

THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

WITH HISTORICAL SURVEYS OF THE CHIEF
WRITINGS OF EACH NATION

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THE GRAVE OF JOSEPH.

The grave in which tradition says that the Israelites buried the body of the Patriarch Joseph on their restoration to Palestine.



THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

VOLUME XIV

THE GREAT REJECTED BOOKS OF THE BIBLICAL APOCRYPHA

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"Let there be light."—GENESIS I, 3.

"There never was a false god, nor was there ever really a false religion, unless you call a child a false man."—MAX MÜLLER.

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SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE

THE GREAT REJECTED BOOKS OF THE BIBLICAL APOCRYPHA

INTRODUCTION

THE CHIEF WRITINGS WHICH HAVE SOUGHT AND BEEN DENIED ADMISSION TO THE BIBLE

THE books included in the present volume are those which, loosely speaking, we call "The Apocrypha." They have a strange and piercing interest of their own. They are very old; most of them are very noble of sentiment and high of purpose; yet for one reason or another they have been rightly rejected from the Holy Scriptures into which they sought admission. The origin of most of them is doubtful. Even the language in which they were originally written is uncertain. We can not group them definitely as Hebraic or even as Semitic. Some may have Greek sources, and thus spring from the thought of the great Aryan races, rather than from the teaching of the Semites. All of them have Aryan touches added to their earlier ideas, and difficult to disentangle. Hence our volume, while mainly founded on Hebraic literature, drifts far from it, and the books here given show more of the Western world, the European spirit, than any other early literature of the East.

The fact that these books have been denied a place in our Scriptures has gradually weighed down even the meaning

of the word "apocrypha." Originally it meant "secret teachings," then it was accepted as implying that the teachings were of doubtful authority, and to-day even our dictionaries define the word as meaning "false and deceitful." Clearly, under a name which has so many meanings, many different kinds of books may be included, some wonderful, secret, and profound, others of doubtful worth, and some foolish or even deliberately treacherous. We must separate these classes in our minds.

To most readers of to-day the name "Apocrypha" will bring to mind, first of all, those books or parts of books still frequently printed in Protestant Bibles under that heading, grouped together at the close of the Old Testament. These are too well-known to be reprinted here. They are "apocrypha" in the middle sense of the word, books of doubtful authority. Catholic churches still accept them as part of the hallowed Scriptures. All the Christian world did so until Luther's day; and the chief reason for their rejection by the Protestant churches is that no Hebrew originals of these books are known. They exist only in the Greek version of the Old Testament. That is to say, the early Christians, in accepting as their own the Bible of the Jews, may have been mistaken in including these unquestionably pre-Christian writings as part of the Hebraic canonical books. These apocrypha were part of the later Jewish "wisdom" literature, and as such were revered by the learned Jews of Egypt, who gave them to the world as part of their Greek version of the Jewish Bible. But we have no definite evidence that, before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), the Jews who dwelt there had accepted these works as "holy" or "inspired."

An entirely different class of apocrypha are those of later date, or what might be called the Christian apocrypha. There were naturally many tales of Jesus, which spread from land to land. Some of these may have been based on actual incidents of his life, and a good Christian might well have fancied he was doing a service to his religion when he wrote down one of these tales and so saved it from loss or from

further additions. It was in this way, as readers of our second Arabic volume will recall, that Sunan, or traditions of Mohammed, were at first loosely preserved, and were then gathered into a fixed form some two hundred and fifty years after the Prophet's death. Yet these Sunan, after having been sifted by religious criticism, were accepted by the Mohammedans as part of their holy literature.

The Christian Church, on the contrary, set itself firmly against the acceptance of any such traditions. It possessed its four Gospels, narratives of the life of Jesus so closely in touch with him, written so shortly after his death that no additional details seemed needed. Indeed, these Gospels and the letters and narratives of Christ's disciples cover the whole of the distinctively Christian teachings which was added to the Bible of the Hebrews. Of course this refusal of the Christian Church to accept any later "gospels" or lives of Christ did not mean that these tales were necessarily false. They were all simply classed as "apocrypha," or books of unknown origin.

Some of the "apocrypha" of this class bearing upon Christ are doubtless sincere; some are almost and perhaps wholly as old as the established Gospels. Some, by claiming the authorship of an apostle who could not possibly have written them, stamp themselves as being, to some extent, pretenses. Others are complete fabrications of a later date. Indeed, the period for the production of Christian apocrypha, in this last and lowest sense, has never reached an end. The nineteenth century saw several such invented works, books elaborately bolstered up by accounts of research and of the discovery of ancient documents. We have reached a development of science which makes it unlikely that educated men will be deceived by one of these modern fabrications; but such writings have repeatedly imposed upon the ignorant.

There is still a third and equally interesting class of apocrypha. These are the books written, or claimed to have been written, before the time of Christ, as part of the Old Testament. These are sometimes mere addenda to the Bible story, historical narratives said to be by some Biblical per-

sonage; more often they take the form of prophecy in which Noah or another is made to foresee all that afterward occurred, leading up finally to the coming of Jesus as the Messiah. Books which thus proclaim the Messiah may very possibly be of late Christian invention; but most of these Old Testament apocrypha are obviously of Jewish origin, even when their earlier Hebrew text has disappeared. Some of them are much older than the date of Christ, and among them there are very beautiful and very valuable religious works.

Indeed, in reading the apocrypha we must keep clearly in mind the initial fact that the issuance of a book under some ancient name is not in itself evidence of an attempt to deceive. In our own day, historical novels, poems, and even philosophies, are constantly being thus fathered upon some older authority. Usually the author prevents confusion by putting his own name on the title-page; but the books of two thousand years ago were very different from ours, and no such necessity would have occurred to an ancient Hebrew. We can well imagine a young religious enthusiast saying to the friendly rabbis, "See, I have written a book showing all the wickedness of all the ages and foretelling the punishments to come, and I have pictured it as the vision of Adam." And the rabbis would read the book and approve the doctrines, if these seemed sound, without ever thinking of including the work in their Scripture as a Book of Adam. In fact, for such writings we have a special name. We call them not "apocrypha," but "pseudepigrapha," which means epigrams or writings given out under a pseudonym or assumed name. Yet these works are still but a variety of the apocrypha class. Some generations after our enthusiast had composed his Book of Adam or another, some scholar would stumble on the forgotten fantasy and, according to his own disposition, either cry "fraud" or worship a new Scripture, and perhaps invent a legend to account for the holy book having been lost and found again.

Apocrypha, then, as we said at the beginning, may be of all gradations, from the splendor of genius and religious earnestness, down to shallow stupidities or crafty frauds. In

the present volume we have sought to give to the general reader the most truly valuable and interesting of these, as well as the most celebrated. We begin with those Old Testament apocrypha which group themselves around Adam. These are, at least, of pre-Christian origin. They embody very old Hebraic traditions, and their picture of the earliest tragedy is as fascinating as it is pathetic.

We turn then to the most celebrated apocrypha of the Old Testament, those which have gathered around Enoch, the friend of God, and around Enoch's great-grandson Noah. The Book of Enoch, no matter what its origin, is one of the great religious visions and sermons of the world. And the Book of the Secrets of Enoch was one of the chief sources of the study of magic in the Middle Ages.

A third group of Old Testament visions centered around Baruch, the disciple of Jeremiah. One Book of Baruch is included in those apocrypha still sometimes included in the Bible. Several visions of Baruch exist, among which the one here given has a particular interest in that it gives a complete account of heaven, such as might well have inspired medieval visions like Dante's "Paradise."

Also, as having the most remarkable history of any of these books, we include the Story of Ahikar. Perhaps Ahikar's book should scarcely be classed as apocryphal. Its claim to be included in the Hebrew Scriptures may never have been definitely asserted, but it had a strong influence upon the books included in the Scriptures, and the proof of its questioned antiquity has come so recently and surprisingly before the world that our picture of the past would be sadly lacking if it excluded this strange old work. We give it here in the Armenian version, the oldest complete form in which it has survived.

From these, the best known of the Old Testament Apocrypha, we turn to those of the New Testament. The most nearly convincing of these, the one which seems both historically and in spirit to approach most closely to the true Gospels, is the Gospel of James, commonly called the Protevangelum.

After this we give all the better ancient apocrypha of the infancy of Jesus, including an interesting Arabic gospel. For these works, with their pictures of mother-love and baby miracles, have always been beloved for their poetic beauty.

Then as perhaps the most interesting, though least historic of all the early Christian apocrypha, we give the Gospel of Nicodemus. This, unlike most early apocrypha, tells of the closing, instead of the opening of Christ's career. It is full of legends of the crucifixion, and then it follows the victorious Christ down into hell. There it gives that thrilling picture of the "Harrowing of Hell" which was so well known to the Middle Ages and which made this the most popular of all the apocryphal gospels, in an age when belief was easy, and historical criticism almost impossible. There was a time, it must be recalled, when these apocrypha were not despised as wicked or as foolish, but were hailed with enthusiasm as the best of reading by thousands of earnest though unlearned Christians.

OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

"And I, Eve, cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, my creator! For my sake Adam suffereth thus.' "

— THE BOOK OF EVE.

"And Michael himself worshiped first; then he called me [the devil] and said: 'Worship the image of God the Lord.' And I answered, 'I have no need to worship Adam.'"

— THE LIVES OF ADAM AND EVE.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

(INTRODUCTION)

THE books of Adam and Eve belong to the third class of apocrypha described in the general introduction. That is, they must originally have been Jewish works, and were told probably with no intention to deceive. Jewish legends about Adam were numerous and very old, and the Jewish literary custom was well established of writing ethical works in the form of a survey of history which was presented as the prophecy of some early patriarch. Then during the Christian ages these old legends and prophecies of Adam were gathered into one book, a Latin "Lives of Adam and Eve." During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this was translated into almost every European tongue, and was immensely popular. The Jewish originals of this work are no longer known, but the date of their composition must have been somewhere during the very earliest Christian centuries, for the tone of the "Lives" echoes the Jewish religious views of that date, with occasional Christian additions.

Our second book, the Apocalypse of Moses, is a similar medieval work, which in many places parallels the "Lives" so closely, that both must have a common source. The name is, however, a medieval blunder. An apocalypse of Moses would mean Moses's vision of the future of the world, whereas the vision here is only of the past and of the glory of God, and is in no way definitely connected with Moses. These two books, then, are really the final depository of all the oldest legends of Adam and Eve, combined with the visions of some religious enthusiast who rises to a true poetic rapture in his thoughts of God.

It is to be noticed that the Apocalypse of Moses consists

largely of Eve's own narrative of what she had seen and done. This is still further expanded in our third brief book, which is really but a fragment drawn from a Slavonic version of the story. This Slavonic tale touches chiefly on the human and tragic side of the events and brings us keenly into touch with the sorrow of earth's first "mother thoughts" for the protection of men.

OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE LIVES OF ADAM AND EVE¹

CHAPTER I

When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.

CHAPTER II

But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: "My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for something for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before."

CHAPTER III

And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: "Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence." Adam answered: "Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh? Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not."

CHAPTER IV

And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise,

¹The best and most recent translations of most of the Old Testament apocrypha are those in the great scholarly work of Rev. E. H. Charles, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament," published in England by Oxford University. The translations of Old Testament apocrypha in the present volume are largely from the work of Dr. Charles and his fellow laborers, simplified for public use.

but found only animals' food. And Adam said to Eve: "This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living."

CHAPTER V

And Eve said to Adam: "What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labor on ourselves, which we can not endure, so that the Lord will not harken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought to do, for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?"

CHAPTER VI

And Adam said to Eve: "Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the River Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree. And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan,² perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us."

CHAPTER VII

And Eve walked to the River Tigris and did as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the River Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

² "Jordan." Probably changed by Christian editor from "Gihon," where Jews placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.

CHAPTER VIII

And Adam said: "I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming creatures, which are in thee, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I."

Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour the water of the Jordan stood still and its current was stayed."

CHAPTER IX

And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the River Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: "Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; and he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready."

CHAPTER X

But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was trembling like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: "O Eve, Eve, where is the labor of thy penitence? How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary, by whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?"

CHAPTER XI

And when she heard this, Eve understood that it was the devil who had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth, and her sorrow and groaning and wailing were redoubled. And she cried out and said: "Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee? for thou pursuest us with craft. Or why doth thy malice assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honor? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy, and persecute us to the death in wickedness and envy?"

The Fall of the Devil

CHAPTER XII

And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: "O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels, and for thee was I cast out in the earth." Adam answered, "What dost thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?"

CHAPTER XIII

The devil replied, "Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made us worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness."

CHAPTER XIV

And Michael went out and called all the angels saying: "Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded."

And Michael himself worshiped first; then he called me and said: "Worship the image of God the Lord." And I answered, "I have no need to worship Adam." And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, "Why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being than I. I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me."

CHAPTER XV

When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, "Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him the Lord God will be wroth with thee." And I said, "If He be wroth with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest."

CHAPTER XVI

"And God the Lord was wroth with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her doing from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory."

CHAPTER XVII

When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept, and spake: "O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself hath lost." And at that moment the devil vanished before him. But

Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days on end in the water of Jordan.

Cain and Abel

CHAPTER XVIII

And Eve said to Adam: "Live thou, my lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray, for I have not kept the commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting, and there will I be, until I die." And she began to walk toward the western parts and to mourn and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

CHAPTER XIX

And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she cried aloud to the Lord and said: "Pity me, O Lord; assist me." And she was not heard, and the mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: "Who shall tell my lord Adam? I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my lord Adam."

CHAPTER XX

But in that hour Adam said: "The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more hath the serpent fought with her."

And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: "From the moment I saw thee, my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to harken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains." And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

CHAPTER XXI

And behold, there came twelve angels and two "virtues," standing on the right and on the left of Eve; and Michael

was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to the breast, and said to Eve: "Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and prepare thee to bear." And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain.

CHAPTER XXII

And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground, that they might have fruit by which they and all their generations might live.

For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together.

And Eve said to Adam: "My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow."

And Adam said, "Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually, and let us make for each of them separate dwellings."

CHAPTER XXIII

And they made Cain an husbandman, but Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated. And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years.

And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

CHAPTER XXIV

And Adam said to Eve, "Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew." And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty

sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

The Vision of Adam

CHAPTER XXV

And Adam said to Seth, "Hear, my son, Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind, and its wheels were fiery, and I was caught up into the paradise of righteousness, and I saw the Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and left of that chariot.

CHAPTER XXVI

When I saw this I was confounded, and terror seized me, and I bowed myself down before God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, "Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst harken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightest hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words."

CHAPTER XXVII

And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshiped the Lord and said, "My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, me whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favor him whom Thou didst nourish."

And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me, and the Lord said to me, "Since thy days were fashioned, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed forever the right to serve Me."

CHAPTER XXVIII

And when I heard these words, I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God, and said, "Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give Thee honor and praise.

"Thou art the true Light gleaming above all lights, the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honor and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy."

After I had worshiped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and cast me out of the paradise of "vision" and of God's command. And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.

CHAPTER XXIX

And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to the place whence he had caught me up. Harken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets and sacraments that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of knowledge, and knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; what God intends to do to His creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire, and from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes; from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword; and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty. And He will show them the marvelous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them, and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up, and their land will be deserted, and they themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more he will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God; and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And

thereafter God will dwell with men on earth in visible form; and then righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honored in the age, and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And in that time shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgment shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God, the just judge.

The Death of Adam

CHAPTER XXX

After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: "Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them."

And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used to worship the Lord God. And they asked him, saying: "What concerns thee, father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on thy bed?" Then Adam answered and said: "My sons, I am sick and in pain." And all his sons said to him: "What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?"

CHAPTER XXXI

Then said Seth, his son: "O my lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness? Tell me and I

will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will harken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed."

Adam answered and said: "No, my son, I do not long for this, but I feel weakness and great pain in my body." Seth answered, "What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us about it."

CHAPTER XXXII

And Adam answered and said: "Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; saying, 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and a part to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and north, which is over against Aquilo, he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Moreover God the Lord gave us two angels to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary (the devil) found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

CHAPTER XXXIV

And immediately, the Lord God was wroth with us, and the Lord said to me: "In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body seventy blows; with divers griefs shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every separate limb." These hath God appointed for chastisement. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.

CHAPTER XXXV

Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, "What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am beset." And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: "O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned."

And Eve said to Adam: "My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine."

CHAPTER XXXVI

And Adam said to Eve: "Rise up and go with my son Seth to the neighborhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of God. Perchance He will have pity upon you and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed."

CHAPTER XXXVII

Then Seth and his mother went off toward the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast (a serpent)³ and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: "Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God." And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: "Accursed beast! how is it that thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it?"

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The beast answered in the language of men: "Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice is directed? Are not ye

³The "serpent" is, clearly a later interpolation to connect with the tale of the Fall. Originally this passage was to explain the beasts' revolt.

the objects of our rage? Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it."

CHAPTER XXXIX

Then said Seth to the beast: "God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be brought to the ordeal." And the beast said to Seth: "See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said." Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

CHAPTER XL

But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, and they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth, and began to lament and make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the "tree of His mercy."

CHAPTER XLI

But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said: "I have been sent to you from the Lord — I am set by God over the bodies of men — I tell thee, Seth, thou man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

CHAPTER XLII

"For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days."

[When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God,

when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth, shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]⁴

CHAPTER XLIII

"But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence his soul shall go off his body, and when it shall have gone out thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the luminaries of heaven." With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth.

And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, *i.e.*, nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.

CHAPTER XLIV

And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast (the serpent) bit Seth. And Adam,,, said to Eve: "What hast thou done? A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy children after my death, for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be wanting and curse us and say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the beginning." When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

CHAPTER XLV

And just as Michael the archangel had foretold, after six days came Adam's death. When Adam perceived that the hour of his death was at hand, he said to all his sons: "Behold, I am nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die,

⁴ This whole passage in brackets is a Christian interpolation from the Gospel of Nicodemus.

bury me toward the sunrising in the field of yonder dwelling." And it came to pass that when he had finished all his discourse, he gave up the ghost.

CHAPTER XLVI

Then was the sun darkened and the moon and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his mourning embraced from above the body of his father, and Eve was looking on the ground with hands folded over her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam, and said to Seth: "Rise up from the body of thy father and come to me and see what is the doom of the Lord God concerning him. His creature is he, and God hath pitied him."

CHAPTER XLVII

And all the angels blew their trumpets, and cried: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity on Thy creature."

CHAPTER XLVIII

Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out holding Adam, and he handed him over to Michael, saying: "Let him be in thy charge till the day of Judgment in punishment, till the last years when I will convert his sorrow into joy. Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath been his supplanter."

And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: "Bring me three linen clothes of byssus, and spread them out over Adam, and other linen clothes over Abel his son, and bury Adam and Abel his son."

And all the "powers" of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother and no one else, and Michael and Uriel said: "Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead."

CHAPTER XLIX

Six days after, Adam died; and Eve perceived that she would die, so she assembled all her sons and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all: "Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God.

"On account of your transgression, our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgment, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race.

CHAPTER L

"But harken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write on them all my life and your father's, all that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked hard."⁵

When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshiped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

CHAPTER LI

When they had been mourning four days, then Michael the archangel appeared and said to Seth: "Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works."

Thereupon Seth made the tables.

⁵ In some MSS. is added the story of Solomon finding "the tables," with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ to judge the world.

THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES¹

CHAPTER I

This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had gone out of paradise. And Adam knew his wife Eve, and went upward to the sunrising and abode there eighteen years and two months. And Eve conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who is called Cain, and Amilabes, who is called Abel.²

CHAPTER II

And after this, Adam and Eve were with one another, and while they were sleeping Eve said to Adam, her lord: "My lord, Adam, behold, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes, who is styled Abel, being poured into the mouth of Cain, his brother, and he went on drinking it without pity. But he begged him to leave him a little of it. Yet he harkened not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his mouth." And Adam said, "Let us arise and go and see what has happened to them. I fear lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere."

CHAPTER III

And they both went and found Abel murdered by the hand of Cain his brother. And God saith to Michael the archangel: "Say to Adam: 'Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve not, for I will give thee another son in his stead; he shall show to thee all that thou shalt do. Do thou tell him noth-

¹ All MSS. give preface describing book as taught to Moses by Michael the archangel. Like the title, this is a later addition.

² The translator in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 1870, suggests "a planter," for Adiaphotos, and "a keeper of sheep" for Amilabes.

ing.'" Thus spake the archangel to Adam. But he kept the word in his heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved concerning Abel and their son.

CHAPTER IV

And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Seth.

And Adam said to Eve: "See! we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew, let us give glory and sacrifice to God."

CHAPTER V

And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty daughters, and Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and he fell sick, and cried with a loud voice and said: "Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die."

And all assembled, for the earth was divided into three parts. And Seth, his son, said to him: "Father Adam, what is thy complaint?"

And he saith, "My children, I am crushed by the burden of trouble." And they say to him, "What is trouble?"

CHAPTER VI

And Seth answered and said to him: "Hast thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been grieved in yearning for it?"

"If this be so, tell me, and I will go and bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will harken to me and send his angel and bring me a plant from paradise, and I will bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from thee."

Adam saith to him: "Nay, my son Seth, but I have much sickness and trouble!" Seth saith to him: "And how hath this come upon thee?"

CHAPTER VII

And Adam said to him: "When God made us, me and your mother, through whom also I die, He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in paradise, but, concerning that

one only, he charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat.

CHAPTER VIII

"And God was wroth with us, and the Lord came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: 'Adam, where art thou? And why hidest thou from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?' And he saith to me: 'Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee.' "

CHAPTER IX

As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned sore and said: "What shall I do? I am in great distress."

And Eve wept and said: "My lord Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou art beset with toils and troubles." But Adam said to Eve, "Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint."

CHAPTER X

Then Seth and Eve went toward paradise, and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: "Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me, saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God." And she spake to the beast: "Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with

the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God." Then the beast cried out and said:

CHAPTER XI

"It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy wailing, but thine own; for it is from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, if I begin to reprove thee."

CHAPTER XII

Then Seth speaketh to the beast, "Close thy mouth and be silent, and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment." Then saith the beast to Seth: "Behold, I stand off from the image of God." And he went to his lair.

CHAPTER XIII

And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.

And God sent the archangel Michael and he spoke to Seth: "Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now, but in the end of the times. Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day — all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be given to them, and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for the evil heart shall be taken from them, and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.

But do thou go back to thy father. For the term of his life hath been fulfilled, and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful scene of his passing."

CHAPTER XIV

Thus spake the angel and departed from them. And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: "Eve, what hast thou wrought in us? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, lording it over all our race." And he saith to her, "Call all our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression."

Eve's Account of her Fall

CHAPTER XV

Then saith Eve to them: "Hear, all my children and children's children, and I will relate to you how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father, and all the females he gave to me.

CHAPTER XVI

"And the devil spake to the serpent, saying, 'Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word whereby thou mayst have profit.' And he rose and came to him. And the devil saith to him: 'I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even as we were cast out through him.' The serpent saith to him, 'I fear lest the Lord be wroth with me.' The devil saith to him: 'Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him.'

CHAPTER XVII

"And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to worship God, then Satan

appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel. But he saith to me: 'Art thou Eve?' And I said to him, 'I am.' 'What art thou doing in paradise?' And I said to him, 'God set us to guard and to eat of it.' The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: 'Ye do well but ye do not eat of every plant.' And I said: 'Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the midst of paradise, concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat of it, ye shall die the death.'

CHAPTER XVIII

"Then the serpent saith to me, 'May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not have you ignorant. But arise, come hither, harken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree.' But I said to him, 'I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us.' And he saith to me: 'Fear not, for as soon as thou eatest of it ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil. But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory.' Yet I feared to take of the fruit. And he saith to me: 'Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me.'

CHAPTER XIX

"And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: 'I have changed my mind, and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband.' And I said, 'What sort of oath shall I swear to thee? Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat.' And when he had received the oath from me, he went and poured upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took of the fruit and I ate.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

The banks of the Tigris River near its mouth, the location which recent research indicates as the site of the Biblical Garden of Eden.



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CHAPTER XX

"And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the righteousness with which I had been clothed upon, and I wept and said to him: 'Why hast thou done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?' But I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished. And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same plant of which I had eaten.

CHAPTER XXI

"And I cried out in that very hour, 'Adam, Adam, where art thou? Rise up, come to me and I will show thee a great secret.' But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression which have brought us down from our great glory. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, 'Come hither, my lord Adam, harken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as a God.' And your father answered and said, 'I fear lest God be wroth with me.' And I said to him, 'Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil.' And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate, and straightway his eyes were opened and he, too, knew his nakedness. And to me he saith, 'O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?'

CHAPTER XXII

"And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: 'Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgment with which I shall judge Adam.'

"And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the

chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.

CHAPTER XXIII

"And God called Adam saying, 'Adam, where art thou? Can the house be hidden from the presence of its builder?' Then your father answered: 'It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might, my Master.' God saith to him, 'who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my commandment, which I delivered thee to keep it?' Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, saying, 'I will make thee secure before God'; and he turned and said to me: 'Why hast thou done this?' And I said, 'The serpent deceived me.'

CHAPTER XXIV

"God saith to Adam: 'Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast harkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labors.

" 'Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.

" 'Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end.

" 'The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment.'

CHAPTER XXV

"And the Lord turned to me and said: 'Since thou hast harkened to the serpent, and turned a deaf ear to my com-

mandment, thou shalt be in throes of travail and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much trembling, and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: "Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh." And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee.'

CHAPTER XXVI

"But he turned to the serpent in great wrath and said: 'Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts. Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat, and shalt feed on dust all the days of thy life; on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk, and be robbed of hands and feet. There shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that which thou didst ensnare them in thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise; and I will put enmity between thee and his seed; he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgment.'

CHAPTER XXVII

"Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise: and as we were being driven out amid our loud lamentations, your Father Adam besought the angels and said: 'Leave me a little space that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only have sinned.' And they left off driving him, and Adam cried aloud and wept, saying: 'Pardon me, O Lord, my deed.' Then the Lord saith to the angels, 'Why have ye ceased from driving Adam from paradise? Why do ye not cast him out? Is it I who have done wrong? Or is my judgment badly judged?' Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshiped the Lord, saying, 'Thou art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgment.'

CHAPTER XXVIII

"But the Lord turned to Adam and said: 'I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise.' And Adam answered and said, 'Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before I be cast out.' Then the Lord spake to Adam, 'Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have commanded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth every way to guard it from thee that thou taste not of it; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee; yet when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee the Tree of Life.'

CHAPTER XXIX

"Thus spake the Lord, and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept before the angels opposite paradise and the angels said to him: 'What wouldst thou have us to do, Adam?' And your father saith to them, 'Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out of paradise that he hear me.' And the angels approached God and said: 'Jael, Eternal King, command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odor from paradise and seeds for his food.' And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go in, and he took four kinds: crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of paradise. And we were on the earth.

CHAPTER XXX

"Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do ye guard yourselves from transgressing against the good."

CHAPTER XXXI

And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him: "How is it that thou diest and I live, or how long have I to live after thou art dead? Tell me." And Adam saith to her: "Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together. And she shall lie in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek His own creature; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands who gave it to me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or be merciful and intend to pity and receive us."

The Vision of Eve

CHAPTER XXXII

And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground, and began to say: "I have sinned, O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable Throne. I have sinned before Thee, and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation." Even thus prayed Eve on her knees; and behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised her up and said: "Rise up, Eve, from thy penitence, for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker."

CHAPTER XXXIII

And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, "Lift up thyself from the earth." And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by four bright eagles, and it were impossible

for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or behold their face — and angels going before the chariot — and when they came to the place where your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshiped God, crying aloud and saying, "Jael, Holy One, have pardon, for he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands."

CHAPTER XXXIV

"And I, Eve, beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, 'Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam, and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.' "

CHAPTER XXXV

Then Seth arose and came to his mother and to her he saith: "What is thy trouble? Why weepest thou?" And she saith to him: "Look up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies on its face and all the holy angels are praying on his behalf and saying: 'Pardon him, Father of All, for he is Thine image.' Pray, my child Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible Father, even our God? But who are the two negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy father Adam?"

CHAPTER XXXVI

And Seth telleth his mother, that they are the sun and moon and themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith to him: "And where is their light and why have they taken on such a black appearance?" And Seth answereth her, "The light hath not left them, but they can not shine before the Light of the Universe, the

Father of Light; and on this account their light hath been hidden from them."

The Burial Services

CHAPTER XXXVII

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood up all the angels and they were lying on their faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and said: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from the works of His making, for He hath pitied Adam the creature of His hands." But when the angels had said these words, lo, there came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

And God saith to him: "Adam, what hast thou done? If thou hadst kept my commandment, there would now be no rejoicing among those who are bringing thee down to this place. Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will transform thee to thy former glory, and set thee on the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast into this place to see thee sitting above him, then he shall be condemned and they that heard him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth thee sitting on his honorable throne."

CHAPTER XXXIX

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne, stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael, saying: "Lift him up into paradise unto the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world." Then Michael took Adam and left him where God told him.

CHAPTER XL

But after all this, the archangel asked concerning the laying out of the remains. And God commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the "Lord of Hosts" came on, and four winds drew Him, and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him, and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And they came to paradise, and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born "according to the appointment of God." Then Adam's body lay there in paradise on the earth, and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

CHAPTER XLI

Then God spake to the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael: "Go away to paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes, and cover the body of Adam, and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him." And they acted thus, did the three great angels, and they prepared him for burial. And God said: "Let the body of Abel also be brought." And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his body also. For he was unburied since the day when Cain his brother slew him; for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal him, but could not, for the earth would not receive him, for the body sprang up from the earth, and a voice went out of the earth, saying: "I will not receive a companion body till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me." At that time the angels took it and placed it on a rock till Adam his father was buried. And both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two

bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

CHAPTER XLII

And God called and said, "Adam, Adam." And the body answered from the earth and said: "Here am I, Lord." And God saith to him: "I told thee that earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrection; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of thy seed."

CHAPTER XLIII

After these words, God made a seal and sealed the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep, and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam be prepared for burial; and no man knew on earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in the hour of her death) that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she saith: "Lord, Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his members didst thou make me. But deem me worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with him in paradise, both without separation from each other; just as in our transgressions we were both led astray and transgressed thy command, but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not separate us now."

But after she had prayed she gazed heavenward and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: "God of All, receive my spirit," and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

CHAPTER XLIV

And Michael came and taught Seth how to prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they buried her body where Adam's body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael spake to Seth and saith: "Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of Resurrection." And after giving him this rule; he saith to him: "Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day rest and rejoice on it, because on that very day God rejoiceth, yea, and we angels too with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth." Even thus spake the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying God and saying: "Allelujah."

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honor, and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and forever. Amen.

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power forever and forever. Amen.

Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory."

THE SLAVONIC BOOK OF EVE

[The opening is like the opening of the Apocalypse of Moses, so is omitted here.]

And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I, Eve, cried with a loud voice: "Pity me, O Lord, my Creator! For my sake Adam suffereth thus!"

And I said to Adam: "Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low." Then Adam spake to me: "I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee."

And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles and grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: "Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food."

And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel¹ praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the Lord said: "Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat bread, and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee."

The archangel Joel said to Adam: "Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife?" Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame;

¹ "Joel." Confusion with Jah-El.

and to give names to all things. Then indeed he took the oxen and began to plow.²

Then the devil approached and stood before the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field, and said to Adam: "Mine are the things of earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labor on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, pray go away to paradise." Adam said: "The things of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and paradise³ and the whole universe."

The devil said: "I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine." Adam replied: "Whosoever is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children." Then the devil was overcome with joy. But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot. The devil said: "Write me thy bond." And Adam wrote: "Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children."

Eve said to Adam, "Rise up, my lord, let us pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account."

But Adam said: "Eve, since thou repentest of thy misdeed, my heart will harken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days; perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life." I, for my part, said: "Do thou, my lord, fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four."

And Adam said to me: "Haste thee to the river named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth." And I said:

² "Plow." No extreme asceticism — corn regarded as a blessing — just as there is no disparagement of marriage.

³ Heretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagic). "Paradise" here is the *heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section compare Pauline phrase "bond servants of sin." It occurs in all Slavonic MSS. of "Solfenus" and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.

"O my lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God." And Adam said to me: "Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare." And Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even to the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent up prayers to Him.

And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, and they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big tear-drops, and said to me: "Come out of the water, Eve; God hath heard thy prayers and heard us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water."

But I perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam, when he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy and he took me and led me out of the water.

Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: "Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God."

[From here the book parallels the Apocalypse of Moses, chapter xxxii, and is like it almost to the end.]

OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE BOOKS OF ENOCH AND NOAH

*"And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things:
and no man shall see as I have seen."*

— THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

*"Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children
of men, and found no dwelling-place."*

— THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

*"I know a mystery,
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books."*

— THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

THE BOOKS OF ENOCH AND NOAH

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Book of Enoch is the most renowned, the longest, and certainly in some parts the most poetically elevated, of the Old Testament apocrypha. It exists for us to-day only in an Ethiopian version. But this is quite obviously translated from a Jewish work which must have been composed about a century before the Christian era. This Jewish work, moreover, was obviously compiled from still earlier books. In places these are joined so carelessly that they do not fit together at all, and it is thus easy to pick out sections which belong to at least two of the preceding books. These were a book of the Parables of Enoch, and a remarkable and ancient Book of Noah.

Enoch was the first of the great Genesis figures to follow Adam. He was the "friend of God," the man raised to immortality without going through the gates of death. Hence he was naturally selected by later ages as the authority to see visions and to make prophecies. There is another apocryphal book, called the "Secrets of Enoch," which touched upon the medieval "Kabbalah" and magic. Our present book also implies repeatedly that Enoch had a knowledge of many mighty secrets, of powers too dangerous to be revealed. Hence this book is an example of the apocrypha in that earliest Hebraic sense, where the word meant teaching not to be entrusted to the general world.

Br. Charles, our chief recent authority upon this book, says in referring to it: "It is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve to this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the Book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted conviction of one of this

literary circle. He looked forward (chapter CIV) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and would become to the righteous 'a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom.' This hope was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocryphal writings was very wide-spread, because they almost alone represented the advance of the higher theology in Judaism, which culminated in Christianity. . . . Some of its authors — and there were many — belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law, which claimed to be the highest and final message from God, could tolerate no fresh message from God, and so, when men were moved by the spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication."

The Book of Enoch has indeed had a remarkable history. While it was never admitted to the Jewish canon, it was well known to the Jews of Jesus' time. One of the Epistles of the New Testament refers to it as an authoritative work; and its phrasing is sometimes echoed in the other books of the New Testament. Later Christian writers referred to it frequently and with reverence. It was, however, condemned by the great Christian Fathers of the fourth century, and thus fell into disuse. Finally all Jewish and European copies of it disappeared, and through all the Middle Ages it was a lost book, known only by the references to it in the Scriptures and the early Fathers.

A century ago it was rediscovered in Africa by an English traveler in Abyssinia. Indeed so popular had it been in that country that nearly thirty MSS. of it have since been found there. They present what is probably a badly bat-

tered form of the original; but our scholars have been able to improve this by comparison with a few fragments of Greek and Latin MSS. since discovered. So that to-day the Book of Enoch is at least partly restored to its early form and its early fame. In the effort to make it clearer to the modern reader it has here been separated into its different parts, or fragments, and those parts which recent critics agree in regarding as belonging to the older Parables and the Book of Noah have been carefully pointed out.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART ONE

Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot

CHAPTER I

The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless are to be removed. And he took up his parable and said — Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, which the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come. Concerning the elect I said, and took up my parable concerning them:

The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,
And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, even on
Mount Sinai,
And appear from His camp
And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven
of heavens.

And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the
ends of the earth.

And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.

And the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgment upon all men.

But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall all be blessed.

And He will help them all,
And light shall appear unto them,
And He will make peace with them.

And behold! He cometh with ten thousand of His holy
Ones
To execute judgment upon all,
And to destroy all the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh
Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have
ungodly committed,
And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have
spoken against Him.

CHAPTER II

Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, and the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, how steadfast they are, how none of the things upon earth change, but all the works of God appear to you. Behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.

CHAPTER III

Observe and see how in winter all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except

fourteen trees, which, do not lose their foliage, but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

CHAPTER IV

And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing heat, and so you can not tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

CHAPTER V

Observe ye how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed and know with regard to all His works, and recognize how He that liveth forever hath made them so.

And all His works go on thus from year to year forever, and all the tasks which they accomplish for Him, and their tasks change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.

And behold the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and change not their tasks from His commandments.

But ye — ye have not been stedfast, nor done the
commandments of the Lord,

But ye have turned away and spoken proud and harsh
words

With your impure mouths against His greatness.

Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,

And the years of your destruction shall be multiplied in
eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.

In those days ye shall make your names an eternal
execration unto all the righteous,
And by you shall all who curse, curse,

And all the sinners and godless shall imprecate by you,
And for you, the godless, there shall be a curse.

And all the . . . shall rejoice,
And there shall be forgiveness of sins,
And every mercy and peace and forbearance:
There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,
But on you all shall abide a curse.
But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace,
And they shall inherit the earth.

And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride:
But they who are wise shall be humble.

And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of the divine anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their
life.

And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART TWO¹

CHIEFLY A FRAGMENT OF AN OLDER "BOOK OF NOAH"

The Fall of the Angels

CHAPTER VI

And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: "Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children."² And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: "I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin." And they all answered him and said: "Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing." Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Samiazaz, their leader, Arakiba, Rameel, Koka-biel, Tamiel, Ramiel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal, Asael,

¹ This section is abruptly introduced. Parts of it belong to a Semjaza cycle of myths. As he is chief and Azazel only tenth in command. Elsewhere in Enoch Azazel is chief and Semjaza is not mentioned. These myths, however, were already confused in their present form.

² The entire myth of the angels and the daughters of men in Enoch arises from Gen. vi. 1-4: "the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men." This refers not to alliances between Sethites and Cainites, but to an early Persian myth to the effect that before Zoroaster's coming demons had corrupted the earth and allied themselves with women.

Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaqiel, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel. These are their chiefs of tens.³

CHAPTER VII

And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

CHAPTER VIII

And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breast-plates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all coloring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjaza taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, 'Armaros the resolving of enchantments, Baraqijal taught astrology, Kokabiel the constellations, Ezeqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araqiel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven . . .

³The names of most of these angels have been corrupted so that the meaning of the names is doubtful. Those ending in El refer to God. Kokabiel is "star of God," Tamiel "perfection of God," Baraqijal "lightning of God," Turel "rock of God," Jomjael "day of God." Samsapeel is the old Babylonian Sun-god Shamash, and Sariel is the moon.

CHAPTER IX

And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. And they said one to another: "The earth made without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryings up to the gates of heaven. And now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their suit, saying, 'Bring our cause before the Most High.'" And they said to the Lord of the ages: "Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, and God of the ages, the throne of Thy glory standeth unto all the generations of the ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. Thou seest what Azazel hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were preserved in heaven, which men were striving to learn: And Semjaza, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended: and can not cease because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth. And thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these."

CHAPTER X

Then said the Most High, the Holy and the Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech, and said to him: "Go to Noah and tell him in my name 'Hide thyself!' and

reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world." And again the Lord said to Raphael: "Bind Azazel⁴ hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there forever, and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the day of the great judgment he shall be cast into the fire. And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the 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." And to Gabriel said the Lord: "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication: and destroy the children of fornication and the children of the Watchers from amongst men: and cause them to go forth: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (*i.e.*, their fathers) make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years." And the Lord said unto Michael: "Go, bind Semjaza and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have

⁴Azazel as the chief offender and leader is first punished (in verse 11, Semjaza), by imprisonment now, and finally by fire. He is conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scapegoat was led. The Jerusalem Targum on Leviticus says that the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, *i.e.*, Beth Chadure or Beth Chaduda. This Beth Chaduda (the "Dudael" of this verse) was a definite locality near Jerusalem. Observe that Azazel is punished in a place by himself; and also that in the Noah sections this place is in the valleys of the earth, but in the genuine Enoch beyond the earth.

slain one another and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgment and of their consummation, till the judgment that is forever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined forever. And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: and it shall prove a blessing; the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

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

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 they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure of it shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth. And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send them upon it from generation to generation and forever.

CHAPTER XI

And in those days I will open the store-chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth over the work and labor of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART THREE

*Dream-Vision of Enoch*⁵

CHAPTER XII

Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.

And I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me — Enoch the scribe — and said to me: "Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, declare to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves wives: 'Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin: and inasmuch as they delight themselves in their children, the murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over the destruction of their children shall they lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain.' "

⁵The visions are only preserved in fragments and are out of order. As Enoch can still intercede for the fallen Watchers their doom in chapter x is not yet carried out. The original order was: Enoch was asked to intercede for Azazel (lost), vision (lost), answer in chapter xiii; then to intercede for the Watchers. This second vision is given at length, with God's revelation about the Watchers' first estate, sin, and doom. The closing message of doom for the Watchers in chapter xvi is a duplicate of chapter xii, which seems more original. This repetition is very Semitic. Note that here in this Enoch section a man intercedes for angels: in the Noah section angels intercede for men (ix), but not for angels.

CHAPTER XIII

And Enoch, went and said: "Azazel, thou shalt have no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth against thee to put thee in bonds: And thou shalt not have toleration nor request granted to thee, because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men." Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven. For from thenceforward they could not speak with Him nor lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should have forgiveness and length. And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon: I read their petition till I fell asleep. , And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of chastisement, and a voice came bidding me to tell it to the sons of heaven and reprimand them. And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in 'Abelsjail, which is between Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered. And I recounted before them all the vision which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

CHAPTER XIV

The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to converse therewith and understand with the heart.

As He has created and given to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus that your petition will not be granted unto you throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgment has been finally passed upon you: yea, your petition will not be granted unto you. And from henceforth you shall not ascend unto heaven unto all eternity, and in bonds of the earth the decree has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. And that previously you shall have seen the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own: even though you weep and pray and speak all the words contained in the writing which I have written. And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor made of crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was clear as water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. And as I quaked and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it so excelled in splendor and magnificence and extent that I can

not describe to you its splendor and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, yet He needed no counselor. And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: "Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word." And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downward.

CHAPTER XV

And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: "Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice. And go, say to the Watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them: 'You should intercede for men, and not men for you: Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants as your sons? And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten children with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those also do who die and perish. Therefore have I given them

wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling. And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling.⁶ Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men and from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called. As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling. And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offenses. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them.

CHAPTER XVI

"From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giants, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgment — thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgment in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated.' And now as to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been aforetime in heaven, say to them: 'You have been in heaven, but all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your

⁶The forbidden union of angels and the daughters of men gives rise to a monstrous race of giants, with spiritual powers and earthly desires. So from these giants when they die will proceed evil spirits, *i.e.*, demons, living on earth. Moreover, these demons will not be restrained as the fallen angels are, nor slain like the mortal bodies of the giants.

hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth.'

"Say to them therefore: 'You have no peace.' "

Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol

*The First Journey*⁷

CHAPTER XVII

And they took and brought me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and, when they wished, they appeared as men. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries and the treasures of the stars and of the thunder, and in the uttermost depths, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, and a fiery sword and all the lightnings. And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which received every setting of the sun. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea toward the west. I saw the great rivers and came to the great river and to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

CHAPTER XVIII

I saw the treasures of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which bear the earth and the firmament of the heaven. And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven, and have their station between

⁷ These chapters are foreign to the rest. They are full of Greek elements, e.g., Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus; the Ocean Stream; Hades in the West. Again chapter xix. contradicts chapters x. and xiv. How could the imprisoned angels (xv.-xvi.) assume many forms and seduce men to sacrifice to the demons? Still these chapters do belong to the Enoch tradition.

heaven and earth: these are the pillars of the heaven. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw the paths of the angels. I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. And I proceeded and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones, three toward the east, and three toward the south. And as for those toward the east, one was of colored stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth, and those toward the south of red stone. But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains is a region the end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns of heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike toward the height and toward the depth. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains, and to me, when I inquired regarding them, the angel said: "This place is the end of heaven and earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. And He was wroth with them, and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated even for ten thousand years."

CHAPTER XIX⁸

And Uriel said to me: "Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women, and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and

⁸ This chapter disagrees with xv.-xvi., as here the spirits of the fallen angels are free to seduce men to sacrifice to demons. In fact the fallen

shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods, here shall they stand, till the day of the great judgment in which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens." And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

CHAPTER XX

And these are the names of the holy angels who watch: Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world and over Tartarus; Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men; Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries; Michael, one of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind and over chaos; Saraqael, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit; Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim; Remiel, one of the holy angels whom God set over those who rise.

The Second Journey of Enoch

CHAPTER XXI

And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then I said: "For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?" Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: "Enoch, why dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars of heaven which have transgressed the commandment of the

angels here have the function of tempting men which is elsewhere assigned to the demons. The women too become female demons here. If, however, xix. belongs to x.-xvi., then xix. is defective. "Their spirits" should be followed by "of the giants," which would be an Aramaic idiom likely to be misunderstood by a Greek translator.

Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated." And from thence I went to another place,⁹ which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: "How fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!" Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: "Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?" And I answered: "Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain." And he said unto me: "This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned forever."

CHAPTER XXII¹⁰

And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west another great and high mountain and of hard rock.

And there were in it four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. How smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at!

Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: "These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgment and till their appointed period, till the great judgment comes upon them."

I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead,

⁹ "Another place." Apparently the final prison of the angels here is the abyss of chapter xviii, which was below the waste place, where the seven stars are bound already.

¹⁰ This chapter contains a very detailed account of Sheol, or Hades. The writer places it in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails. This is the earliest statement of the Pharisaic or Chasid doctrine of Sheol, but here it is already full-grown. The departed have conscious existence; and moral, not social, distinctions are observed in Sheol.

and their voice went forth to heaven and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: "This spirit — whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?"

And he answered me saying: "This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men."

Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the hollow places: "Why is one separated from the other?"

And he answered me and said unto me: "These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated.¹¹ And such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And such has been made for sinners¹² when they die and are buried in the earth and judgment has not been executed on them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgment and punishment and torment of those who curse forever and retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them forever. And such a division has been made¹³ for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain¹⁴ in the day of judgment nor shall they be raised¹⁵ from thence."

¹¹ The first division is for the souls of the righteous, whether martyred or not. Thus good and ill fortune in life do not continue after death. "The bright spring" seems to refer to an existing tradition.

¹² The second division is for those sinners who lived prosperously and attained to honorable burial, having escaped punishment in life.

¹³ The third division is for the sinners who suffered in their life and therefore incur less penalty in Sheol. The suffering unrighteous cry to God for vengeance.

¹⁴ "Their spirits shall not be slain." There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty seems to be "the slaying of the spirit," but even this did not imply annihilation.

¹⁵ "shall they be raised." The sinners in the second division will

Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: "Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth forever."¹⁶

CHAPTER XXIII

From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth.¹⁷ And I saw a burning fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but ran regularly. And I asked, saying: "What is this which rests not?" Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said unto me: "This course of fire which thou hast seen is the fire in the west which persecutes all the luminaries of heaven."

The Seven Mountains in the Northwest and the Tree of Life

CHAPTER XXIV

And from thence I went to another place of the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burnt day and night. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones thereof were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: three toward the east, one founded on the other, and three toward the south, one upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And among them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any among them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not forever: and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm.

rise, but only for a severer condemnation. Is the Resurrection here general, or only for Israel? If general, this declaration- is unique in pre-Christian Jewish Apocrypha.

¹⁶ After each fresh revelation Enoch generally bursts forth into a doxology.

¹⁷ Enoch is still in the west, but proceeds to another quarter in it, where there is a restless river of fire.

Then I said: "How beautiful is tins tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance." Then answered Michael, one of the holy and honored angels who was with me, and was their leader.¹⁸

CHAPTER XXV

And he said unto me: "Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree, and why dost thou wish to learn the truth?" Then I answered him, saying: "I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree." And he answered, saying: "This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree¹⁹ no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgment, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring everything to its consummation forever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

"Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad,
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:

"And in their days shall no sorrow or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them."

Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

¹⁸ Michael, Israel's patron angel, is in charge of these treasures of the Messianic Kingdom. From chapter xx., we should expect Gabriel here.

¹⁹ This is the tree of life. After the final judgment men by eating of it will be endowed with a long life — not eternal life. This materialistic conception of the tree of life, based on Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22, appears later.

Jerusalem and the Accursed Valley

CHAPTER XXVI

And I went from thence to the middle of the earth,²⁰ and I saw a blessed place in which there were trees with branches abiding and blooming of a dismembered tree. And there I saw a holy mountain,²¹ and underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed toward the south. And I saw toward the east another mountain²² higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow ravine: in it also ran a stream underneath the mountain. And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine deep and dry between them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three mountains.²³ And all the ravines were deep and narrow, being formed of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon them. And I marveled at the rocks, and I marveled at the ravine, yea, I marveled very much.

CHAPTER XXVII

Then said I: "For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this accursed valley between?" Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said:

"This accursed valley is for those who are accursed forever: here shall all the accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

"Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgment. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgment in the presence of the righteous forever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

²⁰ "The middle of the earth"— Jerusalem. In Jubilees, viii. 12, 19, it is called the earth's navel, as Delphi was among the Greeks.

²¹ "A holy mountain," Zion, and the brook of Siloah.

²² "Another mountain," the Mount of Olives.

²³ "A ravine," *i. e.*, the valley of Hinnom.

"In the days of judgment over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them their lot." Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His glory and lauded Him gloriously.

A Further Journey to the East

CHAPTER XXVIII

And thence I went toward the east, into the midst of the mountain range of the desert, and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants.²⁴ And water gushed forth from above. Rushing like a copious watercourse which flowed toward the northwest it caused clouds and dew to ascend on every side.

CHAPTER XXIX

And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range. And there I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond-tree.

CHAPTER XXX

And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley full of water. And therein there was a tree, the color of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

CHAPTER XXXI

And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were groves of trees, and there flowed forth from them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain to the east of the ends of the earth, whereon were aloë-trees, and all the trees were full of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odor.

²⁴ The wilderness between Jerusalem and the Jordan, according to Ezek. xlvi. 8, 12, was one day to be well watered and covered with trees.

CHAPTER XXXII

And after these fragrant odors, as I looked toward the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

And thence I went over the summits of all these mountains, far toward the east of the earth,²⁵ and passed above the Erythraean²⁸ sea and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel.²⁷

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there and of goodly fragrance, large, very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.

That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are like those of the Carob tree: and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then I said: "How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!" Then Raphael, the holy angel who was with me, answered me and said: "This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old in years and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden."

CHAPTER XXXIII

And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and I saw birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the

²⁵ The earthly Garden of Eden and the Tree of Knowledge.

²⁶ "Erythraean sea." The Persian and Indian Oceans.

²⁷ "Zotiel." Seemingly the angel who guarded the entrance to paradise.

stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

The Journey to the North

CHAPTER XXXIV

And from thence I went toward the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there are cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.

CHAPTER XXXV

And from thence I went toward the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the east, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

The Journey to the South

CHAPTER XXXVI

And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, and wind. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals above them. Through each of these small portals pass the

stars of heaven and run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to the spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him forever.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART FOUR

THE PARABLES

CHAPTER XXXVII

The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom — which Enoch the son of Jared,²⁸ the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare them only to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom. Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

*The First Parable.*²⁹ *The Coming Judgment of the Wicked*

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The first Parable.

When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth:

²⁸ This genealogy helps to show that the Parables form an independent work.

²⁹ "Parable" is used here in its earlier meaning, not necessarily a story, but any imaginative discourse, as a vision.

And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes
of the righteous,
Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who
dwell on the earth,

Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the
Lord of Spirits?
It had been good for them if they had not been born.

When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the
sinners judged,
And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous
and elect,
From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer
be powerful and exalted:

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits has caused His light to appear
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

Then shall the kings and the mighty³⁰ perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy
from the Lord of Spirits,
For their life is at an end.

CHAPTER XXXIX

And it shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy
children will descend from the high heaven, and their seed

³⁰ "The kings and the mighty." They are the Jewish native rulers and the Sadducees, for they have denied the Lord and His Anointed (xlviii.), and a heavenly world (xlv.), they have persecuted the houses of His congregations and the faithful. Only xlv. seems to point to heathen rulers "their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands," but this may refer only to the heathen or Sadducean attitude of the Maccabean princes, *e.g.*, John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and above all Alexander Jannaeus.

will become one with the children of men. And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.³¹

And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits,
And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.

