angels:

Heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe all sin (1 *Enoch* x. 7-8).

On the other hand, compare 2 *Baruch* liv. 15, 19:

Though Adam first sinned
 And brought untimely death upon all,
 Yet of those who were born from him
 Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
 And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.
 Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul,
 But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.

With this attempt to attain the balance between corporate and individual responsibility, Ecclus. xv. 14-15 has affinity:

He himself made man from the beginning,
 And left him in the hand of his own counsel (*yetzer*).
 If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments;
 And to perform faithfulness is of thine own good pleasure.

Oesterley regards this as attributing the origin of sin to God, who so made man's *yetzer*; but the *yetzer* was not necessarily evil, and this saying seems more strongly to assert man's responsibility for his own sin.

The optimistic attitude of Ben Sira regarding man's ability to fulfil the Law is not shared by 2 Esdras, the author of which seems oppressed by his helplessness, and that of the rest of Israel, to fulfil adequately the Law.

In truth there is no man among them that be born, but he hath dealt wickedly; and among them that have lived there is none which hath not done amiss (viii. 35). We that have received the law shall perish by sin, and our heart also which received it (ix. 36).

This man was evidently moving along lines of experience comparable to that of Paul, who may have been his contemporary.

(2) *Atonement for Sin*. Thought on this matter moved largely on the lines of Old Testament but with clear developments towards the position attacked by Paul.

(a) Sacrifices; but they must be offered in a right spirit:

The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the ungodly;
 Neither is he pacified for sins by the multitude of sacrifices (Ecclus. xxxiv. 19).

(b) Works:

He that honoureth his father shall make atonement for sins (Ecclus. iii. 3).
 Alms doth deliver from death, and it shall purge away all sin (Tob. xii. 9).
 Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee,
 And then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest (Ecclus. xxviii. 2).

(c) Merits of Saints :

Think not upon those that have walked feignedly before thee, but remember them which have willingly known thy fear. Let it not be thy will to destroy them which have lived like cattle; but look upon them that have clearly taught thy law (2 Esd. viii. 28f.).

(d) Sufferings of Saints:

Thou O God knowest that though I might save myself I am dying by fiery torments for thy Law. Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls (4 Macc. vi. 28-29; also xvii. 21-22).

V. ETHICS

(1) Observation of the Law is the main thing. A saying of Hillel is noteworthy :

More flesh, more worms; more wealth, more care; more maidservants, more lewdness; more menservants, more thieving; more women, more witchcraft; more Torah, more life; more classroom, more wisdom; more counsel, more discernment; more righteousness, more peace. Whoso has gained a good name has gained it for himself; who has gained for himself words of Torah has gained for himself the life of the world to come (*Aboth* ii. 8).

The cynicism of this saying points to the supreme importance of observing Torah and increasing one's knowledge of it. Such is the common sentiment of the rabbis. The apocalyptists constantly stress that it is through observing the law that the blessings of the world to come are gained.

This tends to the doctrine of salvation by works and the observance of the law on the lines of making a good bargain. Cf. the crude outlook of Akiba:

All is given on pledge, and the net is spread over all the living; and the shop is open and the shopman gives credit, and the account book is open and the hand writes, and everyone who will borrow comes and borrows, and the collectors go round continually every day, and exact payment from man whether with his knowledge or without it; and they have whereon to lean, and the judgment is a judgment of truth; and everything is prepared for the banquet (*Aboth* iii. 20).

Such an outlook is perfectly summed up by Ben He-He:

According to the toil is the pay (*Aboth* v. 25).

(2) An advance in general conceptions is observable in many instances. This is supremely the case with the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Charles maintains that certain parallels between the maxims in this book and the teachings of our Lord are so close as to demand the recognition of our Lord's dependence on it. Here are some notable extracts.

Forgiveness:

Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. And though he deny it and

yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging (Test. Gad vi. 3-7).

Love to God and man :

Love the Lord and your neighbour (Test. Issachar v. 2; the sentiment occurs several times).

Prayer against envy :

If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him, that he may have perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious of him, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God who giveth things good and profitable to all men (Test. Gad vii. 1).

VI. ESCHATOLOGY

It is in this subject that development was most marked in the intertestamental period. The development was especially concerned with personal immortality, the kingdom of God, and the Messiah.