And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.

Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.

And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,

And mercy like dew upon the earth:
Thus it is amongst them forever and ever.

And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him forever and ever.

And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be strong as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing.

³¹ This is obviously interpolated. It seems to be a fragment of the older book of Enoch.

And, their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
And uprightness shall never fail before Him.
There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place:

And their mouth shall be full of blessing.
For so has it been established concerning me before the
Lord of Spirits.

In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is forever and what will be from generation unto generation. Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits.'" And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord forever and ever." And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

CHAPTER XL

And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learned their names: for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory. The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits forever and ever. And the second

voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits. And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: "Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?" And he said to me: "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering; and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel." And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

CHAPTER XLI

And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and

whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit, and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name forever and ever. And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night — the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

And they give thanks and praise and rest not;
 For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.
 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
 And the course of the path of the moon is light to the
 righteous
 And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,
 Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
 And divided the spirits of men,
 And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
 In the name of His righteousness.

For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.³²

CHAPTER XLII

Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;³³
 Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.
 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the chil-
 dren of men,
 And found no dwelling-place:

³² The judge appointed is the Messiah. Read this verse directly after chapter xli.

³³ A fragment out of connection with its present context. Where it should come, I do not know. A favorite theme — the praise of wisdom.

Wisdom returned to her place,
And took her seat among the angels.

The unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,³⁴

As rain in a desert
And dew on a thirsty land.

CHAPTER XLIII

And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they harkened unto Him. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light,³⁵ I saw the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and I saw their revolution according to the number of the angels, and how they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden: "What are these?" And he said to me: "The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (literally "their parable"): these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever."

CHAPTER XXIV

Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and can not part with their new form.³⁶

³⁴ The wicked refused Wisdom when she came; they welcomed Unrighteousness when she sought them not.

³⁵ This passage shows the interest felt by the wise in Israel in ethical and cosmic questions at once. Compare Job, Sirach, and Wisdom. But these sections on natural phenomena frequently disturb the context in this work.

³⁶ Shooting stars.

The Second Parable. The New Heaven and the New Earth

CHAPTER XLV

And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:

Such shall be the lot of the sinners
Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.

And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name:
Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.³⁷

And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light:
And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing:

And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it:
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones
And have caused them to dwell before Me:

But for the sinners there is judgment impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

³⁷ After the judgment, the Messianic Kingdom is set up in a transformed heaven (chapter xlv.) and earth (chapters xli. and xlv), with angels and men as members. Isa. lxxv. 17 and lxxvi. 22 have the idea, but without the logical consequence of a blessed immortality, as in Enoch.

The Head of Days and the Son of Man

CHAPTER XLVI

And there I saw One who had a head of days,³⁸
 And His head was white like wool,
 And with Him was another being whose countenance had
 the appearance of a man,
 And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the
 holy angels.

And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me
 all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he
 was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of
 Days? And he answered and said unto me:³⁹

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
 With whom dwelleth righteousness,
 And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is
 hidden,

Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
 And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of
 Spirits in uprightness forever.

And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
 Shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats,
 And the strong from their thrones,

And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
 And break the teeth of the sinners.

³⁸ Here and in the following chapters Dan. vii. has been drawn upon. The title, "Head of Days," *i.e.*, "The Everlasting," occurs in chapters xlvi., xlvii., xlviii., and in the Interpolations, chapters lv., lx., and lxxi., but not so appropriately.

³⁹ The Messiah in the Parables is (1) Judge of the world, (2) Revealer of all things, (3) Champion and Ruler of the righteous. As (1) Judge he has righteousness, wisdom, and power. As (2) Revealer He will bring to light the invisible worlds of righteousness and sin, and raise the dead, and judge all. As (3) Champion he upholds, vindicates, and rewards the righteous.

And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and
kingdoms

Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was be-
stowed upon them.

And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.

And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,

And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

And these axe they who judge the stars of heaven,
And raise their hands against the Most High,
And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it.

And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,

And their faith is in the gods which they have made with
their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,

And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord
of Spirits.

CHAPTER XLVII

And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the
righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the
Lord of Spirits.

In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the
heavens
Shall unite with one voice

And supplicate and pray and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been
shed,

And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain
before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgment may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer forever.

In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated
himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:⁴⁰
And all His host which is in heaven above and His coun-
selors stood before Him,
And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;

Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the
Lord of Spirits.

CHAPTER XLVIII

And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:

And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy
and elect.

And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.

⁴⁰ "Books of the living." These are the registers of actual Israelite citizens, with a right to the *temporal* blessings of the chosen people. In Dan. xii. 1, they refer to an immortality of blessedness. There were also books recording good and evil deeds.

Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay them-
selves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before
him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the
Lord of Spirits.

And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before
Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.

And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him
to the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,

Because they have hated and despised this world of
unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the
Lord of Spirits:

For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard
to their life.

In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings
of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works
of their hands,

For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall
not be able to save themselves.

And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:
 As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of
 the holy:
 As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of
 the righteous,
 And no trace of them shall any more be found.

And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on
 the earth,
 And before them they shall fall and not rise again:

And there shall be no one to take them with his hands
 and raise them:

For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His
 Anointed.

The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

The Power and Wisdom of the Messiah

CHAPTER XLIX

For wisdom is poured out like water,
 And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
 And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
 And have no continuance;
 Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
 And his glory is forever and ever,
 And his might unto all generations.

And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
 And the spirit which gives insight,
 And the spirit of understanding and of might,
 And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in right-
 eousness.

And he shall judge the secret things.
 And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
 For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits accord-
 ing to His good pleasure.

The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous

CHAPTER L

And in those days a change shall take place for the holy
and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honor shall turn to the holy,
On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been
treasured up against the sinners.

And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the
Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness this
That they may repent
And forego the works of their hands.

They shall have no honor through the name of the Lord
of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.

And He is righteous also in His judgment,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also
shall not maintain itself:
At His judgment the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith
the Lord of Spirits.

CHAPTER LI

And in those days shall the earth also give back that
which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.⁴¹

⁴¹ There are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection. (1) All Israelites are to rise. (2) All righteous Israelites. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise. Some Jews be-

For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among
 them:

For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.

And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,
 And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom
 and counsel:

For the Lord of Spirits hath given them to him and hath
 glorified him.

And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
 And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
 And the faces of all the angels in heaven shall be lighted
 up with joy.

And the earth shall rejoice,
 And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
 And the elect shall walk thereon.

A Vision of Secret Things

CHAPTER LII

And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden — for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me toward the west — there mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.⁴² And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, "What things are these

lied the soul was immortal, but the body would not rise. The earth gives up the body just as Sheol and Abaddon give up the soul. They are both reunited at the Resurrection that they may be judged together.

⁴²The mountains and the metals symbolize the future kingdoms of the world. In Dan. ii. 31-45 the metals have this meaning, but the mountain is the Messianic kingdom. This chapter, however, seems to contain two independent documents. In the opening verses the mountains serve to exalt the Messiah's dominion, in later verses they are destroyed before his presence.

which I have seen in secret?" And he said unto me: "All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth."

And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: "Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.

And these mountains which thine eyes have seen,
The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and
the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal,
and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above upon
those mountains.
And they shall become powerless before his feet.

And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall
be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.

And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breast-plate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin shall be of no service and shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.

And all these things shall be denied and destroyed from
the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the
Lord of Spirits."

CHAPTER LIII

There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring

to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.⁴³

And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the
 Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish forever and ever.

For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding there and preparing all the instruments of Satan. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: "For whom are they preparing these instruments?" And he said unto me: "They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.

"And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

"And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before
 his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of
 sinners."

CHAPTER LIV

And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire.⁴⁴ And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley. And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me,

⁴³ The valley of Jehoshaphat, where God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles (Joel iii. 2, 12). The Midrash holds that God will judge the whole world in this valley. Though usually identified with the Kidron, the valley originally had no locality assigned to it.

⁴⁴ The writer passes from the valley of judgment and the fetters still in making to the valley of Gehenna where the kings are cast. The fallen angels and the kings are mentioned together as in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

saying: "For whom are these chains being prepared?" And he said unto me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.

"And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subjects to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth."

A Booh of Noah. Fragment on the First World Judgment

And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And when they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.

CHAPTER LV

And after that the Head of Days repented and said: "In vain have I destroyed all who dwell on the earth." And He sware by His great name: "Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them forever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

Final Judgment of Azazel, the Watchers, and Their Children

"When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain because of

this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith God, the Lord of Spirits. Ye mighty kings who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azazel, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits."

CHAPTER LVI

And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "To whom are these who hold the scourges going?" And he said unto me: "To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.

"And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,

And the days of their lives shall be at an end,

And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

Last Struggle of the Heathen Powers against Israel

"And in those days the angels shall return

And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes:⁴⁵

"They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,

And they shall rouse them from their thrones,

⁴⁵ Another section from the "Elect One" source, which depicts the last struggle of the heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom set up in Jerusalem, and would suit chapters lxxxiii-xc or xci-civ, but not chapters xxxvii-lxix, where we have a superhuman Messiah with universal dominion, legions of angels, and the immediate presence of the Almighty, destroying all his enemies with the breath of his mouth. Not only is there a break in the context here, but the Parables deal only in general terms and avoid names and clear indications of date. Not Jerusalem, as here, but a new heaven and earth will be the seat of the kingdom. The date seems clear. The Syrians ceased to be formidable after 100 B.C.: while the Romans are not referred to here. Thus the "Elect One" source, if this section belongs to it, may be fixed as written between 100-64 B.C.

"That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.

"And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of
His elect ones,
And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a
threshing-floor and a highway:
But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their
horses.

"And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,

"And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,

"Till there be no number of the corpses through their
slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.

"In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,

"And their destruction shall be at an end;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect."

CHAPTER LVII

And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

The Third Parable. The Blessedness of the Saints

CHAPTER LVIII

And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the
righteous and elect.

Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
For glorious shall be your lot.

And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
And the elect in the light of eternal life:
The days of their life shall be unending,
And the days of the holy without number.

And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with
the Lords of Spirits:
There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the
Eternal Lord.

And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the
heritage of faith:
For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
And the darkness is past.

And there shall be a light that never endeth,
And to a limit (literally "number") of days they shall
not come,
For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
And the light established before the Lord of Spirits,
And the light of uprightiness established forever before
the Lord of Spirits.

CHAPTER LIX⁴⁶

In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings,
and of the lights, and the judgments they execute (literally,

⁴⁶The third Parable begins. Much seems to have been lost, to make room for the Noachic fragments. As it stands, it embraces chapters

"their judgment"): and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgments executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits. And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.

lviii, lxi-lxiv, and the close of Ixix. The main theme is the final judgment by the Son of Man, especially over the great ones, and the ensuing bliss of the righteous.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH .

PART FIVE

CHIEFLY FRAGMENTS FROM SOME OLDER BOOKS OF NOAH, BUT
CONTINUING THE THIRD PARABLE OF ENOCH

Behemoth and Leviathan

CHAPTER LX

In the year 500,⁴⁷ in the seventh month,⁴⁸ on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch. In that Parable⁴⁹ I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.

And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven. And Michael said unto me: "Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy;

⁴⁷ "The year 500." This date is drawn from Gen. v. 32, and is a date in the life of Noah, not of Enoch; so for "Enoch" read "Noah."

⁴⁸ "In the seventh month," etc., the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles according to the Levitical Law.

⁴⁹ "In that Parable," unsuitable to the words "I saw," and so no doubt inserted by the interpolator. Head "in that vision."

and He hath been merciful and long-suffering toward those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgment come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgment, and for those who take His name in vain — that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

"When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterward the judgment shall take place according to His mercy and His patience."

And on that day⁵⁰ were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up,⁵¹ the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. And he said to me: "Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden."

And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven.

⁵⁰ A fragment dealing with Creation myths. This strange fancy about Behemoth and Leviathan occurs first in Job xl., xli., but Jewish ex-pounders find it also in Gen. i. 21; Ps. 1. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1.

⁵¹ Whether the earthly or the heavenly garden, it is empty in chapter xxxii., and the righteous are dead in the West, chapter xxii.; it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch's and Noah's times, of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, of Enoch and Elijah in Elijah's time, of Enoch in chapter lxx., and here. This passage and the LXX are the oldest witnesses for the translation of Enoch into Paradise.

And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and how the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions are divided. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey. For the thunder has places of rest which are assigned to it while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and though not one and undivided, they both go together through the spirit and separate not. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth. And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength — there is a special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is glorious both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel. And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is dif-

fused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on the earth . . . For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels take it in charge. And these things I saw toward the Garden of the Righteous. And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: "These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed . . ." ⁵²

The Judgment of the Righteous

CHAPTER LXI

And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went toward the north.

And I asked the angel, saying unto him: "Why have those angels taken these cords and gone off?" And he said unto me: "They have gone to measure."

And the angel who went with me said unto me:
 "These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
 And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
 That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord
 of Spirits forever and ever.

"The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
 And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
 And which shall strengthen righteousness.

"And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the
 depths of the earth,
 And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
 And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
 And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,

⁵² The true text of the Parables is resumed, but the opening verses are difficult.

"That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.

"And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

"And that one with the first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

"And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory.
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.

"And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgment of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.

"And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth and over the water on that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgment and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: 'Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed forever and ever.'

"All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him,
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

"And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify,
and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy
name forever and ever.

"For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He
is long-suffering,
And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect
In the name of the Lord of Spirits."

CHAPTER LXII

And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty
and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and
said:

"Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to
recognize the Elect One."

And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His
glory,

And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,

And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,

And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the
mighty,

And the exalted and those who hold the earth,

And they shall see and recognize

How he sits on the throne of his glory,

And righteousness is judged before him,

And no lying word is spoken before him.

Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,

And she has pain in bringing forth;

When her child enters the mouth of the womb,

And she has pain in bringing forth.

And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the
earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over
all, who was hidden.

For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His
 might,
And revealed him to the elect.

And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those
 who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

Nevertheless that Lord of Spirit will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed
 His children and his elect.
And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His
 elect:
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon
 them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
 And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the
 sinners and unrighteous.

And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
 And with that Son of Man shall they eat
 And lie down and rise up forever and ever.

And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the
 earth,
 And ceased to be of downcast countenance.

And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of
 Spirits:
 And your garments shall not grow old,
 Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

CHAPTER LXIII

In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess
 the earth implore Him to grant them a little respite from
 His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that
 they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits,
 and confess their sins before Him. And they shall bless
 and glorify the Lord of Spirits and say:

"Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
 And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
 And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,
 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from
 generation to generation,
 And Thy glory forever and ever:

"Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
 And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.

"We have now learnt that we should glorify
 And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all
 kings."

And they shall say:

"Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory!

"And now we long for a little rest but find it not:
We follow hard upon and obtain it not:

"And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place forever and ever:

"For we have not believed before Him
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, nor glorified
our Lord,

"But our hope was in the scepter of our kingdom,
And in our glory.

"And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves
us not,
And we find no respite for confession

"That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His
judgments and His justice,
And His judgments have no respect of persons.

"And we pass away from before His face on account of
our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness."

Now they shall say unto themselves: "Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the burden of Sheol."⁵³

⁵³ "Sheol." (1) The oldest view of Sheol occurs in, *e.g.*, Job xxx. 23; Numb. xvi. 30. It is the place appointed for all living, is beneath the earth, and is the land of destruction, forgetfulness, and silence. The individual does exist, but without joy or contact with God or man. Good and bad fare alike, but the family, and national and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced. Compare the Homeric Hades.

And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
 And shame before that son of Man,
 And they shall be driven from his presence,
 And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: "This is the ordinance and judgment with respect to the mighty and the kings, and the exalted, and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits."

CHAPTER LXIV⁵⁴

And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angels, saying: "These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin."

*Enoch Foretells to Noah the Deluge*⁵⁵

CHAPTER XXV

And in those days Noah⁵⁶ saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth,⁵⁷ and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch: and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: "Hear me, hear me, hear me." And I said unto him: "Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and

(2) In the second century B.C. the doctrine of future retribution and the Resurrection altered the conception to that of a place of reward, and also that of an intermediate state (chapter li.). (3) Owing to the Resurrection being limited to the righteous, Sheol came to mean hell, or Gehenna, as the preliminary or permanent abode of wicked souls (chapters xiii. and xcix.). See Charles, "The Doctrine of a Future Life."

⁵⁴ A digression on the fallen angels, judged in the second Parable. It is out of the context here.

⁵⁵ Note that the vision is Noah's. It opens with a sinking of the earth here as with a quaking of the heavens in chapter lx.

⁵⁶ "Noah." "I Noah" and so in first person for the following verses, as it is clearly Noah who speaks.

⁵⁷ "The ends of the earth," *i.e.*, where the entrance to heaven is.

shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?" And thereupon there was a great commotion on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch, my grandfather, came and stood by me, and said unto me: "Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?"

"And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers — the most secret ones — and all the power of those who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent." And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: "Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. And He said unto me: 'Because of their unrighteousness their judgment has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by Me forever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learned, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.' And these — they have no place of repentance forever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

"And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the
earth,
And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship
and for great honors.
And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous
and holy without number forever."

CHAPTER LXVI

And after that he showed me the angels of punishment, who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth, in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who abide and dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise, but should hold them in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

*God's Promise to Noah*⁵⁸

CHAPTER LXVII

And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: "Noah, thy lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. And now the angels are making a wooden building, and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitant. And I will make fast thy seed before me forever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be unfruitful on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord."

And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal

⁵⁸ This section deals with the fallen angels' punishment. Characteristic features of the second judgment are here transferred to the first, and localities distinct in the parables are here confused, *e.g.*, the burning valley of Gehenna is placed among the metal mountains (chapter lxvii.), while in chapter liv. it is in "another part of the earth."

The Deluge and the judgment of the fallen angels are mentioned together here as in chapter x., but here (1) the prison is the burning valley (*i.e.*, the Gehenna of chapter liv., though there it is a furnace of fire that receives the angels), and (2) this is the preliminary prison, not the final.

and tin. And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray mankind burned beneath that land. And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit forever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. For the judgment shall come upon them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend this water of the springs shall change and become cold. And I heard Michael answering and saying: "This judgment wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth." Because these waters of judgment minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns forever.

CHAPTER LXVIII

And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables. And on that day Michael

answered Raphael and said: "The power of the spirit transports and makes me to tremble because of the severity of the judgment of the secrets, the judgment of the angels: who can endure the severe judgment which has been executed, and before which they melt away?" And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: "Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgment that has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?" And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: "I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them forever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion in it, but alone they have received their judgment forever and ever."

*The Names and Functions of the Fallen Angels and Satans:
the Secret Oath*

CHAPTER LXIX

And after this judgment they shall terrify and make them to tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

And behold the names of those angels, and these are their names: the first of them is Samjaza, the second Artaqifa, and the third Armen, the fourth Kokabel, the fifth Turael, the sixth Rumjal, the seventh Danjal, the eighth Neqael, the ninth Baraqel, the tenth Azazel, the eleventh Armaros, the twelfth Batarjal, the thirteenth Busasejal, the fourteenth Hanamel, the fifteenth Turel, the sixteenth Simapesiel, the seventeenth Jetrel, the eighteenth Tumael, the nineteenth Turel, the twentieth Rumael, and the twenty-first Azazel. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ In the Parables the Satans and the fallen angels are distinguished.

The name of the first Jecon: that is, the one who led astray all the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeel: he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gadreel: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed the weapons of death to the sons of men, the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Penemue: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink.⁶⁰ For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power it is consuming me. And the fifth was named Kasdeja: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smittings of spirits and demons, and the smittings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and the smittings of the soul, the bites of the serpent, and the smittings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Taba'et. And this is the task of Kasbeel, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqu. This angel requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those

The latter fell in the days of Jared in chapters i.-xxxvi. and xci.-civ. Here, however, the functions of the two are confused.

⁶⁰The art of writing is offered as a proof of the degeneracy of the human race. Word of mouth should be sufficient pledge for the righteous.

might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akae in the hand of Michael.

And these are the secrets of this oath . . .⁶¹

And they are strong through his oath:

And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,
And forever.

And through it the earth was founded upon the water,
And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.

And through that oath the sea was created,
And as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of its anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

And through that oath are the depths made fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.
And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

And through that oath the stars complete their course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and their paths from all the quarters of the winds. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings: and there are pre-

⁶¹ Here the book is blank.

served the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify Him with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever.⁶²

And this oath is mighty over them,
 And through it they are preserved and their paths are
 preserved,
 And their course is not destroyed.

Close of the Third Parable

And there was great joy amongst them,
 And they blessed and glorified and extolled
 Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed
 unto them.

And he sat on the throne of his glory,
 And the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man,
 And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed
 from off the face of the earth,
 And those who have led the world astray.

With chains shall they be bound,
 And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be
 imprisoned,
 And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible;

For that Son of Man has appeared,
 And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
 And all evil shall pass away before his face,
 And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
 And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

This is the third Parable of Enoch.

⁶² An interpolation.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART SIX

THE FINAL TRANSLATION OF ENOCH

CHAPTER LXX

And it came to pass⁶³ after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them: and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

CHAPTER LXXI

And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
 And it ascended into the heavens:
 And I saw the holy sons of God.

They were stepping on flames of fire:
 Their garments were white and their raiment,
 And their faces shone like snow.

And I saw two streams of fire,
 And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
 And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, seized me by
 my right hand,
 And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
 And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

⁶³ The writer awkwardly makes Enoch describe his own translation. Otherwise this section is in keeping with the Parables.

And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the
luminaries,
Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
And between those crystals tongues of living fire.

And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
And on its four sides were streams of living fire,
And they girt that house.

And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin:
And these are they who sleep not
And guard the throne of His glory.

And I saw angels who could not be counted,
A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten
thousand,
Encircling that house.

And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
Go in and out of that house.

And they came forth from that house,
And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel,
And many holy angels without number.

And with them the Head of Days,
His head white and pure as wool,
And His raiment indescribable.

And I fell on my face,
And my whole body became relaxed,
And my spirit was transfigured;

And I cried with a loud voice,
. . . with the spirit of power,
And blessed and glorified and extolled.

And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in chapter xlvi.) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

And he (*i.e.*, the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me:
 "This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness,
 And righteousness abides over him,
 And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not."

And he said unto me:
 "He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come;
 For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
 And so shall it be unto thee forever and forever and ever.

"And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh him:
 With him will be their dwelling-places, and with him their heritage,
 And they shall not be separated from him forever and ever and ever.

"And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
 And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way
 In the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever."

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART SEVEN

THE BOOK OF THE HEAVENLY LUMINAEIES

CHAPTER LXXII

The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me; and he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity. And this is the first law of the luminaries:⁶⁴ the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven and its setting in the western portals of heaven. And I saw six portals⁶⁵ in which the sun rises, and six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals. And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north

⁶⁴ Here begins an account of the sun in its progress through the signs of the zodiac, and the resultant increase and decrease of the days and nights.

⁶⁵ "Portals," See Babylonian "Creation Epos." Compare chapters xxxiii.-xxxvi. for portals of winds and stars. In chapters lxxii.-lxxxii., sun, moon, and stars pass through the same portals, but in chapters xxxiii.-xxxvi. the stars' portals are small, while in chapter lxxii. one of the sun's portals is called "great."

in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (literally, "that") portal and shines in the face of the heaven. In this way he rises in the first month⁶⁶ in the great portal, which is the fourth (those six portals in the east). And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty⁶⁷ mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal. And then the day becomes longer by two parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part,

⁶⁶ "The first month," of the Hebrews, *i.e.*, Abib (Exod. xiii. 4), the time of the spring equinox. It began the ecclesiastical year and corresponds to our April.

⁶⁷ The author replaces the heathen signs of the zodiac by portals. (Compare the "chamber" of Ps. xix. 5). Though well aware of a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, he reckons it as consisting of 364 days, or 52 sabbaths of days. Thus he has eight months of 30 days, and four of 31 days each, the extra day in the latter being "on account of the sign," *i.e.*, that of the equinoxes or solstices. Compare chapter lxxii. The division into eighteen parts of the day suits northern Asia at a latitude of 49° .

and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven. And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. On that day the day decreases by two parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. On that day the day is equalized with the night and becomes of equal length, and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets in the second portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six. And the sun has therewith traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a ninth part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. And the sun has returned and entered into the second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting. And on that day the night de-

creases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven. On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise — through the course of the sun these distinctions are made (literally, "they are separated"). So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, *i.e.*, the great luminary which is named the sun, forever and ever. And that which thus rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but as regards size they are both equal.

CHAPTER LXXIII

And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon. And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in definite measure. And her rising and setting change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform (*i.e.*, full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the portal where the sun rises.⁶⁸ And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh

⁶⁸ The author's scheme is hard to follow. Apparently the lunar month amounts to 30 days and 29 days alternately, and is divided into

part, and her whole circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, and the fourteenth part of her light. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning, in the commencement of the lunar day, the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the remaining thirteen parts.

CHAPTER LXXIV

And I saw another course, a law for her, and how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course. In two months the moon sets with the sun:⁶⁹ in those two middle portals the

two parts. During the first part the moon waxes from new moon to full moon in 14 days when the month is 29 days, and in 15 when the month is 30 days. During the second part it always wanes in 15 days. Again the moon is divided into fourteen parts, *i.e.*, each half surface into seven parts, and the waxing of the moon is due to the successive lighting up of each fourteenth part.

⁶⁹ During two months the moon sets with the sun as new moon and as full moon. When the sun is in Aries and Libra the new moon and the full moon are in the third and fourth portals. The moon goes forth as it waxes from the third portal to the first in 7 days, turns about and returns to the portal where the sun rises, *i.e.*, the third, in 7 or 8 days, and there becomes full moon, and proceeds thence through the fourth and fifth to the sixth portal, where she arrives after 8 days. Thence she returns to the third portal in 7 days.

third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the sun goes forth. Thus I saw their position — how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. And if five years are added together⁷⁰ the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days. In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days. For the moon alone the days amount in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: *i.e.*, to the sum of 1,770 there are to be added 1,000 and 62 days. And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days in 8 years amount to 2,832 days. For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days, all the days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun) rises and sets 30 days.

⁷⁰ The difference between the lunar and the solar year. The lunar year has 354 days (see chapter lxxviii.). The solar year has 12 months of 30 days, or 360, and also 4 intercalary days in the equinoxes and solstices, in all 364 days (chapter lxxiv.). These intercalary days are neglected, and so the solar year has only 360 days, or 6 days more than the lunar.

CHAPTER LXXV

And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set forever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, *i.e.*, the sun, moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all their chariots of the heaven. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. And for the winds and the spirit of the dew when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends. As for the twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west, there are many windows open to the left and right of them, and one window at its appointed season produces warmth, corresponding as these do to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them, and wherein they set corresponding to their number. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. And one is larger than all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

The Twelve Winds and Their Portals

CHAPTER LXXVI

And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the quarters of the heaven, from which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. Three of them are open on the face (*i.e.*, the east) of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (*i.e.*, the south) of the heaven, and three on the left (*i.e.*, the north). And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the north, and three, after those on the left, of the south, and three of the west. Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal which is in the east, inclining toward the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat, and destruction. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which lies toward the north come cold and drought.

And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. And through the middle portal next to it there come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. And through the third portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts and desolation. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain, and dew and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and rain, and dew and locusts.

And after these four are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth dew and hoarfrost, and cold and snow and frost. And from the middle portal come forth dew and rain, and prosperity and mending; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve portals of the four quarters of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

CHAPTER LXXVII

And the first quarter is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed forever descend. And the west quarter is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down. And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and thence comes forth hoarfrost; and days, seasons, and years pass away. I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the west pours its waters into the Great Sea.

And these two come from the north and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, two of them to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there, and some say: into the desert. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

The Sun and Moon: the Waxing and Waning of the Moon

CHAPTER LXXVIII

And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjares, and the second Tomas. And the moon has four names: the first name is Asonja, the second Ebla, the third Benase, and the fourth Erae. These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals on the face of the heaven. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven: the light becomes full in her: on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day when her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by the addition of fourteenth parts. And in her waning the moon decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days her light is accomplished in the heaven; and when she is illumined throughout, her light

is accomplished full in the heaven. And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun.

On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of light. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. And in the time of her going out she appears for three months of thirty days each, and for three months she appears of twenty-nine each. At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

CHAPTER LXXIX

And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heavens is completed. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: And the waning which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five weeks and two days. She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which thou seest has been traversed. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.

CHAPTER LXXX

And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: "Behold, I have shown thee everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

Perversion of Nature and the Heavenly Bodies Owing to the Sin of Men

"And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,

And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,

"And shall not appear in their time:

And the rain shall be kept back

And the heaven shall withhold it.

And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,

And shall not grow in their time,

And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

"And the moon shall alter her order,

And shall not appear at her time.

And in those days the sun shall be seen, and he shall journey in the evening on the extremity of the great chariot in the west,

And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

"And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order prescribed.

And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,

And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

"And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,

And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning
them,
And they shall be altered from all their ways,
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.

"And the evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all."

The Charge Laid Upon Enoch

CHAPTER LXXXI .

And he said unto me:
"Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon.
And mark every individual fact."

And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything
which was written thereon and understood everything, and
read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the
children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest
generations. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord and
King of glory forever, in that He has made all the works of
the world,

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

And after that I said:
"Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and
goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness
written,
And against whom no day of judgment shall be found."

And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on
the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: "De-
clare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy

children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy last commands, that thou mayst teach thy children and record it for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

"Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good;

"The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.

"But the sinner shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.

"And those who practise righteousness shall die on
account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless."

And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

CHAPTER LXXXII

And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee, and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and see that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
And thy children that shall be to thee,
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom, namely, that passeth their thought.

And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this
wisdom,

And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the whole reckoning of the year: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded thereon forever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, to whom the Lord of the whole creation of the world hath subjected the host of heaven. And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men — sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions. Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the order who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty days there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder the four parts of the year. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the

division. And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Milki'el, Hel'emmelek, and Mel'ejal, and Narel. And the names of those who lead them: Adnar'el, and Ijasusa'el, and 'Elo-me'el — these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of the stations that divide the four parts of the year.

In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named Tam'aini and sun, and all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'el, Zelebs'el, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilu-jaseph: and the days of the dominion of this leader are at an end.

The next leader after him is Hel'emmelek, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of his days on the earth: glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion. These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gida'ijal, Ke'el, and He'el, and the name of a head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfa'el: and the days of his dominion are at an end.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART EIGHT

THE DREAM-VISIONS OF ENOCH

First Dream-Vision on the Deluge

CHAPTER LXXXIII

And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before thee. Two visions I saw before I took a wife,⁷¹ and the one was quite unlike the other: the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, when I saw a terrible vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, when I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to the earth. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth, and I lifted up my voice to cry aloud, and said: "The earth is destroyed." And my grandfather Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me: "Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why dost thou make such lamentation?" And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me: "A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with a great destruction. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of

⁷¹ Enoch took a wife at 65 (Gen. v. 21). Her name was Edna. Note that chapters lxxxiii.-xc. are only dreams, whereas in the other sections Enoch has open intercourse with the angels, and is translated bodily. Yet on *ascetic* grounds one would expect the bodily translation before marriage, and the dream-visions after.

glory, since thou art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great destruction. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as He had known it in the beginning, then I blessed the Lord of judgment, and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:⁷²

"Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.

"And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide
forever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion;
And all the heavens are Thy throne forever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool forever and ever.

"For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,

⁷² This is Enoch's Prayer for his Posterity.

Wisdom departs not from the place of Thy throne,
 Nor turns away from Thy presence.
 And thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
 And there is nothing hidden from Thee, for Thou seest
 everything.
 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
 And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the
 great day of judgment.
 And now, O God and Lord the Great King,
 I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
 To leave me a posterity on earth,
 And not destroy all the flesh of man,
 And make the earth without inhabitant,
 So that there should be an eternal destruction.
 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which
 has aroused Thy wrath,
 But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as
 a plant of the eternal seed,
 And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O
 Lord."

*The Second Dream-Vision:*⁷³ *the History of the World*

CHAPTER LXXXV

And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. And Enoch lifted up his voice and spake to his son Methuselah: "To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words — incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the

⁷³ The second Dream-vision, giving a complete history of the world from Adam down to the final judgment, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. As in Ezekiel, men are symbolized by animals, *e.g.*, the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of later times by sheep. Compare Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 6, 8. The Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey, compare Ezek xxxix. 17; the fallen Watchers by stars; Unfallen angels by men. The symbolism is, however, sometimes dropped, and the same symbol may vary in meaning. In the main the narrative is based on the Old Testament, but some mythical elements from later Jewish exegesis are incorporated.

earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this latter came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red.⁷⁴ And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer⁷⁵ went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

"And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, even many.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

"And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began to live with each other. And again I saw in the vision, and looked toward the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them amongst them. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The heifer is Eve, the two bulls, Cain, black with his sin; Abel, red as a martyr.

⁷⁵ "That heifer" is Cain's wife; according to Jubilees iv. 1, his sister, by name Avan.

⁷⁶ "Elephants, camels, and asses," represent the three classes of giants.

And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns. And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

"And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place and three with them. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me a tower⁷⁷ raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said unto me: 'Remain here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them.'

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

"And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth stoned them from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

⁷⁷ This tower seems to be paradise, and thus we have in chapters lxxxiii.-xc. a conception of its locality and inhabitants quite different from any that has preceded.

The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah

CHAPTER LXXXIX

"And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon; and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. And again I raised mine eyes toward heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface, and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. And the water, the darkness, and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth. And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, but perished and sank into the depths. And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were leveled up, and other abysses were opened. Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

From the Death of Noah to the Exodus

"And they began to bring forth beasts of the field⁷⁸ and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass⁷⁹ and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar⁸⁰ and a white sheep;⁸¹ and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves,⁸² and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. And a sheep which had been saved⁸³ from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. And He called

⁷⁸ The symbolism has a new meaning forced upon it by the author. His cattle produce all kinds of four-footed beasts, and birds of prey. Nearly all of these appear later as the enemies of Israel. Compare Ezek. xxxix. 17.

⁷⁹ The "wild ass" is Ishmael. The Arabs, or Midianites, are called the "wild asses," not inaptly. Compare Gen. xvi. 12. Isaac is the "white bull."

⁸⁰ The "black wild boar" is Esau. Later Jewish hatred thus associates Edom with the animal most detested.

⁸¹ The "white sheep" is Jacob. Israel is the sheep of God's pasture, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3; Jer. xxiii. 1.

⁸² "The wolves," the Egyptians.

⁸³ "A sheep which had been saved," *i.e.*, Moses.

that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceedingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and those wolves ran after them into that sea. And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

Israel in the Desert

"But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the

Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them which was amongst them: 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house. And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep as leaders⁸⁴ in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (literally 'had fallen asleep and led them'). And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

"And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes

⁸⁴ "The two sheep" are Joshua and Caleb.

blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

"And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up another sheep, a ram from their midst, which led them. And that ram⁸⁵ began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them all. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it forsook its glory and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly. And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had forsaken its glory. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram. And that second ram arose and led the little sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the sheep and robbed them no more of aught. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

"And that house⁸⁶ became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: and a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

⁸⁵ The "ram" is Saul, who did not, however, destroy them all.

⁸⁶ "That house" is Jerusalem. The tower is the Temple. "A full table" refers to the offerings and sacrifices.

*The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Destruction
of Jerusalem*

"And again I saw those sheep that they again erred⁸⁷ and went many ways and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from among the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away⁸⁸ and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers⁸⁹ and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured by all the wild beasts. But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts. And He called seventy shepherds,⁹⁰ and

⁸⁷ Gradual declension of Israel till the Temple is destroyed.

⁸⁸ Elijah's escape and translation.

⁸⁹ "Lions and tigers." Assyrians and Babylonians.

⁹⁰ The "seventy shepherds" raise the most vexed question in Enoch. They are certainly angels, for (1) they exist contemporaneously and receive their commission together. (2) They are to protect the sheep, and only allow so many to be destroyed by the Gentiles. So they can not be heathen rulers. (3) Men would have been symbolized by animals. (4) During the earlier period God was Israel's shepherd, now He with-

cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed — and them destroy ye.' And He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record, namely, how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.' And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions. And the lions and tigers ate and devoured the greater part of those sheep, draws and commits their pasturing to seventy of his angels. (5) The angel recorder of chapter lxxxix. is called "another." (6) In the judgment they are classed with the fallen angels (chapter xc.). (7) God speaks directly to them. After the exile, Israel was not immediately shepherded by God but by His delegates. How was it that righteous Jews as well as apostates perished? Because of the faithlessness with which the seventy angels discharged their trust, and this faithlessness was to be punished in due time. The theory of the seventy shepherds is an extension of the conception of the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy periods of Daniel. The events between the fall of Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom are divided into four periods: (1) to the Return under Cyrus, (2) to the conquests of Alexander, (3) to the Seleucid conquests of Palestine, (4) to the Messiah's reign.

and the wild boars ate along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished that house. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterward I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

From the Destruction of Jerusalem to Alexander the Great

"And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep — even everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

"And forthwith I saw the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep⁹¹ turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and the eyes of their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. And the Lord of the sheep remained

⁹¹ "Three of those sheep," Zerubbabel, Joshua, and either Ezra or Nehemiah. The difference in their date is disregarded. Büchler holds that these are three tribes — Levi, Judah, and Benjamin.

unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (*i.e.*, the beasts), and they (*i.e.*, the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

From Alexander to the Graeco-Syrian Domination

CHAPTER XC

"And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing of the sheep, and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them⁹² into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming:⁹³ the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones, too, fell to the earth, and the sheep became few. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

⁹² "Others received them." Here we have the transition to the Greek period, *i.e.*, from Alexander to the establishment (expected) of the Messianic kingdom. This period has two divisions: (1) twenty-three shepherds of the Graeco-Egyptian rule of Palestine, 330-200; (2) twelve shepherds of Graeco-Syrian rule, from 200 till about 140 or 130 B.C.

⁹³ The new world-power — of the Greeks, is represented by a new order — birds of prey. The "eagles" are the Greeks or Macedonians. The "ravens" are the Syrians under the Seleucidae. The "vultures" and "kites" must be the Egyptians under the Ptolemies.

From the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabean Revolt

"But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes⁹⁴ and to see, and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not harken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn⁹⁵ of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it looked at them and their eyes opened, and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

The Last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews

"And I saw till the shepherds and eagles and those vultures and kites came, and they cried to the ravens that they

⁹⁴ "Began to open their eyes": rise of the Chasids, who existed previous to the Maccabean outbreak. They possessed all the enthusiasm and religious doctrine of the nation. While champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees they held advanced views on the Messianic kingdom and the Resurrection. The writer of these Dream-visions was evidently a Chasid. He teaches the Resurrection, the final judgment, and the kingdom of the Messiah, and above all he criticizes severely the moral and ceremonial irregularities in the services of the second temple (chapter lxxxix.). For this writer the Chasid aims — the reestablishment of the theocracy and the preparation for the Messianic kingdom — are bound up with the success of the Maccabean leader. This could not be the case after Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 153 B.C., which not merely alienated the Chasids from the Maccabean family, but made them its deadly enemies. Thus we date chapters lxxxiii.-xc. before 153 B.c.

⁹⁵ The horned lambs must be the Maccabees, and the great horn must be Judas Maccabaeus. This section is thus earlier than Judas's death in 160 B.C.

should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come.

"And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds and carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep, came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram.

"And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell into His shadow from before His face.

"All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

"And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.

"And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.⁹⁶

"And I saw till a great sword⁹⁷ was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.

⁹⁶ God himself destroys Israel's last foes like Korah and his followers, Numb. xvi. 31. This is the first act of the final judgment; the remaining acts are quite forensic.

⁹⁷ The sword is given to Israel to oppose the hosts of Gog and to avenge itself on its heathen oppressors; in chapter xci. the sword has a higher ethical significance, the judgment of oppression and sin.

*Judgment of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the
Apostates*

"And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land,⁹⁸ and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed hooks and opened those hooks before the Lord of the sheep. And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them.' And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him. And the judgment was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

The New Jerusalem, the Messiah

"And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a

⁹⁸ "The pleasant land," *i.e.*, Palestine. Compare chapter lxxxix. and Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. God's throne is set up in Jerusalem. The books are opened as in Dan. vii. 10. The Messiah does not appear till after the judgment in chapters lxxxiii.-xc.

new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

"And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in everything. And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand who had taken me up before, and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgment took place. And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His House. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.

"And I saw that a white bull" was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I

⁹⁹ "A white bull." The Messiah emerges from the bosom of the community. He is not angelic, but human, yet superior to the righteous symbolized by sheep. As human he corresponds to the Messiah of the prophets, not that of the Parables (apocalyptic). He has, however, no function and comes after the judgment. The Messiah-hope was practically dead while such a leader as Judas lived. Later some revived the Old Testament Messiah, the Son of David; others followed the idea of the supernatural Son of Man given us in the Parables (94-70 B.C.). All the members of the kingdom are transformed, and the Messiah becomes a lamb. Their life is now apparently unending, and there is a return to the primitive righteousness of Eden, *i.e.*, Adam was a white bull.

saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything. This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory. Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled — because I had seen that vision."

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

PART NINE

A BOOK OF EXHORTATION

Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children

CHAPTER XCI

The book written by Enoch — Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, which is praised of all men and a judge of all the earth — for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

And the righteous one shall arise from sleep.
Shall arise and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be endowed with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.

And sin shall perish in darkness forever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

CHAPTER XCII

"And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother;
For the word calls me,

And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you forever."

And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives. And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said:

"Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And harken aright to the voice of my mouth;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

"Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to-uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,

"But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.

"For I know that violence must increase on the earth,¹⁰⁰
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:

"Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

"And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the
earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

"And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,

"A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all
these,

¹⁰⁰ The Deluge.

And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgment on earth.

"In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

"And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,

"And they (*i.e.*, the heaven) shall be cast into the judgment of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgment forever.

"And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

"And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.

"And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again
That ye may know what will come to pass.
And now, harken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall
perish forever."

*Enoch's Apocalypse of Weeks*¹⁰¹

CHAPTER XCIII

And after that Enoch both gave and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said:

"Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning
the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these
things,
Yea, I, Enoch, will declare them unto you, my sons:

"According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly
vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy
angels,
And have learned from the heavenly tablets."

And Enoch began to recount from the books and said:
"I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgment and righteousness still endured.

"And after me there shall arise in the second week great
wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up;
And in it there shall be the first end.

"And in it a man shall be saved;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.

¹⁰¹ An account of the great events of the world during the first seven weeks of its history, which are already past. The three last weeks belong to the future. This Apocalypse of weeks refers to the Dream-visions, chapters lxxxiii.-xc, but not being by the same author is irreconcilable with them. The ten weeks are not definite and equal periods, but of varying length, each marked, especially toward its close, by some great event, *e.g.*, the first by Enoch's birth, the third by Abraham's call, the seventh by the publication of Enoch's writings. In the eighth the Messianic kingdom is established and lasts to the close of the tenth week. The final judgment is held at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

"And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgment,
And his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness
for evermore.

"And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be
made for them.

"And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built forever.

"And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall
be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake
wisdom.

"And in it a man shall ascend;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burned with
fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

"And after that, in the seventh week, shall an apostate
generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.

"And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteous-
ness,¹⁰²
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His crea-
tion.

"For who is there of all the children of men that is able
to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled?

¹⁰² The writer's own disclosures are to be made known at the end of
the seventh week.

And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works of heaven? And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see all their ends and think of them or do like them? And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them? Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?

"And after that there shall be another, the eighth week,
that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgment
may be executed on the oppressors,
And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the
righteous.

"And at its close they shall acquire houses through their
righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory
for evermore,
And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.

"And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgment shall be revealed to the whole world,
And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the
earth,
And the world shall be written down for destruction.

"And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgment,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.

"And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,

And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.

"And after that there will be many weeks without number forever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned forever.

Admonitions to the Righteous

CHAPTER XCIV

"And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

"And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.

"And now I say unto you the righteous:
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

"But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.

"And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts;

"For I know that sinners will tempt men to evilly entreat wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may minish.

Woes for the Sinners

"Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression
And lay deceit as a foundation;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.

"Woe to those who build their houses with sin;
Far from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
And those who acquire gold and silver in judgment suddenly shall perish.

"Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the
days of your riches.

"Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,
And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgment.

"Thus I speak and declare unto you:
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

"And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless."

CHAPTER XCV

Oh that mine eyes were a cloud of waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud of waters:
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness?
And so judgment shall overtake you, sinners.

Fear not the sinners, ye righteous;
 For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
 That ye may execute judgment upon them according to
 your desires.

Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which can not be
 reversed:¹⁰³
 Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your
 sins.

Woe to you who requite your neighbor with evil;
 For ye shall be requited according to your works.

Woe to you, lying witnesses,
 And to those who weigh out injustice,
 For suddenly shall ye perish.

Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous;
 For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of
 injustice,
 And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

CHAPTER XCVI

Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners
 perish before you,
 And ye shall have lordship over them according to your
 desires.

And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
 Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
 And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
 And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
 And the clefts of the rock forever as coneys before the
 unrighteous,
 And the sirens shall sigh because of you — and weep.

¹⁰³ Magical practises and incantations are referred to, but the expression is strange.

Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.

Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear
like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a
memorial of your evil deeds.

Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink wine in large bowls,
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.

Woe to you who drink water from every fountain,
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

Woe to you who work unrighteousness
And deceit and blasphemy:
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.
Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous;
For the day of your destruction is coming.

In those days many and good days shall come to the
righteous — in the day of your judgment.

CHAPTER XCVII

Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.
Be it known unto you, ye sinners, that the Most High is
mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgment,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom his word shall be a testimony:
"Ye have been companions of sinners."

And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach
unto the Lord,
And for you the days of your judgment shall come.
And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read
out before the Great Holy One,
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded on
unrighteousness.

Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid-ocean and on
the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.

Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness
and say:
"We have become rich with riches and have possessions;
And have acquired everything we have desired.

"And now let us do what we purposed:
For we have gathered silver,
And many are the husbandmen in our houses,
And our granaries are brim full as water."

Yea and like water your lies shall flow away;
For your riches shall not abide
But speedily ascend from you;

For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

The Self-indulgence of Sinners: Sin Originated by Man

CHAPTER XCVIII

And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.

For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And colored garments more than a virgin:
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendor and in food they shall be poured out as
water.

Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their posses-
sions;
And with all their glory and their splendor,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.¹⁰⁴

I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not
become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,
And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.

And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies
without children.

I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered
and hidden.

And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that
ye do not know and that ye do not see that every sin is every
day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High.
From henceforth ye know that all your oppression where-
with ye oppress is written down every day till the day of
your judgment.

¹⁰⁴ As incorporeal spirits the wicked are cast into the final place of
punishment.

Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise, and so good hap shall not be your portion. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgment, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood:

Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace. Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness; wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you. Woe to you who set at naught the words of the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life. Woe to you who write down lying and godless words,¹⁰⁵ for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly toward their neighbor. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

CHAPTER XCIX

Woe to you who work godlessness,¹⁰⁶
 And glory in lying and extoll them:
 Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
 And transgress the eternal law,
 And transform themselves into what they were not (into sinners):

They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

¹⁰⁵ Note the literary strife here revealed between Hellenist and Pharisee.

¹⁰⁶ Here the admirers of Hellenistic literature are denounced.

In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your
prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial
before the Most High.

In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of
destruction.

And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry
off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall
perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children that are still suck-
lings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is pre-
pared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. And they who wor-
ship stones, and graven images of gold and silver and wood
and stone and clay, and those who worship impure spirits
and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowl-
edge, shall get no manner of help from them.

And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of
their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their
hearts
And through visions in their dreams.

Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshiped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words
of wisdom, and understand them,

And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the
path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbors;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.¹⁰⁷

Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And to them who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous
toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones
of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.

Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage
of their fathers
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.

Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppres-
sion,
And slay their neighbors until the day of the great judg-
ment.

For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse His fierce indignation
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

¹⁰⁷ To be "slain in Sheol" is the extreme penalty of sin. Condemnation to Sheol is less severe than the slaying of the soul. Sheol is here the eternal place of punishment.

The Sinners Destroy Each Other

CHAPTER C

And in those days in one place the fathers together with
 their sons shall be smitten
 And brothers one with another shall fall in death
 Till the streams flow with their blood.

For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his
 sons and his sons' sons,
 And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his
 honored brother:
 From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of
 sinners,
 And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

In those days the angels shall descend into the secret
 places
 And gather together into one place all those who brought
 down sin,
 And the Most High will arise on that day of judgment
 To execute great judgment amongst sinners.

And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guar-
 dians from amongst the holy angels
 To guard them as the apple of an eye,
 Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
 And though the righteous sleep a long sleep,¹⁰⁸ they have
 naught to fear.

And then the children of the earth shall see the wise in
 security,

¹⁰⁸ The writer of chapters xci.-civ. did not expect the resurrection at the beginning of the temporary Messianic kingdom, which was to come at the commencement of the eighth week. The "long sleep" seems to last till the end of the tenth week, and the resurrection of the righteous in chapters xci.-civ. follows the final judgment.

And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be able to save
them.

In the overthrow of their sins.

Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire:
Ye shall be requited according to your works.

Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness:
Therefore shall fear come upon you
And there shall be none to help you.

Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your
mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your
godlessness has wrought.
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.

And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire
as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun and from the moon
and from the stars, in reference to your sins, because upon
the earth ye execute judgment on the righteous. And He
will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and
dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you
from descending upon you, and they shall be mindful of
your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be
not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew,
when it has received gold and silver from you that it may
descend. When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilli-
ness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues, fall
upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before
them.

Exhortation to the Fear of God

CHAPTER CI

Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him and work no evil in His presence. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? And if He sends His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye can not petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. And see ye not the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in sore trouble? And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein? Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? And at His reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are on the earth fear Him not. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein? Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea? Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

Terrors of the Day of Judgment

CHAPTER CII

In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon
you,

Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?

And when He launches forth His word against you,

Will you not be affrighted and fear?

And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,

And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be
alarmed.

And all the angels shall execute their commands,
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the
Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be cursed forever,
And ye shall have no peace.

Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in
grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to
your goodness,
But wait for the day of the judgment of sinners.
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.

And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you:
"As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds?"

"Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we?
From henceforth we are equal.

"And what will they receive and what will they see for-
ever?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth forever shall they see no light."

I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner of violence is found in them till their death?" Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Shoel in tribulation."

Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners

CHAPTER CIII

Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honored and Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.

I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them:

That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labors,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely.

Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins,
And those who are like you say regarding you:
"Blessed are the sinners: they have seen all their days.

"And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life;
And they have died in honor,
And judgment has not been executed on them during their life."

Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into
Sheol

And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.

And into darkness and chains and a burning name where
there is grievous judgment shall your spirits enter;

And the great judgment shall be for all the generations of
the world.

Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.

Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in
life:

"In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and
experienced every trouble,

And met with much evil and been consumed,

And have become few and our spirit small.

"And we have been destroyed and have not found any to
help us even with a word:

We have been tortured and destroyed, and not hoped to see
life from day to day.

"We hoped to be the head and have become the tail:

We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our
toil;

And we have become the food of the sinners and the
unrighteous,

And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.

"They have had dominion over us that hated us and
smote us;

And to those that hated us we have bowed our necks

But they pitied us not.

"We desired to get away from them that we might escape
and be at rest,

But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe
from them.

"And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,¹⁰⁹

And cried out against those who devoured us,

¹⁰⁹ These verses help to fix the date of chapters xci.-civ. In chapters

But they did not attend to our cries
And would not harken to our voice.

"And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they had lifted up their hands against us."

CHAPTER CIV

I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven, ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your cry, cry for judgment, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope; for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgment and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgment shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them, but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down,"

lxxxiii.-xc. the rulers appear as the divinely appointed leaders of the righteous. Here they are shown as the aiders and abettors of the persecutors. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers. The righteous are the Pharisaic party. These issues only became clear in the Maccabean period, and after the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. "Dispersed" and "murdered" point to Jannaeus, and the date 94-79 B.C. Possibly it is later, 70-64 B.C., when for the last time Sadducees and rulers acted in concert.

nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day. And now I show unto you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin. And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning their words. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or diminish aught from my words, but write them all down truthfully — all that I first testified concerning them. Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who have learned therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.

God and the Messiah to Dwell with Man

CHAPTER CV

In those days¹¹⁰ the Lord bade them to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show it unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth. For I and My Son¹¹¹ will be united with them forever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

¹¹⁰ This chapter does not seem to belong to chapters xci.-civ. (1) "Children of earth" is used in a good sense. (2) The Messiah is introduced, here alone in chapters xci.-civ. (3) The emphasis is on the finite life of the saints on earth (an idea of chapters i.-xxxvi.), not on the immortal life in heaven, as in chapters xci.-civ.

¹¹¹ "I and My Son," *i.e.*, the Messiah. The righteous are God's children, and preeminently so the Messiah.

THE BOOK OF NOAH

(A FRAGMENT PLACED AT THE END OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH)

CHAPTER CVI

And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she become pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright. And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of righteousness. And his father Lamech was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And he said upon him: "I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayst go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is amongst the angels." And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said unto him: "Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast thou come to me?" And he answered and said: "Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached. And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like

man's nature, and the color of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and thereupon lighted up the whole house. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayest make known to me the truth." And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: "The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begot children by them. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die he and his sons shall be saved. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days. And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read them in the heavenly tablets."

CHAPTER CVII

And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes upon it. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that this is no lie." And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch — for he had shown to him everything in secret — he returned and showed them to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

CHAPTER CVIII

Another book which Enoch wrote¹¹² for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed forever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the fire shall they burn; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look over, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: "What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice

¹¹² This final chapter forms an independent addition. The writer is acquainted with chapters i.-xxxvi. and xci.-civ., or at least with parts of those sections. But his acquaintance with chapters i.-xxxvi. is very inaccurate. Note the Essene tone of this chapter, the high honor paid to ascetism, the scorn of silver and gold, the blessed immortality of the soul but apparently not of the body, and the duration of light and darkness.

of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain." And he said unto me:

"This place which thou seest — here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets — even the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name. And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, yet they blessed Me. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honor as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor. And they shall be resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgment of God; for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. And they shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed for them."

OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

"And the angel of the powers said to me, Come and I will show thee the mysteries of God."

—BARUCH.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

(INTRODUCTION)

THERE is a Book of Baruch among those apocrypha which our general introduction described as of the first class; that is, books still accepted by the Roman Catholic church and occasionally reprinted even in Protestant Bibles. There are also six or seven other Baruch apocrypha. Baruch's name was naturally borrowed as one under which to announce religious preachings; for he appears in the Old Testament as a lesser prophet or scribe, the staunch supporter of the greater prophet Jeremiah through all the latter's tribulations. Again and again Baruch is represented as reading to the people from his book. Hence many books were afterward assigned to him.

Among these was the Apocalypse here given. It is a Greek work of the second century after Christ; but behind this there must have been a Jewish original, for much of the thought is Hebraic. This Greek version was written by a Christian, whose main purpose seems to have been to warn the unconverted Jews of their wickedness in not accepting Christianity. This then is a typical apocrypha of the "apocalypse" class. That is, it depicts an ancient prophet as foreseeing the end of the world, or in this case the heavens beyond the world, and it describes this vision with an earnest ethical purpose.

The "seven heavens" described in this apocalypse form the most complete and fully organized idea of a heavenly kingdom or social world preserved from Hebraic or early Christian teaching. Indeed it is the theology of this book which lends its chief interest. The intercession of angels for men is taught, and, more important still, Adam is not represented as plunging all his race into sin. Each man is here definitely declared to be his own Adam, causing his own fall. "The men who now drink insatiably the wine . . . transgress worse than Adam."

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

CHAPTER I—PROLOGUE

A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.

A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem, when also Abimelech¹ was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa.² And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.

Verily I, Baruch, was weeping in my mind and sorrowing on account of the people, and that Nebuchadrezzar the King was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying: Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they reproach us and say, Where is their God? And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all the things of God. For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when

¹ It is recorded that Abimelech fell asleep in the garden of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and did not awake for sixty-six years.

² "The farm of Agrippa." Rendel Harris identifies this with the fertile valley below Solomon's Pools, known as Solomon's Gardens. See Josephus, "Antiquities," viii. 7. 3, "There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he (Solomon) use to go out in the morning."

he had said these things to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these. And I, Baruch, said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer. God shall add to my judgment in the day of judgment, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

CHAPTER II — THE FIRST HEAVEN

And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. And he took me and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter through it, and we entered as though borne on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey. And he showed me within the heaven a plain; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of oxen, and the horns of stags, and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs. And I, Baruch, asked the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed, or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in order that I may also tell the sons of men? And the angel whose name is Phamael said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as is the distance from North to South, so great is the length of the plain which thou didst see. And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries. But I said, pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

CHAPTER III — THE SECOND HEAVEN

And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there also a door like the first and said, Let us enter through it. And we entered, being

borne on wings a distance of about sixty days' journey. And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of stags. And I asked the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these. And he said, These are they who gave counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and continued to make bricks. And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they had built the tower to the height of four hundred and sixty-three cubits. And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see whether the heaven is made of clay, or of brass, or of iron. When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

CHAPTER IV — THE THIRD HEAVEN

And I, Baruch, said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now show me all things for the sake of the Lord. And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. And I proceeded with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days' journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra in length. And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. And I said, Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him? And the angel said, The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them. And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from the sea, which does not sink at all. Baruch said, And how does this happen? And the angel said, Harken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink. And I said, I pray thee show me which is the

tree which led Adam astray.³ And the angel said to me, It is the vine,⁴ which the angel Sammael⁵ planted, whereat the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore the devil being envious deceived him through his vine. [And I, Baruch, said,⁶ Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgment of the curse of God, and was the destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful? And the angel said, Thou askest aright. When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, then the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot of the vine and cast it outside. And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found. But he found also the shoot of the vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to him the things concerning it. And he said, Shall I plant it, or what shall I do? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it. And

³ "The tree which led Adam astray." The transition is sudden, but there may be a hiatus in the narrative. Baruch is still in the third heaven, where paradise was placed, and by now the angel may have shown him it. In the Slavonic the story of the vine does not break into the description of the dragon, but comes after it.

⁴ The conception of the grape-vine as the forbidden tree is very old. It is related of Shamdon (Asmodeus) that at the planting of the first vine by Noah, he helped with the work and said to Noah: "I want to join you in your labor and share with you; but take heed that I take not of your portion, lest I do you harm." The story does not occur elsewhere in the exact form of that of the text.

⁵ Slavonic reads "Satanil." Sammael was originally one of the chief archangels, but tempted Eve with a view to making the earth his kingdom. Thenceforth he is the chief of the Satans, the angel of death, and Israel's special foe.

⁶ The passage in brackets is clearly an interpolation by the Christian redactor, who felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist.

when he had completed the prayer which lasted forty days, and having besought many things and wept, he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant. But God sent his angel Sarasael, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith the Lord: Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing, and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human race obtained condemnation, so again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the upward calling, and the entry into paradise.] Know therefore, O Baruch, that as Adam through this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire. For no good comes through it. For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity his brother, nor a father his son, nor children their parents, but from the drinking of wine come all evils, such as murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established by it.

CHAPTER V.

And I, Baruch, said to the angel, Let me ask thee one thing, Lord. Since thou didst say to me that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly? And the angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown by three hundred men, so great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.

CHAPTER VI

And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; and he showed me a chariot and four, under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, and the chariot was drawn by forty angels. And behold a bird circling before the sun, about nine cubits away. And

I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the guardian of the earth. And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me. And the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and, expanding his wings, receives its fiery rays. For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other living creature. But God appointed this bird thereto. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters, as large as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read, and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth. And I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, his name is called Phoenix. And I said, And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and the dew of earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt see the glory of God. And while he was conversing with me, there was as a thunder-clap, and the place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound? And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came which said, Light-giver, give to the world radiance. And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this noise? And he said, This is the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth.⁷ For as men do through the mouth, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in

⁷ It is doubtful whether there is not here a confusion between the tradition of the phoenix and that of the heavenly cock. As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo. According to an Armenian tradition the heavenly cock first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator. There is a passage in the Vendidad, where Sraosha, the angel who sets the world in motion, is likened to "the bird named Parodas (fore-seer) which il-

his own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

CHAPTER VII

And I said, And where does the sun begin its labors after the cock crows? And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou shalt see the glory of God. And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared in front, and grew less and less, and at length returned to his full size. And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its head, the sight of which we were not able to gaze upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings. But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and hid in the wings of the angel. And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.

CHAPTER VIII

And he took me and led me toward the west; and when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming before it, and as soon as he came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown from its head. But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these things, I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day — four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I, Baruch, said, Lord, and wherefore are its beams defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, Because it speaking people call Kahrkatas, the bird that lifts up his voice against the holy dawn," and calls men to worship and firelighting, lest Bush-yasta, the long-handed demon of procrastination, come upon them.

beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness, murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed. But thou askest concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.

CHAPTER IX

And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time came the chariot of the moon, along with the stars. And I, Baruch, said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait and thou shalt see it also shortly. And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot. And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me, They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it one time increases, but at another time decreases? And he said to me, Listen, O Baruch: This which thou seest had been written by God beautiful as no other. And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days.⁸ And I said, And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers can not speak freely, so the moon and the stars can not shine in

⁸The Slavonic attributes the fall of the moon to the fact that it laughed at the fall of Adam and Eve. R. Simeon ben Pazzi declared that at the time of the creation the moon was of the same size as the sun. The moon then objected that it would not be decorous for two kings to use one crown, whereupon God diminished her size.

the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.

CHAPTER X — THE FOURTH HEAVEN

And when I had learned all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a fourth heaven. And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here on earth. But I saw a crane as great as great oxen; and all the birds were great beyond those in the world. And I asked the angel, What is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it? And the angel said, Listen, Baruch: The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is the place where the souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs. But the water is that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase. And I said again to the angel of the Lord, But what are these birds? And he said to me, They are those which continually sing praise to the Lord. And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which descends in rain is from the sea?⁹ And the angel said, The water which descends in rain — this also is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is only from the latter source. Know therefore henceforth that from this source is what is called the dew of the heaven.

CHAPTER XI — THE FIFTH HEAVEN

And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And I said, Lord, is not this gateway open that we may enter? And the angel said to me,

⁹The Slavonic reads: "How do men say that the clouds go out of the sea and rain on the earth? And the angel said to me: The race of man is deceived knowing nothing. All the water of the sea is salt, for if the rain came from the sea, no fruit would grow on the earth." The meaning of the Greek seems to be that while the rain is derived in part from the sea, those elements which are responsible for the dew and for the growth of fruit are derived from the other waters upon earth.

We can not enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound? And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander of the angels, comes down to receive the prayers of men. And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened.¹⁰ And they opened them, and there was a roar as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and that of all our order. And the commander Michael said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel; its depth was as great as the distance from heaven to earth, and its breadth as great as the distance from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that which Michael the archangel is holding? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

CHAPTER XII

And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And they gave them to Michael. And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things brought hither from beside them? And he said to me, These are angels who are over the righteous. And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel. And the angel said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels bearing baskets which were neither empty nor full. And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near, because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said,

¹⁰ The idea that the gates of heaven are opened at a fixed time to receive the prayers of men is found in the fragments of the Apocrypha of Adam, where it is stated that at the tenth hour "the gate of heaven opens in order to let in the prayers of every living thing . . . At this hour all that a man asks of God is granted him."

Come hither, also, ye angels, bring what ye have brought. And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

CHAPTER XIII

And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold how we are overclouded, O Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from them. And Michael said, Ye can not depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to the end; but say to me what ye ask. And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander transfer us from them, for we can not abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed. For we do not behold them entering [into Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor]¹¹ into any good work. But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like, then are they workers of such works, and of others worse. Wherefore we entreat that we may depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall come to pass.

CHAPTER XIV

And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as thunder. And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now presenting the merits of men to God.

CHAPTER XV

And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened; and he brought oil. And as for the angels which brought the baskets which were full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good

¹¹ The clause in brackets is a Christian interpolation.

works. For those who sowed virtuously also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the half-empty baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and deliver it to the sons of men. [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those who brought the half-empty baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord, Ye are faithful over a few things, I will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your Lord.]¹²

CHAPTER XVI

And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone. But since they angered me in their works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against a people that is no people, a people that has no understanding. Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust and hail with lightnings and anger, and punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons. For they did not harken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do them, but were despisers of my commandments, and insolent toward the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

CHAPTER XVII

And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew. And the angel took me and restored me to the place where I was at the beginning. And having come to myself, I gave glory to God, who counted me worthy of such honor. Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

¹² The words in brackets are a Christian interpolation, as is evident not only from the quotation from Matthew, but also from the fact that the re-enumeration of the first two classes of angels destroys the symmetry of the passage.

THE BOOK OF AHIKAR

"There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Ahikar, and he was Vizier of the King, Sennacherib."

— ARABIC VERSION OF THE BOOK.

"Son, if thy doorposts be loftily built to heaven, as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head."

— AHIKAR.

THE BOOK OF AHIKAR

(INTRODUCTION)

THE recent recovery in Egypt of a papyrus fragment of the Ahikar book, dating from at least the fifth century before Christ, has been one of the most interesting events of Egyptian exploration, and a most striking proof of the accuracy of modern scientific theory. Scholars have long known that there must have been a story of the wise vizier, Ahikar, among the world's very early tales. They knew also that it was a popular and honored tale among the pre-Christian Jews; for the apocryphal Book of Tobit speaks of the Ahikar story as being of similar character to itself. Other references to Ahikar, the sage, and to his wise sayings, appear in ancient authors. Moreover, while no Jewish copy of the Ahikar story was known to exist, a medieval Book of Ahikar was popular throughout the East. Manuscripts of it were common in Arabic, in Syrian, and in Armenian, and were known in other tongues.

In these medieval manuscripts the sayings of Ahikar strongly resembled passages in several of the Hebrew Biblical books, especially the Book of Psalms and that of Proverbs. Of course, these sayings in Ahikar might have been copied from the Bible, but scholars were already questioning whether some form of the Book of Ahikar might not be the earlier work. And then this Egyptian fragment was discovered. It is written in the Aramaic tongue, the speech in common use among the Jews of the fifth century B.C. It includes not only the story of Ahikar, but fragments of his proverbs; and as it is clearly not the original form of the Ahikar tale, the deduction that the first account of the life and sayings of the ancient sage must date almost back to the Assyrian days in which he is represented as dwelling. That is, the story could not have originated later than 600

B.C. This gives it an antiquity probably equaling, if not exceeding, that of the Biblical books which it resembles.

Why the Book of Ahikar was not included in the Hebrew canon, and thus preserved with the Scriptures, we can no longer tell. For some reason it was obviously regarded as less holy than other similar works of later date. Perhaps it was not originally a Jewish book at all, but a Babylonian one translated into Aramaic because of its popularity. We thus open with this "rejected" book a possible vista of very ancient Babylonian stories.

As to the story of Ahikar, we give the book here first in its Armenian version. None of our surviving medieval manuscripts of the book seem very old, except those of Armenia. There we can trace the tale back to the year A.D. 500 or even earlier. Hence the Armenian gives us the story in the oldest version known until our recent Egyptian discovery. That fragmentary Egyptian papyrus is then given by itself, as nearly as our scholars have been able to decipher and translate it. Thus the reader may see for himself the changes and vagaries which the story and its proverbs underwent in the thousand years which separated the Egyptian and the Armenian manuscripts. The later Arabic and Syrian versions do not differ much from the Armenian.

THE BOOK OF AHIKAR

I

The maxims and wisdom of Ahikar, which the children of men learn.

In the times and in the reign of Seneqerim, King of Nineveh and of Asorestan, I, Ahikar, Notary of Seneqerim the King, took sixty wives and builded me sixty palaces. And I, Ahikar, was sixty years of age and I had not a son.

Then I went in to the gods with many offerings; I lit a fire before the gods and cast incense upon it, and presented my offerings and sacrificed victims, kneeled down and prayed, and thus spake in my prayer.

O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and Shamin, ordain and give to me male seed. For lo, Ahikar dieth alive. And what say men? That Ahikar, though alive and wise and clever, is dead, and there is no son of his to bury him, nor daughter to bewail him. I have no heir after my death. Not even if a son should spend ten talents in the last day, would he exhaust my riches. But I ask merely that he may cast dust with his hands upon me, in order that I may not remain unremembered.

Then there was a voice from the gods and they said:

Ahikar, there is not ordained seed for thee. But thou shalt take Nathan, thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son, and he shall pay thee back thy cost of rearing him.

And when I heard this from the gods, I took Nathan, my sister's son; one year old was he, and I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck; and like a king's son I decked him out with ornaments. And I gave him to drink milk and honey, and laid him to sleep on my eagles and doves, until he was seven years of age. Then I began to teach him writing and wisdom and the art of knowledge and the answering of dispatches, and the returns of contradictory speeches. And by day and by night

I ceased not to instruct him; and I sated him with my teaching, as it were with bread and water.

Then saith the King unto me: Ahikar, my Notary and wise one, I know that thou art grown old; and after thy death, who is there to discharge ably and wisely the affairs of our kingdom? And I am very grieved at this thought.

And I said to him: O King, live for ever. There is my son, who is superior to me and is more clever.

And the King says: Bring him unto me, that I may behold him. And when I had brought him and stood him before the King, he beheld him and said: In his days may Ahikar be blessed, because in his lifetime he hath led and stood before me his son, and may he himself be at rest.

I bowed my head to my lord, and taking Nathan I led him into my dwelling and thus spake in my teaching.

II

Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, make it to die and bury it in thy heart, and to no one divulge it. The knot that is sealed do thou not loose, and that which is loosed do thou not tie. And that which thou dost see, tell not; and that which thou hearest, reveal it not.

Son, raise not up thine eyes to look on a lovely woman, rouged and antimonied. Desire her not in thy heart. For if thou shouldst give her all thy riches, thou dost get nothing the more out of her; but art condemned by God and by mankind. For she is like unto a sepulcher which is fair on the upper side and below is full of the rottenness and bones of the dead.

Son, be not like the olive-tree, which is first to bloom and last to ripen its fruit. But be like the mulberry, which is last to bloom and first to ripen its fruit.

Son, it is better with a wise man to carry stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine.

Son, with wise men be not a fool, and with fools be not thou wise.

Son, be thou the companion of a wise man, so that thou become wise as he is; but do not become the companion of a

senseless man and of a fool, lest like them thou be called a fool.

Son, pour out thy wine, and drink it not with the senseless and with the lawless, lest thou be despised by them.

Son, be thou not over-sweet, so that they swallow thee down, nor over-bitter, so that they spit thee out. But do thou be gentle, tranquil in the works of thy paths and in all thy words.

Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons.

Son, a rich man hath eaten a serpent, and they say it is medicine for him. A poor man hath eaten it, and they say that he ate it out of hunger. Eat thy own portion in peace, and cast not thy eye on that of thy companion; and with one that is without fear go not on a journey; and with the senseless do thou not eat bread.

Son, if thou seest thy enemy fallen, do not make a scoff at him; for if he get up again, he requiteth thee evil.

Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, but the just man is raised by his good deeds.

Son, go not near a senseless and backbiting woman, that thou be not despised by her; and thou art made a mock of, and she robs thee.

Son, spare not the rod to thy son; for the rod is to children as the dung in the garden; and as the tie and seal fastening the packet, and as the tether on the feet of the ass, so is the rod profitable to the child. For if thou strike him with a rod once or twice, he is rendered clever quietly, he does not die. But if thou leave him to his own will, he becomes a thief; and they take him to the gallows and to death, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart.

Son, train thy son in hunger and thirst, in order that in humility he may lead his life.

Son, receive not any who shall repeat to thee the word of an enemy, for they will repeat thy word.

Son, at first thou art fond of a false man, but in the end he becomes hateful to thee. For a false word is like a fat quail; but he that is foolish swallows it down.

Son, love the father who begat thee, and earn not the curses of thy father and mother; to the end that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy own sons.

Son, without a weapon go not on a journey by night, lest thy enemy meet thee, and thou be destroyed.

Son, as a tree is enjoyable to see for its fruit and branches, and the mountains are wooded with the cedars, in the same way are enjoyable to see man and wife and son and brother and kinsman and friend, and all families.

Son, one who hath not wife or son or brother or kinsman or friend is in the long years despised, and is like unto a tree that is in the crossways, and all who pass by it pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.

Son, say not thus: My lord is foolish and I am wise, but bear with him in his folly; and thou wilt keep thyself with a wise man, until some other one shall praise thee.

Son, say ill to no one; and be thou not evil-tongued in the presence of thy lord, that thou be not contemned by him.

Son, turn not aside at the day of thy sacrifice, for fear lest the Lord be displeased with thy sacrifice.

Son, quit not the scene of mourning and repair unto the wedding; for death lies ahead of all, and the punishment is great.

Son, put not on thy finger a gold ring which is not thine; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple that is not thine. Neither mount a horse that is not thine, since the onlookers who know it will make mock at thee.

Son, eat not bread that is not thine own, even though thou be very hungry.

Son, if a man be stronger than thyself, have no controversy with him, lest he slay thee.

Son, crash and consume the evil out of thy heart, and it is well for thee with God and man, and thou art holpen by the will of God.

Son, if thy doorposts be loftily built to heaven, as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head.

Son, take not from others with a big weight and give back

to them with a little weight, and say: I have made a profit. For God allows it not, but will be wroth; and thou wilt die of starvation.

Son, swear not false, that of thy days there be no fail.

Son, give ear unto the laws of God, and be not afraid of the evil one, for the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

Son, rejoice thou not in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not distressed.

Son, children and possessions are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, the poor man is enriched; the humble is exalted, and the exalted is humbled.

Son, if lofty be the lintels of thy house, and thy friend be sick, say not: What shall I send him? but go on foot and see him with thy eyes; for that is better for him than a thousand talents of gold and silver.

Son, in reward for evil-speaking receive not gold and silver, for it is a death-fraught deed and very evil. And shed not just blood unrighteously, lest thy blood be shed in return for his blood.

Son, keep thy tongue from evil-speaking and thine eye from immodest glances, and thy hand from stealing; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether it be gold or little things that one steals, the punishment and the slaying are one and the same.

Son, commit not adultery with thy friend's wife, lest God be angry and others commit adultery with thy wife.

Son, take not a widow to wife, for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas, for my first husband! and thou art distressed.

Son, if retribution overtake thee from God, flee not nor murmur; lest God be angry and with other harsher stroke destroy thee untimely.

Son, love not thy son better than thy servant, for thou knowest not which of them will be useful to thee.

Son, the sheep that stray from the flock become the portion of the wolves.

Son, pass a just judgment in thy mind, and honor the

aged; to the end that thou mayst receive honor from the great judge, and that it may be well with thee.

Son, incline thine eyes and soften the utterance of thy mouth, and look under thine eyes; that thou mayst not appear senseless to men, for if a temple were built by the hallooings, an ass would build seven palaces every day and . . .¹

Son, boast not in the day of thy youth, lest thy youth be thy destruction.

Son, suffer not thy companion to tread on thy feet, lest he should presume and tread on thy neck as well.

Son, speak not in wrath with thine adversary before the judge, lest thou be called senseless and foolish. But whatever he asks thee, answer him with sweetness; and thou wilt heap up his judgment on his head.

Son, if thou petitionest God for good, first fulfil His will with fasting and prayer, and then are fulfilled thy petitions unto thy good.

Son, a good name is better than a face that excites longing. For beauty is destroyed, but a good name endureth forever.

Son, it is better to be blind of eye than blind of mind; for he that is blind of eye is quick to learn the coming and going of the road. But the blind in mind forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

Son, a side-bone in thy own hand is better than a fat lamb in the hand of others. A sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand fluttering in the air. A kid for a feast in thy house is better than a steer in the house of others.

Son, it is better to garner with poverty than to squander with riches.

Son, curse not thy son, until thou seest his end; and reject him not in scorn, until thou behold his latter end and earnings.

Son, examine the word in thy heart and then utter it. For if thou alter the word, thou art a fawner.

Son, if thou hearest an evil word about any one, hide it in

¹ The meaning of the word *tchardakhs* is unknown and I leave it blank (? cottages).

thy heart seven fathoms deep; so that the evil die and the good be fulfilled.

Son, do thou not scoff frivolously; for the frivolous scoff is a quarrel, and the quarrel is slaying and death.

Son, the false word and the false conversation is heavy as lead; but after a few days it floats upon the waters, like the leaf of a tree.

Son, reveal thy lesser counsel to thy friend, and after days irritate him and flout him. And if he does not reveal that counsel, then reveal to him thy greater counsels, and thou keepest him a trusty friend.

Son, in the presence of kings and judges, be helpful to thy comrade; for, as it were from the mouth of a lion, dost thou rescue him; and he becometh to thee a good name and a glory.

Son, if thy enemy come to thy foot, grant him pardon and laugh with joy to his face and receive him with honor.

Son, where thou art not invited, go not unto a festival; and where they ask thee not, give no answer.

Son, over a river frozen and swollen pass thou not, lest thou die a sudden death.

Son, ask of a wise man words of advice, and thou shalt be made wise. But if thou ask a foolish man, in spite of many words, he is not wise.

Son, if thou sendest a wise man to give any command, he himself fulfils the matter. But if thou sendest a fool, give the command in the presence of many men. And do thou either go thyself or not send him.

Son, test thy son in hunger and thirst; and if he is able to bear it, then give thy riches into his hands.

Son, from the house of invitation and from the wedding go first before thy fellow, and return not again; that thou mayst get thy boon fragrant and mayst get no wounds on the head.

Son, a man who has many possessions and chattels, they call him wise and virtuous; but one who has few chattels they call a fool and of no account, and no man honoreth him.

Son, I have eaten endive and I have drunk gall, and it was

not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt, and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. For though I ate and drank, I could not rest. I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was better for me than to dwell with the ignorant and the fool.

Son, if thou be poor among thy fellows, reveal it not; lest thou be despised by them, and they harken not unto thy words.

Son, love thy flesh and thy wife. For she is thyself and the companion of thy life, and even by extreme labor she nurtures thy eon.

Son, if thy lord send thee to bring a dunged grape, bring it not to him; for he will eat the grape, yet not let thee off punishment for the dung.

Son, the word of a wise man in drink is better than the word of a fool that is thirsty or sober. Better is an upright slave than one free but false. Better is a friend near at hand than a brother far away.

Son, reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.

Son, if thou drinkest wine, keep thy tongue from much speaking, and it is well for thee and thou art called wise.

Son, without a schedule and witness, give not up thy property, lest the other deny it and thou regret it.

Son, forsake not thy friend, lest thou find not another sharer of thy counsel and friend.

Son, love thy father who begat thee, and incur not the curse of thy father and mother, so that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy sons.

Son, it is better if they steal thy goods, than that they detect theft in thee.

Son, if God prosper a man in his undertakings, do thou honor him. And whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him.

Son, oppose not thyself to a wealthy man and to a river in flood. For the eyes of a grasping man are not filled except with dust.

Son, do thou not bring about a betrothal match, for they see the good to be from God and from luck; but the bad is traced to thee, and they call thee an intriguing person.

Son, if the rivers pause in their courses or the sun in its career, or if the gall become sweet as honey, or the raven turn white as the dove, even so will the senseless man abandon his want of sense and the fool become sensible.

Son, go not on foot too often to the house of thy friend, lest he hate thee.

Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, pursue him with stones.

Son, good deeds and a pure offering are pleasing to God; and do thou fear shame as thou fearest God.

Son, the taking of an evil counsel into thy heart is the antagonism of the *dev*; and endurance is the foundation of deeds and the rampart of faith.

Son, that which seems evil unto thee do not to thy companion; and what is not thine own, give not unto others.

Son, love the truth and hate lawlessness and falsehood. Give ear unto the commandments of God, and fear not the evil one. For the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

Son, flee from a man that is evil and speaketh falsely; for avarice is the mother of all evils, and all evils are engendered of impudence.

Son, love not judgment; for even if thou get the better of thine adversary, yet be in fear of the judgment of God.

Son, he that is upright in mind is the sun giving light, and he that is treacherous in heart is gloomy with darkness, and he that is generous in heart is full of pity. He that is grasping, even though he has aught, is nevertheless dull of wit.

Son, into the house of a drunkard enter not; and if thou enter, tarry not; for in thy habits thou remainest empty and idle.

Son, malign not thy fellow, whether near or at a distance; for evil words will quickly reach the master and lead to quarrel.

Son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of gladness, but in the place of a brothel or in any other low and unsuitable place, it is better to drink muck than wine.

Son, a drunken man thinks in his mind thus: I am brave, and everything that I say I say wisely. He does not know that if he meets with a man of courage, he will throw him at the first touch of his hands flat on the ground and drag him.

Son, if thou behold thine enemy fallen, do thou sorrow over him, that thou mayst make a friend of him; but if thou mock at him, when he gets up again he will requite thee with evil.

Son, a drunken man thinks that the earth whirls round; in his going he knows not that his head is deranged; for as the earth is the mother of all plants and fruit-bearing things, so wine is the mother of all evils; it doth cause men to be sick with divers sicknesses, and to slay others without mercy; it deranges the man and changes his nature into that of a brute.

Son, flee from guaranteeing; but if thou become a guarantor, make up thy mind that thou must give away out of thy purse; and not thy purse only, but the hair off thy chin.

Son, be thou not false in speech; for if they find thee to be once false, then when thou speakest the truth they will reckon thee false and will not believe thee.

And I say to Nadan: Son, receive into thy mind my precepts and forget them not.

The questions of the King's sons and the answer of Ahikar:

Hoday and Baliayn asked questions of Ahikar, and Ahikar said to Nathan: There are four things that increase the light to man's eyes: to look upon flowers, to tread with naked foot on the green, to walk upon the water, and to see one's friend.

Four things are there which make a man fat and keep him healthy: to wear linen, and to hear such things as seem

to him pleasant; in the house an amiable and healthy spirit, and to see one's remote friend well off.

And four things are there which improve a man's banquet: at all times to converse well, not to give answer to every word, to be humble, to talk little, modesty in small matters and big ones.

And four things are there which bring shame to one's face: domination of love, to talk too much, and to boast that one knows what one does not know, to conceal everything, to weave a snare and fall into it, and false-speaking.

They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly.

III

And this was the advice which I taught to Nathan, my sister's son. All this I taught to Nathan, my sister's son, I, Ahikar, chief Notary of Seneqerim the King. And so I supposed in my mind that the teaching and advice which I taught to Nathan would abide and remain and that he would preserve it in his mind. And I knew not that he despised my words, and scattered them like the chaff before the wind, supposing in his mind that Ahikar his father was grown very old and had arrived at the door of his tomb. His mind, he said, is distraught and his thoughts are deficient, and he knows nothing.

Nathan began to dissipate my property to its loss, and spared not my servants and handmaids. But he tormented them and killed them, and cut about my horses and mules, and my steeds, and destroyed the very pick of the flock.

And when I saw Nathan, my sister's son, that he was transforming my affairs and dissipating my property, I began to speak with him and I said: Keep away from my property, and come not near it, for it is written in the Proverbs that, whereon hands have not labored, that thing his eye spareth not. And I went and told Seneqerim, my lord.

And he called Nathan and said: As long as Ahikar is alive, thou shalt not touch his property.

In that season Nathan saw Boudan his brother, who had been brought up in my house, and said: Ahikar, my father, is grown old and his words have lost their savor.

And when I heard this, I cast him out from all my belongings.

But Nathan formed a plan of wickedness in his heart. He wrote in my name a letter² to the enemy of Seneqerim, the King of Nineveh and Asorestan; and it was as follows:

I, Ahikar, chief Notary of Seneqerim the King, have sent to the King of the Egyptians to this effect: When this writing reaches thee, thou shalt muster thy forces, and come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will put in your power the land of the Asores, and will give the throne of Seneqerim into thy hand without trouble, for thee to hold it.

And he had made his handwriting to resemble my handwriting, and had sealed it with my seal. And when the forces of the King asked to go home to their homes, Nathan alone remained before the King, and said: O King, live forever. I that have eaten bread and salt in thy house, God forbid that I should see evils before thee. Ahikar, my father, who was in honor and greatness before thee, hath lied to me and to thee, and hath taken the side of thy enemies. And the letter which Nathan had written in my words, and had likened his handwriting to my handwriting, he took, and read the dispatch which he himself had sealed, before the King.

And when the King heard it, he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Ahikar, that he has so behaved to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the King a letter thus conceived:

When thou readest this writing, thou shalt muster thy hosts and shalt come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz. And whenever thou

² There is evidently a lacuna here to be filled up from the Bodley MS. as follows: "to Pharaoh, King of Egypt."

shalt see me, thou shalt draw up in battle array against me. For the messengers of Pharaon are come to me to see my hosts.

He brought the letter to me, and he himself went to the King. He stood before the King and said:

Grieve not, O ruler; but come, let us go to the plain of the Eagles, and let us see whether this be so. Then what thou commandest is done.

And Seneqerim took his army and came to the plain of the Eagles, and found me with my army; and I drew up my forces over against him as he had commanded. When the King saw this, he was very grieved. Nathan began to speak and said: Grieve not, O King, but let us go home. And I will bring my father Ahikar before thee. The King said to Nathan: If thou bringest Ahikar before me, I will give thee very great presents and I will set thee in trust over all my affairs. And all the affairs of my kingdom shall be transacted by thee with ability.

And the King returned to his palace, and Nathan, my sister's son, came to me and said: Seneqerim the King hath sent me to thee and says, Come to me and let us be joyful together.

IV

And when I went, the King said to me:

Ahikar, Notary and wise man, thou wast my counselor and ruler, and giver of commands of the house of the Asores and Ninevites; and thou hast gone over to the side of my enemies.

And that letter, which Nathan had written in my words and had likened therein his handwriting to my handwriting, the King gave unto me and said: Take and read.

And when I read it, all my limbs were dissolved, and my tongue was shriveled up as parchment; and I was stupefied and became like one of those distraught. I sought for a word of wisdom and found no answer to give.

Nathan began to speak, and said to me: Get out of the presence of thy King, gray-haired one, perverted and inane. Give thy hand for the iron and thy foot for the fetter.

And the King turned away his face from me and said to Abusmaq, his *nayip*: Lead away and slay yon godless Ahikar, and remove his head afar, about one hundred ells.

And I fell on my face and kissed the earth and said: O King, live forever. Thou hast willed me to slaying, and hast not harkened unto my words. And I from my heart know that I have not in any way wronged thee, and in my heart there is no guile. I am innocent. Therefore have pity on me and order that in my own house they slay me and give over my body for burial.

And the King ordered Abusmaq, that they should slay me in my own house. And when I went forth from the King, I wrote a letter lamenting to Abestan, my wife, and said: When this letter reaches thee, do thou send out to meet me a thousand virgins; and let them put on apparel of mourning and let them mourn for me and bewail me, that I may see with my own eyes even the wailers who bewail me in my lifetime. But thou shalt make large loaves, to give to my executioners, and dainty viands for them to eat and drink.

And Abestan, my wife, was very wise and fulfilled my orders. She went out to meet me, and led them into the house, and set before them a table; and fed them, and gave them to drink old wine and unmixed, till they were fuddled and were drunk and fell asleep.

Then I and my wife fell at the feet of Abusmaq, weeping, and I said to him: Abusmaq, my comrade, look up to heaven and behold God with thy eyes; and remember the bread and salt which we have eaten together, and remember how that they betrayed thee to Seneqerim the King's father; and I took and kept thee until the King asked for thee, and how, when I led thee before him, he gave me mighty gifts. Now therefore keep me and render to me a return of the service I rendered thee, and to thee there will be mighty gifts as thy requittal, good for good. I have a man in prison, and very like unto me is he. He shed blood in my house and is under sentence of death, and his name in Seniqar. Take therefore my garments into the prison and dress him up in

them and slay him; and so thou fulfillst the King's command.

And when I said this, Abusmaq had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. And the soldiers, fuddled, woke up from sleep at midnight, and slew Seniqar, my slave, and removed his head from him one hundred ells.

And the news went forth into the city of Asorestan, that Ahikar, Notary and wise man, was dead.

Then Abusmaq, my comrade, and Abestan, my wife, made me a house dug out underground, its length seven ells, and its height equal to my head's, hard by the door-posts of my house. And they shut me in and placed beside me bread and water, and then Abusmaq went off to the King and told him that "Ahikar the wise is slain." And all who heard of my death beat their breasts and were full of regret and said: Alas for thee, O Notary! Who is there to decide the matters of thy kingdom with thy ability?

Then the King called Nathan and said to him: Go, make lamentations for the house and mourning for thy father.

Nathan came, and instead of lamenting he gathered together actors, and made great cheer; and he very cruelly tormented my servants and handmaids. And even for Abestan, my wife, he had no respect, but desired to fornicate with her, that had brought him up. And I from my subterranean chamber heard the weeping and groanings and the plaints of my servants. And I, moreover, wept, and my soul longed for a little bread and a morsel of meat and a cup. And I was destitute of all my chattels. And all the inhabitants of Asorestan and of Nineveh fled from me.

v

When the King of Egypt heard this, of how Ahikar the Notary was dead, and of the Ninevites and all the land that they were fled, he was very glad. And the King of Egypt, Pharaon, wrote a letter as follows:

To Seneqerim, King of the Asores. Health be to thy Lordship and Kingship. Be it known to thee that I desire to build a palace hung betwixt heaven and earth. Look and

send unto me a true and clever and wise man who can build, and also give answer to any question I ask. If, however, thou shalt neglect this request, then I will come and take away thy kingdom and will lay waste thy land.

When the King heard this he was very grieved, and sent and mustered his satraps to ask their advice, saying: What shall we do? The satraps say: O King, who else can answer this question except Nathan, who hath learned of Ahikar and knoweth his lore and hath been brought up in his house? He will be able to give an answer to this demand which the King of Egypt hath written. Then the King called Nathan and showed him the counsel; and he gave him the dispatch, and Nathan read it. When he had read aloud the letter, he cried out with a loud voice and said: This is a matter which even the gods can not settle or give answer to. How shall I be able to give answer?

When the King heard, he rose from his golden throne and sat in the ashes, and with his own hands he smote his face and plucked out his beard and said: Alas for thee, Ahikar, Notary and wise, I have through the tittle-tattle of men destroyed thee! For thou didst arrange the affairs of our kingdom. Now if any one gave thee unto me, I would give him whatever he asked of me, no matter how great a treasure of gold and silver.

When Abusmaq, my comrade, heard this, he stood before the King and said: O King, live forever. He that doeth not the King's commands is sentenced to death, for the commands of God and of the King are one. Thou didst bid slay Ahikar, and he is still living,

The King said: Speak, Abusmaq, my servant and trusty one. If thou canst show me Ahikar alive, I will give thee byssus and purple and bestow on thee mighty presents.

And Abusmaq, when he heard this from the King, like a swiftly flying fowl, came unto me, and opened the door of my subterranean chamber, and led me forth.

And the color of my face was changed, and my head was matted, and my nails were grown like an eagle's.

When the King beheld me he bent his head and was

ashamed to look in my face; and hardly looked in my face, his face being full of shame; and he said to me: O my loved and honorable brother Ahikar, go to thy house and repair thy person for forty days, and then come unto me. And I did so. And I came back again to the King, and the King said: I have sinned against thee, father Ahikar. Not I is it that has sinned against thee, but Nathan, thy sister's son, whom thou didst bring up.

And I fell on my face and kissed the earth before the King and said: Forasmuch as I have seen the face of the King, I am alive; and all evils are turned for me into well-being, forasmuch as thy servant Ahikar has found grace.

The King said: Hast thou heard this, O honorable good Ahikar, to wit, what the Egyptian has sent and that which is said, that the inhabitants of Nineveh and Asorestan are fled? And I said to the King: Therefore let a herald proclaim at the gate of thy palace, that Ahikar is alive; and all who shall hear it will return, each man to his place.

And the King commanded a herald to cry, saying: Ahikar is alive; and that all the dwellers in Nineveh and Asorestan returned, each man to his place.

VI

And I said to the King Seneqerim: Concerning this matter which the Egyptian has sent, do thou not be anxious. I will go and give him answer and will bring to thee the tribute from Egypt.

When the King heard this he was glad, and established Abusmaq at the head of the divan. And on the morrow I wrote to Abestan, my wife, and said as follows:

When thou readest this writing, do thou have caught two nestlings of an eagle, and two children not yet able to talk, and two nursing women to nurse the little ones. And they shall say: "Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artizans stand idle." And have two ropes spun, the length thereof two hundred ells, and the thickness thereof one ell.

And cause a carpenter to fit together two cages for the children; and give food to the eagles, every day two lambs.

Aud cause the children to be bound upon the eagles, and to make little flights, until they form the habit. And in this way habituate them until they soar aloft two hundred ells.

And Abestan, my wife, was very wise and did everything at once which I told her. Then the King commanded me to depart to Egypt.

And when I reached the gate of Egypt, I brought the children's cages, even as they were habituated. And I bound them upon the eagles; they flew up and soared aloft, and the children cried out and said: "Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artizans stand idle."

And I, Ahikar, took a rod, and I went after all whom I met and struck them blows and said: Hurry up, give what the artizans ask for. The King of Egypt came up and was very astonished, and was glad and bade us make the birds come down. And he said: Come, rest them from their labors. Eat, drink, and be merry, and on the morrow come to me.

And when it was dawn the King called me and said: What is thy name? And I said: Abikam is my name. For I am a serf of Seneqerim, the King.

And when the King heard, he was grieved exceedingly, and said: Have I seemed so contemptible in the eyes of Seneqerim, the King of Asorestan, that he has sent a serf unto me to give me answer? And he said to me: Go unto thy house and to-morrow come to me.

And when on the morrow I went, the King gave command to his forces to dress themselves in scarlet *chlamid*; and the King himself was arrayed in purple raiment, and sat on his throne, and his forces around him. He commanded and called me to him and said: Abikam, unto whom am I like? Or my forces, whom are they like? I said, Thou art like to the *diq*,³ and thy satraps to their priests. He said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and to-morrow come unto me.

When I had gone to my house and came the next day to

³ *I.e.*, "to God." The plural *diq*, literally, "demons," but is used like the Hebrew *Elohim* as a singular.

him, he had arrayed his forces in linen, and he himself was arrayed in scarlet, and he said to me: Unto whom am I like, or my forces, to whom are they like? And I said: Thou art like the sun, and thy satraps are like its rays.

And again he said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and on the morrow come to me.

And when I went on the morrow, he commanded the satraps to array themselves in dyed raiment, and he arrayed himself in raiment of plumes, and sat on his throne and said to me: To whom am I like? I said: Thou art like to the green grass, and thy satraps to the blossoms thereof.

Then the King was glad and said: Tell me the truth. Seneqerim, the King, to whom is he like? I said: God forbid that thou shouldst mention Seneqerim, the King, since thou art sitting down. But stand up, and I will tell thee. When he had risen up, I said: Seneqerim, the King, is like unto Belshim, and his satraps to the lightnings. When he willeth, he weaveth the rain; and he shooteth out the dew on high, he sendeth it forth in his empery. He thunders, and imprisons the rays of the sun. And when he willeth, he doth bring hail and grindeth to dust tree, green herb and dry; and he makes the dawn break and smiteth the shoots of green grass.

The King said: Tell me, what is thy name? I said: Ahikar is my name. He said: Wretch, hast thou come to life? And I said: Since I have seen thy face, O King, I am alive. The King said: May this day be blessed, for I have seen Ahikar with my own eyes alive, with my own eyes.

And I fell on my face and did homage to him and kissed him. The King said: Expound this saying.

There stands a pillar, and upon that pillar twelve cedars, and upon them thirty wheels, and upon each wheel two couriers, the one black and the other white. And I said: O King, this the cowherds of the Asores know. The pillar of which thou spakest is the year, and the cedars are the twelve months. The thirty wheels are the days of the

months. The two couriers, the one black and the other white, are dawn and nightfall.

The King said, What is this story, that from Egypt as far as Nineveh there are 500 leagues — how did our mares hear the neighing of your stallions and miscarry? I, Ahikar, went out from him, and I took a cat and scolded and tortured it. Then they told the King, saying: Ahikar flouts the *diq* and tortures the cats. The King called me and said: Ahikar, wherefore dost thou flout our *diq* and torture the cats? And I said: Yon cat has done harm enough to me. Aforetime the King gave to me a cock; sweet of voice was it, and at each hour it awoke me, to go to the King's palace. This very night the cat went off and bit off the head of the cock and came back here. And the King said to me as follows: It appears that as thou growest old, in the same measure your words and wisdom are changed round. From Egypt to Nineveh there are 500 leagues. How then in a single night could a cat bite off the head of the cock and come back hither? But I said: How could your mares hear the neighing and miscarry?

The King said: Leave this. Come and weave me a rope of sand. When I had gone out from him, the King said to all those with him: Whatever Ahikar says, ye shall say, "We know and have heard this saying."

VII

And I took and wrote a letter thus: "From Seneqerim, King, all hail to Pharaon, King of Egypt. Brethren have need of brethren to behold them and kings of kings. In this season expenses and debts enough have there been, and silver is wanting in our treasuries. So then, give orders and have brought to me by dispatch a hundred talents of silver."

And I fastened up the letter and went in to the King and said: In this dispatch I have written of a matter, of which neither your city nor your satraps have heard. And they all said: We have heard and we know this matter of yours. But I said: If ye have heard, say then before ye have opened

the letter. And they could not say, but opened and read it. I said: Ye have heard what is written.

The King said: If a rope of sand thou weavest not for me, thou shalt not carry away the tribute from Egypt. And I went into a deeply dug chamber, and perforated the wall of the chamber on the side whence the dawn shone; and when the dawn gleamed forth, it flashed into the chamber seven ells; and I took up dust of sand and cast it into the hole bored and blew into it. It appeared like woven twists, and I said: Give orders, O King, that they collect yon ropes and I will weave yet others.

When the King saw this he laughed and said: Blessed art thou before the *diq*. And he gave me very great presents, and allowed the tribute from Egypt, and well and gladly dismissed me, and I departed.

When the King Seneqerim heard of my coming, he went out to meet me with joy. When we had saluted each other, he took and led me into his palace and made me recline at the head of the couch; and made merry for several days, and bestowed on me very great presents, and said to me: O my father Ahikar, ask of me other very great presents and I will give them to thee. And I bowed to the earth to him and said: O King, live forever. Whatsoever thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on Abusmaq, my comrade, who gave life to thy servant.

But to me thou shalt give Nathan, my sister's son, whom I taught. For he hath not well learned my former lore.

And the King gave Nathan, my sister's son, into my hands, and I bound him with a single chain of iron, which was of the weight of seven talents, at the door of my portico; and I entrusted him to Beliar, my servant. And I ordered him to scourge him on his back and belly. And I said to him in my coming in and going forth: Whatsoever I speak in proverbs with him, do thou write on paper and keep it with thee; and I gave to him a little bread and a little water. I began to speak and said as follows:

VIII

Son, him that with his ears heareth not, they make to hear through his back.

Nathan began to speak, and said: Wherefore art thou angry with me, my father? I have sinned against thee, my father Ahikar. If thou wilt have mercy on me, thy servant, I will even become to thee dust and ashes and a servant all the days of my life.

And I said to him:

Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, and from my throne thou didst hurl me to ruin.

Son, I in byssus and purples clad thee, and thou with earth would have destroyed my body.

Son, I raised thee on high like a tower, so that if the enemy should come to me, I might go forth and fortify myself in thee; and thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house.

Son, I gave thee to glory and honor; and thou didst betray me into the hands of enmity and death.

Son, I nurtured thee like the cub of the fox; and thine eye was on thine hole, and my finger smooth was on thy mouth, and thy fingers were sharpened upon my eyes.

Son, my righteousness and innocence saved and rescued me; and thy injustice prospered thee not.

Son, thou wast to me as a scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said: Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again he struck the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it and said: Captive, knewest thou not that thy breath and soul were under my feet?

Son, thou hast been to me like a goat which was eating madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me? Knowest thou not that with my root they dye thy skin? Said the goat: I in my lifetime eat thee, after my death they pluck up thy root and prepare (literally, "build ") my skin.

Son, thou hast been to me like him that shot his arrow up to the heavens; and he was not able to reach thereunto, but

reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned upon his head.

Son, thou hast been to me like the sower, who sowed ten bushels, and gathered five bushels, and the rest failed.

Son, thou hast been to me like the axe that was chopping a tree. Said the tree: Wert thou not from me, thou couldst not overcome me. Thus didst thou imagine, saying: I will fill his place. But if the pig's tail were about five ells long, it would not fill the place of the horse. And if its fleece were as purple, it could not be likened to the body of a king.

The maggot of the bread ate the body of a king, but was itself no-use to any one nor profitable, but vile.

Son, thou hast been to me like the young of the swallow which fell out of its nest, and a weasel found it, and said: If it had not been for me,⁴ then a great evil would have befallen you. The nestling said to the weasel: Thy good which thou hast done to me shall return upon thine head.

Son, a dog which itself eats the quarry, will become the prey of wolves. An eye that gives me no light, the ravens dig it out. Hand which helps me not, from the shoulder let them lop it off.

Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung. A sparrow found it and said: What doest thou? And it said: I am engaged in prayer unto God. Said the sparrow: And that which is in thy mouth, what is it? It said: A little loaf for the hungry. The sparrow darted in to take the bread, and was caught by the neck, and said: If this was a little loaf for the hungry, God even so heareth thy prayer.

Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I live away, I am blinded; for dust is a remedy for my eyes and benefits them.

Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. The young ass said: Peace to yonder master of mine, who hath loosed the cord of my feet, and let me behold thy face evil and blood-thirsty.

⁴ Literally, "if it had been apart from me."

Son, thou hast been to me like one who saw his fellow a-shivering. Taking water, he threw it over him.

Son, thou hast been to me like the dog which went into the oven of the potter. When he was warm, he began to bark at the potter.

Son, they said to the eat, Give up thy habitual affair, and the privilege is extended to thee to enter the palace and quit it. The cat said: If my eyes were gold and my paw of silver, I would yet not give up the habitual thing.

Son, thou hast been to me as a snake that wound itself round a bramble and fell into a river. A wolf saw it and said: Lo, the evil is mounted on the evil, and evil is that which drives them along.

Son, thou hast been to me as a mole which came out of its hole and one with another went forth because of their eyes not seeing. And an eagle swooped and seized him; and the mole said: If there had been no senses in my case, I should have remained in my place and lived a peaceful life.

Son, they gave teaching to the wolf's cub, and said: Say thou, *ayb, ben, gim*;⁵ and he said *ayts, bouts, garhn* (i.e., "goat, kid, lamb").

Son, they took the swine to the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled himself in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine.

Nathan began to speak and said: My father Ahikar, men sin unto God, and He forgives them, when they say: I have sinned. Father, I have sinned unto thee. Forgive me, and I will be to thee a slave henceforth forever.

And I spake to Nathan thus:

Son, thou hast been to me like a palm-tree which was growing with roots on the bank of the river. When the fruit ripened, it fell into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, and the tree said: Leave me in this place, that in the next year I may bear fruit. The lord of the tree said: Up to this day hast thou been to me useless, in the future thou wilt not become useful.

Son, God hath rescued me because of my innocence, but

⁵ I.e., the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet.

hath destroyed thee because of thy lawlessness. God passes judgment between me and thee. For the tail of the dog gives bread and his mouth a cudgel.

In the same hour Nathan swelled up and all his body burst asunder, and I said:

Son, he that doeth good, winneth good; and he that digs a pit for others, himself falls into the pit. The good endeth in good and the evil in evil.

Here endeth Ahikar.

THE NEW FOUND ANCIENT BOOK OF AHIKAR

. . . Ahikar was his name, a wise and erudite scribe, who instructed his son . . . He said: The son will be . . . for me before . . . Ahikar . . . the Great Seal of Sennacherib, King of Assyria . . . and there was no son to me . . . and Sennacherib, King of Assyria, had fulfilled his days and Sennacherib died . . . his son, named Esarhaddon, and he was King of Assyria in the place of his father Sennacherib . . . Assyria. Thereupon I took my son . . . and I instructed him and virtue . . . in the Palace along with . . . I presented him before Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria. And wisdom . . . what he had asked him. And thereon Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria, loved him and said, Long life . . . the wise scribe, the counselor of all Assyria, who has appointed as his son, and no son . . . and I bowed down and worshiped, I, Ahikar, before Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria. . . . Ahikar, and when I saw the face of Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria, favorably, I rose up . . . as I was before, Sennacherib thy father, who was King before thee. . . .