(1) *The Immortality of the Soul.* As far as we can tell, even the earliest Israelites believed in man's survival of death. But it was to a colourless existence, in which one could not hope for so much as contact with God, that they expected to go.

My soul is full of troubles,
 And my life draweth nigh unto Sheol.
 I am counted with them that go down into the pit;
 I am as a man that hath no help:
 Cast off among the dead,
 Like the slain that lie in the grave,
 Whom thou rememberest no more;
 And they are cut off from thy hand . . .
 Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead?
 Shall they that are deceased arise and praise thee?
 Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave?
 Or thy faithfulness in Destruction?
 Shall thy wonders be known in *the dark*?
 And thy righteousness in *the land of forgetfulness*? (Ps. lxxxviii. 3-5, 10-12).

With such a conception of the after life as this, some considered it as all but non-existence.

O spare me that I may recover strength,
 Before I go hence and be no more (Ps. xxxix. 13).

Charles states categorically that the doctrine of a blessed future life is due entirely to the apocalyptic movement. "Not

even a hint of this doctrine is to be found in Old Testament prophecy" (*Between the Old and New Testaments*, p. 98). This declaration is, of course, made on the basis of the late dating of the apocalyptic elements in prophecy, such as Isa. xxiv-xxvii and the book of Daniel.

Progress in this matter was achieved by two paths, firstly by deeper reflection by the saints of God on their fellowship with God, and secondly by relating that experience to the certainty of the coming of the kingdom of God.

The former path was trodden by Job, whose utterance in xix. 25-27 at least presumes the prospect of his vision of God after death sufficient to secure his justification by God; such a realisation demands the further step of the continuance of that vision. The psalmist who wrote Ps. cxxxix realised that not even Sheol could exclude God:

If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there (v. 8).

The author of Ps. lxxiii seemed to anticipate the perpetual enjoyment of God's presence in heaven:

Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee (vv. 24-25).

It is clear that this teaching was not received by all. Ben Sira expressed the mind of the Sadducees when he wrote:

Fear not the sentence of death [i.e. the necessity of death];
Remember them that have been before thee, and that come after:
This is the sentence from the Lord over all flesh.
And why dost thou refuse, when it is the good pleasure of the Most High?
Whether it be ten, or a hundred, or a thousand years,
There is no inquisition of life in Sheol (Ecclus. xli. 3-4).

Such sentiment as this is sheer heathenism. It was left to the Hasids, from whom the apocalypticists sprang, to take over the thought made known by the more spiritual sons of Israel and develop it worthily. We find a remarkable parallel to our Lord's answer to the Sadducees in 4 Maccabees. The author writes:

As many as with their whole heart make righteousness their first thought, these alone are able to master the weakness of the flesh, believing that unto God they die not, as our patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, died not, but that they live unto God (vii. 18-19).

We have travelled to the opposite pole of Ben Sira's thought in the dictum of the Rabbi who said:

This world is like a porch before the world to come. Make thyself ready in the porch, that thou mayst enter into the banqueting hall (*Aboth* iv. 21).

In this world, distinctions are not according to social standing but according to righteousness. 1 Enoch xxii. 9-13 gives a vivid picture of the separations that exist in Sheol between the righteous and the wicked. Whether this state was final or intermediate depended on the view held as to the nature of the kingdom of God, to which now we turn.

(2) *The Kingdom of God.* We may trace three stages of thought as to this:

(a) *In the Old Testament it is earthly and eternally of earth.* A typical passage is Isa. xi, where the Messiah is to judge righteously all the meek of the earth:

And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea (1-9).

Some apocalyptists dwelt much on these representations and produced some highly sensuous descriptions of the Messianic age. The well-known description of Papias of the millennium is drawn from the following statement in 1 Enoch x. 17ff.:

Then shall all the righteous escape,
And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
And all the days of their youth and old age
Shall they complete in peace.

And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure of it shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.

Isa. lxxv. 17-22 speaks of a renewed heaven and earth, but it is not clear to what extent this is meant to apply to the moral or physical realms.