I shall not be able to serve the King in the gate of this palace . . . whose name is Nadin, my grown-up son, and he shall succeed me as Secretary . . . and Great Seal shall he be; and also my wisdom and . . . the King of Assyria. And he said to me, like thyself . . . and in thy stead he shall do thy work. . . . I went to my house . . . and I set him in the gate of the palace . . . and I said, he will seek after what is good . . . my son Nadin whom I have brought up, think on . . . the King Sennacherib, thy father . . . he is wise and according to his counsel and advice . . . will much disquiet the King. Listen ... as a son, who is not my son; as a son . . .

. . . Answered Esarhaddon, the King, and said: . . .

whom my father hath made great, who ate the bread of my father . . . thou wilt seek, where thou canst find . . . that old man Ahikar. He is a wise secretary . . . whether he can corrupt the country against us, after that . . . Assyria; he attached to him two men, in order to see . . . that officer Nabusumiskun, riding upon a swift horse . . . with him after yet three days . . . and the others who were with him, as I was walking in the vineyards. Nabusumiskun, the officer, rent his garment and lamented . . . the wise Secretary and master of good counsel who . . . by whose counsel and words all Assyria was directed . . . Nadin, thy son, whom thou hast appointed in the gate of the Palace, hath undone thee. . . . Then was I much afeard, even I, Ahikar; and I answered and said to Nabusumiskun . . . I am he who aforetime saved thee from undeserved death . . . the father of the present King, Esarhaddon, was angry with thee . . . I brought thee to my house, thither was I bringing thee . . .

I treated thee as a man treats his brother, and hid thee from the presence of King Sennacherib. I said, I have killed him, until at another time and after yet many days I presented thee before King Sennacherib, and caused thy sins to pass away before him: and no evil did he to thee. And with me also King Sennacherib was well pleased, because I had preserved thee alive and not slain thee. And now do thou also to me in the same fashion as I did to thee. Slay me not, but bring me into thy house until other days. King Esarhaddon is merciful as one . . . toward another. He will remember me and will long for my advice. Thou wilt then present me before him, and he will suffer me to live. Thereupon answered Nabusumiskun, and said to me, Fear not, Thou shalt live, Ahikar, the father of all Assyria, according to whose counsel Sennacherib and all the Assyrian army were wont to make war. Nabusumiskun, the officer, spake to those two men, his companions, who were with him: Listen and I will give you a piece of advice, and it is good advice too. The two men answered and said to him, Tell it us then. And Nabusumiskun answered and said to them, Listen to me.

Yonder is Ahikar, a great man. He is the Great Seal of Esarhaddon. According to his counsel and word is the whole army of Assyria governed. Do not let us kill him. There is a eunuch whom I have, and whom I will give you. He must be killed in the mountain; he shall be a substitute for Ahikar . . . other people may come and see the body of yonder Ahikar, for the body of the young man, the eunuch, whom I have . . .

. . . until our brother Esarhaddon shall have regret over our brother and the heart of Esarhaddon ... I will give you much treasure . . . and the soul of the officer was content with his two companions. And they said, Do as thou counselest . . . Thereupon they slew the aforementioned eunuch in the stead of Ahikar . . . At that time report was made in the King's palace, and they said to the King, He hath been slain. Thereupon Nabusumiskun brought me to his house, and he caused to be supplied to me there meat and drink, and said, Let these things be furnished to my lord Ahikar. Likewise he brought much treasure . . . Thereupon Nabusumiskun, the officer, went to Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria, and informed him, saying, I went my way, as directed, and I found Ahikar walking in his vineyards, and I have put him to death. And do thou, O King, inquire of the two men whom thou didst appoint. So spake he . . . until that Esarhaddon believed his words.

[This is all of the narrative which has been preserved: the extant portions of the proverbial and allegorical parts of the book are very fragmentary in character, and uncertain as to their restoration, to order, and sense. The readable parts follow:]

What is stronger than a braying ass? . . .

The son who is instructed and disciplined, and who has on his feet. . .

Do not withhold thy son from beating, if thou . . .

My son, if I beat thee, thou diest not. And if I leave on thy heart . . .

Smite the boy, like . . . even so to all thy servants . . .

The lion will be . . . the stag in the secret of his den . . .

And he pours out his blood and eats his flesh . . .

The ass has left . . . and does not carry it. He takes up . . . from his companions . . . which was not his.

Watch carefully over thy mouth . . . and make thy heart slow, for the word spoken is like a bird, and he who utters it is like a man without . . . the craft of the mouth is mightier than the craft . . .

Do not conceal the word of a king . . .

They deal with trees by fire, with flesh by a knife, and with man . . .

Let not thy heart rejoice in the multitude of children, and over their fewness be not discouraged.

A king is as a merciful man, also his voice is higher than that of him who stands before him . . .

The king is fair to look on as the sun, and for them that walk the earth, his adornment is costly . . .

My son, I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt, but there was nothing heavier than . . .

I have lifted straw and handled the plow . . . and there was nothing lighter than the man who dwells in . . .

The panther met the goat, and it was naked. And the panther answered and said to the goat, Come and I will cover thee with my skin.

The goat answered and said to the panther, Why . . . my skin? Take it not from me . . .

The wolf came to the lambs . . . and I will be silent. The lambs answered and said to him, Take what thou wantest from us . . .

Nothing lies in a man's power, to lift up his foot or to set it down . . .

Do not bend thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should . . . and cause it to return upon thyself.

Thou hast bent thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou. That is a sin against our God.

A loan is heavy, and borrow thou not from a man . . .
and if thou contractest a loan, give thy soul no peace
until . . .

. . . in thine ears, for the charm of a man is his trustiness,
and his hatred is lying with his lips.

The son of my body has spied out my house . . . he has
told strangers . . .

He has become a false witness against me:

And who will now declare my righteousness?

With him that is higher than thyself do not . . .

With him that is stronger . . . than thyself, do not . . .

. . . and be not insolent to thy father . . .

The thorn-bush sent to the pomegranate, and said

The thorn-bush to the pomegranate: How numerous are
thy thorns for him who handles thee!

The pomegranate answered and said to the thorn-bush,

Thou art all thorns for him who handles thee.

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY

"The secret conviction buoys us up, that perchance they may contain a few traces of time-honored traditions — some faint, feeble glimpses of that blessed childhood, that pensive and secluded youth, over which, in passive moments, we muse with such irrepressible longing to know more — such deep, deep desideration."

— BISHOP ELLICOTT.

THE GOSPELS OF THE INFANCY OF JESUS

(INTRODUCTION)

THE apocrypha of the New Testament differ from those of the Old Testament at least in this: there has never been any serious possibility of their acceptance. The moment any one of them has come before any competent church authority it has been rejected as not belonging among inspired writings.

Neither have these later apocrypha any serious standing as historical works. They are thus almost wholly dependent for interest upon their human value. They represent the fancies and poetic imaginings with which men at a very early period surrounded the most beloved of all human figures, Jesus of Nazareth. They depict also the hatred and contumely which were heaped upon those who had opposed or injured Jesus. Literature knows no books more filled with natural human passion than these apocrypha.

Among the surviving New Testament apocrypha the "Protevangelium" is apparently the earliest. It was probably written in Greek in the second century A.D. by a Christian of the Jewish race, but one who was not wholly familiar with Jewish history, for he makes several small errors about the customs of Jesus' day. "Protevangelium" means the primary or introductory gospel, and was applied to this work as being devoted to the events preceding the birth of Jesus or occurring in his earliest infancy. The James to whom it is attributed is traditionally assumed to be the James who was a son of Joseph, and foster-brother of Jesus. There is very little of a doctrinal nature in the book, so it can scarcely have been written to support any particular religious sect; and its legends are so old that they must bear some relation to the known facts of the day. All the later apocrypha of Jesus'

childhood know the Protevangelium and draw upon it as a source.

Among the other apocrypha of the childhood, that of Thomas is probably the oldest. It is a brief book, claiming the authorship of "Thomas the Israelite," supposedly the Apostle, the "Doubting Thomas" of Scripture. This apocryphal gospel was so popular during the Middle Ages that several quite different versions of it have sprung up. Of these we give the earliest Greek version, which probably dates from about the year A.D. 200. The amazing feature about this series of legends of boyhood miracles is the writer's complete misconception of the character of Jesus. The child Christ is represented almost as an imp, cursing and destroying those who annoy him. The style of the Greek language in this book is as rude and boorish as its spirit. It represents the apocrypha in their lowest type.

The third gospel of the childhood given here, the "Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew," is of another kind. The resemblances and differences between the four accepted Gospels have led to a much disputed theory among scholars, that the four may all be founded on some still earlier gospel, known to their day but afterward lost. This theory has been encouraged by a statement in a very early Christian writer that "Matthew wrote the discourses of our Lord in the Jewish dialect, and each one interpreted them as he could." The possibility thus suggested, of a very early collection of the sayings of Jesus, has led to much searching for this theoretical "protevangelium," or primary gospel, and to a special study of the false Gospel of Matthew here presented. It can not possibly be the sought-for "Discourses of our Lord," because it is founded on the apocrypha of James and Thomas. It is apparently a product of about the fifth century, and is known only in a Latin text incorporating the two preceding books with a third book now lost, which described the flight into Egypt. Pseudo-Matthew is thus the fullest of the gospels of the infancy.

The Arabic gospel, which completes this group of apocrypha, is of yet another type. It shows how upon the same

groundwork, the apocrypha of James and Thomas, the other tales grew up. This Arabic gospel is of the sixth century or later, and by that period Eastern Christianity was accepting legends almost as freely as was Mohammedanism. The gospel is interesting mainly for its author's absolute readiness to include any tale, no matter how extravagant or puerile.

THE PROTEVANGELIUM¹

OR

GOSPEL OF JAMES

*The Birth of Mary, the Holy Mother of God and Very
Glorious Mother of Jesus Christ.*

CHAPTER I

In the histories of the twelve tribes of Israel there was one Joachim,² who was very rich, and he offered his gifts twofold, saying, There shall be of my substance for all the people, and for my forgiveness with the Lord as a propitiation for me. And the great day of the Lord drew nigh, and the children of Israel offered their gifts. And Reuben, the high priest, resisted him, saying, It is not lawful for thee to offer thy gifts first, because thou hast not produced seed in Israel. And Joachim was very grieved, and went to the genealogy of the twelve tribes of the people, saying, I will see the genealogy of the twelve tribes of Israel, whether I alone have not produced seed in Israel. And he sought and found that all the righteous had raised up seed in Israel; and he remembered the patriarch Abraham, that at the last day God gave him his son Isaac. And Joachim was very grieved, and did not show himself to his wife, but betook himself into the wilderness, and there pitched his tent, and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying in himself, I will not go down either

¹These gospels are given in the established translations of Mr. B. Harris Cowper.

²Some think that Mary's father was called Heli, understanding Luke iii. 23, to mean as much. Jerome supposed he was called Cleophas; but we have no evidence that the name Joachim was given him before the appearance of this document. In like manner the name Anna is quite without Biblical authority. Reuben also, as the name of the high priest, is supported by no authority.

for meat or for drink, until the Lord my God shall visit me; and prayer shall be my meat and drink.

CHAPTER II

Now his wife Anna grieved with double grief, and lamented with a double lamentation, saying, I will bewail my widowhood, and I will bewail my childless condition. And the great day of the Lord drew nigh, and Judith, her maiden, said, How long dost thou humble thy soul? Behold the great day of the Lord is at hand, and it is not lawful for thee to mourn; but take this headband, which the lady who made it gave to me, and it is not proper for me to put it on, because I am a servant, and it hath a royal character. And Anna said, Leave me, and, I would not do thus, and, The Lord hath greatly humbled me. Perhaps some crafty person gave thee this, and thou hast come to make me partaker in thy sin. And Judith said, Why shall I curse thee, because the Lord hath closed thy womb, so as not to give thee fruit in Israel? And Anna was very grieved, and took off her mourning garments, and anointed her head, and put on her wedding garments, and about the ninth hour went down into her garden to walk, and she saw a laurel-tree, and sat under it, and supplicated the Lord, saying, O God of our fathers, bless me, and harken to my prayer, as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and gavest her a son, Isaac.³

CHAPTER III

And as she looked toward heaven she saw a nest of sparrows in the laurel-tree, and she made a lamentation in herself, saying, Woe is me; who begat me? and what womb bare me? For I have become a curse before the children of Israel, and I am reproached, and they revile me from the temple of the Lord. Woe is me; what am I like unto? I am not like the fowls of heaven, for even the fowls of heaven are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe is me; what am I like unto? I am not like the beasts of the earth, for even the

³ Compare 1 Sam. i. 9-18.

beasts of the earth are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe is me; what am I like unto? I am not like these waters, for even these waters are fruitful before thee, O Lord. Woe is me; what am I like unto? I am not like this earth, for even the earth produceth its fruits in due season, and blesseth thee, O Lord.

CHAPTER IV

And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by, saying unto her, Anna, Anna, the Lord hath heard thy prayer, and thou shalt conceive and bring forth, and thy seed shall be spoken of in all the world. And Anna said, As the Lord my God liveth, if I bring forth either male or female, I will bring it as a gift to the Lord my God, and it shall minister to him all the days of its life. And behold, there came two angels, saying unto her, Behold, Joachim thy husband is coming with his flocks. For an angel of the Lord went down to him, saying, Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God hath heard thy prayer; go down hence: for, behold, thy wife Anna shall conceive. And Joachim went down, and called his shepherds, saying, Bring me hither ten she-lambs without spot and blemish, and they shall be for the Lord my God. And bring me twelve tender calves, and they shall be for the priests and the elders; also a hundred goats for all the people. And behold, Joachim came with his flocks, and Anna stood at the gate, and saw Joachim coming, and she ran and hung upon his neck, saying, Now I know that the Lord God hath blessed me greatly; for behold, the widow is no more a widow, and I that am childless shall conceive. And Joachim rested the first day in his house.

CHAPTER V

Now on the morrow he offered his gifts, saying in himself, If the Lord God be propitious to me, he will make the plate on the priest's forehead manifest to me. And Joachim offered his gifts, and observed the plate on the priest's forehead, as he went up to the altar of the Lord, and he saw no sin in himself, and Joachim said, Now I know that the Lord is

propitious to me, and hath pardoned all my sins.⁴ And he went down from the temple of the Lord justified, and departed to his own house.

And her months were accomplished, and in the ninth month Anna bare a child. And she said to the midwife, What have I borne? And she said, A girl. And Anna said, This day my soul is magnified; and she laid it down. And when the days were accomplished, Anna purified herself, and gave the child the breast, and called its name Mary.

CHAPTER VI

And the child increased in strength from day to day, and when she was six months old her mother set her on the ground, to try if she could stand; and having walked seven steps she came to her lap. And she caught her up, saying, As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk upon this earth until I bring thee to the temple of the Lord. And she made a sanctuary in her chamber, and suffered nothing common and unclean to pass by her, and called the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and they led her about. And the child's first birthday came, and Joachim made a great feast, and called the priests and scribes, and elders, and all the people of Israel. And Joachim brought the child to the priests, and they blessed her, saying, O God of our fathers, bless this child, and give her a name eternally to be named in all generations! And all the people said, So be it, so be it, Amen. And he brought her to the high priests, and they blessed her, saying, O God most High, look upon this child, and bless her with a last blessing which hath none to follow it. And her mother took her up to the sanctuary of her chamber and gave her the breast. And Anna made a song to the Lord God, saying, I will sing a song to the Lord my God, for he hath visited me, and hath removed from me the reproach of my enemies; and the Lord hath given me the fruit of his righteousness, fruit which is peculiar and very rich before him. Who shall tell to the children of Reuben that Anna giveth suck? Harken, harken, ye twelve tribes of Israel, for

⁴ Compare Exod. xxviii. 36-38.

Anna giveth suck. And she laid it to rest in the chamber of her sanctuary, and went out and served them. And when the supper was ended they went down rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

CHAPTER VII

And months were added to the child; and the child became two years old, and Joachim said, Let us conduct her to the temple of the Lord, that we may render the vow which we vowed, lest perchance the Lord refuse us, and our gift become unacceptable. And Anna said, Let us wait till the third year, that the child may not require its father or mother. And Joachim said, Let us wait. And the child became three years old, and Joachim said, Call the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and let them take a lamp apiece, and let these be burning, that the child may not turn back, and its heart be taken captive from the temple of the Lord. And they did thus until they came up into the temple of the Lord. And the priest received her, and kissed and blessed her, and said, The Lord hath magnified his name in all generations: with thee at the end of days, the Lord will manifest his redemption to the children of Israel. And he set her upon the third step of the altar, and the Lord God bestowed grace upon her, and she danced about on her feet, and all the house of Israel loved her.

CHAPTER VIII

And her parents went down wondering, and praising the Lord God, because the child did not turn back. And Mary was like a dove brought up in the temple of the Lord, and received food from the hand of an angel. And when she became twelve years old there was held a council of the priests, who said, Behold, Mary is become twelve years old in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her, lest perchance the sanctuary of the Lord be defiled? And they said to the high priest, Thou hast stood at the altar of the Lord; go in, and pray for her, and whatever the Lord shall manifest to thee, that also will we do. And the high

priest entered, taking the breastplate into the holy of holies, and prayed for her. And behold the angel of the Lord stood by, saying unto him, Zacharias, Zacharias,⁵ go forth and summon the widowers of the people, and let them take a rod apiece, and she shall be the wife of him to whom the Lord shall show a sign. And the criers went out through all the region of Judea round about, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all ran together.

CHAPTER IX

Now Joseph cast down his axe and went out to meet them. And having assembled, they went away to the high priest, taking the rods; and he received the rods of all, and entered the holy place and prayed; and when he had finished praying, he took the rods, and went out and delivered them to them and there was no sign among them. But Joseph received the last rod, and, behold, a dove went out of the rod, and flew upon the head of Joseph. And the priest said to Joseph, Thou hast been allotted to receive the virgin of the Lord to keep with thyself. And Joseph refused, saying, I have sons, and I am old, and she is a girl. Let me not become ridiculous to the children of Israel. And the priest said to Joseph, Fear the Lord thy God; and remember what God did to Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah, how the earth opened, and they were swallowed up because of their gainsaying. And now, fear, Joseph, lest this should come to pass in thy house. And Joseph feared, and took her to keep with himself. And Joseph said unto Mary, Behold, I have received thee from the temple of the Lord, and now I leave thee in my house, and go to build my buildings, and will come to thee. The Lord will protect thee.

CHAPTER X

And there was a council of the priests, who said, Let us make a curtain for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said, Call me undefiled virgins of the house of David. And

⁵ According to this, Zacharias was the high priest; but the copies differ, and some do not represent him as such.

the servants went and sought and found seven virgins. And the priest recollected the girl Mary, that she was of the tribe of David, and was uncorrupt before God. And the servants went and brought her. And they led them into the temple of the Lord; and the priest said, Cast me lots, who shall spin the gold, and green, and fine linen, and silk, and blue, and scarlet, and true purple. And the true purple and the scarlet fell to the lot of Mary, and she took it and went away to her home. And at that time Zacharias became speechless, and Samuel was in his stead, until Zacharias spake. And Mary took the scarlet and spun it.

CHAPTER XI

And she took the water-pot and went out to draw water; and behold a voice, saying, Hail, thou favored one, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women. And she looked about right and left, to see whence this voice came. And becoming afraid, she went away to her home, and set down the water-pot; and taking the purple, she sat on her seat and spun it. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor before the Lord of all, and thou shalt conceive from his word. And when she heard she disputed in herself, saying, Shall I conceive from the Lord, the living God, and bear as every woman beareth? And the angel of the Lord said, Not so, Mary; for the power of the Lord will overshadow thee; wherefore also that holy thing which is born of thee shall be called the son of the Most High; and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. And Mary said, Behold, the servant of the Lord is before him; be it unto me according to thy word.

CHAPTER XII

And she wrought the purple and the scarlet, and took it to the priest. And the priest blessed her, and said, Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed in all the generations of the earth. And Mary was glad, and

went away to Elizabeth, her kinswoman;⁶ and she knocked at the door; and when Elizabeth heard, she threw down the scarlet, and ran to the door and opened it; and seeing Mary, she blessed her, and said, Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for, behold, that which is within me leaped and blessed thee. And Mary was unaware of the mysteries which Gabriel the Archangel⁷ told her, and she looked up to heaven, and said, Who am I, Lord, that all the generations of the earth shall bless me? And she spent three months with Elizabeth. And day by day her condition became more manifest; and being afraid, Mary went to her house, and hid herself from the children of Israel. Now she was sixteen⁸ years old when these strange things happened.

CHAPTER XIII

And her sixth month came, and, behold, Joseph came from his housebuilding; and entering his house he found her pregnant. And he smote his face, and threw himself upon the ground on sackcloth, and wept bitterly, saying, With what face shall I look at the Lord my God? and what shall I entreat concerning this damsel? for I received her a virgin from the temple of the Lord, and have not kept her. Who hath circumvented me? Who hath done this evil in my house, and defiled the virgin? Is not the history of Adam repeated in me? for just as Adam was at the hour of his thanksgiving, and the Serpent came and found Eve alone, and deceived her, so also hath it befallen me. And Joseph arose from his sackcloth, and called Mary, and said to her, Thou that hast been cared for of God, why hast thou done this, and hast forgotten the Lord thy God? why hast thou humbled thy soul, thou that wast brought up in the holy of holies, and didst receive food at the hand of an angel? And she wept bitterly, saying, I am pure and know no man. And Joseph said to

⁶ Luke i. 39-56.

⁷ In Luke i. 26, Gabriel is simply called an "angel," and so some read here.

⁸ The copies vary, reading 14, 15, 17, and even 18, as well as 16.

her, Whence then is it that thou art pregnant? and she said, As the Lord my God liveth, I know not whence it is come to me.

CHAPTER XIV

And Joseph was greatly afraid, and separated from her, and reasoned what he should do with her. And Joseph said, If I hide her fault, I find myself fighting with the law of the Lord; and if I expose her to the children of Israel, I fear lest that which is in her is angelic,⁹ and I shall be found betraying innocent blood to the sentence of death. What, then, shall I do with her? I will secretly divorce her from me. And night overtook him; and, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying, Be not afraid of this damsel; for that which she hath conceived is of the Holy Spirit; and she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. And Joseph arose from sleep, and glorified the God of Israel, who had granted him this favor, and he kept her.¹⁰

CHAPTER XV

And Annas, the scribe, came to him, and said to him, Why didst thou not appear in our council? And Joseph said to him, Because I was wearied with the journey, and rested the first day. And he turned and saw Mary pregnant. And he went running to the priest, and said to him, Joseph, whom thou hast attested, hath greatly transgressed. And the priest said, What is this? And he said, The virgin which he received from the temple of the Lord, her he hath defiled, and hath hidden his marriage, and not made it known to the children of Israel. And the priest answered and said, Hath Joseph done this? And Annas the scribe said, Send servants, and thou shalt find the virgin pregnant. And the servants departed, and found as he said; and they brought her away along with Joseph to the place of judgment. And the priest said, Mary, why hast thou done this? and where-

⁹ For "angelic" another reading is "holy."

¹⁰ Matt. i. 18-21.

fore hast thou humbled thy soul, and hast been forgetful of the Lord thy God? thou that wast brought up in the holy of holies, and didst receive food at the hand of an angel, and didst hear hymns, and didst dance before him; why hast thou done this? And she wept bitterly, saying, As the Lord my God liveth, I am pure before him, and I know not a man. And the priest said to Joseph, What is this that thou hast done? And Joseph said, As the Lord liveth, I am pure in regard to her. And the priest said, Bear not false witness, but say the truth. Thou hast hidden her marriage, and not made it known to the children of Israel, and hast not bowed thine head under the strong hand, that thy seed might be blessed. And Joseph was silent.

CHAPTER XVI

And the priest said, Restore the virgin which thou receivedst from the temple of the Lord. And Joseph wept very much. And the priest said, I will cause you to drink the water of the Lord's reproof, and it shall manifest your sins before your eyes.¹¹ And the priest took and gave it to Joseph to drink, and sent him into the hill country; and he returned quite sound. And he also gave it to Mary to drink, and sent her into the hill country; and she returned quite sound. And all the people wondered that sin was not seen in them. And the priest said, If the Lord God hath not manifested your sins, neither do I judge you; and he dismissed them. And Joseph took Mary, and went to his house rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

CHAPTER XVII

And there was a command from Augustus the King, that all who were in Bethlehem of Judea should be enrolled.¹² And Joseph said, I will enroll my children, but what shall I do with this damsel? How shall I enroll her? As my wife? I am ashamed to do it. As my daughter? But all the children of Israel know that she is not my daughter. The day of the Lord will itself bring it about as the Lord

¹¹ Numb. v. 17.

¹² Luke ii. 1.

willeth it. And he saddled the ass, and set her upon it, and his son led it, and Joseph followed. And they came within three miles. And Joseph turned and saw her sad, and he said in himself, Perhaps her burden troubleth her. And Joseph turned again, and saw her laughing: and he said to her, Mary, what aileth thee, because I see thy face at one time laughing, and at another time sad? And Mary said to Joseph, I see two peoples with my eyes, one weeping and lamenting, and one rejoicing and exulting. And they came in the midst of the road, and Mary said to him, Take me down from the ass, for my burden urgeth me to be delivered. And he took her down from the ass, and said to her, Whither shall I take thee, and hide thy shame? for the place is desolate.

CHAPTER XVIII

And he found a cave there,¹³ and took her in, and set his sons by her, and he went out and sought a midwife in the country of Bethlehem. And I, Joseph, walked, and I walked not;¹⁴ and I looked up into the air, and saw the air violently agitated; and I looked up at the pole of heaven, and saw it stationary, and the fowls of heaven still; and I looked at the earth and saw a vessel lying, and workmen reclining by it, and their hands in the vessel, and those who handled did not handle it, and those who took did not lift, and those who presented it to their mouth did not present it, but the faces of all were looking up; and I saw the sheep scattered, and the sheep stood, and the shepherd lifted up his hand to strike them, and his hand remained up; and I looked at the stream of the river, and I saw that the mouths of the kids were down, and not drinking; and everything which was being impelled forward was intercepted in its course.

CHAPTER XIX

And I saw a woman coming down from the hill country, and she said to me, O man, whither art thou going? and I

¹³ This cave is mentioned by Justin Martyr.

¹⁴ Here Joseph himself is introduced as the narrator.

said, I am seeking a Hebrew midwife. And she answered and said to me, Art thou of Israel? And I said to her, Yea. And she said, And who is it that bringeth forth in the cave? And I said, She that is espoused to me. And she said to me, Is she not thy wife? And I said to her, It is Mary who was brought up in the temple of the Lord, and she was allotted to me to wife, and she is not my wife, but hath conceived by the Holy Spirit. And the midwife said to him, Is this true? And Joseph said to her, Come and see. And the midwife went with him. And they stood in the place where the cave was, and behold a bright cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said, My soul is magnified to-day, because my eyes have seen strange things; for salvation is born to Israel. And suddenly the cloud withdrew from the cave, and there appeared a great light in the cave, so that their eyes could not bear it. And gradually that light withdrew until the babe was seen, and it came and took the breast from its mother Mary. And the midwife cried out and said, To-day is a great day to me, for I have seen this novel sight. And the midwife went out of the cave, and Salome met her; and she said to her, Salome, Salome, I have a novel sight to tell thee: A virgin hath brought forth, which is not in accordance with the course of nature. And Salome said, As the Lord my God liveth, except I put out my hand and examine her, I will not believe that a virgin hath brought forth.

CHAPTER XX

And the midwife went in, and said to Mary, Arrange thyself; for there is no small contest about thee. And Salome stretched out her hand to her, and she shrieked, and said, Woe to my wickedness and unbelief, for I have tempted the living God; and lo, my hand is on fire, and falls away from me. And she bowed her knees to the Lord, saying, O God of my fathers, remember me that I am of the seed of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. Make me not an example to the children of Israel, but restore me to the poor; for thou knowest, O Lord, that in thy name I performed my cures,

and received my reward from thee. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by, saying to her, Salome, Salome, the Lord hath heard thee: present thy hand to the child, and lift it, and there shall be to thee salvation and joy. And Salome came near, and lifted him up, saying, I will worship him, for a great king is born to Israel; and lo, Salome was straight-way healed, and went out of the cave justified. And, behold, a voice, saying, Tell not the strange things thou hast seen until the child shall enter into Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XXI

And behold Joseph made ready to go into Judea. And there was a great tumult in Bethlehem of Judea; for Magi came, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him.¹⁵ And when Herod heard, he was troubled; and sent his servants to the Magi, "and sent for the high priests, and examined them, saying, How is it written concerning the Christ? Where is he born? They say to him, In Bethlehem of Judea; for so it is written. And he dismissed them. And he examined the Magi, saying unto them, What sign did ye see of the king that is born? And the Magi said, We saw a very great star shining among these stars and dimming them, so that the stars were not seen. And thus we knew that a king was born unto Israel, and came to worship him.

And Herod said, Go and search; and if ye find him, tell it me, that I too may come and worship him. And the Magi departed. And behold, the star which they saw in the East led them until they came to the cave, and it stood at the entrance of the cave. And the Magi saw the child with his mother Mary, and they took out of their scrip, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And being warned by the angel not to go into Judea, they went to their country by another way.

¹⁵ Matt. ii. 1-12; Mic. v. 2.

CHAPTER XXII

And when Herod knew that he was deluded by the Magi, he was angry and sent assassins, saying unto them, Slay the infants from two years old and under.¹⁶ And when Mary heard that they slew the infants, she was afraid and took the child and swathed it and put it in a crib for oxen. And Elizabeth, hearing that John was sought for, took him and went up into the hill country, and looked for somewhere to hide him; and there was no place of concealment.¹⁷ And Elizabeth groaned and said with a loud voice, Mount of God, receive a mother and her child. And suddenly the mountain was divided and received her. And light shone through to them; for the angel of the Lord was with them, preserving them.

CHAPTER XXIII

And Herod sought after John, and sent his servants to Zacharias, saying, Where hast thou hidden thy son? And he answered and said to them, I am the minister of God, and I am busied with the temple of the Lord, I know not where my son is. And the servants went away and reported to Herod all these things, and Herod was angry and said, His son is going to be king of Israel. And he sent to him again, saying, Tell the truth; where is thy son? for thou knowest that thy blood is under my hand. And Zacharias said, I am a witness for God, if thou dost shed my blood; for the Lord will receive my spirit, for thou sheddest innocent blood in the porch of the Lord's temple. And about daybreak Zacharias was slain; and the children of Israel knew not that he was slain.

CHAPTER XXIV

But at the hour of greeting the priests went, and the blessing of Zacharias did not meet them according to custom. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias, to greet him with prayer, and to glorify the Most High. And when he tarried

¹⁶ Matt. ii. 16-18.

¹⁷ No such story is traceable in the New Testament.

they were all afraid; but one of them ventured and went in and perceived near the altar, blood congealed, and a voice saying Zacharias is murdered, and his blood shall not be wiped out until his avenger cometh.¹⁸ And when he heard the word he was afraid, and went out and told the priests; and they ventured and went in and saw what had occurred. And the wainscotings of the temple shrieked out, and were cleft from top to bottom. And they found not his body, but found his blood turned into stone. And they were afraid and went out, and told the people that Zacharias was murdered. And all the tribes of the people heard, and mourned for him, and lamented three days and three nights. And after the three days the priests took counsel whom they should appoint instead of him. And the lot fell upon Simeon; for he it was who was admonished by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death, until he saw the Christ in the flesh.

CHAPTER XXV

Now I, James, who wrote this history in Jerusalem, because a tumult arose when Herod died, withdrew myself into the wilderness, until the tumult ceased in Jerusalem, glorifying the Lord God who gave me the gift and the wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with those who fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

¹⁸The idea that the blood of a murdered man can not be washed out is very ancient; it frequently appears in the writings of early Christian travelers, and still prevails to some extent even in England.

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS

Sayings of Thomas, the Israelite Philosopher, on the Infant Acts of the Lord

CHAPTER I

I, Thomas the Israelite, declare to all of you, who are brethren of the Gentiles, that I make known the infant acts and great deeds of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he did when he had been born in our country: the beginning whereof is in this wise:

CHAPTER II

This child Jesus, being five years old, was playing at the crossing of a stream, and he collected the running waters into pools, and immediately made them pure; and by his word alone he commanded them. And having made some soft clay he fashioned out of it twelve sparrows; and it was the Sabbath when he did these things. And there were also many other children playing with him. And a certain Jew seeing what Jesus did, playing on the Sabbath, went immediately and said to Joseph his father: Behold thy child is at the watercourse, and hath taken clay and formed twelve birds, and hath profaned the Sabbath. And Joseph came to the place, and when he saw him he cried unto him saying, Why art thou doing these things on the Sabbath, which it is not lawful to do? And Jesus clapped his hands and cried unto the sparrows, and said to them, Go away: and the sparrows flew up, and departed, making a noise. And when the Jews saw it they were astonished, and went and told their leaders what they had seen Jesus do.¹

CHAPTER III

Now the son of Annas the Scribe was standing there with Joseph, and took a branch of a willow and spilled the water

¹ Compare Pseudo-Matthew xxvi., etc.

which Jesus had collected. And when Jesus saw what was done he was angry and said to him, Wicked, impious, and foolish one, wherein have the pools and the water wronged thee % Behold, now thou also shalt wither as a tree, and shalt not produce either leaves, or root, or fruit. And suddenly the boy withered altogether. And Jesus departed and went away to the house of Joseph. And the parents of him that was withered carried him, bemoaning his youth, and brought him to Joseph, and accused him saying, Such a son hast thou as doeth such things.

CHAPTER IV

Then again he went through the village, and a boy ran and thrust against his shoulder; and Jesus being vexed, said to him, Thou shalt not finish thy journey. And immediately he fell down and died. And some who saw what was done, said, Whence was this boy born? for every word of his becometh at once a deed. And the parents of him that was dead came to Joseph and made complaint, saying, Thou who hast such a child canst not dwell with us in the village; teach him to bless, and not to curse; for he killeth our children.

CHAPTER V

And Joseph called the boy to him privately and admonished him, saying, Why dost thou perpetrate such things, and why do these suffer, and hate, and persecute us? And Jesus said, I know that these thy words are not thine; nevertheless I will be silent because of thee; but they shall bear their punishment. And immediately they who accused him became blind. And they who saw it were greatly afraid and perplexed, and said concerning him, that every word he spake, whether good or bad, was a deed, and became a wonder. And when they saw that Jesus did thus, Joseph arose and took him by the ear and pulled it violently. And the child was angry and said to him, It is enough for thee to seek and not to find, and thou hast done very unwisely. Knowest thou not that I am thine? grieve me not.²

² Pseudo-Matthew xxix.

CHAPTER VI

And a certain teacher named Zaccheus stood in a certain place and heard Jesus saying these things to his father; and he wondered greatly that being a child he said such things. And after a few days he came to Joseph and said to him, Thou hast an intelligent child, and he hath understanding; come, give him to me, that he may learn letters, and I will teach him with his letters all science, and how to address all his elders, and to honor them as ancestors and fathers, and to love those of his own age. And he told him all the letters from *Alpha* to *Omega* with much distinctness and clearly. And looking at the teacher Zaccheus, he saith to him, Thou that knowest not *Alpha* naturally, how dost thou teach *Beta* to others? Hypocrite; if thou knowest, first teach *Alpha*, and then we shall believe thee concerning *Beta*. Then he began to puzzle the teacher about the first letter, and he could not answer him. And in the hearing of many, the child said to Zaccheus, Hear, teacher, the arrangement of the first letter, and notice here how it hath lines and a middle stroke which thou seest crossing those that are common, connected, with top projecting and again contracting, thou seest they are triform of the same kind, chief and subordinate, equal in length. Thou hast the lines of the *Alpha*.³

CHAPTER VII

And when the teacher Zaccheus heard the boy speak such and so great allegories of the first letter, he was perplexed by his great vindication and teaching, and said to those who were present, Alas, unhappy me! I am at a loss; I have brought shame upon myself by taking charge of this child. Take him away then, I entreat thee, brother Joseph, I can not bear the severity of his gaze; I can not explain the matter at all. This child is not of earthly parents; he is able to subdue even fire. Perhaps he was begotten before the world was made. What womb bore him, and what lap nursed him I know not. Alas, my friend, he surpasseth me, I shall not

³ Pseudo-Matthew xxx., xxxi.

attain to his understanding. I have deceived myself, O most wretched me! I desired to obtain a pupil, and found I had a tutor. My friends, I am filled with shame, that I who am an old man am defeated by a child. I suffer affliction and death through this child; for this very hour I can not look into his face. And when all say I was overcome by a little child, what can I say? or what can I tell of the lines of the first letter, which he told me of? I know not, O friends; for I know not its beginning and end. Wherefore I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him away to thy house. Whatever great thing He is, whether God or Angel, or what to say, I know not.

CHAPTER VIII

And when the Jews encouraged Zaccheus, the child laughed greatly, and said: Now let thy works be fruitful, and let the blind in heart see. I come from above that I may curse them, and call to things on high, as He who sent me ordained for your sakes. And as the child paused in his speech, straightway all who had fallen under his curse were delivered. And thenceforward no one dared provoke him, lest he should curse him and he become blind.

CHAPTER IX

And after some days Jesus was playing in a certain house in an upper room, and one of the children who were playing with him fell down from the house and died. And when the other children saw it, they fled, and Jesus remained alone. And the parents of him that was dead came and accused him, saying, verily thou causedst him to fall. But Jesus said, I did not cause him to fall. And they threatened him.⁴ Jesus leaped down from the roof and stood by the dead body of the child and cried with a loud voice, and said: Zeno! (for so his name was called), rise and tell me; did I cast thee down? And immediately he rose and said, Nay, Lord, thou hast not cast me down, but raised me up. And seeing this they were amazed. And the parents of the boy

⁴ The text is here corrupt or defective.

THE FOUNTAIN OF THE VIRGIN.

The ancient well or "fountain" in Nazareth, declared by tradition to be the one whence Mary drew water for her household, and beside which Jesus played in infancy.



glorified God for the miracle which had been done, and worshiped Jesus.⁵

CHAPTER X

After a few days, a certain young man was cleaving wood in the corner, and the axe fell and cut asunder the sole of his foot; and losing all his blood, he died. And there was a clamor and a crowd, and the child Jesus ran thither, and by force he passed through the throng, and took hold of the young man that was wounded in the foot, and straightway he was healed. And he said to the young man, Rise now, cleave the wood, and remember me. And the crowd, who saw what was done, worshiped the Child, saying, Truly the Spirit of God dwelleth in this Child.

CHAPTER XI

And when he was six years old, his mother sent him to draw water and bring it home, having given him a water-pot. And being thronged by the crowd, the water-pot was broken. But Jesus, spreading out the garment with which he was clothed, filled it with water, and carried it to his mother. And when his mother saw the miracle she kissed him, and kept to herself the wonders which she saw him do.⁸

CHAPTER XII

And again, at the time for sowing, the Child went out with his father to sow corn in their field, and when his father sowed the child Jesus also sowed one grain of corn. And having reaped and threshed it, he made a hundred quarters of it. And having called all the poor of the village to the threshing-floor, he bestowed the corn on them; and Joseph took away what was left of the corn. Now Jesus was eight years old when he wrought this miracle.⁷

CHAPTER XIII

Now his father was a carpenter, and made at that time plows and yokes; and a couch was ordered of him by a

⁵ Pseudo-Matthew xxxii.

⁷ Pseudo-Matthew xxxiv.

⁶ Pseudo-Matthew xxxiii.

certain rich man, to make it for him: and one of the pieces known as a side piece, being too short, they knew not what to do, wherefore the child Jesus said to his father Joseph, Lay down the two pieces of wood, and let the center of one be upon the center of the other. And Joseph did as the child said to him; and Jesus stood at the other end, and took hold of the wood which was too short, and stretched it and made it equal to the other. And his father Joseph saw and marveled, and embracing the child he kissed him, saying: Happy am I, because God hath given this child to me.⁸

CHAPTER XIV

And Joseph seeing the understanding of the child and his growth, that he was becoming a youth, considered again that he should not remain unacquainted with letters, and he took him and handed him over to another teacher: and the teacher said to Joseph, I will first instruct him in Greek, and then in Hebrew, for the teacher knew the cleverness of the child, and was afraid of him. Nevertheless he wrote the alphabet and repeated it to him for a long time; and he did not answer him; and Jesus said to him, If thou art indeed a teacher, and if thou knowest the letters well, tell me the power of *Alpha*, and I will tell thee that of *Beta*; and the teacher, being annoyed, struck him on the head; and the child was vexed and cursed him, and immediately he became senseless, and fell upon his face on the ground; and the child returned to the house of Joseph. And Joseph was grieved, and charged his mother, saying, Thou shalt not send him outside the door, for they die who provoke him to anger.⁹

CHAPTER XV

And after some time again another instructor, who was a near friend of Joseph, said to him, Bring me the child to school, perhaps I may be able with coaxing to teach him letters. And Joseph said, If thou art bold enough, brother, take him with thee; and he took him with him with fear and much inward conflict; but the child went cheerfully; and

⁸ Pseudo-Matthew xxxvii.

⁹ Pseudo-Matthew xxxviii.

boldly entering the school, he found a book lying upon the desk, and he took it up but did not read the letters in it, but opened his mouth and spake by the Holy Spirit, and taught the law to those who stood around. And a great crowd assembled and stood by listening to him, and they wondered at the beauty of his teaching, and the fluency of his words, because, although a child, he spake such things. Now when Joseph heard it he was afraid, and ran into the school, thinking whether this teacher was unskilful. But the teacher said to Joseph, Thou must know, brother, that I received the child as a pupil, but he is full of much grace and wisdom; and now I beseech thee, brother, take him to thy house. And when the child heard this, he straightway laughed at him and said, Because thou hast rightly spoken and rightly testified, for thy sake he also that was smitten shall be healed. And forthwith the other teacher was healed. And Joseph took the child and went to his home.¹⁰

CHAPTER XVI

And Joseph sent his son James to tie up wood and carry it into his house; and the child Jesus also followed him; and as James was gathering sticks a viper bit the hand of James; and when he was tortured and near dying, Jesus approached and blew on the bite; and the pain at once ceased; and the beast was rent, and immediately James remained well.¹¹

CHAPTER XVII

And after these things, a certain child among the neighbors of Joseph fell sick and died, and his mother wept for him exceedingly; and Jesus heard that great grief and trouble prevailed, and ran in haste, and found the child dead; and he touched him on the breast and said to him, I say unto thee, babe, do not die, but live, and be with thy mother. And immediately he looked up and smiled. And he said to the woman, Take him and give him milk, and remember me. And the crowd that stood by wondered and said, Verily this Child was either God or an angel of God, for every word of

¹⁰ Pseudo-Matthew xxxix.

¹¹ Pseudo-Matthew xli.

his is at once a deed. And Jesus went out thence to play with other children.¹²

CHAPTER XVIII

And after some time, there was a house building, and a great clamor, and Jesus arose and went thither, and seeing a man lying dead, he took him by his hand and said, I say unto thee, man, arise, and do thy work; and he straightway arose and worshiped him. And the crowd which saw wondered and said, This is a heavenly child; for he hath saved many souls from death, and hath to do so all his life.

CHAPTER XIX

And when he was twelve years old his parents went, according to custom, to Jerusalem to the feast of the passover with their companions, and after the passover they were returning to their homes, and as they returned the child Jesus went up to Jerusalem; but his parents thought he was in the company. And when they had journeyed one day, they sought him among their kinsfolk, and not finding him they were sorrowful, and went back to the city seeking him; and after the third day they found him in the temple sitting among the doctors, and hearing the law and questioning them. And all gave heed and marveled how he, being a child, puzzled the elders and doctors of the people, resolving the chapters of the law and the parables of the prophets. And his mother, Mary, came to him and said, Child, why hast thou done this to us? Behold, we have sought thee sorrowing. And Jesus said to them, Why seek ye me? Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And the scribes and Pharisees said, Art thou the mother of this child? And she said, I am. And they said to her, Blessed art thou among women, for God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb; for such glory and such virtue and wisdom, we never either saw or heard. And Jesus arose and followed his mother, and was subject to his parents. And his mother observed all that happened. And Jesus advanced in wisdom and grace.¹³ To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.

¹² Compare Pseudo-Matthew xl.

¹³ Luke ii. 41-52.

THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW

The Book of the Birth of the Blessed Mary and of the Infancy of the Savior. Written in Hebrew by the Blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the Blessed Presbyter Jerome.

CHAPTER I

In those days there was a man in Jerusalem by name Joachim, of the tribe of Judah. He was the shepherd of his sheep, fearing the Lord in his simplicity and goodness. He had no care but that of his flocks, with the produce whereof he nourished all who feared God, and offered double presents in the fear of God to the laborers in doctrine¹ who ministered to him. Therefore, whether of lambs, or sheep, or wool, or any of his goods, of whatever he saw that he possessed, he made three portions: one part he bestowed upon the orphans, widows, and strangers, and poor; a second part he gave to them that worshiped God; the third part he reserved for himself and all his house. Now while he did these things, the Lord so multiplied his flocks that there was no man like him among the people of Israel. This then he began to do when he was fifteen years of age. When he was twenty years old he took Anna, the daughter of Achar,² to wife, of his own tribe, that is, of the tribe of Judah of the stock of David. And when they had remained together twenty years, he had no sons nor daughters by her.

CHAPTER II

Now it came to pass that on the feast-days Joachim stood among those who offered incense to the Lord, preparing his

¹ Compare 1 Tim. v. 17. Here and elsewhere the readings of the copies vary to an almost incredible degree.

² There is no historical foundation for this name. The author imitates, alters, and adds to the Protevangelium according to his fancy.

gifts in the presence of the Lord. And the priest, Reuben by name, came to him and said, It is not lawful for thee to stand among those who perform the sacrifices of God, because God hath not blessed thee to give thee a branch in Israel. Therefore being put to shame in the sight of the people, he retired weeping from the temple of the Lord, and did not return home, but went away to his sheep, taking with him the shepherds to the mountains in a far-off land, so that Anna, his wife, could hear no message from him for five months. She meanwhile wept in her prayer, and said, O Lord God of Israel, most mighty, seeing that thou hast not yet given me sons, why hast thou also taken my husband from me? Behold, for five months already, I have not seen my husband. And I know not where he tarrieth: if I only knew that he was dead I would perform his funeral ceremonies. And as she wept exceedingly, she went into the garden of her house, prostrating herself in prayer, and poured out her petitions before the Lord. After this she rose from prayer, and as she lifted up her eyes to God, she saw a nest of sparrows in a laurel-tree, and uttered her voice to the Lord with groaning, and said, O Lord God Almighty, who hast given offspring to every creature, to beasts and cattle, to serpents and fowls and fish, and all rejoice in their offspring — me alone dost thou exclude from the gift of thy bounty. [For thou, God, knowest my heart, that from the beginning of my marriage, I confess to have made this vow, that if thou, O God, shouldst give me son or daughter I would offer them to thee in thy holy temple. And, while she said these things, suddenly the angel of the Lord appeared before her face, saying, Lear not, Anna, for thy offspring is in the purpose of God; for that which shall be born of thee shall be in admiration to all ages unto the end. And when he had said this he vanished from her sight. But she, fearing and trembling because she had seen such a vision and heard such a saying, at length entered her chamber, and threw herself on her bed, as if she were dead. And all day and night she continued in excessive trembling and in prayer. But after this she called her maidservant to her, and said to her, Thou

seest me in widowhood deceived, and brought into tribulation, and wast thou unwilling to come in to me? Then she, with a little complaining, answered thus, saying, If God hath closed thy womb, and taken thy husband from thee, what am I to do for thee? When Anna heard this she cried with a loud voice and wept.

CHAPTER III

At the same time there appeared a certain young man unto Joachim on the mountains where he fed his flocks, and said to him, Wherefore dost thou not return to thy wife? And Joachim said, For twenty years I have had her, and God would not give me children by her. I therefore, when reproached, went forth with shame from the temple of the Lord. Why should I return to her, when I have been once degraded and greatly despised? Here then will I be with my sheep. And so long as the God of this world will grant me light, I will willingly, by the hands of my servants, bestow their portions upon the poor and orphans and them that worship God. And when he had said this the young man answered him, I am the angel of God, and have appeared to-day to thy wife, who was weeping and praying, and I have comforted her. Thou shouldst know she hath conceived a daughter by thee, and thou not knowing hast left her. She shall be in the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit shall rest on her; and her blessedness shall be beyond that of all holy women, so that none can say that any hath been like her before her, or shall be after her in this world. Therefore go down from the mountains and return to thy wife, whom thou shalt find pregnant; for God hath raised seed by her, for which give thanks to God, and her seed shall be blessed, and she shall be blessed, and shall be constituted mother of eternal benediction. Then Joachim, adoring the angel, said to him, If I have found favor before thee, sit a little in my tent and bless thy servant. And the angel said to him, Do not call thyself servant, but fellow-servant, for we are servants of one Lord. Besides, my food is invisible, and my drink can be seen by no mortal. Therefore thou oughtest

not to ask me to enter thy tent; but if thou wast about to give me anything, offer it for a burnt-offering to the Lord. Then Joachim took an unspotted lamb, and said to the angel, I should not have dared to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord, unless thy command had given me priestly authority to offer it. And the angel said to him, I should not ask thee to offer unless I knew the Lord's will. Now when Joachim offered the sacrifice to God, the angel and the perfume of the sacrifice went up to heaven together with the smoke.

Then Joachim cast himself down upon his face, and lay in prayer from the sixth hour of the day until the evening. Now when his servants and hirelings saw, and knew not for what cause he lay there, they thought him to be dead, and, coming to him, almost raised him from the ground. But when he had told them the vision of the angel, smitten with exceeding fear and wonder, they urged him that without delay he should carry out the vision of the angel, and speedily return to his wife. And when Joachim turned the matter over in his mind, and thought whether he should return or not, it came to pass that he was overcome with sleep, and behold, the angel which had already appeared to him while awake, appeared to him in sleep, saying, I am an angel and am given thee by God as a guardian; go down in confidence, and return to Anna, because the kind acts which thou and thy wife Anna have done are rehearsed in the presence of the Most High; and God will give you such fruit as neither the prophets nor any saint ever had from the beginning, nor shall have. Now when Joachim had awaked from sleep, he called all his herdsmen to him, and told them the dream. And they adored the Lord, and said to him, Take heed not to contemn the sayings of the angel any further. But arise, let us go hence, and let us return at a slow pace, feeding our flocks.

When they had tarried the space of thirty days on their return, and were now nigh,³ behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Anna as she stood and prayed, saying to her, Go

³ The thirty days of slow traveling here can hardly be reconciled with the five months mentioned in chapter ii.

to the gate which is called the Golden Gate,⁴ and meet thy husband in the way, for to-day he will return to thee. She therefore went out in haste to meet him, with her maidens, and, praying to the Lord, she stood in the gate a long time waiting for him. When she was growing faint with very long expectation, she raised her eyes and saw Joachim afar off coming with his flocks; and she met him, and hung upon his neck, giving thanks to God, and saying, I was a widow, and lo, I am not one now; I was barren, and, behold, I have already conceived. So then, having worshiped the Lord, they entered the house. When this was heard, great joy was caused to all his neighbors and acquaintances, so that the whole land of Israel was gladdened by this report.

CHAPTER IV

Now when nine months were completed after this, Anna brought forth a daughter, and called her Mary. When she had weaned her in her third year, Joachim and Anna, his wife, went together to the temple of the Lord, to offer sacrifices to God, and placed the babe that was named Mary in the apartment of virgins, wherein virgins continued day and night in the praises of God.⁵ When she had been set before the gates of the temple she went up the fifteen steps⁶ at such a rapid pace, that she did not at all look back, nor ask

⁴The Golden Gate is not regarded by modern writers as a gate of the city of Jerusalem, but of the temple. In the Protevangelium, chapter iv., the gate of Joachim's residence alone is intended, and in some copies distinctly affirmed.