(b) In certain of the apocalypses of the first century B.C. and first century A.D. the view is put forward that *the Messianic kingdom, though to be established on earth, is of temporary duration and will give place to an eternal kingdom of the heavens.* This is interestingly linked in 2 Enoch xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2 with the notion that the history of the world will last for seven thousand years. The seventh thousand years will correspond to the seventh day and will be the millennium, at the end of which there should be:

a time of not counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

That there is a connection between this expectation and the picture of the millennium in the book of Revelation is hardly to be doubted. In the case of 2 Enoch, this temporary kingdom is clearly of great importance. In 2 Esdras, however, it has assumed less importance, owing to the pessimism of the author as to this world, and it is limited to 400 years in duration, at the end of which time the Messiah and all living will die and the earth will return to its primeval silence for seven days. Then:

the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish (2 Esd. vii. 26-31).

(c) In the first century A.D. especially, it is not surprising to find that some apocalyptists have abandoned altogether the idea of a temporary Messianic kingdom and look only for *the eternal kingdom in the new heavens*. Such is the expectation of one line of tradition on which the author of 2 Baruch drew. It is abundantly clear from his book that he felt this earth to be unworthy of the kingdom of God. His comparison of this age with the coming one is worth quoting as it well summarises the attitude taken by writers of his school:

Whatever is now is nothing,
 But that which shall be is very great.
 For everything that is corruptible shall pass away,
 And everything that dies shall depart,
 And all the present time shall be forgotten,
 Nor shall there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils.
 For that which runs now runs unto vanity,
 And that which prospers shall quickly fall and be humiliated
 For that which is to be shall be the object of desire,
 And for that which comes afterwards shall we hope;
 For it is a time that passes not away,
 And the hour comes which abides for ever.
 And the new world comes which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness,
 And has no mercy on those who depart to torment,
 And leads not to perdition those who live in it (2 Baruch xliv. 8-12).

Whatever view is taken as to the nature of the kingdom, its coming is usually conceived to be *catastrophic*, as in the famous dream of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. ii. In some books, however, we find the thought that the kingdom would come to its fullness only gradually. In Jub. xxiii, e.g., the kingdom is to come in greater fullness as the law is increasingly studied and observed:

In those days the children shall *begin* to study the laws,
 And to seek the commandments,
 And to return to the path of righteousness.
 And the days shall *begin* to grow many and increase among the children of
 men
 Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
 And to a greater number of years than before was the number of the days
 (Jub. xxiii. 25-27).

There is similarly a mediating view found in 2 Baruch lxxiii-lxxiv.¹

Again, it is universally believed that the kingdom of God is expected *soon* to dawn. The apocalyptists stand in the end of the days. It is put forward picturesquely in 2 Baruch:

The youth of the world is past,
 And the strength of the creation already exhausted,
 And the advent of the times is very short,
 Yea, they have passed by;
 And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
 And the ship to the port,
 And the course of the journey to the city,
 And life to its consummation.
 And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship
 ye may have rest and not be condemned when ye depart (lxxxv. 10-11).

It is worthy of note that the idea is several times expressed that the day will be hastened still further by *repentance*.

Upon the day on which Israel shall repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end (Test. Dan vi. 4).

Hence in the Assumption of Moses, the last day is called:

the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in the consummation of the end of the days (i. 18).²

All that we have considered thus far as to the kingdom has been from the community point of view. But these different aspects of the kingdom of God could not but affect their adherents' view on immortality. As it came to be realised that the purpose of God was the establishment of the kingdom, so it was realised that this purpose was not merely for the generations of the end-time but for all the godly. Hence the doctrine of resurrection came into clear focus. That doctrine appears in the Old Testament in Isa. xxvi. 19 (part of the apocalypse xxiv-xxvii) and in Dan. xii. 3, the latter extending it to the wicked as well as the righteous, the wicked being raised for punishment, the righteous for reward. Naturally, one's view

¹ The student of the New Testament will recall that our Lord and the Apostles appear to find room for both views; the Kingdom of God grows in extent with the passing of the years but is suddenly consummated at the Second Advent.

² This thought finds clear expression in Acts iii. 19-20 and 2 Pet. iii. 12.

as to the nature of the resurrection could not but depend on one's view of the nature of the kingdom. In a passage in the Sibylline Oracles, book iv, the righteous are to be raised to live again on the earth:

And then all shall behold themselves, beholding the lovely and pleasant sunlight.