⁵This tradition of young virgins being kept in the temple rests on no historical foundation, though it has been strongly defended by later writers.

⁶The "fifteen steps" (*quindecim gradus*) correspond with the fifteen Psalms of *degrees* (Psalms cxx.-cxxxiv.). Some believe that there were fifteen steps leading from the court of women up to that of the priests. Other explanations have been offered, but no reliance can be placed upon the author, whom one reading makes to say, after mentioning the steps: "For there were about the temple — according to the fifteen Psalms of degrees — fifteen steps to ascend: the temple was on a mount, and there was constructed there the altar of burnt-offering, which could not be reached from without except by steps." Compare the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chapter vi. This last statement about the steps around the altar is perhaps correct.

for her parents, as is usual with infancy. Her parents, therefore, being anxious, and each of them asking for the infant, were both alike astonished, till they found her in the temple, so that even the very priests of the temple marveled.

CHAPTER V.

Then Anna was filled with the Holy Spirit in the sight of all, and said, The Lord Almighty God of hosts, being mindful of his word, hath visited his people with a good and holy visitation, to humble the hearts of the nations who rose up against us, and to convert them to himself. He hath opened his ears to our prayers, he hath banished from us the exultations of all our enemies. She that was barren is made a mother, and hath borne exultation and joy to Israel. Behold, I was set to offer gifts to my Lord, and my enemies could not prevent me. But God hath turned their heart toward me, and he hath given me eternal joy.

CHAPTER VI

Now Mary was in admiration with all the people of Israel. When she was three years old she walked with so firm a step, spoke so perfectly, and was so assiduous in the praises of God, that all were astonished at her, and marveled; and she was not regarded as a little child, but as an adult of about thirty years, she was so earnest in prayer. And her face was beautiful and splendid, to such a degree that scarcely any one could look upon her countenance. Now she applied herself to wool-work, so that whatever the elder women could not do she accomplished when set to it in her tender age. And she adopted this rule for herself, that she would continue in prayer from morning until the third hour; from the third to the ninth she would occupy herself at her weaving, and from the ninth again she would apply herself to prayer. Nor did she retire from prayer until an angel of God appeared to her, from whose hand she received food; and so she advanced more and better in the work of God. Further, when the elder virgins left off the praises of God she did not leave off, so that in God's praises and vigils no one was found

before her, nor any more skilled in the wisdom of God's law, more humble in humility, more beautiful in singing, or more perfect in all virtue. Indeed, she was constant, immovable, unalterable, and daily advanced to better things. None saw her angry, or heard her reviling. For all her speech was so full of grace, that God might be known to be in her tongue. She was ever diligent in prayer and in searching of the law, and was anxious not to sin by any word against her companions. Moreover, she feared to make any mistake in laughter or by the sound of her lovely voice, or lest any insult or pride should show itself against her equals. She blessed the Lord without intermission; and lest perchance even in her salutations she should cease from God's praise, if any one saluted her, she answered by way of salutation, Thank God! From her it first originated that men, when they would salute each other, replied, Thank God! With the food which she daily received from the hand of the angel she refreshed herself alone; but she distributed to the poor the food which she received from the priests. The angels of God were frequently seen to talk with her, and they most diligently obeyed her. If any one that was sick touched her, that same hour he returned home whole.

CHAPTER VII

Then Abiathar the priest⁷ offered infinite gifts to the high priests, that he might receive her for a wife for his son. But Mary forbade them, saying, It can not be that I should know man, or man know me. Now the high priests and all her kindred said to her, God is honored in children, and is adored in posterity, as it ever was among the children of Israel. But Mary answered and said to them, God is honored in chastity, so that it is approved before all things; for before Abel there was none just among men, and he pleased God by offerings, and he was mercilessly slain by him who displeased God. Therefore he received the two crowns of offering and of virginity, because he admitted no pollution

⁷ Abiathar is called the high priest in the next chapter; but nothing is known of him.

in his flesh. Elijah, too, when he was in the flesh, was taken up in the flesh because he preserved his flesh in its virginity. Now, from my infancy I have learned in the temple of God that virginity could be sufficiently dear to God; and therefore, because I can offer what is dear to God, I have decreed to Him in my heart that I would not at all know man.

CHAPTER VIII

Now it came to pass that when she was fourteen years of age, and this gave occasion to the Pharisees to say that according to custom a woman of that age could not remain in the temple of God, a decision of this kind was come to, that a crier should be sent among all the tribes of Israel, saying that all should meet on the third day, at the temple of the Lord. Now when all the people had met, Abiathar, the high priest, arose, and ascended to the upper step, so that he could be heard and seen by all the people; and when great silence was made, he said, Hear me, O children of Israel, and receive my words in your ears. Since this temple was built by Sodom, there have been therein virgins, the daughters of kings, and the daughters of prophets, and of high priests, and of priests, and they have been great and admirable. But when they have come to a lawful age, they have been given in marriage to husbands, and have followed the course of their precursors, and have pleased God. But by Mary alone a new order of life has been invented, and she promiseth God that she will remain a virgin. Wherefore it seems to me, that by our inquiry and the answer of God, we should seek to know to whom she ought to be committed to be kept. Then his saying pleased all the synagogue. And the lot was cast by the priests for the twelve tribes, and the lot fell upon the tribe of Judah. And the priest said, On the next day, let whoever is without a wife come and bring a rod in his hand. Wherefore it came to pass that Joseph brought a rod along with the younger men. And when they had delivered their rods to the high priest, he offered sacrifice to the Lord God, and asked of the Lord; and the Lord said to him, Put the rods of all in God's holy of holies, and there let the rods

remain, and bid them come to thee in the morning to receive their rods, and to him from the top of whose rod a dove shall come forth and fly to heaven, and whose hand the rod, when returned, shall give this sign, Mary shall be delivered to be kept.

Now on the next day, when they all came early, and an offering of incense had been made, the high priest went into the holy of holies and brought out the rods. And when he had given a rod to each, and a dove had not gone forth from any, the chief priest arrayed himself with twelve bells and a priestly robe and went into the holy of holies and burned sacrifice and poured out prayer there. And an angel of God appeared, saying, There is here a very short rod which thou hast counted for nothing, and hast placed it with the rest, but hast not taken it out with the rest: when thou hast taken that out and given to him to whom it belongs, there shall appear in it the sign which I have spoken to thee of. It was the rod of Joseph, and because he was old he was as it were discarded, as though he could not receive it; but neither would he himself ask for his rod. And when he stood, humble and the last, the chief-priest with a loud voice cried to him, saying, Come Joseph, and receive thy rod, because thou art waited for. And Joseph came fearing, because the high priest called him with so very loud a voice. But straightway as he stretched out his hand to receive his rod, immediately a dove went forth from its top, whiter than snow and most beautiful, and fluttering a long time among the pinnacles of the temple, at last it flew toward the heavens. Then all the people congratulated the old man, saying, Thou art become blessed in thy old age, father Joseph, in that God hath shown thee fit to receive Mary. And when the priests had said to him, Take her, for out of all the tribe of Judah thou alone art elected by God, Joseph began to worship them with modesty, saying, I am old and have sons, and why do ye deliver to me this little child, whose age is less even than that of my grandchildren? Then Abiathar, the chief priest, said to him, Remember, Joseph, how Dathan and Abiram and Korah perished, because they contemned the will of God. So will it

happen to thee if thou contemnest what is commanded thee by God. Joseph answered him, I do not condemn the will of God, indeed, but I will be her keeper until I know this by the will of God — which of my sons can have her to wife. Let there be given her certain virgins of her companions for a solace, with whom she may meanwhile abide. Abiathar, the chief priest, answered, saying, Five⁸ virgins shall be given, indeed, for her solace, until the day appointed cometh in which thou shalt take her, for she can not be joined to another in matrimony.

Then Joseph took Mary with five other virgins, who were to be with her in the house of Joseph. Now these virgins were Rebecca, Zipporah, Susanna, Abigea, and Cael, to whom there were given by the chief priest, silk and blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and flax. And they cast lots among themselves what each virgin should do; and it fell out that Mary received the purple for the veil of the temple of the Lord. When she had received it, the virgins said, Since thou art the last, and humble, and less than all, thou hast deserved to receive and obtain the purple. And saying this, as though in a vexatious speech, they began to call her the queen of virgins. Therefore, while they did thus among themselves, an angel of the Lord appeared among them saying unto them, That saying shall not be uttered for vexing, but prophesied for a most true prophecy. Therefore, being terrified at the presence of the angel and at his words, they asked her to pardon them and pray for them.

CHAPTER IX

Now on the second day, while Mary stood near the fountain to fill her pitcher, the angel of the Lord appeared unto her, saying, Blessed art thou, Mary, for in thy womb thou hast prepared a habitation for the Lord. Behold, light from heaven shall come and dwell in thee, and through thee shall shine in all the world.

Again on the third day, while she wrought the purple with her fingers, there came in to her a young man whose beauty

⁸ Seven virgins are assigned in the Protevangelium, chapter x.

could not be told. When Mary saw him she feared and trembled. And he said to her, Hail, Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.⁹ When she heard this she trembled and feared. Then the angel of the Lord added, Fear not, Mary, thou hast found favor with God; behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and shalt bear the king who filleth not only earth but heaven, and reigneth forever and ever.

CHAPTER X

While these things were doing, Joseph was busy at work in making tabernacles in the maritime regions; for he was a carpenter. But after nine months he returned to his house and found Mary with child. Wherefore being in a great strait, he trembled, and cried, saying, Lord God, receive my spirit; for it is better for me to die than to live longer. The virgins who were with Mary said to him, What sayest thou, master Joseph? We know that man hath not touched her: we are witnesses that virginity and integrity remain in her. We have kept ward over her: she hath ever continued in prayer with us; the angels of God daily talk with her; daily hath she received food from the hand of the Lord.¹⁰ We know not how it can be that any sin should be in her. For if thou wishest us to reveal to thee our surmise, no one hath made her pregnant but the angel of the Lord. Joseph said, Why do you mislead me to believe you, that an angel of the Lord hath made her pregnant? For it may be that some one hath feigned himself an angel of the Lord and deceived her. And saying these things he wept and said, With what face shall I look to the temple of the Lord, or with what face shall I see the priests of God? What am I to do? And saying this, he thought he would flee and send her away.

⁹The author of the Protevangelium represents this salutation as uttered at the fountain. The words are, however, here introduced more in harmony with Luke i. 28.

¹⁰Compare 1 Kings, xix. 5. In the Protevangelium, chapter viii., it is said that Mary received her food from the hand of an angel. See also chapter xii., below.

CHAPTER XI

And while he thought to rise and hide himself, and to dwell in secret, behold the same night an angel of the Lord appeared to him in sleep, saying, Joseph, son of David, fear not; take Mary, thy wife, for that which is in her womb is of the Holy Spirit. Now she shall bear a son, and his name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.¹¹ And Joseph, rising from sleep, gave thanks to God, and spoke to Mary and the virgins who were with her, and told his vision. And he was comforted concerning Mary, saying, I have sinned, in that I had some suspicion of thee.

CHAPTER XII

After this there arose a great rumor that Mary was with child. And Joseph was laid hold of and led by the ministers of the temple, with Mary, to the chief priest, who together with the priests began to reproach him and to say, Why hast thou wronged her who is such and so eminent a virgin, whom as a dove the angels of God nourished in the temple, who would never see nor have a husband, and who had the best learning in the law of God? If thou hadst not done violence to her, she had still remained in her virginity. And Joseph took a solemn oath that he had never touched her at all. The chief priest Abiathar answered him, As God liveth, I will now cause thee to drink the water of the Lord's drinking,¹² and forthwith thy sin will appear.

Then there gathered together a multitude of people which could not be numbered, and Mary was brought to the temple. Now the priests, and her relatives and her parents, weeping, said to Mary, Confess to the priests thy sin, thou who wast as a dove in the temple of God, and used to receive food from the hand of an angel.

Joseph again was called to the altar and there was given to him the water of the Lord's drinking, which when anybody who told a lie had tasted he went round the altar seven times, and God gave a certain sign in his face. When there-

¹¹ Compare Matt. i. 20-24, in the Latin Vulgate.

¹² A Hebraism; for the water which the Lord commanded to be drunk.

fore Joseph had drunk it without fear, and had gone round the altar seven times, no sign of sin appeared in him. Then all the priests and attendants and people justified him, saying, Thou art become blessed, because no guilt is found in thee.

And they called Mary and said to her, And what excuse canst thou have? or what greater sign will appear in thee than this, that thy pregnancy betrayeth thee? This only we ask of thee, since Joseph is pure concerning thee, that thou shouldst confess who it is that deceived thee. For it is better that thy confession should expose thee, than that the anger of God should make thee manifest among the people by giving a sign in thy face. Then Mary confidently and intrepidly said, O Lord God, the King of all, who art conscious of secret things, if there is any pollution in me, or any sin, or any lust or immodesty, reveal me in the sight of all peoples, that I may be an example for the correction of all. Having said this she approached the altar of the Lord with confidence, and drank the water for drinking, and went round the altar seven times, and there was found no spot in her.¹³

And when all the people were beside themselves with amazement, seeing her pregnancy and that no sign appeared in her face, the people began, with varied talk together, to be troubled. Some said she was holy and spotless, but others that she was bad and defiled. Then Mary, seeing she was held in suspicion of the people, and did not seem to them to be entirely cleared, said with a loud voice in the hearing of all, As the Lord Adonai liveth, the Lord of hosts in whose presence I stand, I have never known man; but I am known by Him to whom from my infancy I have devoted my mind. And I made this vow to my God from my infancy, that with him who created me I would abide in integrity, wherein I trust to live to him alone, and serve him alone: and as long as I live in him I shall abide without defilement. Then they all began to kiss her feet, and to embrace her knees, praying her to pardon their evil suspicions. And the people and priests and all the virgins led her with exultation and great

¹³ Lev. v. 14. etc.

joy to her house, crying out and saying, The name of the Lord be blessed forever, for he hath manifested thy holiness to all his people Israel.

CHAPTER XIII

Now it came to pass after some little time, that a registration took place, according to the edict of Augustus Cæsar, that all the world was to be registered every man in his own native place. This registration was made by Cyrinus, the president of Syria.¹⁴ It was needful, therefore, that Joseph should be registered with the blessed Mary in Bethlehem, because thence came Joseph and Mary, of the tribe of Judah, and of the house and family of David. When, therefore, Joseph and the blessed Mary were going by the way which leads to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph, I see two peoples before me, the one weeping, and the other rejoicing. And Joseph answered her, Sit on thy beast, and do not speak superfluous words. Then there appeared before them a certain beautiful youth, clothed in white array, and he said to Joseph, Why didst thou call superfluous the words concerning the two peoples of whom Mary hath spoken? For she saw the people of the Jews weeping, who have departed from their God,— and the people of the Gentiles rejoicing, who have now approached and are made nigh to the Lord, as he promised our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for the time is come that in the seed of Abraham a blessing should be bestowed on all nations.¹⁵

And when he had said thus, the angel commanded the beast to stop, for her time to bear had come; and he directed the blessed Mary to come down from the animal, and to enter a cave below a cavern, in which there was never any light, but always darkness, because it could not receive the light of day. And when the blessed Mary had entered it, it began to become all light with brightness, as if it had been the sixth hour of the day; divine light so illumined the cave, that light did not fail there by day or night, as long as the blessed Mary was there. And there she brought forth a male child,

¹⁴ Luke ii. I, etc.

¹⁵ Gen. xii. 3.

whom angels instantly surrounded at his birth, and whom, when born and standing at once upon his feet, they adored, saying, Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will.¹⁶ For the nativity of the Lord had already come, and Joseph was gone to seek midwives. When he had found them, he returned to the cave, and found Mary with the infant she had borne. And Joseph said to the blessed Mary, I have brought thee Zelomi and Salome, the midwives, who stand without before the door of the cave, not daring to enter here for the too great splendor. And the blessed Mary smiled at hearing this. And Joseph said to her, Do not smile, but be cautious, that they may visit thee, lest perchance thou shouldst require medicine. Then she bade them enter unto her. And when Zelomi had come in, Salome not having come in, Zelomi said to Mary, allow me to touch thee. And when she had suffered herself to be examined, the midwife cried with a loud voice, and said, O Lord, great Lord, have mercy! Never hath it been heard, or suspected, that the breasts of any woman should be full of milk, and the child born show its mother to be a virgin. But as there is no defilement of blood on the child, there is no pain in the mother. A virgin hath conceived, a virgin hath borne, and a virgin she hath continued.¹⁷ And when Salome heard this word, she said, Suffer me to touch thee, and to prove whether Zelomi hath said the truth. And when the blessed Mary had consented to be touched by her, Salome put out her hand. But when she withdrew her hand from touching her, her hand dried up, and through excessive pain she began to weep violently and to be distressed, crying and saying, Lord God, Thou knowest that I have always feared thee, and have healed all the poor without reward, of the widow and orphan I have taken nothing, and I have not permitted the needy to go from me empty. And lo, I am made wretched because of my unbelief, for without cause I wished to test thy virgin.

¹⁶ Luke ii. 14; Justin, *Trypho*, section 78.

¹⁷ The perpetual virginity of Mary is referred to by Clemens Alexandrinus as a prevalent opinion in his day. *Stromata*, lib. vii.

When she said this, there appeared near her a certain youth, who was very splendid, saying to her, Approach the infant and adore him, and touch him with thy hand, and he shall deliver thee; for he is the Savior of the world and of all who hope in him. And she straightway approached the infant, and adoring him, touched the horder of the cloths in which the infant was wrapped, and immediately her hand was healed. And going forth she began to cry out, saying what great things she had seen and suffered, and how she had been healed, so that through her preaching many believed.

For the shepherds of sheep also declared that they had seen angels at midnight, singing a hymn, praising and blessing the God of heaven, and saying that the Savior of all was born, which is Christ the Lord, by whom the salvation of Israel will be restored.¹⁸

Moreover, from evening until morning, a great star shone above the cave, and one so great had never been seen from the beginning of the world. And prophets who were in Jerusalem said that this star indicated the nativity of Christ, who should restore the promise, not only to Israel, but to all nations.

CHAPTER XIV

Now on the third day after the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most blessed Mary went out of the cave, and, entering a stable, put her child in a manger,¹⁹ and the ox and ass adored him. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, who said, The ox doth know his owner, and the ass his master's crib.²⁰ The very animals, therefore, ox and ass, having him between them, incessantly adored him. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Habakkuk the prophet, who said, Between two animals thou art made known.²¹ There Joseph tarried with Mary three days.

¹⁸ Luke ii. 8, etc.

¹⁹ Luke ii. 7.

²⁰ Isaiah i. 3.

²¹ Hab. iii. 2, in the Greek. The Latin Vulgate is, "*In medio annorum notum facies,*" — In the midst of the years thou shalt make it known.

CHAPTER XV

Now on the sixth day they entered Bethlehem, where they spent the seventh day. But on the eighth day they circumcised the child, and his name was called Jesus, as he was called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.²² Now after the days of the purification of Mary were fulfilled according to the law of Moses, then Joseph took the infant to the temple of the Lord; and, when the infant had receive *peritome* (that is, circumcision), they offered for him a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.

Now there was in the temple a certain man of God, perfect and just, whose name was Simeon, a hundred and twelve years old.²³ This man had received an answer from the Lord that he should not taste death unless he saw Christ the Son of God living in the flesh. When he saw the infant he cried out with a loud voice, saying, God hath visited his people, and the Lord hath fulfilled his promise. And he made haste and adored him. And after this he took him into his cloak, and kissing his feet, said, Now Lord, thou sendest away thy servant in peace, according to thy word, because mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples; a light for the revelation of the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel.

There was also in the temple of the Lord, Anna, a prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, who had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and she had been a widow now for eighty-four years, and had never departed from the temple of the Lord, spending her time in fastings and prayers. She also likewise adored the infant, saying, In him is the redemption of the world.

CHAPTER XVI

Now when the second year was past, Magi came from the East to Jerusalem, bringing large gifts. And they earnestly asked the Jews, saying, Where is the King who is born to

²² Luke ii. 21-24.

²³ This age for Simeon seems quite imaginary. Luke ii. 25-38.

you? for we have seen his star in the East, and have come to adore him.²⁴ And this report came to King Herod, and so terrified him that he assembled the Scribes and Pharisees and Doctors of the people, inquiring of them where the prophets had foretold that Christ should be born. And they said to him, In Bethlehem of Judah. For it is written, And thou Bethlehem, the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come forth the ruler who shall rule my people Israel.²⁵ Then Herod the King called the Magi to himself, and diligently inquired of them when the star appeared to them. Then sending them to Bethlehem, he said, Go and ask diligently about the child, and when you have found him, report it to me, that I too may come and adore him.

Now as the Magi went on their way, the star appeared to them, and was, as it were, their guide, going before them until they came where the child was. And when they saw the star the Magi rejoiced with great joy, and entered into the house and found the infant Jesus sitting in the lap of his mother. Then they opened their treasures and bestowed large presents upon the blessed Mary and Joseph; but to the infant himself each offered a single piece of gold; in like manner one offered gold, another frankincense, and a third myrrh. But when they would have returned to King Herod, they were warned by an angel in a dream not to return to Herod; and they returned to their own country by another road.

CHAPTER XVII

Now when Herod saw that he was mocked by the Magi, his heart was puffed up, and he sent all ways, wishing to catch and kill them. But when he found them not at all, he sent anew to Bethlehem and all its borders, and slew all the male children whom he found, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had inquired of the Magi.²⁶

But one day before this happened, Joseph was warned in a dream by an angel of the Lord, which said to him, Take up

²⁴ Matt. ii. 1, etc.

²⁵ Mic. v. 2.

²⁶ Matt. ii. 16.

Mary and the infant, and go into Egypt by way of the desert. And Joseph went according to the saying of the angel.²⁷

CHAPTER XVIII

And when they had come to a certain cave and wished to rest in it, the blessed Mary came down from the beast, and sat and held the child Jesus in her lap. Now there were with Joseph three youths, and with Mary a certain damsel, who went on their way at the same time; and behold there suddenly came out of the cave many dragons, seeing which the youths cried out through excessive fear. Then Jesus, descending from his mother's lap, stood on his feet before the dragons, and they adored Jesus and then departed from them. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by David the prophet, saying, Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, ye dragons and all deeps.²⁸ And the little infant Jesus, walking before them, commanded them to hurt no man. But Mary and Joseph feared greatly lest perchance the little infant should be injured by the dragons. And Jesus said to them, Fear not, nor consider me because I am a little infant, for I was, and am ever perfect; it must needs be that all the wild beasts of the woods should grow tame before me.

CHAPTER XIX

In like manner lions and leopards adored him, and kept company with them in the desert; whithersoever Joseph and blessed Mary went, they went before them, showing the way and bowing their heads; and showing subjection by wagging their tails, they adored him with great reverence. Now when Mary saw lions and leopards and various kinds of wild beasts coming round them, she was at first exceedingly afraid; and Jesus with a glad countenance, looking into her face, said, Fear not, mother; because they come not for thy hurt, but they hasten to come for thy service and mine. By these sayings he removed fear from her heart. Now the lions walked along with them, and with the oxen and asses, and

²⁷ Matt. ii. 14.

²⁸ Ps. cxlviii. 7.

the beasts of burden which carried necessaries for them, and hurt no one although they remained with them; but they were tame among the sheep and rams which they had brought with them from Judea, and had with them. They walked among the wolves and feared nothing, and no one was hurt by another. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet: Wolves shall feed with lambs; lion and ox shall eat chaff together.²⁹ There were two oxen also with them, and a cart, wherein they carried necessaries; and the lions directed them in their way.

CHAPTER XX

Now it came to pass on the third day from their departure, as they went along, the blessed Mary was wearied by the too great heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm-tree, she said to Joseph, Let me rest a little under the shadow of this tree. Joseph hastened therefore and led her to the palm, and caused her to descend from the beast. And when the blessed Mary had sat down there, she looked at the foliage of the palm and saw it full of fruit, and she said to Joseph, I desire that I may be able to partake of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph saith to her, I wonder thou sayest this, when thou seest what a height the palm is, and that thou thinkest to eat of the fruit of the palm. I think more of scarcity of water, which is already failing us in the bottles, and we have not wherewith we may refresh ourselves and the beasts. Then the little child Jesus, sitting with a glad countenance in his mother's lap, saith to the palm, O tree, bend down thy branches, and with thy fruit refresh my mother. And straightway at this word, the palm bowed down its top to the feet of the blessed Mary, and they gathered from it fruit wherewith all were refreshed. Now after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bowed down, waiting to rise at his command at whose command it had bowed down. Then Jesus said to it, Raise thee, O palm, and be strong, and be a partner with my trees which are in the paradise of my Father. And open from thy roots a spring of water which

²⁹ Is. xi. 6-9; lxxv. 25.

is hidden in the earth; and let waters flow forth from it to our satisfying. And immediately it arose, and there began to flow forth at its root a most pure fount of waters, very cool, and exceedingly clear. Now when they saw the fount of water they rejoiced with great joy; and they, and all the beasts and cattle were satisfied; wherefore they gave thanks to God.

CHAPTER XXI

On the next day when they were departing thence, and at the hour wherein they began to pursue their journey, Jesus, turning to the palm-tree, said, This privilege I grant thee, O palm, that one of thy branches should be taken by my angels, and planted in the paradise of my Father. And this blessing I will confer upon thee, that unto all who have conquered in any contest, it may be said, Ye have attained the palm of victory.³⁰ As he said these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared, standing above the palm-tree; and taking away one of its branches, he flew to heaven having the branch in his hand. When they saw this they fell on their faces and became as dead. And Jesus spake unto them, saying, Why doth fear possess your hearts? Know ye not that this palm, which I have caused to be removed to paradise, will be prepared for all the saints in the place of delight, as it was prepared for us in this place of solitude? And they were filled with joy, and being strengthened, all arose.

CHAPTER XXII

After these things, as they pursued their journey, Joseph said to Jesus, Lord, this heat broils us: if it please thee, let us hold our course near the sea, that we may rest in the towns on the coast. Jesus said to him, Fear not, Joseph, I will shorten the way for you, so that what you were to go in the space of thirty days you shall accomplish in this one day. While they said these things, behold, they looked forward, and began to see the Egyptian mountains and cities.

³⁰ This account of the palm as a symbol of victory is of course an anachronism. Readers of Cicero, for example, will remember that he frequently employs the figure.

And they came, rejoicing and exulting, into the borders of Hermopolis,³¹ and entered into a certain city of Egypt, which is called Sotinen; and because there was no one known in it from whom they could have requested hospitality, they went into a temple, which was called the capitol of Egypt, in which temple three hundred and fifty-five³² idols were placed, to which, on separate days, the honor of deity was rendered in sacrilegious rites. Now the Egyptians of that city entered the capitol, in which the priests admonished them how many sacrifices they should offer on each day according to the honor of their deity.

CHAPTER XXIII

Now it came to pass that when the most blessed Mary, with her little Infant, had entered the temple, all the idols were prostrate on the earth, so that they all lay upon their faces wholly shattered and broken, and so they showed evidently that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: Behold the Lord shall come upon a light cloud, and shall enter Egypt, and all the handiworks of the Egyptians shall be moved at his presence.³³

CHAPTER XXIV

Then when it had been told to Aphrodisius the ruler of that city, he came with all his army to the temple. But when the priests of the temple saw that Aphrodisius, with all his army, came to the temple, they thought that he hastened

³¹ There were in Egypt two or three cities with this name. The Church historian, Sozomen, who tells some of the stories current in his time, mentions the tree above referred to as having miraculous virtues; and he also mentions the story of the text. He says the tree was at Hermopolis in the Thebaid, near to which city its miraculous bowing down took place. He knows nothing of the marvelous journey reported in the first paragraph of this chapter. See Sozomen's "Ecclesiastical History," book v. 20. Sotinen is in the text of Thilo the only name given, whence we may infer that it was regarded as the Egyptian name for Hermopolis. It is rather unfortunate for the story that the Thebaid was the upper province of Egypt.

³² Evidently a mistake for three hundred and sixty-five; one for every day in the year.

³³ Is. xix. I.

only to see his revenge on those because of whom the gods had fallen. But he, having entered the temple, when he saw all the idols lie prostrate on their faces, drew nigh to the blessed Mary, who bore the Lord in her lap, and adoring him, said to all his army, and to all his friends, If this were not the God of our gods, our gods would by no means have fallen on their faces before him, neither would they lie prostrate in his sight; wherefore, they silently avow him to be their Lord. We then, if we do not very carefully what we see our gods do, may incur the peril of his indignation, and may all come to destruction, as befell Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians; who, not believing such great miracles, was drowned with all his army in the sea.³⁴ Then all the people of that city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XXV

Not much time after, an angel said to Joseph, Return to the land of Judah, for they are dead who sought the child's life.³⁵

CHAPTER XXVI

And it came to pass, that after the return of Jesus from Egypt, when he was in Galilee, and now entered on the fourth year of his age, one Sabbath day he played with the children by the bed of the Jordan. When, therefore, he had sat down, Jesus made himself seven pools with mud, to each of which he made little channels, through which, at his command he brought water from the stream into a pool, and sent it back again. Then one of those children, a son of the devil, with envious mind shut up the channels which supplied water to the pools, and overthrew what Jesus had made. Then said Jesus unto him, Woe unto thee, son of death, son of Satan. Dost thou destroy the works which I have wrought? And straightway he who had done this died. Then, with a quarrelsome voice, the parents of the dead cried against Mary and Joseph, saying to them, Your son hath cursed our son, and he is dead. When Joseph and Mary heard, they came

³⁴ Ps. cxxxvi. 15; Exod. xv. 4.

³⁵ Matt. ii. 26. The book ends here in the text followed by Thilo.

at once to Jesus, on account of the complaint of the parents of the boy, and the crowd of Jews. But Joseph secretly said to Mary, I dare not speak to him; but do thou admonish him, and say, Why hast thou raised against us the enmity of the people, and why do we bear the painful enmity of men? And when his mother had come to him, she asked him, saying, My Lord, what hath he done that he should die? But he said, He was worthy of death, because he destroyed the works which I had wrought. Therefore his mother besought him, saying, Do not, my Lord, because they all rise against us. And he, not willing that his mother should be grieved, spurned the body of the dead with his right foot, and said to him, Arise, O son of iniquity; for thou art not worthy to enter into the rest of my Bather, because thou hast destroyed the works which I have wrought. Then he who was dead arose and departed. But Jesus, at his own command, brought the water into the pools through the water-channels.

CHAPTER XXVII

And it came to pass after these things that, in the sight of all, Jesus took mud from the pools which he had made, and made twelve sparrows out of it. Now it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this, and there were many children with him. "When, therefore, one of the Jews had seen him do this, he said to Joseph, Joseph, seest thou not that the child Jesus worketh on the Sabbath, which it is not lawful for him to do? for he hath made twelve sparrows of mud. When he heard this, Joseph reprov'd him, saying, Why doest thou, on the Sabbath, such things as it is not lawful for us to do? And Jesus, hearing Joseph, and clapping his hands together, said to the sparrows, Fly! and at the voice of his command they began to fly. And as all who stood there saw and heard, he said to the birds, Go and fly through the globe and all the world, and live! Now when they who were there saw such signs, they were filled with great amazement. Some praised him and admired him; but others blamed him. And some went away to the chief priests, and to the chiefs of the Pharisees, and told them that Jesus the son of Joseph had done great

signs and miracles in sight of all the people of Israel. And this was published among the twelve tribes of Israel.³⁶

CHAPTER XXVIII

Now again, the son of Annas, the priest of the temple, who had come with Joseph, holding a stick in his hand, while all beheld, with excessive rage broke open the pools which Jesus had made with his hands, and spilled out of them the water which he had gathered in them from the stream. For he stopped the water-channel by which the water entered, and then destroyed it. When Jesus saw this, he said to the boy who had destroyed his pools, O, most base seed of iniquity! O, son of death! workman of Satan! truly the fruit of thy seed shall be without vigor, and thy roots without moisture, and thy branches dry and not bearing fruit. And, at once, as all beheld, the boy withered and died.

CHAPTER XXIX

Then Joseph trembled, and took hold of Jesus, and went with him to his house, and his mother with him. And behold, suddenly from the opposite side, a certain boy, himself also a worker of iniquity, ran and thrust himself against the shoulder of Jesus, meaning to insult him, or to hurt him if he could. But Jesus said to him, Thou shalt not return whole from the way in which thou goest. And immediately he fell down and died. And the parents of the dead, who had seen what was done, cried out, saying, Whence is this child born? It is manifest that every word which he saith is true; and it is often accomplished before he speaketh. And the parents of the dead boy came to Joseph and said to him, Take away that Jesus of thine from this place, for he can not dwell with us in this town. Or, indeed, teach him to bless, and not to curse. And Joseph came to Jesus and admonished him, saying, Wherefore doest thou such things? Already many are grieved against thee, and, because of thee,

³⁶The constant assumption of the continued integrity of the twelve tribes of Israel in these Apocrypha is worth noting, as an additional proof that their writers were ill informed on some very important points.

hold us in dislike, and we bear the reproaches of men on thy account. Jesus answered and said to Joseph, No son is wise save he whom his father hath taught according to the knowledge of his time; and the curse of his father hurteth none but evil-doers. Then they assembled against Jesus, and accused him to Joseph. When Joseph saw this he was exceedingly terrified, fearing the violence and tumult of the people of Israel. The same hour Jesus took the dead child by the ear, and held him up from the ground in the sight of all; and they saw Jesus talking with him as a father with his son. And his spirit returned into him, and he lived again. And they all marveled.

CHAPTER XXX

Now a certain teacher, a Jew, by name Zaccheus, heard Jesus saying such words, and seeing that there was insuperable knowledge of virtue in him, became angry, and began without restraint, and foolishly, and without fear, to speak against Joseph. And he said, Dost thou not wish to give thy son to be instructed in human wisdom and respect? But I see that thou and Mary will rather love your son than what the elders of the people say in opposition. For he ought more to honor us, the elders of the whole church of Israel, and to have mutual love with children, and to be instructed among us in Jewish doctrine. On the other hand, Joseph said to him, And is there any one who can restrain and teach this child? But if thou art able to restrain and teach him, we by no means forbid him to be taught by thee what is learned by all. When Jesus heard what Zaccheus said, he answered him and said, The precepts of the law which thou didst mention a little while ago, and all that thou hast named, ought to be kept by those who are taught by the rules of men: but I am an alien to your courts, because I have no carnal parent. Thou who readest the law, and art instructed so, remainest in the law: but I was before the law. But while thou thinkest thou hast no equal in learning, thou shalt be instructed by me, for no other can teach aught but the things which thou hast named. For he is able who is worthy. But

I, when I have been exalted in the earth, will cause all mention of your genealogy to cease. Thou knowest not when thou wast born; but I alone know when ye were born, and how long your life is in the earth. Then all who heard these words uttered were astonished, and cried out, saying, O! O! O! this marvelously great and admirable mystery! Never did we hear in this wise! Never was it heard by any other; neither by prophets, nor by Pharisees, nor by Scribes, was it ever said or heard. We know him whence he was born, and he is scarcely five years old; and whence doth he say these words? The Pharisees answered, We never heard such words spoken by another child at such a childish age. And Jesus answering, said to them, Wonder ye at this that such things are spoken by a child % Why then do ye not believe me in the things which I have spoken to you? And because I said to you that I know when ye were born, ye all marvel. I will say more to you, that ye may marvel more.

I have seen Abraham, whom ye call your father, and talked with him, and he hath seen me.³⁷ And when they heard this they were silent, nor did any of them dare to speak. And Jesus said to them, I was among you with children, and ye knew me not. I have talked with you as with wise men, and ye have not understood my voice, because ye are inferior to me, and of little faith.

CHAPTER XXXI

The teacher Zaccheus, a doctor of the law, again said to Joseph and Mary, Give me the boy, and I will hand him over to the teacher Levi, to teach him letters, and to instruct him. Then Joseph and Mary coaxing Jesus, led him to the school, that he might be taught his letters by the old man Levi. When he entered he was silent; and the master, Levi, told one letter to Jesus, and beginning at the first letter, *Aleph*, said to him, Answer. But Jesus was silent and answered nothing. Wherefore, the preceptor, Levi, being angry, took a rod of a storax-tree.³⁸ and smote him on the head. And

³⁷ Compare John viii. 56-58.

³⁸ Or, "a storax-tree stick," for such is no doubt the meaning of

Jesus said to the teacher Levi, Why dost thou smite me? Know in truth, that he who is smitten rather teacheth him who smiteth him, than is taught by him. For I am able to teach thee what is said by thyself. But these are all blind, who say and hear, like sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal in which there is no consciousness of things which are understood by their sound.³⁹ And Jesus added, and said to Zaccheus, Every letter from *Aleph* to *Tau*⁴⁰ is known by its order; thou, therefore, first say what is *Tau*, and I will tell thee what *Aleph* is. And Jesus said again to them, They who know not *Aleph*, how can they say *Tau*, ye hypocrites?

First say what *Aleph* is, and I shall then believe you when you say *Beth*. And Jesus began to ask the names of the separate letters, and said, Let the teacher of the law say what the first letter is, or why it hath many triangles, scalene,⁴¹ acute-angled, equiangular, unequal-sided, with unequal angles, rectangular, rectilinear, and curvilinear.

Now when Levi heard this, he was amazed at such an arrangement of the names of the letters. Then began he, in the hearing of all, to cry out, and say, Ought he to live upon earth? Verily he deserves to be hung on a great cross. For he can extinguish fire, and mock at other torments. I think he was before the flood — born before the deluge. What womb bore him? or what mother conceived him? or *virgam storatinam*. The storax is never mentioned in the canonical works, but its odoriferous product is named in Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 15 (Anglican version), or xxiv. 21 (Latin Vulgate). Jerome's version also introduces it in Gen. xliii. 11, but with no apparent authority.

³⁹ Compare 1 Cor. xiii. 1; xiv. 7.

⁴⁰ Instead of *Tau*, the Latin text reads *Thet* in each case: it is possible that the writer meant to give the name of *Teth*, but since the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet is required by the context, *Tau* has been employed in the translation.

⁴¹ The words in the original are *gradatos*, *subacutos*, *mediatos*, *obductos*, *productos*, *erectos*, *stratos*, *curvistratos*. We are by no means confident that the terms we have given are the equivalents of these, or all correct; indeed it seems impossible to make sense of the passage as it stands. It is very well known that Christians as well as Jews have speculated, or rather, let their fancies run wild on the subject of the mystic properties of letters, as indicated by their names, forms, powers, positions in certain words, etc. The author of Pseudo-Matthew evidently wished to supply high authority for such laborious trifling.

what breasts gave him suck? I flee before him; for I can not endure the word of his mouth, but my heart is astounded at hearing such words. For I think no man can attain to his word, except God hath been with him. Now wretched I, have yielded myself to him for derision. For when I thought I had a scholar, I found my master, not knowing him. What shall I say? I can not endure the words of this boy: I will now flee from this town, for I can not understand these things. An old man, I am conquered by a child; for I can find neither beginning nor end to what he affirmeth; for it is difficult to find a beginning from one's self. I tell you truly, I lie not, that to my eyes, the conduct of this boy, the beginning of his speech, and the end of his meaning, seem to have nothing in common with men. Therefore, I know not whether he is a magician or a God; certainly an angel of God speaketh in him. I know not whence he is, or where he cometh from, or who he will become.

Then Jesus, with a pleasant countenance, smiling at him, said with command, as all the children of Israel stood by and heard: Let the unfruitful be fruitful, and the blind see, and the lame walk well, and the poor enjoy good things, and the dead live again, that in a restored condition every one may return and abide in Him who is the root of life, and of perpetual sweetness. And when the child Jesus had said this, forthwith all were restored who had fallen under painful infirmities. And they dared not say anything to him, or hear anything from him further.

CHAPTER XXXII

After these things Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus to the city of Nazareth, and he was there with his parents. And when he was there, on the first day of the week,⁴² while Jesus was playing with the children on the top of a certain house, it happened that one of the children pushed another off the roof on to the ground, and he died. And although the parents of the deceased had not seen it, they cried out against Joseph and Mary, saying, Your son

⁴² The Latin is *una sabbati*

hath thrust our son to the ground and he is dead. But Jesus was silent and answered them nothing. Now Joseph and Mary came in haste to Jesus, and his mother asked him, saying, My Lord, tell me if thou didst thrust him to the ground. And immediately Jesus came down from the roof to the ground, and called the boy by his name Zeno, and he answered him, Lord. And Jesus said to him, Did I throw thee down from the roof to the ground? And he said, No, Lord. And the parents of the child who had been dead marveled, and honored Jesus for the miracle that was done. And Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus to Jericho.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Now Jesus was six years old, and his mother sent him with a pitcher to the fountain to draw water with the children. And it came to pass after he drew the water that one of the children thrust against him and shattered the pitcher and broke it. But Jesus spread out the cloak which he wore, and took in his cloak as much water as there was in the pitcher, and carried it to his mother. And she marveled when she saw it, and thought within herself, and laid up all these things in her heart.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Again on a certain day he went out into the field, and took a little wheat from his mother's barn and sowed it. And it sprang up and grew and multiplied exceedingly. And it came to pass at length that he reaped it, and gathered from it three quarters of corn, and gave it to many.⁴³

CHAPTER XXXV

There is a road which leads out of Jericho and goes to the river Jordan where the children of Israel went over. There the ark of the covenant is said to have rested. And Jesus was eight years old, and he went out from Jericho and went to the Jordan. And there was by the wayside near the bank of the Jordan a cavern where a lioness brought up her

⁴³ The Latin is: "*Et collegit fructus ex eo tres choros, et donavit multiplicibus suis.*"

whelps; and no one could go along the road in safety. Now as Jesus came from Jericho, knowing that in that cavern the lioness had brought forth her young, he entered it in the sight of all.⁴⁴ But when the lions saw Jesus they ran to meet him and adored him. And Jesus sat in the cavern, and the lions' whelps ran about his feet, fawning and playing with him. But the older lions stood at a distance with lowered head, and adored him; and fawning, wagged their tails before him. Then the people who stood at a distance, not seeing Jesus, said, Unless he or his parents had done very grievous sins, he would not have willingly exposed himself to the lions. And while the people thought thus within themselves, and were overcome by excessive sorrow, behold, suddenly, in the sight of the people, Jesus came out of the cavern, and the lions went before him, and the lions' whelps played together before his feet. But the parents of Jesus stood afar off with their heads hanging down, and watched; the people, too, in like manner, stood afar off because of the lions; for they dared not come up to them. Then Jesus began to say to the people, How much better than you are the beasts, which recognize and glorify their Lord; and ye men, who are made in the image and likeness of God, know him not. Beasts acknowledge me, and grow gentle; men see me, and know me not.

CHAPTER XXXVI

After this Jesus crossed the Jordan with the lions, in the sight of all; and the water of the Jordan was divided to the right hand and the left. Then he said to the lions, so that all heard, Go in peace, and hurt nobody; neither let any man hurt you, until ye return whence ye set out. And they, bidding him farewell, not only with their voice but with bodily gesture, went away to their places. But Jesus returned to his mother.

⁴⁴ There are no lions in Palestine now; but Reland quotes a passage from John Phocas, in the twelfth century, affirming that they were then to be found among the reeds on the banks of the Jordan ("*Palestina*," p. 274).

CHAPTER XXXVII

And Joseph was a carpenter, and made of wood nothing except yokes for oxen, and plows, and implements for turning up the soil and suited for agriculture, and made wooden bedsteads. And it happened that a certain youth desired him to make a couch six cubits long. And Joseph ordered his boy to cut the wood with an iron saw, according to the measure which he had sent. But he did not keep to the dimensions given him, and made one board shorter than another. And Joseph, in anger, began to think what he must do in the case. And when Jesus saw him thus angrily thinking, and not able to remedy what had been done, he addressed him with a consoling voice, saying, Come, let us take hold of the ends of each piece of wood, and lay them together end to end, and let us put them level and pull them to us, for we shall be able to make them equal. Then Joseph obeyed his command, for he knew that he could do what he would, and Joseph took the ends of the boards and put them against the wall and even together, and Jesus held the other ends of the wood, and pulled the shorter piece toward himself, and made it equal to the longer piece. And he said to Joseph, Go on with thy work, and do what thou hast promised to do. And Joseph did what he had promised.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

And it came to pass a second time that Joseph and Mary were asked by the people that Jesus might be taught his letters in the school; which, also, they did not refuse to do; and, according to the precepts of the elders, took him to a master to be taught human science by him. And then the master began imperiously to teach him, saying, Say *Alpha*.⁴⁵ But Jesus said to him, Do thou first tell me what *Beta* is, and I will tell thee what *Alpha* is. And for this, the master, being angry, smote Jesus; and soon after he smote him he died.

⁴⁵ In chapter xxxi. the names of the letters are Hebrew, whereas here they are Greek. We may suppose that this is a later addition to the book.

And Jesus returned home to his mother. But Joseph, being afraid, called Mary to him, and said to her, Know truly that my soul is sad unto death, on account of that boy. For it might happen sometime that somebody should smite the boy in malice, and he should die. But Mary answered and said, Man of God, do not believe that this can be. Nay, surely believe that He who sent him to be born among men will keep him from all malice; and in His own name, preserve him from evil.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Again, a third time, the Jews asked Mary and Joseph that by their blandishments, they would take him to another master to learn. And Joseph and Mary, fearing the people, and the insolence of the princes, and threats of the priests, took him again to school, knowing that from man he could learn nothing, who from God alone had perfect knowledge. Now when Jesus had entered the school, being led by the Holy Spirit, he took the book from the hand of the tutor teaching the law, and, in the sight and hearing of all the people, began to read; not indeed what was written in their book, but he spoke by the Spirit of the living God, as if a stream of water went forth from a living spring, and the spring ever remained full. And in such power did he teach the people the great things of the living God, that the very master even fell upon the ground and adored him. But the heart of the people who sat and heard him saying such things was filled with astonishment. When Joseph had heard this, he came running to Jesus, fearing lest the master should die. Seeing him, the master said to him, Thou hast not given me a pupil, but a master; and who can endure his words? Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Psalmist, The river of God is full of water. Thou hast prepared their food, for such is its preparation.⁴⁶

CHAPTER XL

After these things Joseph removed thence with Mary and Jesus, in order to come to Capernaum on the coast, because

⁴⁶ Pa. lxv. 9. As in the *Vulgate*, lxiv. 10.

of the malice of the men who were hostile to them. And when Jesus dwelt in Capernaum, there was in the city a certain man by name Joseph, very rich. But sinking under his illness, he died, and was lying dead upon a bed. But when Jesus had heard them in the city lamenting and weeping and wailing over the dead, he said to Joseph, Wherefore, since he is called by thy name, dost thou not vouchsafe the benefit of thy favor to him? Joseph answered him, What power or faculty have I of vouchsafing benefit to him? Jesus replied, Take the kerchief that is upon thy head, and go and put it on the face of the dead, and say to him, Christ save thee! and forthwith he will be saved, and the dead shall rise from his bed. When he heard this, Joseph departed, running at once at the command of Jesus, and entered the house of the dead man; and he put the kerchief which he had upon his head, on the face of him that lay on the bed, and said, Jesus save thee! And the dead man forthwith arose from his bed, and asked who Jesus was.

CHAPTER XLI

And they departed from Capernaum into a city which is called Bethlehem; and Joseph was with Mary in his house, and Jesus along with them. And on a certain day Joseph called his first-born son James to him and sent him into the kitchen-garden to gather herbs to make pottage. And Jesus followed his brother James into the garden, and Joseph and Mary knew it not. And while James gathered herbs there suddenly came a viper out of a hole and wounded the hand of James, and he began to cry out through excessive pain. And when already fainting he said with a bitter cry, Oh! Oh! a very bad viper has wounded my hand. And Jesus, who stood opposite, at that bitter cry ran to James and took hold of his hand, and did no more than merely breathe upon the hand of James, and soothed it. And immediately James was healed, and the serpent died. And Joseph and Mary knew not what had happened; but at the cry of James, and at the bidding of Jesus they ran into the garden, and found the serpent already dead and James quite healed.

CHAPTER XLII

Now when Joseph came to a feast with his sons, James, Joseph, and Judah, and Simeon, and his two daughters, Jesus and Mary his mother met them, together with her sister Mary, the daughter of Cleophas, whom the Lord God gave to Cleophas her father and Anna her mother because they had offered to the Lord Mary the mother of Jesus.⁴⁷ And this Mary was called by the like name of Mary for the comfort of her parents. And when they assembled Jesus sanctified and blessed them, and began himself first to eat and drink; for none of them dared eat or drink, nor sit at the table or break bread, till he had sanctified them and first done this. And if he by chance was absent they waited till he did this. And when he would not come to the repast, neither did Joseph and Mary and his brethren, the sons of Joseph, come. These brethren, indeed, having his life before their eyes as a light, regarded and feared him. And when Jesus slept, whether by day or by night, the brightness of God shone on him. To him be all praise forever and ever. Amen. Amen.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ According to the MS. which Tischendorf calls B, the reading is: "And when Joseph, being worn out with old age, was dead and buried with his parents, the blessed Mary was with her nephews or with the children of her sisters. For Anna and Emerina were sisters. Of Emerina was born Elisabeth, the mother of John the Baptist. Now because Anna, the mother of the Blessed Mary, was very lovely, when Joachim died, she married Cleophas, by whom she had a second daughter, whom she called Mary, and gave her to Alphseus to wife, and of her came James, the son of Alphseus, and Philip his brother. When her second husband was dead, Anna was married to a third husband, named Salome, by whom she had a third daughter, whom she likewise called Mary, and gave her to Zebedee to wife; of her was born James, the son of Zebedee, and John the Evangelist."

⁴⁸ The MS. called B concludes in a rather different manner, and has the following appended: "The holy apostle and evangelist John with his own hand wrote this book set forth in Hebrew letters which the learned doctor, Jerome, translated out of Hebrew into Latin." The title and one of the letters prefixed to the book just as plainly ascribe the writing to the evangelist Matthew.

THE ARABIC GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY¹

CHAPTER I

We have found this in the book of Joseph the high priest, who lived in the time of Christ, and some have said that he is Caiaphas.² He saith that Jesus talked even when he was in the cradle, and said to his mother Mary, I am Jesus the Son of God, the Word, whom thou hast borne as the angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father hath sent me for the salvation of the world.

CHAPTER II

Now in the 309th year of the era of Alexander, Augustus decreed that every one should be enrolled in his native place. Therefore Joseph arose and having taken Mary his spouse departed from Jerusalem and came to Bethlehem that he might be enrolled with his family in his native city. And when they had come to a cave, Mary said to Joseph that her time to be delivered was nigh, and that she could not go into the city: but, said she, Let us enter this cave. This was done when the sun was setting. Then Joseph departed hastily to fetch a woman to attend on her. While, therefore, he was thus occupied, he saw an old woman, a Hebrew, who came from Jerusalem, and he said, Ho! blessed one, come hither and enter this cave wherein is a woman nigh to childbirth.

¹ The Arabic text is preceded by the following:

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God.

"With the help and favor of the supreme God we begin to write the book of the miracles of our Master and Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which is called 'The Gospel of the Infancy,' in the peace of the Lord. Amen."

² This is confirmed by Josephus (Antiquities xviii. 2, 2), who writes the name Joseph Caiphas.

CHAPTER III

Therefore, after sunset, the old woman and Joseph with her came to the cave, and both entered it. And lo, it was filled with lights more beautiful than the glittering of lamps and candles, and brighter than the light of the sun. An infant wrapped in swaddling-bands was suckling at the breast of lady Mary its mother, and laid in a manger. While they both wondered at this light, the old woman asked lady Mary, Art thou the mother of this child? And when lady Mary had assented, she said, Thou art not like the daughters of Eve. Lady Mary said, As none among children is equal to my Son, so his mother hath no equal among women. The old woman replied, My lady, I am come to gain a reward; I have been a long while afflicted with paralysis. Our lady, lady Mary, said to her, Place thy hands on the infant; which the old woman did, and was straightway restored. Then she went out saying, Henceforth will I be the handmaid and servant of this infant all the days of my life.

CHAPTER IV

Then came shepherds, and when they had kindled a fire and enjoyed themselves a little, heavenly hosts appeared to them, praising and celebrating God most high: and as the shepherds did the same, the cave at that time was made like the temple of the world above, for celestial and terrestrial mouths glorified and magnified God, for the nativity of the Lord Christ. Now when the old Hebrew woman saw those miracles displayed, she gave thanks to God, saying, I give thanks unto thee, O God, the God of Israel, because mine eyes have seen the nativity of the Savior of the world.