The description of resurrection accordingly is that:

God himself shall fashion again the bones and the ashes of men, and shall raise up mortals once more *as they were before* (lines 179-192).

Such a resurrection, of course, takes place at the commencement of the kingdom. When, however, a temporary kingdom is in view, normally the resurrection is postponed till the end of the Messianic kingdom and the commencement of the eternal kingdom. Thus in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (2 Enoch), God says to Adam:

Earth thou art, and into the earth whence I took thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee. Then I can again take thee at my second coming (xxxii. 1).

The second coming of God presumably is at the close of the 7,000 years of earth's history. Furthermore, it is likely that this writer conceived of the resurrection as being spiritual and not purely material; thus we read:

The Lord said to Michael, Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of my glory (xxii. 8).

The author of 2 Baruch has a mediating view: he is told that the earth is to restore the dead precisely as they were committed to it, in order to enable recognition and that the living may know that the dead have returned to life again; the wicked will then gradually fade away (or rather "waste away") and the righteous will go from glory to glory (chs. l-li).

It is therefore seen that the view of resurrection depends on the view taken of the nature of the kingdom of God. In writers such as the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who expected no earthly realisation of the kingdom, it is sometimes found that the resurrection is to take place immediately on death; such a thought, however, does not appear to be native to Palestinian Judaism and it was not generally accepted.

(3) *The Messiah*. Charles makes a series of statements in his book *Between the Old and New Testaments* worthy of consideration. Commenting on the relation of the Messiah to the kingdom of God he writes:

The student of the New Testament naturally looks on these two ideas as strict correlatives. To him the Messianic kingdom seems inconceivable apart from the Messiah. But even a cursory examination of Jewish prophecy and apocalyptic disabuses him of this illusion. The Jewish prophet could not help looking forward to the advent of the kingdom of God, but he found no difficulty in conceiving that kingdom without a Messiah. Thus there is no mention of the Messiah in Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Joel, Daniel; none even in the very full eschatological prophecies of Isa. xxiv-xxvii, or in the brilliant description of the future in Isa. liv. 11-17; lx-lxii, lxv-lxvi, which spring from various post-Exilic writers. Nor is the situation different when we pass from the Old Testament to the subsequent Jewish literature. The figure of the Messiah is absent altogether from the books of the Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, 1 Baruch, certain sections of 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, the Book of Wisdom, the Assumption of Moses. Hence it follows that in Jewish prophecy and apocalyptic the Messiah was no organic factor of the kingdom . . . (pp. 75-76).

One would like to be sure that in all the cases mentioned the silence of the writers necessarily implies their rejection of the position of the Messiah in the eschatological kingdom. Nevertheless, the statement as a whole is valid. The distinguishing mark of difference between the eschatology of the Old Testament and that of the New is precisely this very point of the relative importance of the Messiah; in the New Testament eschatology is wholly bound up with the person and the work of the Christ; to use Dr. F. Cawley's phrase, Eschatology is Christology.

In those passages in which the Messiah takes a prominent position in the Old Testament it is to be noticed that normally he begins to play his part after the establishment of the kingdom; he does not himself found it. Ps. cx. 1 sums up the position admirably:

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand *till I make thy enemies the footstool of thy feet.*

So also in Jer. xxiii. 5f.; when the Branch of David rules, Israel shall dwell safely, but the oath of the redeemed Israelites is in the name of the *Lord*, "who brought up and led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country"; the *Lord*, not the Messiah, redeems his people. That the Servant of the *Lord* passages are an exception to this view needs hardly to be pointed out, but they did not affect the main ideas as to the Messiah.