CHAPTER V

And when the time for circumcision came, that is the eighth day, the child was to be circumcised according to the law. Therefore they circumcised him in the case; and the old Hebrew woman took the foreskin (but others say she took the umbilical cord) and laid it up in a vase of old oil of

spikenard. Now she had a son who was a perfumer, to whom she committed it, saying, Take care not to sell this vase of ointment of spikenard, even if 300 pence (*dinars*) should be offered thee for it. And this is the vase which Mary, the sinner, bought, and poured upon the head and feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, and then wiped them with the hair of her head.³ Ten days after they took him to Jerusalem, and on the fortieth day from his birth they brought him to the temple, and set him before the Lord and offered sacrifices for him, as is commanded in the law of Moses: Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to God.⁴

CHAPTER VI

Then the old man Simeon saw him shining as a pillar of light, when lady Mary, his virgin mother, rejoicing in him, carried him in her arms; but angels surrounded him as a circle, praising him, as body-guards standing about a king. Then Simeon came in haste to lady Mary, and spreading out his hands before her, said to the Lord Christ, Now O my Lord, dismiss thy servant in peace, according to what thou hast said, for mine eyes have seen thy mercy which thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples, a light to all nations, and a glory to thy people Israel. Hannah also, a prophetess, was present there, and came, giving thanks to God, and declaring lady Mary happy.⁵

CHAPTER VII

And it came to pass when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judah, in the time of Herod the King, behold Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, as Zerdusht had predicted: and they had with them gifts, gold, incense, and myrrh; and they worshiped him and offered unto him their gifts. Then lady Mary took one of his swaddling-bands and

³ Luke vii. 37; John ii. 2. This Mary is often confounded with Mary Magdalen, but wrongly. The price put upon the ointment is borrowed from John xii. 3-5.

⁴ Ex. xiii. 2; Luke ii. 23.

⁵ Luke ii. 25-38.

gave it them for a little reward, and they received it from her with great honor. And the same hour there appeared unto them an angel in the form of the star which had been the guide of their way before; and following the leading of its light they departed, until they reached their own country.⁶

CHAPTER VIII

And there came to them the kings and their princes asking what they had seen or done, how they had gone and returned, what they had brought with them. And they showed them the swaddling-band which lady Mary had given them; wherefore they celebrated a festival, and kindled fire according to their custom and worshiped it, and cast the swaddling-band into it, and the fire seized it and absorbed it into itself. But when the fire went out, they drew forth the swaddling-band just as it was at first, as if the fire had not touched it. Therefore they began to kiss it, and to place it on their heads and eyes, saying, Verily this is undoubted truth; it is indeed a great thing that the fire could not burn or destroy it. They took it thence and with the greatest honor deposited it among their treasures.

CHAPTER IX

Now when Herod saw that the Magi had departed and not returned to him, he sent for the priests and wise men, and said to them, Tell me where Christ is to be born. And when they had replied, at Bethlehem of Judah, he began to think of slaying the Lord Jesus Christ. Then an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said, Arise, take the child and his mother, and go into Egypt.⁷ Therefore he arose at cock-crowing and departed.

⁶ Matt. ii. 1-12. The mention of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, in this chapter accords with an old Christian notion in the East, that he was the same as Balaam, and predicted the rising of the star. Some made him a disciple of Elijah, but an old priest from Oroomiah mentioned the other opinion to me as the true one. See the article "Zerdascht" in D'Herbelot's *"Bibliothèque Orientale."* Brunet refers to the *"Biographie Universelle,"* vol. lii., and Norberg's *"De Zoroastre Bactriano."* See, too, Hottinger's *"Historia Orientalis,"* ii. 6, 16; and also the note of Thilo, *Codex Apocrypha*, p. 139.

⁷ Matt. ii. 13, 14.

CHAPTER X

While he considered with himself how his journey should be performed, morning overtook him after he had made but very little way. And now he was approaching a great city wherein was an idol to which the remaining idols and divinities of the Egyptians offered gifts and vows; and a priest attended on this idol ministering to it, and as often as Satan spoke by the idol he reported it to the inhabitants of Egypt and its borders. This priest had a son of three years old, possessed by certain demons, who said and told much, and when the demons seized him he rent his garments and remained naked and threw stones at men. And there was a hospital in that city, dedicated to the idol; and when Joseph and lady Mary came thither, and tarried at the hospital, the citizens were greatly afraid, and all the princes and priests of idols came to the idol and said, What is this agitation and commotion which hath arisen in our land? The idol answered them: There cometh hither a God in secret, who truly is a God, neither is any God beside him worthy of worship, because he is truly the Son of God. When this land became aware of him it trembled, and was moved and shaken at his coming, and we are much afraid of the greatness of his power. And the same hour that idol fell, and at its fall all the inhabitants of Egypt, and others, ran together.

CHAPTER XI

But the son of the priest, when his customary affliction overtook him, entered the hospital and there met Joseph and lady Mary, from whom all the rest had fled away. And our lady, lady Mary, had washed the swaddling-clothes of the Lord Christ, and spread them upon some wood. Then the boy that was a demoniac came and took one of these wrappers, and put it on his head; and the demons began to come forth out of his mouth, and fled in the form of crows and serpents. Suddenly, by command of the Lord Christ the boy was healed and began to praise God, and then to give thanks

to the Lord who had healed him. When his father saw him restored to health, he said, My son, what hath befallen thee? And by what means wast thou healed? The son answered, When the demons had cast me to the ground, I went to the hospital, and there I found a noble woman with a child, whose recently washed wrappers she had laid on some wood; having taken one of them, I placed it on my head, and the demons left me and fled away. And his father, greatly rejoicing because of this, said, My son, it may be that this child is the Son of the living God who created heaven and earth; for when he came to us the idol was broken and all the gods fell, and perished through the might of his magnificence.

CHAPTER XII

Here was fulfilled the prophecy which saith, Out of Egypt have I called my son.⁸ But Joseph and Mary, when they heard that the idol had fallen and perished, feared and trembled. Then they said, When we were in the land in Israel, Herod thought to slay Jesus, and therefore he slew all the children of Bethlehem and its borders; and there is no doubt but the Egyptians, as soon as they hear that this idol is broken, will burn us with fire.

CHAPTER XIII

They departed thence and came to a place where there were robbers, who had plundered many men of their baggage and clothing, and bound them. Then the robbers heard a great noise, like the wonted noise of a magnificent king going forth from his city with an army and horsemen and drums. Being terrified thereby, the robbers abandoned all that they had stolen. They that were captives arose, loosed the bonds of one another, and took their baggage and departed. When they saw Joseph and Mary coming thither, they said to them, Where is the king, at hearing the pompous noise of whose coming the robbers left us, so that we escaped? Joseph answered them, After us will he come.

⁸ Hos. xi. 1; Matt. ii. 15.

CHAPTER XIV

Then they came to another city where there was a demoniac woman, whom, whenever she went out at night to fetch water, the cursed and rebel Satan oppressed. She could neither endure clothing nor stay in a house, and as often as she was bound with chains and straps she broke them and fled naked into desolate places; and, standing in cross-roads and cemeteries, she threw stones at men, but did the worst of mischiefs to her own friends. When, therefore, the lady Mary saw her she pitied her; whereupon Satan forthwith left her, and fled in the form of a young man and departed, saying, Woe unto me from thee Mary, and from thy Son.

So this woman was healed of her torment, and, becoming self-conscious, she was ashamed of her nakedness, and, avoiding the sight of men, went away to her friends. And after she had put on clothing, she told her father and friends how it was; and they, being the chief people of the city, entertained lady Mary and Joseph most honorably.

CHAPTER XV

The following day, being supplied with provision for the journey, they departed thence, and in the evening they reached another town where a marriage was being celebrated; but, through the arts of cursed Satan and the work of enchanters, the bride was dumb, and could no longer speak. But when lady Mary entered the town, carrying her son the Lord Christ, the dumb bride saw her, and stretched out her hands toward the Lord Christ, and drew him to her and took him in her arms, and embraced him closely and kissed him, and bending over him she rocked him to and fro. Forthwith the bond of her tongue was loosed, and her ears were opened, and she gave praise and thanks to God for that he had restored her to health. And the inhabitants of that town exulted with joy that night, and thought that God and his angels had come down to them.

CHAPTER XVI

There they stayed three days, held in honor, and living in plenty. Afterward, being supplied with provisions, they departed from them and came to another city, wherein, because it abounded in inhabitants, they thought to pass the night. Now there was in that city an excellent woman, who, when she went to the river to wash, lo, cursed Satan in the form of a serpent leaped upon her, and twined himself about her body; and as often as night drew on he greatly vexed her. When this woman saw my lady, lady Mary, and the Lord Christ the child in her lap, being moved with desire for him, she said to the lady Mary, O lady, give me this child that I may carry him and kiss him. So she gave him to the woman, but when he was moved toward her Satan left her and fled away and departed from her, nor did the woman ever see him after that day. Wherefore all who were there praised the supreme God, and the woman showed them kindness liberally.

CHAPTER XVII

The next day the same woman took perfumed water to wash the Lord Jesus. When he was washed she took the water she had used, and poured a part of it on a girl who dwelt there (whose body was white with leprosy), and washed her with it; and the girl was instantly cleansed from her leprosy. The townspeople said, There is no doubt but Joseph and Mary and this child are gods, and not men. But when they made ready to depart from them the girl who had been a leper came to them and begged them to take her in their company.

CHAPTER XVIII

When they had granted this to the girl she went with them. Afterward they came into a city in which was the castle of a very famous prince, who had a house for the reception of guests. Hither they went to tarry; but the girl went and gained entrance to the wife of the prince, and, finding her

weeping and sad, she asked the cause of her weeping. Wonder not at my weeping, said she, for I am oppressed with a great sorrow, which I have not yet ventured to tell to any one. Perhaps, said the girl, if you make it known and reveal it to me, I shall have a remedy for it. The wife of the prince answered, Hide it then, and tell this secret to no one. I am married to this prince, who is a king, and in whose dominion are many cities; I lived with him a long time, but he never had a son by me. But when at last I bore a son he was a leper, so he turned away from the sight of him, and said to me, Either kill him, or give him to a nurse to bring him up in some place whence no tidings of him shall ever come. Now I am a stranger to thee, and I shall never see thee again. Hence am I perplexed and oppressed with sorrow. Alas, my son! Alas, my husband! Have I not told thee, said the girl, I have found a remedy for thy affliction? which I will show thee. For I was also leprous, but God, which is Jesus, son of lady Mary, hath cured me. Now when the woman asked where the God was whom she meant, the girl said, He is with thee, he abides in the same house. But how can this be, said she; where is he? The girl replied, Behold Joseph and Mary, but the child who is with them is called Jesus, and he it is who healed me of my disease and suffering. But by what means, said she, wast thou healed of thy leprosy? Wilt thou not tell it me? Why not? said the girl. I received from his mother the water in which his body had been washed., and poured it on me, and so I am cleansed from my leprosy. Then the wife of the prince arose, and invited them to use her hospitality, and prepared a splendid feast for Joseph with a great company of men. And on the next morning she took the perfumed water in which she washed the Lord Jesus, and then with the same water washed her son whom she had brought with her, and her son was immediately cleansed from his leprosy. Therefore, giving thanks and praise to God, she said, Blessed is the mother who bore thee, O Jesus: dost thou thus purify, with the water wherewith thy body has been washed, men who are partakers of the same nature with

thyself? Moreover she offered rich gifts to our lady, the lady Mary, and sent her away with much honor.

CHAPTER XIX

Afterward they came to another city and wished to spend the night there. They went to abide therefore with a man who had been lately married, but who through magic art could not consort with his wife; and when they had passed that night with him his bond was loosed. When daylight came and they were preparing for their journey, the husband prevented them, and made a great feast for them.

CHAPTER XX

On the following day they departed, and as they drew nigh to another city they saw three women coming, with weeping, out of a cemetery. On seeing them lady Mary said to the girl that accompanied them, Ask them what is their condition and what calamity has befallen them. And when they were asked by the girl they did not answer, but asked in turn, whence are ye, and whither are ye going? for the day is now past, and night is coming on. We are travelers, said the girl, and seek a lodging wherein to pass the night. They said, Go with us, and lodge with us. They followed them therefore, and were led into a house which was new, and adorned and garnished with much furniture. Now it was wintertime, and the girl having entered the chamber of these women found them again weeping and lamenting. There stood by them a mule covered with a sumptuous cloth, sesame was placed before it, and they kissed it and gave it food. And the girl said, O my ladies, what is the matter with this mule? They answered, weeping, and said, This mule which thou seest was our brother, born of the same mother with us. For when our father died, leaving us great wealth, we who had this only brother endeavored to secure his marriage, and arranged a wedding for him after the manner of men. But the women, being moved with envy of one another, placed a charm upon him unknown to us, and one night, a little before daylight, when the doors of our house

were shut, we saw that this our brother had been changed into a mule, such as thou now seest him. But we, in sorrow, as thou seest, having no father by whom we may be comforted, have left untried no learned magician or enchanter in the world, without sending for him; but it has profited us nothing. Now whenever our hearts are oppressed with grief we rise and go with our mother, and after we have wept at the tomb of our father we return.

CHAPTER XXI

When the girl had heard this, she said, Be of good cheer, and weep not: for a remedy for your trouble is at hand; yea, it is with you and within your house: for I also was a leper, but when I saw that woman and with her this little child whose name is Jesus, I poured upon my body the water with which my mother had washed him, and I was healed. Now I know that he can heal your affliction also. But arise, go to my lady Mary, and when she is brought into your house reveal your secret to her, suppliantly entreating her to have pity on you. And when the women heard what the girl said they went in haste to my lady Mary, and brought her to them, and sat down before her, weeping and saying, O our lady, lady Mary, have pity on thy servants, for there is no one older than ourselves, or head of the family surviving, nor is there father or brother to take care of us: but this mule which thou seest was our brother, whom the women by a charm have made what thou seest. We pray thee, therefore, have pity on us. Then lamenting their lot, lady Mary lifted up the Lord Jesus and put him on the back of the mule, and herself wept along with the women; and to Jesus Christ she said, Alas, my son, heal this mule by thy great power, and make him a man endued with reason as he was formerly. When these words proceeded from the mouth of my lady, Lady Mary, the mule changed its form, and became a man, a young man, who was whole without any blemish. Then he and his mother and sisters adored my lady, lady Mary, and began to kiss the Child, holding him above their heads, saying, Blessed is thy mother, O Jesus, O

Savior of the world; blessed are the eyes which enjoy the happiness of beholding thee.

CHAPTER XXII

Then both the sisters said to their mother, Our brother indeed, by the help of the Lord Jesus Christ and the salutary intervention of this girl, who made known to us Mary and her son, is restored to human form. But now since our brother is unmarried, it is meet that we should give him to marry this damsel their servant. When they asked this of lady Mary, and she had given them her consent, they prepared a splendid wedding for the girl, and their sorrow being turned into joy, and their mourning into dancing, they began to be glad, to rejoice, to exult, and to sing, for great joy adorning themselves in raiment most splendid and pure. Then they began to repeat hymns and praises, and to say, O Jesus, son of David, who changest sorrow into joy, and lamentations into gladness! And Joseph and Mary remained there ten days. Then they departed, receiving great honors from these people, who bade them farewell, and returned weeping from bidding farewell, especially the damsel.

CHAPTER XXIII

Having departed thence, when they had come into a desert country, and heard that it was haunted by robbers, Joseph and lady Mary thought to pass through this region by night. But as they went, behold they saw two robbers lying in the way, and with them a multitude of robbers who were their companions, asleep. Now the two robbers upon whom they came were Titus and Damachus. So Titus said to Dumachus, I pray thee suffer these persons to depart freely, and so that our companions observe them not. But when Dumachus refused, Titus said again, Take to thee from me forty drachmas, and hold this pledge. At the same time he held out to him his girdle with which he was girded, that he should not open his mouth nor speak. And when my lady, lady Mary, saw that the robber showed kindness to them, she said to him, The Lord God shall sustain thee with his

right hand, and give thee remission of sins. And the Lord Jesus answered and said to his mother, After thirty years, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two robbers will be lifted on the cross with me, Titus at my right hand and Dumachus at my left, and after that day Titus shall go before me into Paradise.⁹ And when she had said, God avert this from thee my son, they went thence to a city of idols which, when they approached, was changed into heaps of sand.

CHAPTER XXIV

Hence they proceeded to the sycamore-tree which is now called Matarea, and the Lord Jesus produced a fountain in Matarea, wherein lady Mary washed her garment. Now from the sweat of the Lord Jesus which he there let drop balsam came forth in that region.¹⁰

CHAPTER XXV

Thence they went down to Memphis, and having seen Pharaoh,¹¹ they stayed three years in Egypt; and the Lord Jesus wrought very many miracles in Egypt, which are not found written either in the Gospel of the Infancy or in the Perfect Gospel.

CHAPTER XXVI

But after three years he returned from Egypt, and came back: and when they drew nigh to Judea, Joseph was afraid to enter it, but hearing that Herod was dead, and Archelaus his son had succeeded in his stead, he was still afraid, but he went into Judea. And an angel of God appeared to him

⁹ Luke xxiii. 39-43.

¹⁰ Matarea, or Matarééh, lies a few miles northeast of Cairo, and is supposed to be the ancient Heliopolis. Sir J. G. Wilkinson says the water of the Fountain of the Sun is reported to have been salt until Joseph and Mary made it fresh. A sycamore-tree is shown there under which they say the holy family rested. As for the balsam-trees, Cleopatra is reported to have had them transplanted here from Judea. The tradition of the text only partially coincides with the many versions of it reported by pilgrims and travelers.

¹¹ Memphis may have been visited; but who was Pharaoh? Egypt was then under Roman rule.

and said, O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide.

It is truly wonderful that the Lord of regions was thus borne and carried about through the regions.

CHAPTER XXVII

After this, having entered the city of Bethlehem, they saw there many and sore afflictions distressing the eyes of infants, who died in consequence. There was there a woman who had a sick son whom, being already nigh unto death, she brought to my lady, lady Mary, who saw her while she was washing Jesus Christ. Then said the woman, O my lady Mary, regard this my son who suffereth grievous pain. And when lady Mary heard her she said, Take a little of this water with which I have washed my son, and sprinkle him with it. So she took a little of the water, as lady Mary had said, and poured it on her son; and having done this his pain ceased, and when he had slept a little he afterward awoke from sleep safe and sound. His mother, rejoicing at this, brought him again to lady Mary. And she said to her, Give thanks to God, that he hath healed thy son.

CHAPTER XXVIII

There was there another woman, the neighbor of her whose son had just been healed. Her son being afflicted with the same disease, and his eyes being now almost blinded, she lamented night and day. The mother of the child that was healed said to her, Why dost thou not carry thy son to lady Mary, as I carried my son to her, when he was nigh unto death, and he was made well by the water wherewith the body of her son Jesus had been washed? When the woman had heard this from her, she too went, and having received some of the same water washed her son with it, and his body and eyes immediately became well. Her also, lady Mary, when she had taken her son to her, and told her all that had happened, commanded to give thanks to God for the restoration of her son to health, and not to tell the matter to any one.

CHAPTER XXIX

There were in the same city two women, the wives of one man, and each of them had a son ill of fever. One of these was called Mary, and the name of her son was Cleopas. This woman arose, and taking her son went to my lady, lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offering her a beautiful cloak, said, O my lady Mary, receive from me this cloak, and give me for it one swaddling-band. This Mary did, and the mother of Cleopas went away and dressed her son in a shirt made out of it. Thus was his disease healed; but the son of her rival died. Hence enmity arose between them, and since on alternate weeks they managed the affairs of the household, and on one occasion the turn of Mary the mother of Cleopas came on, she heated the oven to bake bread, and went away to fetch the dough she had kneaded, leaving her son Cleopas at the oven. Her rival seeing him alone — the oven being hot with the fire that was burning — she took him and threw him into the oven, and withdrew from the place. When Mary came back and saw her son Cleopas lying in the middle of the oven laughing, and the oven cold, as if no fire had been put into it, she knew that her rival had thrust him into the fire. She took him out therefore and carried him to the lady, my lady Mary, and told her what had happened. And she said, Keep silence, and tell this to no one; for I fear for thee if thou divulge it. Afterward her rival went to the well to draw water, and seeing Cleopas near the well playing, and no one nigh, she took him and thrust him into the well, and went home. When men came to fetch water from the well, they saw the boy sitting on the surface of the water, so they went down and brought him out. But great admiration of the child seized them, and they praised God. Then came his mother and, weeping, brought him that had been taken out to my lady, lady Mary, and said, O my lady, see what my rival hath done to my son, and how she hath thrust him into the well; it is impossible that she should not sometime destroy him. Lady Mary said to her, God will avenge thee lipon her. Afterward when

her rival went to draw water at the well, her feet became entangled in the rope and she fell into the well. Men came to draw her out indeed, but they found her head bruised and her bones broken. So she died a bad death, and that saying was fulfilled in her. They dug a well deep, but they fell into the pit which they had prepared.¹²

CHAPTER XXX

Another woman there had two sons who fell sick, and one died but the other lived: so his mother took him up and, weeping, brought him to my lady, lady Mary, and said, O my lady, help and succor me. For I had two sons, one of whom I have now buried, but the other is nigh unto death. See how I will beg and pray to God. And she began to say, O Lord, thou art kind and merciful and good; thou gavest me two sons, but since thou hast taken one of them away, leave me at least this one. Therefore lady Mary, seeing the violence of her weeping pitied her, and said, Put thy son in my son's bed and cover him with his clothes. And when she had put him in the bed in which Christ was lying, and he was already dead and had closed his eyes, as soon as the smell of the garments of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, he opened his eyes and, calling his mother with a loud voice, asked for bread, which he swallowed when he received it. Then said his mother, O lady Mary, now I know that the power of God dwelleth in thee, so that thy Son healeth men who are partakers of the same nature with himself, after they have touched his garments. This boy that was healed is he who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.¹³

CHAPTER XXXI

Moreover there was there a leprous woman who came to my lady, lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said, My lady, help me. But the lady Mary answered, What kind of help dost thou seek? is it gold or silver? or that thy body may be cleansed from leprosy? But the woman answered, Who can give me this? Lady Mary said, Wait a little, until I

¹² Ps. vii. 15; lvii. 6.

¹³ Matt. x. 3.

have washed my son Jesus and laid him in bed. The woman waited as Mary told her; and when she had put Jesus to bed, she held out the water with which she had washed his body, saying, Take a little of this water and pour it on thy body. When she had done this, she was straightway cleansed, and praised God, and gave thanks to him.

CHAPTER XXXII

And after she had stayed three days with her she departed, and going into the city saw there a chief man who had married the daughter of another chief man; but when he saw the woman he perceived between her eyes the mark of leprosy like a star; so the marriage had been dissolved and annulled. And seeing them in that state, oppressed with sorrow and weeping, the woman asked of them the cause of their weeping. And they said, Inquire not after our condition, for we can not tell our trouble to any mortal, or reveal it to any. But she was urgent, and begged them to commit it to her, for perhaps she could show them its remedy. When therefore they showed her the girl and the sign of leprosy which appeared between her eyes, as she saw it the woman said, I also, whom you see here, suffered from the same disease, when on some business, which I had, I went to Bethlehem. There entering a cave I saw a woman named Mary, whose son was one called Jesus; and when she saw that I was leprous she had pity on me, and gave me the water with which she had washed the body of her Son. I poured it on my body, and I became clean. Therefore, the women said to her, Wilt thou, O lady, arise and go with us and show us my lady, lady Mary? She assented, and they arose and went to my lady, lady Mary, bearing splendid gifts with them. And when they had entered and offered her the gifts, they showed her the leprous girl whom they had brought with them. Therefore, the lady Mary said, The mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ descend upon you. And giving to them also a little of the water with which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she commanded the unfortunate one to be washed with it. And when they had done this she

was forthwith healed; and they, and all who stood by, praised God. Therefore they returned to their own city rejoicing, and praising the Lord for it. Now when the chief man heard that his wife was healed, he took her to his house and made a second wedding, and gave thanks to God for the recovered health of his wife.

CHAPTER XXXIII

There was also there a damsel who was afflicted by Satan; for that cursed one, in the form of a huge dragon, from time to time appeared to her, and prepared to swallow her up; he also sucked out all her blood, so that she remained like a corpse. As often as he approached her, she, with her hands clasped above her head, would scream and say, Alas, Alas, for me, that no one is here to deliver me from this most wicked dragon! Now her father and mother, and all who were about her, or saw her, pitied her lot; and men stood in confusion around her, and all wept and lamented, especially when she herself wept and said, O my brethren and friends, is there no one to deliver me from this murderer? But the daughter of the prince, who had been healed of her leprosy, hearing the voice of the damsel, went up to the roof of her castle and saw her with her hands clasped above her head weeping, and all the groups of those who stood around likewise weeping. Therefore she asked the husband of this demoniac whether the mother of his wife was living. When he had said that both her parents were alive, she said, Call her mother to me. When she saw her come, after being called by him, she said, Is this distracted young woman thy daughter? Yea, O lady, said the sad and weeping woman, she is my daughter. The prince's daughter answered, Hide my secret: for I confess to thee that I was a leper, but now lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, hath healed me. But if thou wouldst have thy daughter healed, take her to Bethlehem and seek out Mary, the mother of Jesus, and be sure thy daughter will be healed; and I am sure thou wilt return hither rejoicing with thy daughter in good health. The woman, as soon as she heard the saying of the prince's

daughter, immediately took her daughter with her, and, proceeding to the place indicated, went to my lady, lady Mary, and revealed to her her daughter's condition. Having heard her statement lady Mary gave her a little of the water in which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and commanded her to pour it on the body of her daughter. She gave her also a strip of the clothes of the Lord Jesus, and said, Take this strip of cloth and show it to thy enemy as often as thou seest him. And she dismissed them with a salutation.

CHAPTER XXXIV

When therefore they had departed from her and returned to their own country, and the time came in which Satan was wont to assail her, at that time the accursed one appeared to her in the form of a huge dragon, at the sight whereof the girl was afraid. But her mother said, Fear not, O daughter, suffer him to approach thee, and then show to him the strip of cloth which my lady Mary gave us, and we shall see what will happen. When therefore Satan like a terrible dragon came nigh, the body of the girl shuddered for fear of him; but as soon as she took out the strip of cloth, and put it on her head, and covered her eyes with it, flames and flashes began to blaze out of the strip of cloth, and to dart at the dragon. O the great miracle which was wrought as soon as the dragon saw the strip of cloth of the Lord Jesus, from which fire shone out, and darted at his head and eyes! With a loud voice he cried out, What have I to do with thee, O Jesus, son of Mary? Whither shall I flee from thee? With great dread, turning his back, he departed from the girl, and never after appeared to her. And the girl had rest from him, and gave praise and thanks to God, and with her all who were present at the miracle.

CHAPTER XXXV

In the same place there dwelt another woman whose son was vexed by Satan. He, Judas by name, whenever Satan seized him, bit all who approached him; and if he found no

one near him he bit his own hands and other members. Therefore, the mother of this unfortunate one, hearing the fame of lady Mary and her son Jesus, arose and took with her her son Judas to my lady Mary. Meanwhile James and Joses had taken away the child Lord Jesus to play with other children; and after leaving home they had sat down and the Lord Jesus with them. Judas the demoniac came nigh and sat down at the right of Jesus; and then being assaulted by Satan as he was wont to be, he sought to bite the Lord Jesus, but he could not, yet he struck the right side of Jesus, who for this cause began to weep. Forthwith Satan went forth out of the boy in form like a mad dog. Now this boy, who struck Jesus, and from whom Satan went out in the form of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him to the Jews, and that side of him on which Judas had smitten him the Jews pierced with a spear.¹⁴

CHAPTER XXXVI

Now when the Lord Jesus had accomplished seven years from his nativity, on a certain day he was with other boys of the same age. Now they were playing with clay, out of which they made figures of asses, oxen, birds, and other animals, and each one, glorying in his skill, praised his own work. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, The figures which I have made I will command to walk. Being asked by the boys whether then he was the son of the Creator, the Lord Jesus commanded them to walk, and they straightway began to jump about: then, when he gave them leave, they stood still again. Now he had made figures of birds and sparrows, which flew when he bade them fly, and stood still when he bade them stand, and ate and drank when he offered them food and drink. After the boys went and told these things to their parents, their fathers said to them, Beware, O sons, of keeping company with him again; for he is a sorcerer; therefore flee him and avoid him, and henceforth play with him no more.

¹⁴ Matt. x. 4; John xix. 34.

CHAPTER XXXVII

On a certain day, as the Lord Jesus was running about and playing with the boys, he went by the shop of a dyer, whose name was Salem; and he had in his shop many cloths which he was going to dye. The Lord Jesus therefore entering the shop of the dyer took all these cloths and cast them into a vessel full of Indian blue. When Salem came and saw the cloths spoiled, he began to cry out with a loud voice and to scold the Lord Jesus, saying, O son of Mary, what hast thou done to me? Thou hast rendered me dishonorable among all my townsmen; for every one wished for the color that suited him, but thou hast come and ruined all. The Lord Jesus answered, Of whatever cloth thou wishest the color changed, I will change it for thee, and he began at once to take the cloths out of the vessel, each of them dyed the color which the dyer desired, until he had drawn them all out. The Jews who saw this miracle and prodigy praised God.¹⁵

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Now Joseph went about through all the city and took with him the Lord Jesus, since men sent for him on account of his craft, to make for them doors, and milk-pails, and couches, and boxes. And the Lord Jesus was with him wherever he went. Therefore as often as Joseph had to make any of his work a cubit or a span longer or shorter, wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus used to stretch out his hand toward it, and when this was done it became such as Joseph wished; and there was no need for him to do anything with his own hand; for Joseph was not very skilful as a carpenter.

CHAPTER XXXIX

On a certain day the king of Jerusalem sent for him and said, Joseph, I wish thee to make me a throne of the measure of the place where I have been used to sit. Joseph obeyed, and immediately after he put his hand to the work; he remained two years in the palace, until he had finished making

¹⁵ This tradition is still current in Persia and other Eastern countries.

the throne. But when he had it removed into its place, he perceived that on each side it was two spans shorter than the proper measure. On seeing this the king was angry with Joseph; and Joseph, being greatly afraid of the king, passed the night supperless and tasting nothing whatever. Then he was asked by the Lord Jesus why he was afraid. Because, said Joseph, I have lost all that I have done for two years. The Lord Jesus said to him, Tear not, nor lose heart, but take thou one side of the throne, and I will take the other, to set it right. And when Joseph had done as the Lord Jesus had said, and each had pulled on his own side, the throne was made right, and brought to the exact measure of the place. When this prodigy was seen, they who were present were amazed, and praised God. Now the wood of the throne was of that kind which was celebrated in the time of Solomon, the son of David; that is, variegated and diversified.

CHAPTER XL

Another day the Lord Jesus went out into the street, and seeing some boys who had met to play, he followed them; but the boys hid themselves from him. Therefore when the Lord Jesus had come to the door of a certain house, and saw the women who stood there, he asked them whither the boys had gone. And when they told him that there was nobody there, the Lord Jesus said again, What are these whom ye see in the vault? They answered that they were kids of three years old. And the Lord Jesus cried aloud and said, Come out here, O kids, to your shepherd! Then the boys came out, having the form of kids, and began to skip about him. When they saw it the women wondered greatly, and, being seized with fear, they suppliantly and in haste adored the Lord Jesus, saying, O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, thou art indeed the Good Shepherd of Israel; have pity on thy hand-maids who stand before thee and never doubted; for, O our Lord, thou hast come to heal, and not to destroy. But when the Lord Jesus had answered that the children of Israel were like Ethiopians among the nations, the women said, Thou, Lord, knowest all things, and nothing is hidden from thee;

but now we pray thee, and from thy kindness we ask, that thou wouldst restore these boys, thy servants, to their former condition. The Lord Jesus therefore said, Come, boys, let us go and play; and immediately, while the women stood there, the kids were changed into boys.

CHAPTER XLI

Now in the month of Adar, Jesus assembled the boys as if he were their king; they strewed their garments on the ground, and he sat upon them. Then they put on his head a crown wreathed of flowers, and, like attendants waiting on a king, they stood in order before him on his right hand and on his left. And whoever passed that way, the boys took him by force, saying, Come hither and adore the king, and then proceed on thy way.

CHAPTER XLII

Meanwhile, as these things were going on, there came up men who were carrying a boy. For this boy had gone to the mountain, with others of his age, to seek for wood; and when he had found there a partridge's nest, and put out his hand to take the eggs from it, a poisonous serpent from the middle of the nest wounded him, so that he cried out for help. When his companions came near in haste they found him lying on the ground like one dead, and then his relatives came and lifted him up to carry him into the town. But when they had come to the place in which the Lord Jesus was sitting as the king, and the other boys standing round as his attendants, the boys went in haste to meet him who was bitten by the serpent, and said to his friends, Come and salute the king. But when they would not come, because of the sorrow in which they were, the boys took them by force against their will. And when they had come to the Lord Jesus, he asked them why they were carrying this boy. And when they replied that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, Let us go and kill the serpent. And when the parents of the boy asked that they would let them depart, for their son was at the point of death, the boys answered and

said, Have ye not heard what the king hath said: Let us go and kill the serpent? And will ye not obey him? And so against their will they took the litter back. And when they had come to the nest the Lord Jesus said, Is this the serpent's place? And when they said it was, the serpent, being called by the Lord, came forth without delay, submitting himself to him. And he said, Go and suck out all the venom which thou hast infused into this boy. The serpent therefore crawled to the boy and sucked out all its venom. Then the Lord Jesus cursed him: whereupon he was instantly rent asunder; and the boy, being stroked by the hand of the Lord Jesus, became well again. And when he began to weep, the Lord Jesus said, Weep not, for hereafter thou shalt be my disciple. And this was Simon the Canaanite,¹⁶ of whom mention is made in the Gospel.¹⁷

CHAPTER XLIII

On another day, Joseph had sent his son James to gather wood, and the Lord Jesus had joined him as a companion. And when they came to the place in which the wood was, and James began to gather it, behold a noxious viper bit his hand, so that he began to cry out and weep. The Lord Jesus, therefore, seeing him in this condition, came to him and breathed on the place where the viper had bitten him; whereupon he was instantly healed.

CHAPTER XLIV

One day when the Lord Jesus was again among the boys who were playing on a housetop, one of the boys fell down from above and immediately died. Now the other boys fled, and the Lord Jesus alone remained on the housetop. And when the kindred of the boy had come, they said to the Lord Jesus, Thou hast pushed our son headlong from the housetop. And as he denied it, they called out, saying, Our son is dead, and this is he who killed him. The Lord Jesus said to them, Do not blame me: but if ye believe not me, come and let us

¹⁶ "*Canaanite*, a Syriac word synonymous with *Zelotes*.

¹⁷ Matt. x. 4.

ask the boy himself, and let him bring the truth to light. Then the Lord Jesus came down, and, standing over him that was dead, he said in a loud voice, Zeno, Zeno, who cast thee down from the housetop? Then he that was dead answered, saying, Lord, thou didst not cast me down; but such a one pushed me off. And when the Lord Jesus had bidden those who stood there to observe his words all who were present praised God for this miracle.

CHAPTER XLV

My lady, lady Mary, once commanded the Lord Jesus to go and fetch her some water from the well. But when he went to bring the water, his water-pot, which was already filled, was shattered and broken. But the Lord Jesus spread out his handkerchief, and took the water he had gathered up to his mother, who marveled at the act. But she laid up and stored in her heart all that she saw.

CHAPTER XLVI

Again, another day, the Lord Jesus was at the water-side with some boys, and they made little pools again. Now the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows and ranged them three on each side about his pool. And it was the Sabbath day. So the son of Ananias, a Jew, coming up and seeing them doing such things, was angry and indignant. Do you, then, said he, make figures of clay on the Sabbath day? And, running up in haste, he destroyed their pools. Now when the Lord Jesus had clapped his hands over the sparrows he had made, they flew away chirping. Then the son of Ananias came also to the pool of Jesus, and, kicking it down with his shoes, the water ran out of it. And the Lord Jesus said to him, As that water hath disappeared, so also thy life shall disappear; and immediately the boy withered away.

CHAPTER XLVII

At another time, when the Lord Jesus was returning home with Joseph in the evening, he met a boy, who ran and thrust him so violently that he fell down. The Lord Jesus

said to him, As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall and not rise; and the same hour the boy fell down and breathed his last.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Moreover there was at Jerusalem one named Zaceheus, who was a teacher of boys. He said to Joseph, Joseph, why dost thou not bring me Jesus to learn letters % Joseph gave him his consent, and reported this to lady Mary. So they brought him to the master, who, as soon as he saw him, wrote the alphabet for him, and bade him say *Aleph*; and when he had said *Aleph*, the master ordered him to say *Beth*; and the Lord Jesus said to him, Tell me first the meaning of the letter *Aleph*, and then I will say *Beth*. And when the master threatened to flog him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meanings of the letters *Aleph* and *Beth*; also which forms of the letters were straight, which crooked, which drawn spirally, which marked with points, which were without them, and why one letter came before another; and he began to tell and explain many other things which the master himself had never heard, nor had read in any book. Moreover, the Lord Jesus said to the master, Attend, that I may tell thee. And he began clearly and distinctly to repeat *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Gimel*, and *Daleth*, as far as *Tau*. The master, wondering at this, said, I think this boy was born before Noah; and, turning to Joseph, he said, Thou hast brought to me to be taught a boy that is wiser than all teachers. To lady Mary also he said, There is no need of instruction for this thy son.

CHAPTER XLIX

Then they brought him to another and more learned master; and when he saw him he said, Say *Aleph*, and when he had said *Aleph*, the master ordered him to say *Beth*. The Lord Jesus answered and said to him, Tell me first the meaning of the letter *Aleph*, and then I will say *Beth*. When the master had lifted up his hand and struck him, his hand immediately withered, and he died. Then Joseph said to lady Mary, Henceforth we will not let him go out of the

house, for whoever opposeth him is punished with death.

CHAPTER X

And when he was twelve years old they took him to Jerusalem to the feast. But when the feast was over they, indeed, returned, but the Lord Jesus remained in the temple among the doctors and elders and learned men of the sons of Israel; and he asked them sundry questions about the sciences, and they answered him in turn.¹⁸ Now he said to them, Whose son is Messiah? They answered him, The Son of David. Wherefore then, said he, doth he in spirit call him his Lord, when he saith, The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, that I may bring down thy enemies to the footprints of thy feet?¹⁹ Again the chief of the doctors said to him, Hast thou read the scriptures? The Lord Jesus said, Both the scriptures and the things which are contained in them. And he explained the scriptures and the law and the precepts, and the statutes and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the prophets — things which the understanding of no creature attains unto. The doctor said, therefore, Heretofore I have not acquired nor heard such wisdom; what, thinkest thou, will that boy be?

CHAPTER LI

And since there was there a philosopher skilled in astronomy, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether he had studied astronomy, the Lord Jesus answered him and expounded the number of the spheres and celestial bodies, and their natures and operations, their opposition, trine, quartile, and sextile aspect, their direct course and retrogression, degrees and the sixtieths of degrees, and other things which reason does not attain unto.

CHAPTER LII

There was also among those philosophers one who was excellently skilled in the handling of natural things; and when

¹⁸ Luke ii. 42-47.

¹⁹ Matt. xxii. 42-45; Ps. ex. I.

he asked the Lord Jesus whether he had studied medicine, he answered and explained to him physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hypophysics; the virtues of the body; also the humors and their effects; also the number of the members and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves; also the effect of heat and dryness, of cold and moisture, and what might arise out of them; what the operation of the soul upon the body, and its senses and virtues; and the operation of the faculty of speaking, of anger, and of desire; finally, conjunction and disjunction, and other things which the intellect of no creature attains unto. Then the philosopher arose and adored the Lord Jesus, and said, O Lord, from this time I will be thy disciple and servant.

CHAPTER LIII

While they were conversing together of these and other things, my lady, lady Mary, came in after she had gone about with Joseph seeking him for three days. Therefore seeing him sitting among the doctors, and asking and answering them by turns, she said to him, My son, why hast thou dealt so with us? Lo, I and thy father have sought thee with much trouble. And he said, Why do ye seek me? Know ye not that I must be occupied in the house of my Father? But they understood not the words which he said to them. Then the doctors asked Mary whether this was her son, and on her assenting, they said, How happy thou art, who hast given birth to such a one as he! But he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things. And his mother laid up all those things in her heart. But the Lord Jesus advanced in stature and wisdom, and in favor with God and men.²⁰

CHAPTER LIV

And from that day he began to hide his concealed and secret miracles²¹ and to study the law, until he accomplished his thirtieth year, when the Father publicly declared him at the Jordan by this voice sent down from heaven: "This is

²⁰ Luke ii. 46-52.

²¹ Compare John ii. 11.

my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased"; the Holy Spirit being present in the form of a white dove.²²

CHAPTER LV

This is He whom we suppliantly adore, who gave to us being and life, and took us from our mothers' wombs; who, for our sake, took upon him a human body and redeemed us, that eternal mercy might embrace us, and that he might show us his clemency in liberality and beneficence, and generosity and benevolence. To him be the glory and goodness and power and dominion from henceforth unto eternal ages. Amen.

Here ends the whole of the Gospel of the Infancy, with the help of God most high, according to what we found in the original.

²² Matt. iii. 13-17; Luke ii. 21-23.

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE GOSPELS OF NICODEMUS

"It [The Nicodemus Gospel] is perhaps the most famous of the New Testament Apocrypha, and its merits, such as they are, have attracted to it much attention."

— B. H. COWPER.

THE GOSPELS OF NICODEMUS

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Gospels of Nicodemus form the most important and interesting of the apocrypha dealing with the death and resurrection of Christ. There was no such early gathering of legends around the ending of Jesus' earthly life as gathered around the infancy. The later Middle Ages had several "Acts of Pilate," but none of these can be traced to any early date. The Gospel of Nicodemus, however, in its earliest form dates back probably to A.D. 440, and may be even older. Later versions then expanded and retouched the story of Nicodemus until it became a long and fantastic narrative including some impressive visions of Satan and Hell.

As for Nicodemus, in Scripture he is the learned man who came to Jesus to be taught. As the true Gospels tell us nothing of his later life, nor of his death, he was a natural subject to be thus represented as watching and writing down the closing events of Christ's dealings with mankind. A later version of the tale, however, names another and much later Nicodemus, an otherwise unknown Roman governor, as being the author. Indeed the tale so grew and changed with the passing centuries that, to let the modern reader see it all, we give here first the oldest, or Greek, version of Nicodemus, then a later Latin version, then the noted "second part," the vivid "Harrowing of Hell." This story of Christ in hell does not appear in the oldest manuscripts of Nicodemus.

At a still later period, apparently, Pilate's part in this gospel was further expanded until he became, to the Middle Ages, a great criminal, haunted always by a terrible remorse, which drives him ultimately to suicide. We give here the first form in which the Pilate legend was expanded in the Nicodemus gospel, and then some very early letters (from about A.D. 400) which name Pilate as their author.

THE GREEK GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

Acts of our Lord Jesus Christ wrought in the time of Pontius Pilate

PROLOGUE

I, Ananias, a provincial warden, being a disciple of the law, from the divine Scriptures recognized our Lord Jesus Christ, and came to him by faith, and was also accounted worthy of holy baptism. Now when searching the records which were made in the time of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews laid up under Pontius Pilate, I found that these records were written in Hebrew, and by the good pleasure of God I translated them into Greek for the information of all who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the government of our lord Flavius Theodosius, the 17th year, and in the 6th consulate of Flavius Valentinianus, in the 9th indiction.¹

All therefore who read and copy into other books remember me and pray for me, that God may be propitious to me, and be gracious to my sins which I have committed against him.²

Peace to those who read and those who hear, and to their servants. Amen.

In the 15th year of the government of Tiberius Caesar, King of the Romans; and of Herod, King of Galilee, the 19th

¹The dates given in the consular tables do not agree in all editions, but I do not find any in which the 17th of Theodosius and the 6th of Valentinian come together. The 17th consulate of Theodosius is by some placed in A.D. 441, and the 5th of Valentinian in 442; while the 18th of Theodosius falls in 446, and the 6th of Valentinian in 447. The 9th indiction, according to Dufresnoy, falls in 441. We may therefore correct the text by reading the 17th consulate of Theodosius, and the 5th of Valentinian, which would be A.D. 441-2. The Coptic has the 5th of Valentinian, and the Latin the 18th of Theodosius.

²Ancient scribes were very much in the habit of putting in requests for the prayers of their readers.

year of his reign, on the 8th before the calends of April, which is the 25th of March; in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio; in the 4th year of the 202d Olympiad, when Joseph Caiaphas was high priest of the Jews.³

Whatsoever, after the cross and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior God, Nicodemus recorded and wrote in Hebrew, and left to posterity, is after this fashion.

CHAPTER I

For the chief priests and scribes having taken counsel, Annas, and Caiaphas, and Semes, and Dathaes, and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, and Nephthalim, Alexander, and Jaeirus,⁴ and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate, accusing Jesus of many deeds, saying, We know this man that he is the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary, and he saith that he is the Son of God and a king: moreover he profaneth the Sabbaths, and wisheth to abolish the law of our fathers. Pilate saith, And what is it that he doeth and wisheth to abolish? The Jews say, We have a law that no one shall heal on the Sabbath; but he by evil arts hath healed on the Sabbath the lame, and mutilated, and withered, and blind, and paralytic, deaf, and demoniacs. Pilate saith to them, By what evil arts? They say to him, He is a magician, and by Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casteth out demons; and they are all subject to him. Pilate saith to them, It is not possible to cast out demons by an unclean spirit, but by the God Esculapius.

The Jews said unto Pilate, We request thy majesty that he may be set before thy judgment-seat and be heard. And

³ The 15th of Tiberius is the date of our Lord's baptism (Luke iii. 1), but some ancient writers also give it as the date of the crucifixion, which is an error. For the 19th of Herod we must substitute the 32d (Lewin's "Fasti," p. 173). Rufus and Rubellio may have been the consuls in the 15th of Tiberius, but were not when our Lord suffered. The 4th year of Olympiad 202 answers to the 19th of Tiberius. The phrase "Joseph Caiaphas" is justified in an earlier footnote. The placing of our Lord's arrest on March 25 is in harmony with several early authorities, but Clement of Alexandria mentions some who referred it to three or four months later in the year. The paragraph which contains these indications of time is found in many copies, but not in all.

⁴ The copies and versions differ exceedingly about these names.

Pilate calling them saith, Tell me, how can I who am a governor try a king? They say to him, We do not say that he is a king, but he saith he is one. And Pilate having called the officer⁵ saith to him, Let Jesus be brought with gentleness. And the officer went out and, having recognized him, worshiped him, and taking a scarf in his hand spread it on the ground, and said to him, Lord, walk here, and come in, for the governor calleth thee. And the Jews seeing what the officer did cried out against Pilate, saying, Why didst thou not order him by a crier to come in, rather than by an officer? For when the officer saw him he worshiped him, and spread his scarf on the ground and made him walk on it like a king.

And Pilate called the officer and said to him, Why hast thou done this, and spread thy scarf on the ground and made Jesus walk upon it? The officer saith to him, My lord governor, When thou sentest me to Jerusalem to Alexander,⁶ I saw Him sitting on an ass, and the children of the Hebrews held boughs in their hands and cried out, and others spread out their garments, saying, Save now, thou who art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.⁷

The Jews cried out, and said to the officer, The children of the Hebrews cried out in Hebrew; whence hast thou the Greek? The officer saith to them, I asked one of the Jews and said, What is that they cry out in Hebrew? And he explained to me. Pilate saith to them, How did they cry out in Hebrew? The Jews said to him, *Hosanna membrome, barouchamma Adonai*. Pilate saith to them, And how is Hosanna and the rest interpreted? The Jews say unto him, Save now, thou that art in the highest: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate saith to them, If ye bear witness that these words were spoken by the children, how hath the officer done wrong? And they were silent. The governor saith to the officer, Go and bring him in what manner thou wilt. And the officer went out and did the same

⁵ The word is here the latin *cursor*, a messenger.

⁶ I do not know what Alexander is meant.

⁷ Matt. xxi. 8, 9.

as before, and said to Jesus, Lord, enter, the governor calleth thee.

And when Jesus entered, and the standard-bearers holding the standards, the tops of the standards bowed down and worshiped Jesus. And when the Jews saw the manner of the standards, how they bowed down and worshiped Jesus, they cried out exceedingly against the standard-bearers. And Pilate said to the Jews, Do ye not marvel how the banners bowed down and worshiped Jesus? The Jews said to Pilate, We saw how the standard-bearers bowed down and worshiped him. And the governor called the standard-bearers and said to them, Why did ye do so? They said to Pilate, We are Greeks and wait upon the gods, how could we worship him? but as we were holding the banners they bowed down of themselves and worshiped him.

Pilate said to the chiefs of the synagogues and the elders of the people, Choose ye strong and powerful men, and let them hold the standards, and let us see if they bow down of themselves. And the elders of the Jews took twelve strong and powerful men, and made six together hold the standards, and they stood before the judgment-seat of the governor. And Pilate saith to the officer, Take him out of the praetorium, and bring him in again in what manner thou wilt. And Jesus and the officer went out of the praetorium. And Pilate called those who before held the banners, and saith to them, I have sworn by the salvation of Caesar that if the standards do not bow down when Jesus entereth I will cut off your heads. And the governor gave order the second time that Jesus should come in. And the officer did the same as before, and earnestly entreated Jesus to tread upon his scarf. And he trod on it, and came in. And as he entered the standards bowed down again and worshiped Jesus.

CHAPTER II

And when Pilate saw it he was afraid and sought to rise up from the judgment-seat. And while it was yet in his mind to rise his wife sent to him, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered very much because

of him in the night.⁸ And Pilate, having called the Jews, said to them, Ye know that my wife is religious, and inclined to practise Judaism with you. They said unto him, Yea we know it. Pilate saith to them, Behold, my wife hath sent to me, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered very much because of him in the night. But the Jews answered and said to Pilate, Did we not tell thee that he is a magician? Behold he hath sent a dream to thy wife.

And Pilate called Jesus and said to him, What do these testify against thee? Dost thou say nothing? And Jesus said, Except they had power they would have said nothing. For every one of them hath power over his own mouth to speak both good and evil. They will see.

And the elders of the Jews answered and said to Jesus, What shall we see? first, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem became the slaughter of babes; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence with the people.

Some of the pious among the Jews who stood by said, We do not say that he was born of fornication, but we know that Joseph was espoused to Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate said to the Jews who said he was born of fornication, This saying of yours is not true; because the betrothal had taken place, as also your fellow countrymen say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate, All the multitude of us cry out and do not believe that he was born of fornication.⁹ these are proselytes and his disciples. And Pilate called Annas and Caiaphas and said to them, What are proselytes? They said to him, They were born the children of Greeks, and have now become Jews. Those who said he was not born of fornication, Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Amnes, Zera, Samuel, Isaac, Phinehas, Crispus, Agrippa, and Ju-

⁸ Matt, xxvii. 19. This message is hinted at in the letter of Pilate to Herod, which will be found further on.

⁹ The context seems to require either, "And we do believe," or "Do we not believe?"

das,¹⁰ said, We have not become proselytes, but are children of Jews, and speak truth. And at the espousals of Joseph and Mary we were present.

And Pilate called these twelve men who said he was not born of fornication, and said to them, I adjure you, by the salvation of Csesar, is that true which ye say, that he was not born of fornication? They say to Pilate, We have a law not to swear, because it is sin; but they will swear that it is not as we said, and we are liable to death. Pilate saith to Annas and Caiaphas, Answer ye nothing to these things? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate, These twelve believe that he was not born of fornication; all the multitude of us proclaim that he was born of fornication, and is a magician, and calleth himself the Son of God and a king, and we believe him not.

And Pilate commanded all the multitude to go out, except the twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, and commanded Jesus to be taken out. And Pilate saith to them, On what account wish they to slay him? They say unto him, They are jealous because he healeth on the Sabbath. Pilate saith, For a good work do they wish to slay him? They say unto him, Yea.

CHAPTER III

And Pilate was filled with anger, and went out of the praetorium and saith to them, I call the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the governor, If this man was not an evil-doer we should not have delivered him to thee. And Pilate said, Take ye him and judge him according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate, It is not lawful for us to put any one to death. Pilate said, Did God command you not to kill, but me to kill?

And Pilate went in again to the praetorium, and called Jesus aside, and said to him, Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate, Dost thou speak this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus, Am I also a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests

¹⁰ The copies vary in this list of names.

have delivered thee to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: for if my kingdom was of this world, my servants would have fought for me that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said to him, Art thou then a king? Jesus answered him, Thou sayest; for I am a king: for this was I born, and I am come that every one who is of the truth should hear my voice. Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? Jesus saith to him, Truth is from heaven. Pilate saith, Is truth not upon earth? Jesus saith to Pilate, Thou seest how they who say the truth are judged by those who have power upon earth.

CHAPTER IV

And leaving Jesus within the prætorium, Pilate went out to the Jews, and saith unto them, I find no fault in him. The Jews say unto him, This man said, I can destroy this temple, and build it in three days. Pilate saith, What temple? The Jews says, That which Solomon¹¹ built in forty and six years, but he speaketh of destroying and building it in three days. Pilate saith to them, I am guiltless of the blood of this just man: ye will see. The Jews say, His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

And Pilate having called the eldest and priests and Levites, said to them privately, Do not thus, for ye have accused him of nothing worthy of death; for your accusation is for healing, and the profanation of the Sabbath. The elders and priests and Levites say, If any one speaks evil against Cæsar, is he worthy of death or no? Pilate saith, He is worthy of death. The Jews say to Pilate, If any one speaketh evil against Cæsar, he is worthy of death; but this man hath spoken blasphemy against God.

And the governor commanded the Jews to go out from the prætorium, and calling Jesus, he saith to him, What shall I do to thee? Jesus saith to Pilate, As it hath been given thee. Pilate saith, How has it been given? Jesus saith, Moses and the Prophets spake beforehand of my death and

¹¹ This is a paraphrase of John ii. 20.

resurrection. And the Jews who observed and heard said to Pilate, What more wouldst thou hear than this blasphemy? Pilate saith to the Jews, If this saying is blasphemous, take ye him for blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate, Our law maintains that if a man sin against a man he is worthy to receive forty stripes save one; but he that blasphemeth against God is to be stoned with stones.¹²

Pilate saith to them, Take ye him and be avenged upon him in what manner ye will. The Jews say to Pilate, We wish that he should be crucified. Pilate saith, He doth not deserve to be crucified.

And as the governor looked around at the multitudes of Jews who stood about, he saw many of the Jews weeping, and he said, All the multitude doth not wish him to die. The elders of the Jews said, For this cause all the multitude of us have come, that he may die. Pilate saith to the Jews, Wherefore should he die? The Jews say, Because he said that he was the Son of God and a King.

CHAPTER V

And a certain man named Nicodemus, a Jew,¹³ stood before the governor and said, I entreat thee, worshipful one, bid me say a few words. And Pilate said, Speak. Nicodemus saith, I said to the elders and the priests and Levites and all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, What seek ye with this man? This man doth many signs and wonders, such as no other did or will do. Release him, and wish no evil against him. If the miracles which he doth are of God, they will stand; but if of men, they will come to naught.¹⁴ For Moses also, when sent from God into Egypt, wrought many signs which God commanded him to do before Pharaoh, King of Egypt. And there were men there, Jannes and

¹² Deut. xxv. 3; 2 Cor. xi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 10-16.

¹³ It is hardly to be imagined that Nicodemus would have introduced himself in this way, had he been the author of the book. John iii. 1; vii. 50; xix. 39.

¹⁴ Compare Acts v. 35.

Jambres, physicians of Pharaoh, and they also did not a few signs such as Moses did, and the Egyptians esteemed them as gods, that is Jannes and Jambres.¹⁵ And since the signs which they did were not of God they perished, both they and those who believed in them. Now, therefore, release this man, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews said to Nicodemus, Thou art his disciple, and makest a defense for him. Nicodemus saith to them, Is the governor also his disciple, and is he making a defense for him? Hath not Cæsar appointed him to this dignity? And the Jews were very angry, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate saith to them, Why do ye gnash your teeth against him, when ye hear the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus, Mayest thou receive his truth and his portion! Nicodemus saith, Amen, amen; may I receive as ye have said!

CHAPTER VI

And one of the Jews, starting up, asked the governor that he might say a word. The governor saith, If thou wilt speak, speak. And the Jew said, I lay thirty-eight years on my bed in pain and affliction. And when Jesus came, many devils and persons suffering various diseases were healed by him, and some young men had pity on me, and carried me with my bed, and took me to him; and when Jesus saw me he had compassion, and said the word to me, Take up thy bed and walk: and I took up my bed and walked. The Jews said to Pilate, Ask him what day it was when he was healed. He that was healed said, On the Sabbath.¹⁶ The Jews said, Did we not tell thee so, that on the Sabbath he healeth and casteth out demons?

And another Jew, starting up, said, I was born blind; I heard a voice, but saw no person; and as Jesus passed by I cried with a loud voice, Have pity on me, Son of David; and he had pity on me, and placed his hands upon my eyes, and immediately I saw. And another Jew, leaping up, said, I

¹⁵ 2 Tim. iii. 8. The names of Jannes and Jambres are introduced into the Targum of Palestine at Exod. vii. 11.

¹⁶ John v. 5-9.

was a cripple, and he made me straight with a word.¹⁷ And another said, I was a leper, and he healed me with a word.¹⁸

CHAPTER VII

And a certain woman cried out from a distance and said, I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and my issue of blood, which had been for twelve years, was stayed.¹⁹ The Jews said, We have a law not to admit a woman to witness.²⁰

CHAPTER VIII

And others, a multitude both of men and of women, cried and said, This man is a prophet, and demons are subject unto him. Pilate said to those who said that demons were subject to him, Why were your teachers not also subject to him? They say unto Pilate, We know not. And others said, That he raised up Lazarus from the sepulcher when he had been dead four days.²¹ And the governor, becoming afraid, said to all the multitude of the Jews, Why will ye shed innocent blood?

CHAPTER IX

And calling Nicodemus and the twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, he said to them, What shall I do? for there is a sedition among the people. They said to him, We know not; they will see. Pilate called again all the multitude of the Jews, and said, Ye know that it is a custom with you, at the feast of unleavened bread, to deliver Up to you a prisoner; I have a condemned prisoner in the gaol, a murderer called Barabbas, and this Jesus who stands before you, in regard to whom I find no fault in him. Which will ye that I deliver to you? And they cry out, Barabbas. Pilate saith, what then shall we do with Jesus, who is called

¹⁷ John ix. 1-12; Mark viii. 22-26.

¹⁸ Matt. viii. 1-4; Mark i. 40-45.

¹⁹ Matt. ix. 20-26; Luke viii. 43-48.

²⁰ The Jews did not allow a woman as a witness. Otho's Lex. Rab. s.v. Testimonium.

²¹ John xi. 1-16.

Christ? The Jews say, Let him be crucified. Others said, Thou art not Cæsar's friend, if thou discharge him; for he said that he was the Son of God and a king: thou wishest him to be king therefore, and not Cæsar.

And Pilate was angry, and said to the Jews, Your nation is always seditious, and ye speak against your benefactors. The Jews say, What benefactors? He saith to them, Your God led you out of Egypt from hard bondage, and delivered you through the sea as through dry land, and fed you in the wilderness with manna, and gave you quails, and gave you water to drink from a rock, and gave you a law; and amid all these things, ye provoked your God to anger, and sought after a molten calf: and angered your God, and he sought to slay you, and Moses made supplication for you, and ye died not. And now ye exclaim against me, that I hate the king.

And he rose from the judgment-seat and sought to go out. And the Jews cried out, saying, We know that Cæsar is king and not Jesus. For the Magi also offered gifts to him as to a king. And when Herod heard from the Magi that a king was born he sought to put him to death. But when his father Joseph knew it he took him and his mother, and they fled into Egypt. And when Herod heard it, he destroyed the Hebrew children that were born in Bethlehem.

And when Pilate heard these words he was afraid. And Pilate caused the multitudes to keep silence, for they cried out; and he said, So this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews said, Yea, this is he. And Pilate took water, and washed his hands before the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man: see ye to it. The Jews cried out again, His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

Then Pilate commanded the curtain of the judgment-seat where he sat to be drawn, and said to Jesus, Thine own nation hath convicted thee as a king; therefore I have declared that thou shalt first be scourged after the custom of the pious kings, and then be fastened upon the cross in the garden where thou wast taken: and let Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors, be crucified with thee.

CHAPTER X

And Jesus went out of the praetorium, and the two malefactors with him; and when they came to the place they stripped him of his garments, and put about him a linen cloth, and they put a crown of thorns on him about his head. And they crucified him: and at the same time they hanged the two malefactors with him. And Jesus said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted his garments. And the people stood beholding him. And the chief priests and the rulers with them derided him, saying, He saved others, let him save himself: If he is the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers mocked him, coming and offering him vinegar and gall, and said, Thou art the King of the Jews; save thyself.

And after the sentence Pilate commanded that for a title his accusation should be written up, in Greek, Roman, and Hebrew letters, as the Jews said, He is King of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors that were hanged spake to him, saying, If thou art the Christ, save thyself and us. And Dysmas answered and rebuked him, saying, Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation? and we, indeed, justly; for we receive our deserts for what we have done; but he hath done no evil. And he said to Jesus, Lord, remember me in thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, That to-day thou art with me in Paradise.

CHAPTER XI

And it was about the sixth hour, and darkness was upon the earth until the ninth hour, for the sun was darkened; and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst. And calling with a loud voice, Jesus said, Father, *Baddalch ephkid rouel*, which is interpreted, Into thy hands I commend my spirit. And having said this he gave up the ghost. And when the centurion saw what had happened he glorified God, saying, This man was just. And all the multitudes who were present at that sight, seeing what had happened, returned, smiting their breasts.

And the centurion reported to the governor what was done. And when the governor heard, and his wife, they were very sorrowful, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews and said to them, Have ye seen what has happened? And they said, An eclipse of the sun has happened in the usual manner.

And his acquaintance stood afar off, and the women who came with him out of Galilee, beholding these things. And a certain man, Joseph by name, a councilor, who was of the city of Arimathea, and himself also expected the Kingdom of God, the same came to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and placed it in a sepulcher hewn in stone, wherein no one was yet lying.

CHAPTER XII

And when the Jews heard that Joseph had asked the body of Jesus, they sought for him, and for the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others besides, who had risen up before Pilate, and made known his good works. And whereas they were all hidden, Nicodemus alone was seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus said to them, How came ye into the synagogue? The Jews say unto him, How earnest thou into the synagogue? for thou art a witness for him; and be his lot with thee in the world to come. Nicodemus saith, Amen, amen. And in like manner also Joseph came forth, and said to them, Why were ye offended at me, because I asked for the body of Jesus? behold I have placed him in my new sepulcher, have wrapped him in clean linen, and have rolled a stone to the door of the sepulcher. And ye have not done right against that just one, because ye repented not of crucifying him, but even pierced him with a spear. And the Jews took hold of Joseph, and commanded him to be kept safely until the first day of the week, and said to him, Know that the time doth not permit us to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning: and know that thou shalt not be counted worthy of burial, but we will give thy

flesh to the birds of heaven. Joseph saith to them, This is the saying of the boasting Goliath, who reproached the living God and the holy David.²² For God said by the prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord.²³ And now he that is uncircumcised in the flesh, but circumcised in his heart, hath taken water and washed his hands before the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And ye answering Pilate said, His blood be upon us and upon our children; and now I fear lest the anger of the Lord should come upon you and your children, as ye said. And when the Jews heard these words they were vexed in soul, and taking hold of Joseph they arrested him and shut him in a house where there was no window, and guards were stationed at the door, and they sealed the door where Joseph was shut up.

And on the Sabbath the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites made a decree, that all should be present in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And rising early in the morning, all the multitude took counsel in the synagogue by what death they should kill him. And when the council was seated, they commanded him to be brought With much dishonor. And when they opened the door they found him not. And all the people was astonished; and they were amazed because they found the seals sealed, and because Caiaphas had the key. And they no more dared to lay hands on them who spake for Jesus before Pilate.

CHAPTER XIII

And while they were still sitting in the synagogue, and wondering about Joseph, certain of the guard came, whom the Jews had asked of Pilate to keep the tomb of Jesus, that his disciples might not come and steal him. And they reported and told to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what had happened: how there was a great earthquake, and we saw an angel coming down from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the sepulcher, and sat upon it; and he shone like snow and like

²² 1 Sam. xvii. 4-43.

²³ Deut. xxxii. 35; Rom. xii. 19.

lightning; and we, being greatly afraid, lay as if we were dead. And we heard the voice of the angel talking with the women who waited by the tomb — Fear ye not; for I know that ye seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here: he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay; and go forth quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

The Jews said, With what women did he talk? The men of the guard said, We know not who they were. The Jews said, At what hour was it? The men of the guard said, At midnight. The Jews said, And why did ye not lay hold upon them? The men of the guard said, We were like dead men for fear, not expecting to see the light of day, and how could we lay hold upon them? The Jews said, As the Lord liveth, we do not believe you. The men of the guard said to the Jews, Ye have seen so great signs in that man, and have not believed, and how can ye believe in us? Lor ye have well sworn that the Lord liveth, for also he liveth. They of the guard said again, We have heard that ye shut up him that asked for the body of Jesus, and sealed the door, and when ye opened it ye found him not; therefore produce him that ye kept, and we will give up Jesus. The Jews said, Joseph went away to his own city. They of the guard said to the Jews, And Jesus arose as we heard from the angel, and is in Galilee.

And the Jews hearing these words were greatly afraid, saying, Lest this report should be heard, and all men should incline to Jesus. And the Jews, calling a council, put down much money and gave to the soldiers, saying, Say, While we slept his disciples came by night and stole him. And if this should be heard by the governor, we will persuade him and keep you from trouble. And they took it and said as they were taught.

CHAPTER XIV

And Phinehas, a priest, and Adas, a teacher, and Aggæus, a Levite, coming from Galilee to Jerusalem, declared to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, We

saw Jesus with his disciples, sitting on the mount which is called Mamilk,²⁴ and he said to his disciples, Go into all the world and preach to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall he saved, and he that believeth not shall he condemned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall cast out demons, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; upon the sick they shall lay hands and they shall be well.²³ While Jesus was yet speaking to his disciples we saw him taken up into heaven.

The elders and priests and Levites said, Give glory to the God of Israel; and make acknowledgment to him if ye have heard and seen these things which ye relate. Those who reported them said, As the Lord God of our Fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob liveth, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and priests and Levites said unto them, Have ye come to proclaim this to us, or have ye come to pay a vow to God? And they said, To pay a vow to God. The elders and chief priests and Levites said to them, If ye have come to pay a vow to God, why these trifles with which ye have trifled before all the people?

And Phineas, the priest, and Adas, the teacher, and Aggæus, the Levite, said to the rulers of the synagogue and priests and Levites, If these things which we have told and seen are sin, behold we are before you; do to us according to what is good in your eyes. And taking the law they made them swear that they would tell no one these words any more. And they gave them to eat and drink, and sent them out of the city, after bestowing money upon them, and three men with them, and they removed them back to Galilee.

And when those men were gone into Galilee, the chief priests and rulers of the synagogue, and elders, assembled in

²⁴ The explanation of Mamilk is to be sought for from Jewish writers. The word seems to be a corruption of *Malek* or *Melek*, "a king." The name Mount Melek was applied by the Rabbins to the hill country of Judah; but our author has not only identified the Mount of Olives with Mount Melek, but located it in Galilee.

²⁵ Mark xvi. 15.

the synagogue, shutting the gate, and they lamented with a great lamentation, saying, Hath this sign come to pass in Israel? And Annas and Caiaphas said, Why are ye troubled? Why do ye weep? Know ye not that his disciples gave much gold to the guards of the tomb, and taught them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulcher? And the priests and elders said, Be it that his disciples stole the body; but how did the soul enter the body, and how abideth he in Galilee? And they, being scarcely able to give an answer to these things, said, It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised.

CHAPTER XV

And Nicodemus arose and stood before the council, saying, Ye speak aright. Ye know, O people of the Lord, that the men who came down from Galilee fear God, are men of substance, hating covetousness, men of peace. And they spake with an oath, saying, We saw Jesus at Mount Mamilk, with his disciples, and he taught what we heard from him, and we saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them in what manner he was taken up. For as the Book of the Holy Scriptures hath taught us, Elijah also was taken up into heaven; and Elisha called with a loud voice, and Elijah cast his sheepskin upon Elisha; and Elisha cast his sheepskin upon the Jordan, and passed over, and came to Jericho. And the children of the prophets met him, and said, Elisha, where is thy master Elijah? and he said, He was taken up into heaven. And they said to Elisha, Hath a spirit seized him and cast him upon one of the mountains? Let us take our young men with us and seek him. And they persuaded Elisha, and he went with them. And they sought him three days, and found him not, and knew that he was taken up.²⁶ And now hear me, and let us send through all the border of Israel, and see whether the Christ hath been taken up by a spirit, and cast upon one of the mountains. And this saying pleased them all. And they sent through all the border of Israel, and sought for Jesus, and found him not. But

²⁶ 2 Kings ii. 1-18.

they found Joseph at Arimathea: and no one dared lay hold upon him.

And they brought word to the elders and the priests and the Levites, saying, We went through all the border of Israel, and found not Jesus: but we found Joseph at Arimathea. And when they heard of Joseph they rejoiced, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, took counsel in what manner they might meet with Joseph, and took a sheet of paper, and wrote to Joseph, thus:

"Peace be unto thee. We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee, and we have prayed to the God of Israel that thou wouldest deign to come to thy fathers, and to thy children, because we are all troubled; for when we opened the door we found thee not. And we know that we devised an evil counsel against thee, but the Lord undertook for thee, and the Lord himself scattered our counsel which was against thee, honored father Joseph."

And they chose out of all Israel seven men, friends to Joseph, with whom Joseph also was acquainted. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, said to them, See ye; if he receiveth and readeth our epistle, ye know that he will come to us along with you: but if he doth not read it, ye know that he is offended with us, and ye shall salute him in peace, and return to us. And they blessed the men and sent them away. And the men came to Joseph, and bowed down to him, and said to him, Peace be unto thee. And he said, Peace be to you, and to all the people of Israel. And they gave him the roll of the epistle. And Joseph received, and read, and folded the epistle, and blessed God, and said, Blessed be the Lord God, who hath delivered Israel from shedding innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord who sent his angel, and protected me under his wings. And he set a table before them, and they ate, and drank, and slept there.

And they rose early and prayed. And Joseph saddled his ass, and went with the men, and they came to the holy city, Jerusalem. And all the people met Joseph, and cried, Peace

be unto thee at thy coming in. And he said to all the people, Peace be unto you. And he kissed them. And the people prayed with Joseph, and were astonished at the sight of him. And Nicodemus received him into his house, and made a great supper, and invited Annas, and Caiaphas, and the elders, and the priests, and the Levites, to his house. And they rejoiced, both eating and drinking with Joseph. And when they had sung hymns, every one went to his own home. But Joseph abode at the house of Nicodemus.

And on the morrow, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, came early to the house of Nicodemus, and Nicodemus met them, and said, Peace be unto you. And they said, Peace be unto thee, and unto Joseph, and to all thy house, and to all the house of Joseph. And he took them into his house. And all the assembly sat, and Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas. And no one dared to speak to him a word. And Joseph said, Wherefore have ye called for me? And they signified to Nicodemus to tell Joseph. And Nicodemus opened his mouth, and said to Joseph, Father, thou knowest that the honorable teachers, and priests and Levites, seek to learn something from thee. And Joseph said, Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas took the law, and made Joseph swear, saying, Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to him. Because when Achan²⁷ was sworn by the prophet Joshua²⁸ he did not forswear himself, but told him all, and hid nothing from him. Thou, therefore, hide not anything from us. And Joseph said, I will not hide from you one word. And they said to him, We were exceedingly grieved that thou didst ask for the body of Jesus, and didst wrap it in clean linen, and didst lay him in a sepulcher. And for this cause we secured thee in a house wherein there was no window, and we put locks and seals upon the doors, and guards watched where thou wast confined. And when we opened it on the first day of the week, we found thee not, and were greatly troubled. And astonishment fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. And now tell us what befell thee.

²⁷ Greek, Achar.

²⁸ Greek, Jesus; Josh. vii. 19-20.

And Joseph said, On the preparation, about the tenth hour, ye put me in prison, and I remained so all the Sabbath. And about midnight, as I stood and prayed, the house wherein ye shut me was suspended²⁹ by the four corners, and I saw, as it were, a flash of light in my eyes. And being afraid, I fell to the ground. And some one took me by the hand, and removed me from the place where I had fallen, and a quantity of water was poured out upon me from my head to my feet; and a smell of myrrh came to my nostrils. And he wiped my face, and kissed me, and said to me, Fear not, Joseph; open thy eyes, and see who it is that talketh with thee. And looking up, I saw Jesus. And being afraid, I thought it was an apparition, and said the commandments.³⁰ And he said them with me. And as ye know, if an apparition meeteth a man, and heareth the commandments, it taketh to flight. And seeing that he said them with me, I said to him, Rabbi Elias. And he said to me, I am not Elias. And I said to him, Who art thou, Lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate; and thou didst wrap me in clean linen, and didst put a napkin upon my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the sepulcher. And I said to him that talked with me, Show me the place where I laid thee. And he took me, and showed me the place where I laid him: and the linen cloth lay therein, and the napkin which was upon his face; and I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand, and set me, the doors being shut, inside my house, and he led me to my couch, and said to me, Peace be to thee. And he kissed me, and said to me, Go not out of thine house for forty days; for behold, I go into Galilee, unto my brethren.

²⁹ Compare Acts x. 11. This idea reached its fullest development in the legend of the Virgin's house removed by angels from Nazareth to Loretto.

³⁰ Some formula was probably enjoined to be repeated on such occasions, as a kind of charm. Thilo thinks it was the Decalogue.

CHAPTER XVI

And when the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, heard these words from Joseph, they became as dead men, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus and Joseph comforted Annas and Caiaphas, the priests and the Levites, saying, Arise and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and strengthen your souls, for to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they arose and prayed to God, and ate and drank, and went every man to his house.

And on the Sabbath the teachers, and the priests and Levites, sat and questioned with one another, and said, What is this wrath which has come upon us? for we know his father and his mother. Levi, a teacher, saith, I know his parents fear God, and neglect not prayer, and give tithes thrice a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him to this place, and offered sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings to God. And the great teacher Simeon took him into his arms, and said, Now Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart, according to thy word, in peace; because mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Simeon blessed them, and said to Mary, his mother, I tell thee good tidings concerning this child. And Mary said, Good, my lord. And Simeon said to her, Good: behold he is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; and a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.³¹

They say unto Levi, the teacher, How knowest thou these things? Levi saith to them, Know ye not that from him I learned the law? The assembly say to him, We would see thy father. And they sent for his father. And when they asked him, he said to them, Why did ye not believe my son? The blessed and righteous Simeon himself taught him the law. The assembly saith to Rabbi Levi, Is the word true

³¹ Luke ii. 25-35.

which thou hast spoken? And he said, It is true. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites, said among themselves, Come, let us send into Galilee, to the three men who came and told us about his teaching, and his ascension, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this saying pleased them all. And they sent the three men who had already gone into Galilee with them, and said to them, Say to Rabbi Adas, and Rabbi Phinehas, and Rabbi Aggæus, Peace be to you, and all that are with you. Because there is much inquiry in the Sanhedrim, we have sent to you, to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.

And the men went into Galilee, and found them sitting, and meditating upon the law, and they greeted them in peace. And the men who were in Galilee said to them that had come to them, Peace be upon all Israel. And they said, Peace to you. And again they said to them, Wherefore are ye come? And they who were sent said, The Sanhedrim in the holy city Jerusalem call you. And when the men heard that they were asked by the Sanhedrim, they prayed to God, and sat down with the men, and ate, and drank, and arose and went in peace to Jerusalem.

And on the morrow the Sanhedrim sat in the synagogue, and asked them, saying, Did ye truly see Jesus sitting on the mount Mamilk, as he taught his eleven disciples, and did ye see him taken up? And the men answered them, and said, As we saw him taken up, so also we said.

Annas saith, Take them apart, and let us see if their report agreeth. And they took them apart. And they called Adas first, and said to him, How sawest thou Jesus taken up? Adas saith, While he was sitting on the mount Mamilk, and teaching his disciples, we saw a cloud overshadowing him, and his disciples; and the cloud bore him up into heaven, and his disciples lay on their faces upon the ground. And they called Phinehas, the priest, and asked him also, saying, How sawest thou Jesus taken up? And he said the same. And again they asked Aggæus, and he said the same. And the Sanhedrim said, The Law of Moses declar-eth, By the mouth of two or three, every word shall be estab-

lished. Buthem, a teacher, said, It is written in the law, And Enoch walked with God, and was not, because God took him.³² Jairus, the teacher, said, And we have heard of the death of holy Moses, and we saw it not. For it is written in the law of the Lord, And Moses died, by the word of the Lord, and no man knoweth his sepulcher, unto this day.³³ And Rabbi Levi said, What did Rabbi Simeon say, when he saw Jesus? Behold he is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against.³⁴ And Rabbi Isaac said, It is written in the law, Behold, I send my angel before thy face, who shall go before thee, to preserve thee in every good way, because my name is called upon it.³⁵

Then Annas and Caiaphas said, Ye have rightly told what is written in the law of Moses, that no man saw the death of Enoch, and no man mentioned the death of Moses. But Jesus gave account to Pilate, and we saw him receiving blows, and spittings in his face; and the soldiers put a crown of thorns upon him, and he was scourged, and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified on Calvary, and two robbers with him, and they gave him to drink vinegar and gall; and Longinus, the soldier, pierced his side with a spear, and Joseph, our honorable father, begged his body; and as he saith, he arose; and as the three teachers say, We saw him taken up to heaven; and Rabbi Levi hath spoken, attesting what was uttered by Rabbi Simeon, and that he said, Behold he is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign to be spoken against.³⁶ And all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord, if this is from the Lord, and it is marvelous in your eyes,³⁷ ye shall know assuredly, O house of Jacob, that it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.³⁸ And another Scripture teacheth, The gods which made not heaven and earth, shall perish.³⁹ If his memorial is unto the year, which is called Jubel, know ye

³² Gen. v. 24; Heb. xi. 5.

³³ Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6.

³⁴ Luke ii. 34.

³⁵ Ex. xxiii 20, 21; Mal. iii. 1.

³⁶ Luke ii. 34.

³⁷ Ps. cxviii. 23.

³⁸ Deut. xxi. 23; Gal. iii. 13.

³⁹ Jer. x. 11.

that he will prevail forever, and hath raised up for himself a new people. Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests, and the Levites, made declaration to all Israel, saying, Cursed is that man who shall worship the work of man's hands, and cursed is the man who shall worship the creatures more than the Creator. And all the people said, Amen, amen.⁴⁰

And all the people sang hymns to the Lord, and said, Blessed be the Lord, who hath given rest to his people Israel, according to all that he spake. Not one word hath failed of all his good words, which he spake to Moses, his servant. May the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers. May he not suffer us to perish. And may he not suffer us to fall away from inclining our hearts toward him, from walking in all his ways, from keeping his commandments, and his ordinances, which he commanded to our fathers. And the Lord shall be king over all the earth in that day. And there shall be one Lord, and his name one. The Lord is our king: He shall save us. There is none like unto thee, O Lord; great art thou, O Lord, and great is thy name. In thy power heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed. Save us, O Lord, and we shall be saved. For we are thy portion, and thine heritage. And the Lord shall not cast off his people, for his great name's sake, for the Lord hath begun to make us his people.⁴¹

And having sung hymns, they went every man to his house, glorifying God, for his is the glory, forever and ever.⁴² Amen.

⁴⁰ Deut. xxvii. 15; Rom. i. 25.

⁴¹ Chr. xxiii. 25; Josh. xxi. 45; 1 Kings viii. 56, 57, 58; Ex. xii. 23; Zech. xiv. 9; Is. xxxiii. 22; Ps. lxxxvi. 8; Jer. xvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 9; Ps. xciv. 14; 1 Sam. xii. 22.

⁴² 2 Peter iii. 18.

A LATER GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

*Narrative of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of
his Holy Resurrection*

COMPILED BY A JEW NAMED ÆNEAS; TRANSLATED FROM THE
HEBREW TONGUE INTO THE ROMAN BY NICODEMUS,
A ROMAN TOPARCH.¹

After the kingdom of the Hebrews was abolished, four hundred years had passed away, and the Hebrews were tributaries under the government of the Romans, the king of the Romans appointing for them a king; Tiberius Cæsar at length wielded the Roman scepter, and in the eighteenth year of his reign he appointed as king in Judea, Herod, the son of that Herod who slew the infants in Bethlehem, and he had Pilate for governor in Jerusalem; Annas and Caiaphas also holding the high-priesthood of Jerusalem; Nicodemus, a Roman toparch, called unto him a Jew, named Æneas, and asked him to write what was done in Jerusalem, concerning Christ, in the times of Annas and Caiaphas; which also the Jew did, and delivered it unto Nicodemus, who straightway translated it from the Hebrew copy into Roman language. Now the matter of the history is this:

CHAPTER I

Our Lord Jesus Christ wrought many, and great, and extraordinary miracles in Judea, and was therefore viewed

¹ It will be observed that here Nicodemus is a Roman, and only the translator of a book written by Æneas. Part of the preface seems to indicate that it was the work of a contemporary, but part of it suggests more truly that it was done in after times. The Greek text, from which this second version of Nicodemus is made, seems to be less ancient than the first, and to have been revised and polished by its editor. I suppose the name of Æneas not to be older than the account of the Journey to the Underworld, which has been added to the original composition, and follows the present recension of Nicodemus as Part II.

with jealousy by the Hebrews, when Pilate was governor at Jerusalem, and Annas and Caiaphas were chief priests. So Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Syrus, and many other of the Jews came to the chief priests, speaking against Christ. And the chief priests sent them to tell these things to Pilate. And they went away, and said to him, A man who hath a father called Joseph, and a mother Mary, goeth about in this city, and calleth himself a king, and the Son of God, and, although a Jew, overthroweth the Scriptures, and breaketh the Sabbaths. Pilate therefore inquired of them, in what manner he broke the Sabbaths. And they answered, saying, He healeth the sick on the Sabbath. Pilate saith, If he maketh the sick whole, he doth no evil. They say to him, If he wrought his cures aright, the evil would be small; but he performed them by using magic, and having demons with him. Pilate saith, To heal the sick is not a diabolical work, but a gift from God.

The Hebrews said, We pray thy majesty to summon him, that thou mayest examine thoroughly what we say. Pilate therefore, throwing off his robe, gave it to one of his servants, saying, Go and show this to Jesus, and say to him, Pilate the governor calleth thee to come to him. So the servant departed, and finding Jesus, he called to him, spreading upon the ground the robe of Pilate, and inviting him to walk upon it. The Hebrews seeing this, and being greatly offended, came to Pilate, murmuring against him how that he had counted Jesus worthy of so great honor.

And he inquired of the servant that was sent, why he had done so. And the servant answered, when thou sentest me to Alexander the Jew, I met with Jesus, as he entered the gate of the city, sitting upon an ass; and I saw the Hebrews that they strewed their garments in the way, and the ass walked upon the garments; and others cut down branches; and they came out to meet him, and cried, Hosanna in the highest! Thus, therefore, it became me also to do.

On hearing these words, the Jews said to him, Thou who art a Roman, how knewest thou what was said by the Hebrews? The servant answered, I asked one of the

Hebrews, and he told it to me. Pilate said, What meaneth Hosanna? The Jews said, Save us, Lord. Pilate answered, Seeing ye confess that your children spake thus, how do ye now accuse, and say against Jesus that which ye say? And the Jews were silent, and could answer nothing.

Now when Jesus came to Pilate, the soldiers of Pilate worshiped him. And there stood also others before Pilate, holding the standards. And when Jesus came the standards also bowed down and worshiped him. As Pilate therefore wondered at what had happened, the Jews said to him, Lord, the standards did not worship Jesus, but the soldiers who hold them carelessly.

Pilate saith to the ruler of the synagogue, Choose out twelve strong men, and give them the standards to hold them firmly. And when this was done Pilate commanded the servant to take Jesus out, and bring him in again. And as he came in the standards again bowed down, and worshiped him. Therefore, Pilate wondered greatly. And the Jews said, He is a magician, and therefore he doeth these things.

CHAPTER II

Pilate saith to Jesus, Hearest thou what these testify against thee, and answerest not? Jesus answered and said, Every man hath power to speak what he will, whether good or evil; therefore these having the power, say what they will.

The Jews said to him, What have we to say concerning thee? first, that thou wast born of sin; secondly, that on account of thee, when thou wast born, they slew the infants; thirdly, that thy father and thy mother fled into Egypt, wherefore they had no boldness before the people.

To these things, the Jews who were there present, and were pious men, answered and said, We say that his birth was not of sin, for we know that Joseph received his mother Mary, according to the rule of espousals, to keep her. Pilate said, Therefore ye lie who say that his birth was of sin. They say again to Pilate, All the people testify that he is a magician. The pious Jews answered, and said, We were present at the espousal of his mother, and we are Jews, and

we know his whole conduct; but that he is a magician this we do not know. Now the Jews who said this were these: Lazarus, Astharius, Antonius, James, Zarah, Samuel, Isaac, Phinehas, Crispus, Dagrippus, Amesa, and Judas.

Therefore, Pilate saith to them, I will that ye swear by the life of Cæsar, whether the birth of this man was without sin. They answered, Our law ordaineth that we should swear nothing, because an oath is a great sin. Yet by the life of Cæsar, we swear that his birth was without sin; and if we lie, command that we all be beheaded. And when they said these things, the Jews who accused him answered Pilate, and said, And dost thou believe these twelve Jews alone, more than the whole multitude, and us, who know well that he is a magician, and a blasphemmer, and calleth himself the Son of God?

Then Pilate commanded all to go out of the praetorium, except only the twelve spoken of, and when this was done Pilate saith to them privately, As for this man, it appeareth that, for envy and madness, the Jews wish to slay him. For they accuse him of one thing, that he breaketh the Sabbath. But he then doeth a good work, because he healeth the sick. This is no cause for condemning the man to death. And the twelve said to him, Yea, lord, thus it is.

CHAPTER III

Therefore, Pilate went out in anger and wrath, and he said to Annas and Caiaphas, and the multitude who brought Jesus, I hold the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The multitude answered, If he were not a sorcerer, and a magician, and a blasphemmer, we should not have brought him to thy majesty. Pilate said, Try him yourselves; and since ye have a law, as your law saith, so do. The Jews said, Our law doth not permit us to put any man to death. Pilate saith, If ye are unwilling to put him to death, how much more am I!

Then Pilate returned into the palace, and said to Jesus, Tell me, art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered, Dost thou say this, or did the other Jews say this to thee,

that thou shouldst ask me? Pilate said, And am I a Hebrew? I am not a Hebrew; thine own people, and the chief priests, delivered thee into my hands; tell me, then, if thou art king of the Jews. Jesus answered, My kingdom is not in this world; for if my kingdom was in this world my soldiers would not be unconcerned, that I am arrested; therefore, my kingdom is not in this world. Pilate saith, Art thou then a king? Jesus said, Thou sayest: for this was I born, namely, to bear witness to the truth, and if any one is a man of truth he believeth my word, and doeth it. Pilate saith, What is truth? Jesus answered, Truth is from heaven. Pilate saith, Is not truth on earth? Christ saith, I am the truth; and how is truth judged on earth, by those who have earthly power!

CHAPTER IV

Therefore, Pilate, leaving Jesus alone, went out, and said to the Jews, I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered, May we tell thy majesty what he himself said? He said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days. Pilate saith, And what sort of temple did he say he could destroy? The Hebrews said, The temple of Solomon, which Solomon was forty-six years building.

Pilate saith privately to the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees, I entreat you, do nothing evil to this man; for if ye do evil to him ye will deal unjustly. For it is not just that such a man should die, who hath done great good to many men. They said to Pilate, If he who hath dishonored Caesar is worthy of death, my lord, how much rather is this man who dishonoreth God?

Then Pilate gave order, and they all went out. Then saith he to Jesus, What wilt thou that I should do to thee? Jesus saith to Pilate, Do unto me as it is ordained. Pilate saith, How is it ordained? Jesus answered, Moses and the prophets wrote that I should be crucified and should rise again. The Hebrews who heard him said to Pilate, Why seek ye to hear from him greater insult against God? Pilate saith, This is no word of insult against God, since

it is written in the books of the prophets.² The Jews said, Our Scripture saith, If a man offend against a man, as if he revile him, he is worthy to receive forty strokes with a stick; but if he revile God, to be stoned.³

Then came a messenger from Procla, the wife of Pilate, unto him, and the message said, Take heed that thou suffer not any evil to happen to the good man Jesus; for this night I have seen terrible dreams on account of him. And Pilate gave an answer to the Hebrews, saying, If ye regard as an insult to God the words which ye say Jesus said, take him, and judge ye according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate, We will that thou shouldst crucify him. Pilate saith, This is not good.

And Pilate, turning toward the people, saw many weeping, and he said, It seemeth to me that it is not the will of all the people that this man should die. The priests and scribes said, Tor this cause have we brought all the people, that thou mightest receive full assurance that they all wish for his death. Pilate saith, What evil hath he done? The Hebrews said, He saith that he is a king and the Son of God.

CHAPTER V

Then a pious Jew, named Nicodemus, standing in the midst, said to Pilate, I pray thy majesty to suffer me to say some few words unto thee. Speak, said Pilate. Nicodemus said, I said to the priests and Levites and scribes, and the people when I was in the synagogue, What matter have ye against this man? This man doeth many miracles, such as man never did nor will do. Therefore, let him go, and if what he doeth is from God it will stand; but if it is of man it will be destroyed.⁴ As it came to pass, also, when God sent Moses into Egypt, and Pharaoh, King of Egypt, said to him, that he should do a miracle, and he did it. Then Pharaoh also had two magicians, Jannes and Jambres, and

² Pilate's appeal to the Scriptures implies either that he was acquainted with them or that he believed Christ's affirmation. The Jews do not refute, but evade the point.

³ Deut. xxv. 3; Lev. xxiv. 16.

⁴ Acts v. 38. These words were Gamaliel's, about the apostles.

they too did miracles, using magic art, but not such as Moses did. And the Egyptians esteemed these two magicians as gods; but, because they were not of God, what they did came to naught. This Jesus, therefore, hath raised Lazarus, and he is alive. For this cause I pray thee, my lord, not to suffer this man to be put to death.

The Hebrews were angry against Nicodemus, and said to him, Receive the truth of Jesus and have thy part with him. Nicodemus saith, Amen, Amen, be it unto me as ye say.

CHAPTER VI

When Nicodemus had said these things another Hebrew arose, and saith to Pilate, I pray thee, my lord Pilate, hear me also. Pilate answered, Say what thou wilt. The Hebrew saith, I lay sick upon my bed thirty-eight years, and seeing me he was grieved, and said to me, Arise, take up thy bed and depart to thine house; and as he said to me the word I arose and walked. The Hebrews said, Ask him on what day of the week this was done. He saith, On the Sabbath.⁵ The Jews said, And wherefore we say truly that he keepeth not the Sabbath.

Again, another standing in the midst said, I was born blind, and as Jesus went along the way I called to him saying, Have mercy on me, Lord, Son of David; and he took clay and anointed mine eyes, and immediately I saw.⁶ Another said, I was a cripple, and seeing him I cried, Have mercy on me, Lord, and he took me by the hand, and immediately I arose.⁷ Another said, I was a leper, and he healed me by a word alone.⁸

CHAPTER VII

There was found there also, a woman named Veronica.⁹ And she said, I was twelve years with an issue of blood, and

⁵ John v. 5-9.

⁶ John ix. 6.

⁷ Matt. ix. 1-7; compare Acts iii. 7.

⁸ Luke xvii. 13.

⁹ The Greek is Beronice, but the Latin Veronica seems to be the original. The name has reference to a supposed likeness of Christ, and was often applied to the likeness itself. "The likeness of the Lord,

I only took hold of the edge of his garment, and was immediately healed.¹⁰ The Jews said, The law doth not admit the testimony of a woman.

CHAPTER VIII

Other men cried, This man is a prophet, and the demons fear him. Pilate saith, And how is it that the demons did not thus fear your parents also? They say, We know not. Others again said, By a word only he raised up Lazarus, who had been four days in his sepulcher. Pilate, therefore, hearing of the resurrection of Lazarus, was afraid, and saith to the people, Wherefore will ye shed the blood of a just man?

CHAPTER IX

Then he called Nicodemus and the twelve pious Jews, and he said to them, What say ye that I should do, for the people are in a commotion? They say, We know not: do what thou wilt. But whatever the people do, they do unrighteously, in order to destroy him. Pilate went out again, and saith to the people, Ye know that at the feast of unleavened bread it is customary for me to liberate for your sake one of the criminals confined in prison. Now I have a malefactor in gaol, a robber called Barabbas, and I have Jesus, who hath never done evil. Which therefore of the two will ye that I should release to you? The people answered, Release unto us Barabbas. Pilate saith, What then shall I do with Jesus? They say, Let him be crucified. Again, others of them cried out, If thou dost release Jesus, thou art not the friend of Cæsar, because he calleth himself the Son of God and a king; and if thou settest him at liberty he becometh a king, and will take Cæsar's kingdom.

which is called Veronica — Veronica is the *true picture* of the Lord," says Gervase of Tilbury. The word is said not to be a corruption of Berenice, but of *Vera Icon*, "a true likeness." According to one story, Veronica is the name of a woman who *received* from Jesus his portrait, upon a handkerchief or napkin. According to another legend, the woman mentioned in our text *made* an image or representation of Jesus at Paneas.

¹⁰ Matt. ix. 20-22.

Therefore, Pilate was angry, and said, Your race was always slanderous and unbelieving, and ye have been always the adversaries of your benefactors. The Hebrews said, And who were our benefactors? Pilate saith, God, who delivered you from the hands of Pharaoh, and led you over the Red Sea, as on dry ground, and fed you with quails, gave you water to drink from the dry rock, and gave you a law, which ye broke by denying God, and if Moses had not stood to plead with God ye would have perished with a bitter death. Therefore, ye have forgotten all these things. And so, also, now ye say that I love not Cæsar at all, but have hatred toward him, and wish to plot against his government.

And having said these things Pilate arose from his seat with anger, wishing to escape from them. Therefore the Jews cried out, saying, We wish Cæsar to govern us, not Jesus, because Jesus received gifts from the Magi.¹¹ And Herod also heard this, that he would be a king, and wished to put him to death, and on this account sent and slew all the infants in Bethlehem. And for this cause also, Joseph his father, and his mother, through fear of him fled into Egypt.

Pilate therefore, having heard this, commanded all the people to keep silence, and said, So then this is the Jesus whom Herod sought to slay? They say unto him, Yea. Pilate, therefore, having learned that he was of the jurisdiction of Herod, as though descended from the race of the Jews, sent Jesus to him. And when Herod saw him he rejoiced greatly, for of a long time he had desired to see him, having heard of the miracles which he did. Therefore, he arrayed him with white garments; then he began to question him. But Jesus gave him no answer. And Herod, who wished to see a miracle of some kind wrought by Jesus, and not seeing one, but that he gave him no answer to what was said, sent him back at once to Pilate.¹² Seeing this,

¹¹ An ingenious distortion, or application of Matt. ii. 11. What follows about Christ's being sent to Herod is mainly an addition to the older form of the book.

¹² Luke xxiii. 6-11.

Pilate commanded his servants to bring water. Therefore, washing his hands with the water, he said to the people, I am innocent of the blood of this good man. Ye will see that he is unjustly put to death, for neither have I found fault in him, nor yet Herod; for which cause he sent him back to me again. The Jews said, His blood be upon us and upon our children!¹³

Then Pilate sat on his seat to pronounce sentence. He gave order therefore, and Jesus came before him. And they brought a crown of thorns and put it on his head, and a reed in his right hand. Then he pronounced sentence, and said to him, Thy nation saith and witnesseth on thee that thou desirest to be a king. Therefore I ordain that they first smite thee with a rod forty stripes, as the laws of the kings ordain: and that they mock thee; and lastly, that they crucify thee.

CHAPTER X

When, therefore, sentence was declared by Pilate to this effect, the Jews began to smite Jesus, some with sticks, some with their hands, and some with their feet; and some also spat in his face. Then, straightway, having prepared the cross and given it to him, they made haste to set out. And going thus, and bearing the cross, he came unto the gate of the city of Jerusalem. When, therefore, because of the many blows and the weight of the cross, he could not walk, the Jews through the desire which they had to crucify him as soon as possible, took the cross from him and gave it to one who met them, named Simon, who also had two sons, Alexander and Rufus: and he was of the city of Cyrene. Therefore they gave the cross to him, not as pitying Jesus and lightening his burden, but desiring, as hath been said, to put him to death more speedily.

And John, one of his disciples, followed him there.

Then he fled, and went to the mother of God,¹⁴ and said

¹³ Matt. xxvii. 25.

¹⁴The use of this expression is a strong indication of the late date of this part of the composition. The whole paragraph is wanting in some copies, and is an interpolation.

to her, Where wast thou, that thou didst not come and see what was done? She answered, What is it that was done? John said, Know that the Jews have taken my master by force and now lead him away to crucify him. When his mother heard this she cried with a loud voice, saying, My son, my son, what evil hast thou done, that they lead thee away to crucify thee? She arose, as one benighted, and went weeping along the road. The women also followed her, Martha, and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, and other virgins. And John also was with her. When therefore they overtook the multitude, the mother of God said to John, Where is my son? John saith, Seest thou him who beareth the crown of thorns, and hath his hands bound? When the mother of God heard this, and saw him, she fainted, and fell backward to the earth, and lay a considerable time. And the women who followed her stood around her and wept. And when she revived and arose, she cried with a loud voice, saying, My lord, my son, whither is the beauty of thy form departed? How shall I bear to see thee suffering such things? And saying this, she tore her face with her nails and smote her breast. Whither have passed, said she, the good deeds which thou didst in Judea? What evil hast thou done to the Jews? Thus then the Jews who saw her weeping and crying out came and drove her out of the way. But she was not persuaded to flee, but continued, saying, Slay me first, O lawless Jews.

Then they retired to the place called Cranium, which was paved with stones, and there the Jews set up the cross. Then they stripped Jesus, and the soldiers took his garments and divided them among themselves, and they put upon him a scarlet cloth; and raised him up and fastened him on the cross at the sixth hour of the day. And after this they also lifted up two robbers, one on his right hand and one on his left.

Then the mother of God, standing and beholding, cried with a loud voice, saying, My son, my son. And Jesus turning to her and seeing John near her, and weeping with

the rest of the women, said, Behold, thy son. Then saith he also to John, Behold, thy mother. And she wept exceedingly, saying, Therefore do I weep for thee, my son, because thou art suffering unjustly; for the lawless Jews have delivered thee to a bitter death. Without thee, my son, what will become of me? How shall I live without thee? What life shall I lead? Where are thy disciples who boasted they would die with thee? Where are those who were healed by thee? How is it that no one was found to help thee? And looking at the cross she said, Bow down, O cross, that I may embrace my son, and kiss my son, whom at this breast strangely I nourished as one who knew not man. Bow down, O cross, I wish to embrace my son. Bow down, O cross, that as a mother I may converse with my son. When the Jews heard these things they came and drove away both her and the women and John to a distance.¹⁵

Then Jesus cried with a loud voice, Father, reckon not this sin unto them; for they know not what they do. Then saith he, I thirst. And straightway one of the soldiers ran and took a sponge and filled it with gall and vinegar mingled, and putting it upon a reed, he gave it to Jesus to drink. And when he had tasted it he would not drink. And the Jews who stood and saw ridiculed him and said, If thou saidst truly that thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross, and immediately, that we may believe in thee. Others said in ridicule, He saved others, he helped others, and he healed the sick, the paralytic, lepers, demoniacs, blind, lame, all but dead, and he can not help himself.

So also the robber who was crucified at his left side said to him, If thou art the Son of God, come down and save both thyself and us. His name was Gistas. But he that was crucified at his right side, Dysmas by name, reproached the other robber, saying, Wretched and miserable one, dost thou not fear God? We suffer what we deserve for what we have done; but he hath done no evil at all. And turning to Jesus,

¹⁵ The preceding paragraph, is another interpolation. It is much longer in some copies.

he saith to him, Lord, when thou shalt reign, forget me not. And he said unto him, To day, I tell thee truth, that I have thee with me in paradise.

CHAPTER XI

Then Jesus, having cried with a loud voice, Father, into thine hands will I commit my spirit, expired. And immediately the rocks were to be seen rent, for there was an earthquake in all the land, and because the earthquake was violent and great even the rocks were rent: and the tombs of the dead were opened; and the veil of the temple was rent; and there was darkness from the sixth hour until the ninth. And when all these things came to pass the Jews were afraid, and said, Truly this man was righteous: and Longinus, the centurion, stood and said, Truly, this was the Son of God.¹⁶ Others who came and saw him smote upon their breasts for fear, and returned back again.

Now the centurion, observing all these marvels, went away to Pilate and related them. And when he heard he wondered and was amazed, and through his fear and sorrow he would neither eat nor drink that day. And he gave notice, and there came to him all the council, after the darkness was passed away, and he said to the people, Ye saw how the sun was darkened, ye saw how the veil was rent. Truly, I did well in that I was not at all eager to put this good man to death. But the evil-doers said to Pilate, Such a darkness is an eclipse of the sun, as it hath happened also at other times. Then say they to him, We hold the feast of unleavened bread to-morrow, and we entreat thee, since they who have been crucified still breathe, that their bones may be broken, and that they may be taken down. Pilate said, This shall be done. Therefore he sent soldiers, and they found the two robbers still breathing, and they brake their legs; but finding Jesus dead; they did not touch him, save that a

¹⁶The name Longinus, given to the centurion, is an addition to the earlier text, which has been altered throughout, both by additions and by omissions. This chapter especially has received all sorts of developments.

soldier speared him in the right side, and immediately there came out blood and water.

Now toward evening, when the preparation was come, Joseph, a high-born and wealthy man, a pious Jew, finding Nicodemus, whose speech had already betrayed him, saith to him, I know that thou lovedst Jesus when he was living, and didst gladly hear his words, and I saw thee contending with the Jews for him. Therefore, if it seemeth good to thee, let us go to Pilate and beg the body of Jesus for burial, for it is a great sin that he should lie unburied. I am afraid, saith Nicodemus, lest if Pilate be angry I should suffer some mischief. But if thou shouldst go alone and ask, and shouldst receive the dead one, then I too will accompany thee, and will perform all that is necessary for the funeral. When Nicodemus had said this, Joseph lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed that he might not fail in his request, and went to Pilate, and having saluted him, sat down. Then he saith to him, I pray thee, my lord, if I ask anything which seemeth to thy majesty unreasonable, not to be angry with me. And he said, And what is it that thou askest? Joseph saith, Jesus, the good man whom through envy the Jews have carried away to crucifixion, I beseech thee to give me him for burial. Pilate saith, And what hath happened, that when he hath been witnessed against by his own nation for magic arts, and hath been suspected of seizing the kingdom of Cæsar, and hath therefore been given up to death by us, we should give order for him to be honored again when he is dead? And Joseph, being very sorrowful and weeping, fell at the feet of Pilate, saying, My lord, let no jealousy of the dead possess thee. For, in death, every fault must perish with a man. But I know thy majesty, how anxious thou wast not to crucify Jesus, and what thou saidst to the Jews for him, at one time persuading, and at another time angry, and afterward how thou didst wash thy hands, and didst declare thou hadst no part at all with those who wished him to be put to death. On all which accounts I entreat thee that my request may not be rejected. Pilate, therefore, seeing Joseph thus urgent and entreating, and weeping,

raised him up, saying, Go, I grant thee such a one that is dead; take him and do what thou wilt.