Uniformly the Messiah in the early literature comes from the seed of David. A puzzling conception, however, meets us in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where salvation arises from Levi and Judah and not from Judah alone¹. Charles

¹ The author has dealt at greater length with this subject in an article on "The Two Messiahs in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" in the *Journal of Theological Studies* xlviii (1947), pp. 1-12. (Ed.)

states emphatically that the Messiah in this book is viewed as springing from the tribe of Levi, and that such an expectation is due to the achievements of the Maccabees, who were of that tribe, and that particularly John Hyrcanus was in mind, who was thought by the author of the Testaments to be the Messiah. As so often, Charles overstates the case. It certainly seems incontrovertible that our author expected a Messiah to arise from Levi: Test. Reuben vi. 7-12 unequivocally declares it. Yet he also states with equal clarity that Messiah arises from Judah, as in Test. Judah xxii and xxiv. Normally his method is to conjoin the names of Levi and Judah together as being the bearers of salvation, and Levi comes first. There are several possible interpretations of the evidence. One is that the writer was a mere compiler of different traditions. Possibly he wavered between two conflicting traditions and left his readers to draw their own conclusions. Or maybe he was offering so revolutionary an idea that he dare not put it forth in all its starkness and simply watered it down by placing the more usual expectation of a Davidic Messiah alongside it. It seems much more straightforward, and to be the only explanation of all the facts, that the writer expected not one Messiah but two, one from Levi and the other from Judah. The reason is not only because of the attainments of the Hasmonean leaders, but because of the importance to this man of the priesthood; it is more important than the sovereignty and deserves recognition of its own. So, at any rate, one gathers from Test. Judah xxi. 1-5, which may be regarded as the key passage of the book as far as this matter is concerned:

And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and exalt not yourselves against him, lest ye utterly be destroyed. For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. For to me He gave the things upon the earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is dominated by the earthly kingdom. For the angel of the Lord said unto me, The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table, and to offer Him the first fruits of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.

That this partnership is to continue into the Messianic kingdom is implied in the constant reiteration that salvation is to come from Levi and Judah, not from Levi alone. The idea of two Messiahs is well known to later Jewish eschatology. Torrey finds them in 1 Enoch xc. 37-38,¹ but strange to relate,

¹ C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (1945), pp. 111f.

he does not mention them in his review of the Testaments of the Patriarchs and I have yet to learn of anyone who has this interpretation of the Testaments.¹

So far as I am aware, the only school of thought which took up seriously the suggestion of a Messiah from Levi is that which has left its records in the Zadokite Fragments. The expectation of a Davidic Messiah triumphed, however, and is given beautiful expression in the 17th Psalm of Solomon.

The one really important deviation from the traditional picture of the Messiah is that given in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch xxxvii—lxxi). No longer is the Messiah a merely human figure; he is a transcendental being, pre-existent and exalted above all creatures, and is to be manifested in the last times, not only to rule for God but to establish the kingdom. According to Charles, here for the first time are applied to the coming Deliverer the titles of the Christ, the Righteous One, the Elect One, and the Son of Man (see 1 Enoch lii. 4; xxxviii. 2; xlv. 3-4; xlvi. 1-6 respectively), all which appear in the New Testament. A similar conception appears in 2 Esdras xiii, although in ch. vii the Messiah is said to die with all men at the end of the Messianic kingdom.

The relation between the Enochic Messiah and the teaching of our Lord about the Son of Man naturally arises. Did He base His teaching on that given in Enoch? Most scholars of the apocalyptic literature are inclined to think that He did, since it would form a natural transition from the conception of the Son of Man given in the book of Daniel. This suggestion ought not to be summarily dismissed, as though it was unworthy of our Lord. All admit that the resultant teaching is characteristic of Jesus and not of Enoch, that largely it is a matter of terms rather than of basic conceptions. It is not beyond possibility that the Lord knew and appreciated certain elements of Enoch, though some of it would have been abhorrent to Him.

On the other hand, if as is very possible, the term "Son of Man" in the teaching of Jesus has frequently a strong trace of its collective significance such as appears in Daniel, then it is more reasonable to suppose that He took it straight from Daniel and by-passed Enoch. If that be true, then the importance of

¹ The importance of this development taking place just prior to the birth of Jesus, lies in the preparation it must have made for the preaching of a Messiah whose great work was *atonement*.

such a work as 1 Enoch would lie in the preparation it made in the minds of the populace for the coming of a Deliverer from God. What is true in this respect holds good in the whole realm of eschatology; the apocalyptists prepared the way of the Lord for the revelation of the life of the world to come in the person of the risen Lord; in that sense they were as truly sent from God as was John.

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