And then Joseph, having given thanks to Pilate, and kissed his hands and his robes, went out rejoicing in heart, because he had obtained what was desired, but having his eyes yet filled with tears: thus, while sorrowing, he had joy. He went away to Nicodemus, therefore, and told him all that had happened. Then when they had bought a hundred pounds of myrrh and aloes, and a new sepulcher,¹⁷ with the mother of God, and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, with John and the other women, they wrapped him in a white linen cloth, according to the custom, and laid him in the tomb.

And the mother of God said, weeping, How shall I not bewail thee, my son? how shall I not tear my face with my nails? This, my son, is that which the old man Simeon foretold to me, when I took thee into the temple, a babe of forty days old. This is the sword which now pierceth through my soul. My sweetest son, who shall stay my tears? None at all, but only thou, if, as thou saidst, thou shalt rise again on the third day.

Mary Magdalene said, weeping, Harken, O peoples, tribes, and tongues, and learn to what a death the lawless Jews have delivered him that had wrought for them countless benefits. Harken and wonder. Who will cause these things to be heard throughout all the world? I will go alone to Cæsar in Rome; I will make known to him what evil Pilate hath done by yielding to the lawless Jews. Thus also Joseph lamented, saying, Alas for me! sweetest Jesus, dear and most unfortunate of men, if one must call thee a man, who has done such marvels as man never did. How shall I perform thy obsequies? how shall I bury thee? Now ought they too to be present whom thou didst feed with a few loaves: for thus I should not have seemed to be wanting in honor.

¹⁷ "They bought a new sepulcher," says this writer, in direct contradiction to the Gospels, which teach us that the sepulcher was already Joseph's own. Matt, xxvii. 57-60. Most of the particulars in this account of the burial are fictitious, and were added not earlier than the second part about the Descent into the Underworld.

Then Joseph with Nicodemus went home: likewise also the mother of God, with the women, John also accompanying them.¹⁸

CHAPTER XII

When the Jews learned that these things had been done by Joseph and Nicodemus they were greatly moved against them; and the chief priests, Annas and Caiaphas, admonished Joseph, and said to him, Wherefore hast thou performed these obsequies for Jesus? Joseph saith, I know that Jesus was a just and true and good man in all respects, and I know also that ye through envy devised his murder; and for this cause I performed his funeral. Then the chief priests were angry and seized Joseph and cast him in prison, and said unto him, If we did not keep the feast of unleavened bread to-morrow we would have put thee to death to-morrow, as we did him; but for the present, being kept in confinement, early on the Lord's day thou shalt be delivered to death. Thus they said, and sealed with a seal the prison, which was fastened with all manner of bolts and locks.

Thus, then, when the preparation was finished, early on the Sabbath the Jews went to Pilate, and said to him, Lord, that deceiver said that after three days he would rise again. Lest therefore his disciples should steal him by night and deceive the people by such a falsehood, command that his sepulcher should be guarded. Pilate therefore, on this, gave them five hundred soldiers,¹⁹ who also were set about the sepulcher to guard it, and they put seals upon the stone of the sepulcher.

Therefore, when the day began to break on the Lord's day, the chief priests and the Jews held a council, and set to bring Joseph out of prison in order to put him to death; but on

¹⁸The mention of John in this story of the burial seems to have a motive, but I can not say what it is: probably, John was preeminent among the saints, honored where this adaptation of Nicodemus was produced. Peter, on the contrary, is studiously kept out of sight.

¹⁹Pilate, most likely, did not appoint a guard of more than four or five soldiers — hundreds are easily written. The paragraph is one of the interpolations.

opening it, they found him not. And they wondered at this, how when the doors were shut and the locks secure, and the seals remaining, Joseph was not to be seen.

CHAPTER XIII

Hereupon, one of the soldiers who guarded the tomb came and said in the synagogue, Know that Jesus is risen! The Jews said, How? And he said, First there was an earthquake; then an angel of the Lord bearing lightning came from heaven and rolled away the stone from the sepulcher, and sat upon it. And through fear of him all we soldiers became as dead men, and could neither flee nor speak. And we heard the angel saying to the women who came there to see the sepulcher, Fear not; for I know that ye seek Jesus. He is not here, but is risen, as he foretold you. Stoop down and see the sepulcher where his body lay. But go and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead: and let them go into Galilee, for there shall they find him. Therefore, I tell you this beforehand.

The Jews said to the soldiers, Who were the women who came to the sepulcher, and why did ye not lay hold of them? The soldiers said, Because of fear, and the sight alone of the angel, we could neither speak nor move. The Jews said, As the God of Israel liveth, we believe nothing that ye say. The soldiers said, Jesus performed so great miracles and ye believed not, and will ye now believe us? Ye say truly that God liveth, and in very truth He liveth whom ye crucified. We have heard, moreover, that ye had Joseph shut in the prison, and that ye afterward opened the doors and found him not. Do ye then give up Joseph, and then we will also give you Jesus. The Jews said, Joseph who escaped from prison ye will find at Arimathea, his own place. And the soldiers said, Go ye also into Galilee, and ye will find Jesus, as the angel said to the women.

Hereupon the Jews were afraid, and said to the soldiers, See that ye tell this matter to no one, or all will believe in Jesus. On which account, also, they gave them much money. And the soldiers said, We are afraid lest Pilate should hear

that we have received money, and should put us to death. But the Jews said, Take it, and we pledge ourselves to give to Pilate an answer for you; only, say that ye slept, and that in your sleep the disciples of Jesus came and stole him out of the sepulcher. Therefore the soldiers took the money, and said as they were told. And until this day the same false report is spoken among the Jews.

CHAPTER XIV

And after a few days, three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem. One of them was a priest, Phinehas by name, another was a Levite, by name Aggæus, and the other was a soldier,²⁰ by name Adas. These came to the chief priests, and said to them, and to the people, Jesus, whom ye crucified, we have seen in Galilee, with his eleven disciples, at the mount of Olives, teaching them, and saying, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel; and whoso believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but whoso believeth not shall be condemned. And having said this he ascended to heaven.²¹ And we saw, both we and many others of the five hundred who were there.²²

And when the chief priests and Jews heard these things they said to the three men, Give glory to the God of Israel, and repent of the falsehoods ye tell. They answered, As the God of our fathers liveth, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we lie not, but tell you the truth. Then spake the chief priest, and they brought the Old Testament of the Hebrews from the temple, and he made them swear, and giving them also money, he sent them to another place that they might not proclaim the resurrection of Christ in Jerusalem.

When, therefore, such sayings had been heard by all the people, the multitude assembled in the temple, and there was a great tumult. For many said, Jesus is risen from the dead, as we hear, and why did ye crucify him? But Annas and Caiaphas said, Believe not, O Jews, what the soldiers

²⁰ In the earlier version of the book Adas is called a teacher.

²¹ Mark xvi. 16.

²² 1 Cor. xv. 6.

say; nor believe that they saw an angel descending from heaven. For we gave money to the soldiers not to tell such thing's to any one; and so also, the disciples of Jesus gave them money, to say that Jesus is risen from the dead.

CHAPTER XV

Nicodemus said, O children of the people of Jerusalem, the prophet Elijah ascended to the height of heaven with a fiery chariot, and it is not incredible if Jesus also is risen; for the prophet Elijah was a pre-figuration of Jesus, in order that ye should not disbelieve when ye heard that Jesus was risen. I therefore say and advise that we ought to send soldiers into Galilee, where the men testify that they saw him with his disciples, in order that they may go about and find him, and so that we may seek from him forgiveness for the evil which ye did to him. This saying pleased them, and they chose out soldiers, and sent them into Galilee: and Jesus they found not; but they found Joseph at Arimathea.

When, therefore, the soldiers returned, and the chief priests learned that Joseph was found, they assembled the people, and said, What shall we do to Joseph, that he may come to us? So when they had taken counsel, they wrote him a letter to this effect: Father Joseph: Peace to thee, and to all thine house, and to thy friends. We know that we have offended against God, and against thee, his servant. Therefore we entreat thee to come hither to us thy children; for we have wondered much how thou didst escape from prison, and we truly say that we took evil counsel against thee. But God, who saw that we took unjust counsel against thee, delivered thee out of our hands. Nevertheless, come to us; for thou art the honor of our people.

The Jews sent this letter to Arimathea with seven soldiers, friends of Joseph, who went and found him and addressed him respectfully, as they were bidden, and gave him the letter. And when he had received and read this, he glorified God, and bade the soldiers welcome, and when the table was set, he ate and drank with them all day and night.

And on the morrow he went with them to Jerusalem.

And the people came out to meet him, and bade him welcome. And Nicodemus received him into his house. And on the day following, both Annas and Caiaphas, the chief priests, invited him to the temple, and said to him, Give glory to the God of Israel, and tell us the truth. For we know that thou didst bury Jesus, and for this we apprehended thee, and shut thee in prison. Afterward, when we sought to bring thee out in order that thou mightest be put to death, we found thee not, and we marveled, and were greatly afraid; nevertheless, we prayed to God that we might find and ask thee. Therefore, tell us the truth.

Joseph said to them, On the evening of the preparation, when ye secured me in prison, I betook myself to prayer all the night, and all the day of the Sabbath. And at midnight I saw the prison-house, that four angels lifted it up, holding it by the four corners. And Jesus entered like lightning, and through fear of him I fell to the ground. Therefore, taking me by the hand, he raised me, saying, Fear not, Joseph. Then he embraced and kissed me, and said, Turn and see who I am. Therefore, I turned and looked and said, Lord, I know not who thou art. He saith, I am Jesus, whom thou didst bury the day before yesterday. I said to him, Show me the sepulcher, and then I will believe. Therefore he took me by the hand, and led me away to the sepulcher, which was open. And when I saw the linen clothes and the napkin, and knew, I said, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, and worshiped him. Then he took me by the hand, the angels also following, and led me to Arimathea, to my house, and saith unto me, Abide here for forty days. For I go unto my disciples, that I may instruct them to preach my resurrection.

CHAPTER XVI

When Joseph had said these things, the chief priests cried unto the people, We know that Jesus had both father and mother; how shall we believe that he is the Christ? One of the Levites answered and said, I know the family of Jesus, honest men, greatly addicted to the service of God, and re-

ceiving tithes of the people of the Jews.²³ And I also know Simeon, the old man, that he took him when he was a babe, and said to him, Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord.

The Jews said, Let us find the three men who saw him at the mount of Olives, that we may ask them and learn the truth more accurately. And they found and brought them before all, and made them swear to tell the truth. And they said, As the God of Israel liveth, we saw Jesus at the mount of Olives, alive, and ascending into heaven.

Then Annas and Caiaphas separated the three from one another, and asked them privately and singly. They agreed therefore in their speech, and the three spoke the same thing. The chief priests answered and said, Our scripture saith that every word shall be established with two or three witnesses.²⁴ Joseph therefore hath confessed that he performed his funeral-rites, and buried him, along with Nicodemus, and how it is the truth that he hath risen.

²³ This receiving of tithes by the family of Jesus is a fiction.

²⁴ Deut. xvii. 6; Matt, xviii. 16.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

THE SECOND PART: OR,

THE HARROWING OF HELL

CHAPTER XVII¹

Joseph saith, And why marvel ye that Jesus hath risen? This is not wonderful; but it is wonderful that he arose not alone, hut that he also raised many other dead, who appeared unto many in Jerusalem. And if ye know not the others, Simeon at least, who took Jesus in his arms, and his two sons, whom he raised again, them at least ye know. For we buried them a short time ago, but now their tombs are seen open and empty, and they are living, and abiding in Arimathea. Therefore they sent men and found their sepulchers open and empty. Joseph saith, Let us go to Arimathea, and let us find them.

Then the chief priests, Annas and Caiaphas, arose, and Joseph, and Nicodemus, and Gamaliel, and others with them, and went to Arimathea, and found those whom Joseph said. Therefore they offered prayer, and saluted one another. Then they came with them to Jerusalem, and brought them into the synagogue, and shut the doors, and placed in the midst the Old Testament of the Jews, and the chief priests said unto them, We wish you to swear by the God of Israel and Adonai, and thus that ye may tell the truth, how ye arose, and who raised you from the dead.

When the men who had risen heard this, they made upon their faces the sign of the cross,² and said to the chief priests, Give us paper and ink and a pen. They brought them therefore; and they sat down and wrote thus —

¹ In MSS. where this Second Part appears it follows directly upon the earlier half, continuing the chapter-numbers.

² This notion of the sons of Simeon crossing themselves refers to a practise at least as old as the time of Tertullian ("*De Corona Milit.*" 2).

CHAPTER XVIII

O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the world, give us grace that we may rehearse thy resurrection, and thy wonderful works which thou didst in Hades. We, therefore, were in Hades with all those who fell asleep from the beginning. Now at the hour of midnight, upon those dark places, there arose as it were the light of the sun, and shone, and we were all lighted up and saw one another. And immediately our father Abraham was united with the patriarchs and the prophets, and they were together filled with joy, and said to one another, This light is from a great illumination. The prophet Isaiah, who was there, said, This light is from the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, concerning whom I prophesied while I was yet alive, saying, The land of Zebulun, and the land of Nephthalim, the people which sitteth in darkness hath seen a great light.³

Then came into the midst another, an ascetic from the desert, and the patriarchs said to him, Who art thou? And he said, I am John, the last of the prophets, who made straight the ways of the Son of God, and preached to the people repentance for remission of sins. And the Son of God came unto me; and when I saw him from afar I said to the people, Behold, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.⁴ And with my hand I baptized him in the river Jordan, and I saw, also, as it were, a dove, the Holy Spirit coming upon him; and I heard also the voice of God and the Father saying thus, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And for this cause he sent me also to you, that I might preach how the only begotten Son of God cometh hither, that whoever believeth in him shall be saved, but whoso shall not believe in him shall be condemned.⁵ Therefore, I say, to all of you: whereas ye see him, that ye should all worship him, because, now only have ye time of repentance for your worship of idols in the vain world above,

³ Is. ix. 1, 2.

⁴ Matt. iii. 3, 11; Mark i. 4; John i. 36.

⁵ Mark xvi. 16.

and for the sins ye have committed: but at another time this can not be.

CHAPTER XIX

Therefore, while John was thus teaching those who were in Hades, and the first made and first father Adam heard it, he saith to his son Seth, My son, I wish thee to tell the forefathers of the race of men, and to the prophets, whither I sent thee when I was about to die. And Seth said, Prophets and patriarchs, harken. When my father Adam, the first made, was about to die, he sent me to offer prayer to God very near the gate of Paradise, that he would guide me by an angel to the tree of mercy, and let me take oil and anoint my father, and that he might recover from his sickness. Which also I did. And after my prayer the angel of the Lord came and said to me, Seth, what dost thou ask? dost thou ask the oil which restoreth the sick, or the tree which poureth forth such oil, because of the sickness of thy father? This is not now to be found. Go, therefore, and tell thy father that, after 5500 years are accomplished from the creation of the world, then shall descend upon earth the only begotten Son of God, being made man, and He shall anoint him with such oil, and he shall rise again, and with water and with the Holy Spirit He shall wash both him and his descendants, and then shall he be healed of all sickness: but now this can not be.⁶

When the patriarchs and the prophets heard this they rejoiced greatly.

CHAPTER XX

Now while they were all in so great joy, Satan, the inheritor of darkness, came and said to Hades, All-devouring and insatiate one, hear my words. From the race of Jews, there is one called Jesus, naming himself the Son of God, but being a man, the Jews through our joint exertions have crucified him. And now that he is dead, be ready that we may bind him safely here. For I know that he is a man, and I also

⁶This legend of Seth seems to have been borrowed from a Jewish source, and adapted to Christian uses.

heard him saying, My soul is very sorrowful unto death.⁷ He wrought me many evils also in the world above while he conversed with mortals. For where he found my servants he persecuted them, and the men whom I made halt, blind, lame, lepers, and the like, he healed by his word alone. And when I had made many ready for burial, even them, by a word alone, he made alive again.

Hades saith, And is he so mighty as to be able to do such things by a word alone? or canst thou resist him who is such? It seemeth to me no one will be able to resist him who is such. But if thou sayest thou heardest him fearing death, he said this mocking and laughing at thee, wishing to seize thee with a mighty hand; and woe, woe, unto thee for evermore.

Satan saith, All-devouring and insatiate Hades, wast thou so afraid when thou heardest of our common foe? I feared him not, but I wrought upon the Jews, and they crucified him, and gave him gall and vinegar to drink. Be ready, therefore, to hold him firmly when he cometh.

Hades answered, Inheritor of darkness, son of perdition, Devil, thou hast but now told me that many whom thou preparedst for burial he by a word alone did make alive: and if he delivered others from burial, how and by what power shall he be held by us? Now a short time ago I swallowed a certain dead man, Lazarus by name, and a little after, one of the living, by a word alone, forcibly drew him out of my bowels. Now I think it was he of whom thou speakest. Therefore, if we receive him here, I fear we may run a risk even in regard to the rest; for lo! I see that all whom I have ever swallowed are in commotion, and my belly⁸ is in pain. And Lazarus, who was snatched beforehand from me, seemeth to me no good sign; because he flew away from me, not like a dead man, but like an eagle; so quickly did the earth cast him forth. Wherefore, I conjure thee, both for thy benefit and for mine, not to bring him hither; for I think that he is coming here, in order to raise up all the dead. And this I say to thee, By the darkness which we keep, if thou dost bring him hither, none of the dead will be left to me.

⁷ Mark. xiv. 34.

⁸ Jonah ii. 2.

CHAPTER XXI

While Satan and Hades were talking thus with each other, there came a great voice like thunder, saying, Lift up your gates, O ye rulers, and be ye lifted up, eternal gates, and the King of Glory shall come in.⁹ And when Hades heard, he said to Satan, Go forth, if thou art able, and resist him. Therefore Satan went forth. Then saith Hades to his demons, Secure well and firmly the brazen gates, and the iron bars, and hold down my bolts, and stand upright and watch everything: for if he should enter here, woe will seize us.

On hearing these things, the forefathers all began to reproach him, saying, All-devouring and insatiate, open! that the King of Glory may come in. David the prophet saith, Knowest thou not, O blind one, that when I was living in the world I predicted this voice, Lift up your gates, O ye rulers? Isaiah said, Through the Holy Spirit, when I foresaw this, I wrote, The dead shall arise, and they that are in the tombs shall be raised, and those who are in the earth shall be glad, And, Where is thy sting, O Death? where is thy victory, O Hades?¹⁰

The voice, therefore, came again, saying, Lift up the gates. Hades, hearing the voice a second time, answered, as forsooth not knowing, and said, Who is this King of Glory? The angels of the Lord said, The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. And immediately, at this word, the brazen gates were broken, and the iron bars were crushed, and all the dead that were bound were loosed from their bonds, and we¹¹ with them. And the King of Glory entered as a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up.

⁹ Ps. xxiv. 7.

¹⁰ Is. xxvi. 19; Hos. xiii. 14.

¹¹ That is, the two sons of Simeon, who are supposed to write the story.

CHAPTER XXII

Hades straightway cried, We are conquered; woe unto us. But who art thou that hast so great authority and power? And what art thou, who comest hither without sin — seeming small, and able to do great things, humble and high, servant and Lord, soldier and king, who hast authority over the dead and the living? Thou wast nailed to the cross, and wast laid in the tomb, and now thou art free, and hast dissolved all our power. Art thou, then, the Jesus, of whom the chief ruler Satan said to us, That through the cross and death thou art about to inherit all the world?

Then the King of Glory seized the chief ruler Satan by the head, and delivered him to the angels, and said, Bind with irons his hands and feet and neck and mouth. Then he delivered him to Hades, and said, Take him and keep him safely until my second coming.

CHAPTER XXIII

And Hades took Satan, and said to him, Beelzebub, inheritor of fire and punishment, enemy of the saints, by what necessity hast thou contrived that the King of Glory should be crucified, that he might come hither and spoil us? Turn and see that none of the dead is left in me; but all that thou didst gain by the tree of knowledge thou hast lost it all by the tree of the cross; and all thy joy is changed into grief; and thou, that didst wish to put to death the King of Glory, hast put thyself to death. For since I have received thee to keep thee safely, thou wilt learn by experience what evils I shall do to thee. O chief devil, the beginning of death, the root of sin, the end of all evil! what evil didst thou find in Jesus, to procure his destruction? How didst thou dare to do so great evil? How didst thou study to bring down to this darkness such a man, through whom thou art deprived of all that ever died?

CHAPTER XXIV

While Hades thus discoursed with Satan, the King of Glory opened his right hand, and took hold of the first father

Adam, and raised him. Then he turned and said to the rest, Come with me all ye who have died through the tree which he touched. For behold, I raise you all up again through the tree of the cross. Moreover, he sent them all out; and the first father Adam appeared, filled with satisfaction, and said, I give thanks unto thy majesty, O Lord, because thou hast brought me from the lowest Hades.¹² So also all the prophets and the saints said, We give thee thanks, O Christ, Savior of the world, because thou hast brought back our life from destruction.¹³

And when they had said these things, the Savior blessed Adam on the forehead with the sign of the cross; and he did this also to the patriarchs and the prophets, and martyrs and forefathers, and took them and sprang up out of Hades. And as he went, the holy fathers followed him, chanting, and saying, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord,¹⁴ Alleluia: to him be glory from all the saints.

CHAPTER XXV

Then He went to Paradise, holding the forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the righteous, to the archangel Michael. When, therefore, they entered the gate of paradise, two aged men met them, to whom the holy fathers said, Who are ye, who have not seen death, and have not descended into Hades, but inhabit paradise in body and soul? One of them answering, said, I am Enoch, who pleased God, and was translated hither by him; and this is Elijah the Tishbite; and we are to live until the end of the world: and then we are to be sent by God to resist Antichrist, and to be slain by him, and after three days to rise again, and to be caught up in clouds to meet the Lord.¹⁵

CHAPTER XXVI

While they were saying these things there came another lowly man, and bearing a cross upon his shoulders; and the

¹² Ps. lxxxvi. 13.

¹³ Ps. ciii. 4.

¹⁴ Ps. cxviii. 26.

¹⁵ 1 Thess. iv. 17; Rev. xi. 3-12; 1 John ii. 18; iv. 3.

holy fathers said to him, Who art thou, having the appearance of a robber, and what is the cross which thou bearest upon thy shoulders? He answered, As ye say, I was a robber and a thief in the world, and therefore the Jews seized me and delivered me to the death of the cross, with our Lord Jesus Christ. As he was hanging upon the cross I believed in him, seeing the miracles which were done; and I called upon him, and said, Lord, when thou shalt reign, forget not me. And straightway he said to me, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, to-day thou shalt be with me in paradise. Therefore, bearing my cross I came to paradise, and finding the archangel Michael, I said to him, Our Lord Jesus, who was crucified, hath sent me hither; lead me, therefore, into the gate of Eden. And the flaming sword, seeing the sign of the cross, opened unto me, and I came in. Then saith the archangel to me, Wait a little, for Adam, the forefather of the race of men, is coming with the righteous, that they also may enter in. And now seeing you, I am come to meet you.

On hearing these things, the saints all cried with a loud voice, Great is our Lord, and great is his power.¹⁶

CHAPTER XXVII

All these things we two brothers saw and heard; and we were sent by Michael the archangel, and were appointed to preach the resurrection of the Lord, but first to go to Jordan and be baptized; whither also we went, and were baptized along with other dead who had risen; and afterward we came to Jerusalem, and celebrated the Passover of the resurrection. But now, not being able to remain here, we are going away. And may the love of God and the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all.¹⁷

When they had written these things, and closed the books, they gave half to the chief priests, and half to Joseph and Nicodemus. And immediately they vanished: unto the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

¹⁶ Ps. cxlvii. 5.

¹⁷ 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

THE LATIN GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

OR

THE ACTS OF PILATE¹

I, Æneas, was at first a protector of the Hebrews, and a follower of the law; then the Savior's grace and his great gift apprehended me, and I knew Christ Jesus in Holy Scripture, I came to him, and embraced his faith, that I might become worthy of his holy baptism. First of all I sought for the records, written in those times, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews published in the age of Pontius Pilate, and we found them in Hebrew writings, drawn up in the age of our Lord Jesus Christ; but I translated them into Gentile speech during the reign of the eminent Theodosius, in his 17th consulship, and Valentinian, the 5th time consul, in the 9th indiction. All ye who read this book, and copy into other documents, be mindful of me, and pray for me, Æneas, the least of the servants of the Lord, that he may be merciful to me, and forgive my sins which I have committed against him. Peace be to all who read these things, and to all their house forever. Amen.

Now it came to pass in the 19th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, the son of Herod, King of Galilee, the 19th year of his dominion, on the 8th of the kalends of April, which is the 25th day of the month of March in the consulate of Rufinus and Rubellio, in the 4th year of the 202d Olympiad, under the chief priests of the Jews, Joseph and Caiaphas: the great things done by the chief priests and the other Jews, which Nicodemus recorded after the cross and passion of the Lord, and which Nicodemus himself committed to Hebrew writing.

¹ This is a late Latin form of Nicodemus, which devotes these preliminary chapters to Pilate.

CHAPTER I

Annas and Caiaphas, Summas and Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander and Jairus, and the rest of the Jews came to Pilate, accusing the Lord Jesus Christ of many things, and saying, We know that he was born the son of Joseph the carpenter by Mary, and he saith he is the Son of God and a king: not only this, but he also breaketh the Sabbath, and wisheth to abolish the law of our fathers. Pilate saith, What are the things which he doth, and would thereby abolish the law? The Jews say, We have a law that no one should heal on the Sabbath; but he on the Sabbath, by evil arts, healeth the lame and the humpbacked, the blind, the paralytic, the leprous and demoniacs. Pilate saith to them, By what evil arts? They say to him, He is an evil-doer, and casteth out demons by Beelzebub, the prince of the demons, and they all are subject to him. Pilate saith to them, It is not for an unclean spirit to cast out demons, but for the god Scolapius.²

The Jews said, We pray thy majesty to set him to be examined before thy judgment-seat. Pilate called the Jews to him, and said unto them, Tell me how can I, who am a procurator, examine a king? They say unto him, We do not say that he is a king, but he saith that he is. Therefore, Pilate called a messenger, and said to him, Let Jesus be brought with gentleness. And the messenger went out and adored him, when he recognized him, and spread upon the ground the vestment which he carried in his hand, saying, Lord, walk upon this and enter, for the procurator calleth for thee. But the Jews, seeing what the messenger did, cried out against Pilate, saying, Why didst thou not cause him to enter by the summons of a herald, and not by a messenger? For when the messenger saw him he adored him, and the vestment which he held in his hand he spread before him on the ground, and said to him, Lord, the procurator calleth for thee.

² Literally, "the god of Scolapius," but "*in deo Scolapii*" are to be understood as if in apposition. Thus, for "*Urbs Roma*," "the city Rome," we say "the city *of* Rome." Scolapius is, of course, Æsculapius.

Now Pilate, summoning the messenger, said to him, Why hast thou done this, and honored Jesus who is called Christ? The messenger said to him, When thou sentest me to Jerusalem, I saw him sitting on an ass, and the children of the Hebrews broke off branches from the trees and strewed them in the way, and some held branches in their hands; and some strewed their garments in the way, crying and saying, Save, then, thou who art in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

The Jews cried out and said against the messenger, The children of the Hebrews cried out in Hebrew; how is it for thee, a Gentile, to know this? The messenger said to them, I asked one of the Jews and said, What is that which they cry out in Hebrew? and he explained it to me. Pilate said to them, How did they cry out in Hebrew? The Jews said, Hosanna in the highest. Pilate saith to them, How is Hosanna in the highest interpreted? They say unto him, Save us, thou who art in the highest. Pilate saith to them, If ye confirm the words and sayings with which the children cried out, what sin hath the messenger committed? And they were silent. The procurator, therefore, said to the messenger, Go out and bring him in as thou wilt. And the messenger went out and did as before, and said to Jesus, Lord, come in, for the procurator calleth for thee.

Now when Jesus entered, and the standard-bearers were bearing the standards, the tops of the standards bowed down of themselves and worshiped Jesus. But the Jews, seeing how the standards bowed themselves and worshiped Jesus, cried out still more against those who bore the standards. So Pilate said to the Jews, Marvel ye not how the standards bowed themselves and worshiped Jesus? The Jews said to Pilate, We saw how the men who bear the standards bowed and worshiped Jesus. And the procurator called the standard-bearers, and said unto them, Why have ye done thus? They said unto Pilate, We are Gentiles, and servants of the temples; how should we worship him? for as we were holding the ensigns they bowed themselves of their own accord, and worshiped him.

Pilate said unto the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders of the people, Choose ye strong and powerful men, and let them hold the standards, and let us see if they bow of themselves. So the elders of the Jews took twelve most strong and powerful men, and made them hold the standards by six and six, and they stood before the judgment-seat of the procurator. Pilate saith to the messenger, Take out Jesus from the prætorium, and bring him in again in any way thou wilt. And Jesus and the messenger went outside the prætorium. And Pilate called those who held the standards before, and said to them, By the safety of Cæsar, if the standards do not bow themselves when Jesus entereth, I will cut off your heads. And the procurator commanded Jesus to enter the second time. And the messenger did the same as before, and greatly entreated Jesus to go up, and walk upon his vestment. And he walked upon it and came in. But as Jesus entered, immediately the standards bowed themselves and worshiped Jesus.

CHAPTER II

Now when Pilate saw it, fear took hold of him, and he forthwith wished to rise up from the judgment-seat. And while he thought thus, to rise up and depart, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have nothing to do with that just man; for I have this night suffered many things because of him. And Pilate called the Jews, and said to them, Ye know that my wife is a worshiper of God, and rather accordeth with you in Judaism. The Jews say unto him, It is so, and we know it. Pilate saith to them, Behold, my wife hath sent to me saying, Have nothing to do with that just man; for I have this night suffered many things because of him. The Jews answered and said unto Pilate, Have we not told thee that he is a magician? behold, he hath sent a fantom of dreams to thy wife.

Pilate called Jesus and said to him, What is it that these testify against thee? and sayest thou nothing to them? And Jesus answered, If they had not power they would not speak.

Every one hath power over his own mouth, to speak good and bad: they will see.

So the elders of the Jews answered and said to Jesus, What shall we see? First, that thou art born of fornication; secondly, that at thy nativity at Bethlehem there was made a slaughter of infants; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people.

Certain of the Jews who stood by, being well disposed, said, We say not that he was born of fornication, but we know that Mary was espoused to Joseph, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate said to the Jews who said he was born of fornication, This your speech is not true, because the espousals were celebrated, as these men of your nation say. Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate, We say with all the multitude that he was born of fornication and is a malefactor; but these are proselytes and his disciples. And Pilate calling to Annas and Caiaphas saith to them, What are proselytes? They say unto him, They were born children of the Gentiles, and are now become Jews. Those who bore witness that Jesus was not born of fornication, Lazarus and Asterius, Antonius and Jacob, Annes and Azaras, Samuel and Isaac, Phinehas and Crispus, Agrippa and Judas, answered, We are not proselytes, but were born children of the Jews, and speak the truth; for we were present at the espousals of Mary.

So Pilate called unto him these twelve men who proved that Jesus was not born of fornication, and he said unto them, I adjure you by the safety of Cæsar, tell me if it is true that Jesus was not born of fornication, and he said unto Pilate, We have a law not to swear, because it is sin; but let them swear by the safety of Cæsar that it is not as we say, and we are deserving of death. Then said Pilate to Annas and Caiaphas, Answer ye nothing to those things which these men testify? Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate, These twelve are believed that he was not born of fornication: all we people cry that he was born of fornication, and is a

malefactor, and saith that he is the son of God and a king; and we are not believed.

And Pilate commanded all the multitude to go out, except the twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, and he commanded Jesus to be set apart from them. And Pilate said to them, Wherefore wish the Jews to slay Jesus? They say unto him, They are jealous because he healeth on the Sabbath. Pilate said, For a good work do they wish to slay him? They say unto him, Yea, lord.

CHAPTER III

Pilate being filled with fury went out of the praetorium and said to them, I take the sun to witness that I find not one fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the governor, If he had not been a malefactor we should never have delivered him unto thee. Pilate saith to them, Take ye him and judge him according to your law. The Jews answered, It is not lawful for us to put any one to death. Pilate saith to them, God hath said to you that ye should not put any one to death; hath he then said to me that I should kill?

Having entered the praetorium again, Pilate called Jesus unto himself privately and said to him, Art thou king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate, Dost thou speak this of thyself? or have others said it to thee concerning me? Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus answered and said, My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom had been of this world, my servants would by all means have contended that I should not be delivered to the Jews. But now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said to him, Art thou therefore a king? Jesus saith to him, Thou sayest; for I am a king. For on this account was I born, and for this I came, that I should bear witness for the truth, and every one who is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? Jesus saith, Truth is from heaven. Pilate saith, Is truth not on earth?

Jesus saith to Pilate, Observe how they who say the truth are judged by those who have power on earth.

CHAPTER IV

Pilate therefore, leaving Jesus within the prætorium, went out to the Jews and said to them, I find not one fault in him. The Jews say to him, He said, I can destroy this temple, and raise it up again in three days. Pilate said to them, What temple? The Jews say to him, That which Solomon built in forty-six years; and he speaketh of destroying and building it in three days. Pilate saith to them, I am innocent of the blood of this man: Ye shall see to it. The Jews say to him, His blood be on us and on our children.

But Pilate called the elders and priests and Levites and said to them privately, Do not so: for though ye accuse him I have found him in no wise worthy of death, not even for healing and the violation of the Sabbath. The priests and Levites and elders say, Tell us, if one hath blasphemed Cæsar, is he worthy of death or no? Pilate saith to them, He is worthy to die. The Jews answered him, How much more is he worthy to die who hath blasphemed God?

Now the governor commanded the Jews to go out of the prætorium, and calling Jesus he said to him, What shall I do to thee? Jesus saith to Pilate, As it is allowed. Pilate saith, How is it allowed? Jesus saith, Moses and the prophets preached beforehand of my death and resurrection. Now when the Jews heard this they said to Pilate, Why further desirest thou to hear the blasphemy? And Pilate said, If this saying is blasphemous, take ye him, and lead him to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate, Our law containeth this, If a man sinneth against man, he is worthy to receive forty stripes save one; but he that blasphemeth against God is to be stoned.

Pilate saith to them, Therefore judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate, We wish him to be crucified. Pilate saith to them, He deserveth not to be crucified.

Now the governor looking at the people of the Jews standing round, saw very many of the Jews weeping, and he said, All the multitude doth not wish him to die. The elders say to Pilate, The whole multitude of us have come for this that he may die. Pilate saith to the Jews, What hath he done that he should die? They say to him, Because he said that he is the Son of God and a King.

[The ensuing chapters follow closely the earlier Gospel of Nicodemus.]

THE LETTERS OF PILATE¹

LETTER OF KING HEROD TO PILATE THE GOVERNOR

Herod to Pontius Pilate the Governor of Jerusalem:
Peace.

I am in great anxiety. I write these things unto thee, that when thou hast heard them thou mayest be grieved for me. For as my daughter Herodias, who is dear to me, was playing upon a pool of water which had ice upon it, it broke under her, and all her body went down, and her head was cut off and remained on the surface of the ice. And behold, her mother is holding her head upon her knees in her lap, and my whole house is in great sorrow. For I, when I heard of the man Jesus, wished to come to thee, that I might see Him alone, and hear His word, whether it was like that of the sons of men. And it is certain that because of the many evil things which were done by me to John the Baptist, and because I mocked the Christ, behold I receive the reward of righteousness,² for I have shed much blood of others' children upon the earth. Therefore the judgments of God are righteous; for every man receives according to his thought. But since thou wast worthy to see that God-man, therefore it cometh you to pray for me.

My son Azbonius also is in the agony of the hour of death.

And I too am in affliction and great trial, because I have the dropsy; and am in great distress, because I persecuted the introducer of baptism by water, which was John. Therefore, my brother, the judgments of God are righteous.

And my wife, again, through all her grief for her daughter, is become blind in her left eye, because we desired to blind the Eye of righteousness. There is no peace to the doers of Ibt

¹ These letters exist in a Syrian MS. of probably the sixth century and in a Greek MS. probably of the fifth.

² 2 Peter ii. 13.

evil, saith the Lord. For already great affliction cometh upon the priests and upon the writers of the law; because they delivered unto thee the Just One. For this is the consummation of the world, that they consented that the Gentiles should become heirs. For the children of light shall be cast out, for they have not observed the things which were preached concerning the Lord, and concerning his Son. Therefore gird up thy loins, and receive righteousness, thou with thy wife remembering Jesus night and day; and the kingdom shall belong to you Gentiles, for we the chosen people have mocked the Righteous One.

Now if there is place for our request, O Pilate, because we were at one time in power, bury my household carefully; for it is right that we should be buried by thee, rather than by the priests, whom, after a little time, as the Scriptures say, at the coming of Jesus Christ, vengeance shall overtake.

Fare thee well, with Procla thy wife.

I send thee the earrings of my daughter and my own ring, that they may be unto thee a memorial of my decease. For already do worms begin to issue from my body, and lo, I am receiving temporal judgment, and I am afraid of the judgment to come. For in both we stand before the works of the living God; but this judgment, which is temporal, is for a time, while that to come is judgment forever.

End of the Letter to Pilate the Governor.

LETTER OF PILATE TO HEROD

Pilate to Herod the Tetrarch: Peace.

Know and see, that in the day when thou didst deliver Jesus unto me, I took pity on myself, and testified by washing my hands (that I was innocent), concerning Him who rose from the grave after three days, and had performed thy pleasure in Him, for thou didst desire me to be associated with thee in His crucifixion. But I now learn from the executioners and from the soldiers who watched His sepulcher, that He rose from the dead. And I have especially confirmed what was told me, that He appeared bodily in Gali-

lee, in the same form, and with the same voice, and with the same doctrine, and with the same disciples, not having changed³ in anything, but preaching with boldness his resurrection, and an everlasting kingdom.

And behold, heaven and earth rejoice; and behold, Procla my wife is believing in the visions which appeared unto her, when thou sentest that I should deliver Jesus to the people of Israel, because of the ill-will they had.

Now when Procla, my wife,⁴ heard that Jesus was risen, and had appeared in Galilee, she took with her Longinus the centurion and twelve soldiers, the same that had watched at the sepulcher, and went to greet the face of Christ, as if to a great spectacle, and saw Him with His disciples.

Now while they were standing, and wondering, and gazing at Him, He looked at them, and said to them, What is it? Do ye believe in Me? Procla, know that in the covenant which God gave to the fathers, it is said that everybody which had perished should live by means of my death, which ye have seen. And now, ye see that I live, whom ye crucified. And I suffered many things, till that I was laid in the sepulcher. But now, hear Me, and believe in My Father — God who is in Me. For I loosed the cords of death, and brake the gates of Sheol; and My coming shall be hereafter.

And when Procla my wife and the Romans heard these things, they came and told me, weeping; for they also were against Him, when they devised the evils which they had done unto Him. So that, I also was on the couch of my bed in affliction, and put on a garment of mourning, and took unto me fifty Romans with my wife and went into Galilee.

And when I was going in the way I testified these things; that Herod did these things by me, that he took counsel with me, and constrained me to arm my hands against Him, and to judge Him that judgeth all, and to scourge the Just One, Lord of the just. And when we drew nigh to Him, O Herod, a great voice was heard from heaven, and dreadful thunder, and the earth trembled, and gave forth a sweet smell,

³ Literally, "renewed anything."

⁴ Literally, "his wife": a manifest error.

like unto which was never perceived even in the temple of Jerusalem. Now while I stood in the way, our Lord saw me as He stood and talked with His disciples. But I prayed in my heart, for I knew that it was He whom ye delivered unto me, that He was Lord of created things and Creator of all. But we, when we saw Him, all of us fell upon our faces before His feet. And I said with a loud voice, I have sinned, O Lord, in that I sat and judged Thee, who avengest all in truth. And lo, I know that Thou art God, the Son of God, and I beheld Thy humanity and not Thy divinity. But Herod, with the children of Israel, constrained me to do evil unto Thee. Have pity, therefore, upon me, O God of Israel!

And my wife, in great anguish, said, God of heaven and of earth, God of Israel, reward me not according to the deeds of Pontius Pilate, nor according to the will of the children of Israel, nor according to the thought of the sons of the priests; but remember my husband in Thy glory!

Now our Lord drew near and raised up me and my wife, and the Romans; and I looked at Him and saw there were on Him the scars of His cross. And He said, That which all the righteous father hoped to receive, and saw not — in thy time the Lord of Time, the Son of Man, the Son of the Most High, who is forever, arose from the dead, and is glorified on high by all that He created, and established forever and ever.

1.⁵ Justinus, one of the writers that were in the days of Augustus and Tiberius and Gaius, wrote in his third discourse: Now Mary the Galilean, who bare the Christ that was crucified in Jerusalem, had not been with a husband. And Joseph did not abandon her; but Joseph continued in sanctity without a wife, he and his five sons by a former wife; and Mary continued without a husband.

2. Theodorus wrote to Pilate the governor: Who was the man, against whom there was a complaint before thee, that he was crucified by the men of Palestine? If the many demanded this righteously, why didst thou not consent to their righteousness? And if they demanded this unrighteously,

⁵ The figures 1, 2, 3, denote extracts added to the main letter.

how didst thou transgress the law and command what was far from righteousness?

Pilate sent to him: Because he wrought signs I did not wish to crucify him: and since his accusers said, He calleth himself a king, I crucified him.

3. Josephus saith: Agrippa, the king, was clothed in a robe woven with silver, and saw the spectacles in the theater of Cæsarea. When the people saw that his raiment flashed, they said to him, Hitherto we feared thee as a man: henceforth thou art exalted above the nature of mortals. And he saw an angel standing over him, and he smote him as unto death.⁶

LETTER OF PILATE

Which he wrote to the Roman Emperor, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

Pontius Pilate to Tiberius Cæsar the emperor: Greeting.

Upon Jesus Christ, whom I fully made known to thee in my last, a bitter punishment hath at length been inflicted by the will of the people, although I was unwilling and apprehensive. In good truth, no age ever had or will have a man so good and strict. But the people made a wonderful effort, and all their scribes, chiefs, and elders agreed to crucify this ambassador of truth, their own prophets, like the Sibyls with us, advising the contrary; and when he was hanged supernatural signs appeared, and in the judgment of philosophers menaced the whole world with ruin. His disciples flourish, not belying their master by their behavior and continence of life; nay, in his name they are most beneficent. Had I not feared a sedition might arise among the people, who were almost furious, perhaps this man would have yet been living with us. Although, being rather compelled by fidelity to thy dignity, than led by my own inclination, I did not strive with all my might to prevent the sale and suffering of righteous blood, guiltless of every accusation, unjustly, indeed, through

⁶ This extract from Josephus (Antiquities XIX. 8) is abridged from the account of Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. ii. 10).

the maliciousness of men, and yet, as the Scriptures interpret, to their own destruction.

Farewell. The 5th of the Calends of April.

THE REPORT OF PILATE THE GOVERNOR

Concerning our Lord Jesus Christ; which was sent to Augustus Cæsar, in Borne.

In those days, when our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate the governor of Palestine and Phenicia, the things here recorded came to pass in Jerusalem, and were done by the Jews against the Lord. Pilate therefore sent the same to Cæsar in Rome, along with his private report, writing thus:

To the most potent, august, divine, and awful Augustus Cæsar, Pilate, the administrator of the Eastern Province.

I have received information, most excellent one, in consequence of which I am seized with fear and trembling. For in this province which I administer, one of whose cities is called Jerusalem, the whole multitude of Jews delivered unto me a certain man called Jesus, and brought many accusations against Him, which they were unable to establish by consistent evidence. But they charged Him with one heresy in particular, namely, That Jesus said the Sabbath was not a rest, nor to be observed by them. For He performed many cures on that day, and made the blind see, and the lame walk, raised the dead, cleansed lepers, healed the paralytic who were wholly unable to move their body or brace their nerves, but could only speak and discourse, and He gave them power to walk and run, removing their infirmity by His word alone. There is another very mighty deed which is strange to the gods we have: He raised up a man who had been four days dead, summoning him by His word alone, when the dead man had begun to decay, and his body was corrupted by the worms which had been bred, and had the stench of a dog; but, seeing him lying in the tomb He commanded him to run, nor did the dead man at all delay, but as a bridegroom out of his chamber,

so did he go forth from his tomb, filled with abundant perfume. Moreover, even such as were strangers, and clearly demoniacs, who had their dwelling in deserts, and devoured their own flesh, and wandered about like cattle and creeping things, He turned into inhabitants of cities, and by a word rendered them rational, and prepared them to become wise and powerful, and illustrious, taking their food with all the enemies of the unclean spirits which were destructive in them, and which He cast into the depth of the sea.

And, again, there was another who had a withered hand, and not only the hand but rather the half of the body of the man was like a stone, and he had neither the shape of a man nor the symmetry of a body: even him He healed with a word and rendered whole. And a woman also, who had an issue of blood for a long time, and whose veins and arteries were exhausted, and who did not bear a human body, being like one dead, and daily speechless, so that all the physicians of the district were unable to cure her, for there remained unto her not a hope of life; but as Jesus passed by she mysteriously received strength by His shadow falling on her, from behind she touched the hem of His garment, and immediately, in that very hour, strength filled her exhausted limbs, and as if she had never suffered anything, she began to run along toward Capernaum, her own city, so that she reached it in a six-days' journey.

And I have made known these things which I have recently been informed of, and which Jesus did on the Sabbath. And He did other miracles greater than these, so that I have observed greater works of wonder done by Him than by the gods whom we worship.

But Herod and Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered Him to me, making a great tumult against me in order that I might try Him. Therefore, I commanded Him to be crucified, when I had first scourged Him, though I found no cause in Him for evil accusations or dealings.

Now when He was crucified, there was darkness over all the world, and the sun was obscured for half a day, and the

stars appeared, but no luster was seen in them; and the moon lost its brightness, as though tinged with blood; and the world of the departed was swallowed up; so that the very sanctuary of the temple, as they call it, did not appear to the Jews themselves at their fall, but they perceived a chasm in the earth, and the rolling of successive thunders. And amid this terror the dead appeared rising again, as the Jews themselves bore witness, and said that it was Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses, and Job, who had died before, as they say, some three thousand five hundred years. And there were very many whom I myself saw appearing in the body, and they made lamentation over the Jews, because of the transgression which was committed by them, and because of the destruction of the Jews and of their law.

And the terror of the earthquake continued from the sixth hour of the preparation until the ninth hour; and when it was evening on the first day of the week, there came a sound from heaven, and the heaven became seven times more luminous than on all other days. And at the third hour of the night the sun appeared more luminous than it had ever shone, lighting up the whole hemisphere. And as lightning-flashes suddenly come forth in a storm, so there were seen men, lofty in stature, and surpassing in glory, a countless host, crying out, and their voice was heard as that of exceedingly loud thunder, Jesus that was crucified is risen again: come up from Hades ye that were enslaved in the subterraneous recesses of Hades. And the chasm in the earth was as if it had no bottom; but it was so that the very foundations of the earth appeared, with those that shouted in heaven, and walked in the body among the dead that were raised. And He that raised up all the dead and bound Hades said, Say to my disciples, He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see Him.

And all that night the light ceased not shining. And many of the Jews died in the chasm of the earth, being swallowed up, so that on the morrow most of those who had been against Jesus were not to be found. Others saw the apparition of men rising again whom none of us had ever seen. One

synagogue of the Jews was alone left in Jerusalem itself, for they all disappeared in that ruin.

Therefore being astounded by that terror, and being possessed with the most dreadful trembling, I have written what I saw at that time and sent it to thine excellency; and I have inserted what was done against Jesus by the Jews, and sent it to thy divinity, my lord.

THE REPORT OF PONTIUS PILATE, GOVERNOR OF JUDEA

Which was sent to Tiberius Cæsar in Rome.

To the most potent, august, dreadful, and divine Augustus,
Pontius Pilate, administrator of the Eastern Province.

I have undertaken to communicate to thy goodness by this my writing, though possessed with much fear and trembling, most excellent king, the present state of affairs, as the result hath shown. For as I administered this province, my lord, according to the command of thy serenity, which is one of the eastern cities called Jerusalem, wherein the temple of the nation of the Jews is erected, all the multitude of the Jews, being assembled, delivered up to me a certain man called Jesus, bringing many and endless accusations against Him; but they could not convict Him in anything. But they had one heresy against Him, that He said the Sabbath was not their proper rest.

Now that man wrought many cures and good works: He caused the blind to see, He cleansed lepers, He raised the dead, He healed paralytics, who could not move at all, but had only voice, and all their bones in their places; and He gave them strength to walk and run, enjoining it by His word alone. And He did another yet more mighty work, which had been strange even among our gods, He raised from the dead one Lazarus, who had been dead four days, commanding by a word alone that the dead man should be raised, when his body was already corrupted by worms which bred in his wounds. And He commanded the fetid body, which lay in the grave, to run, and as a bridegroom from his chamber

so he went forth from his grave, full of sweet perfume. And some that were grievously afflicted by demons, and had their dwellings in desert places, and devoured the flesh of their own limbs, and went up and down among creeping things and wild beasts, He caused to dwell in cities in their own houses, and by a word made them reasonable, and caused to become wise and honorable those that were vexed by unclean spirits, and the demons that were in them he sent out into a herd of swine into the sea and drowned them. Again, another who had a withered hand, and lived in suffering, and had not even the half of his body sound, He made whole by a word alone. And a woman who had an issue of blood for a long time, so that because of the discharge all the joints of her bones were seen and shone through like glass, for all the physicians had dismissed her without hope, and had not cleansed her, for there was in her no hope of health at all; but once, as Jesus was passing by she touched from behind the hem of His garments, and in that very hour the strength of her body was restored, and she was made whole, as if she had no affliction, and began to run fast toward her own city of Paneas. And these things happened thus: but the Jews reported that Jesus did these things on the Sabbath. And I saw that greater marvels had been wrought by Him than by the gods whom we worship. Him then Herod and Archelaus and Philip, and Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered up to me, to put Him on his trial. And because many raised a tumult against me, I commanded that He should be crucified.

Now when He was crucified, darkness came over all the world; the sun was altogether hidden, and the sky appeared dark while it was yet day, so that the stars were seen, though still they had their luster obscured, wherefore, I suppose your excellency is not unaware that in all the world they lighted their lamps from the sixth hour until evening. And the moon, which was like blood, did not shine all night long, although it was at the full, and the stars and Orion made lamentation over the Jews, because of the transgression committed by them.

And on the first day of the week, about the third hour of the

night, the sun appeared as it never shone before, and the whole heaven became bright. And as lightnings come in a storm, so certain men of lofty stature, in beautiful array, and of indescribable glory, appeared in the air, and a countless host of angels, crying out and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men: Come up from Hades, ye who are in bondage in the depths of Hades! And at their voice all the mountains and hills were moved, and the rocks were rent, and great chasms were made in the earth, so that the very places of the abyss were visible.

And amid the terror dead men were seen rising again, so that the Jews who saw it said, We beheld Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, who died some two thousand five hundred years before, and we beheld Noah clearly in the body. And all the multitude walked about and sang hymns to God with a loud voice, saying, The Lord our God, who hath risen from the dead, hath made alive all the dead, and Hades He hath spoiled and slain.

Therefore, my lord king, all that night the light ceased not. But many of the Jews died, and were sunk and swallowed up in the chasms that night, so that not even their bodies were to be seen. Now I mean, that those of the Jews suffered who spake against Jesus. And but one synagogue remained in Jerusalem, for all the synagogues which had been against Jesus were overwhelmed.

Through that terror, therefore, being amazed and being seized with great trembling, in that very hour, I ordered what had been done by them all to be written, and I have sent it to thy mightiness.

THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF PILATE⁷

Now when the letters came to the city of the Romans, and were read to Cæsar with no few standing there, they were all terrified, because, through the transgression of Pilate, the darkness and the earthquake had happened to all the world.

⁷ Commonly called "the Paradosis of Pilate." It may be regarded as a historical continuation of the preceding, which it follows in the MS. without any title.

And Cæsar, being filled with anger, sent soldiers and commanded that Pilate should be brought as a prisoner.

And when he was brought to the city of the Romans, and Cæsar heard that he was come, he sat in the temple of the gods, above all the senate, and with all the army, and with all the multitude of his power, and commanded that Pilate should stand in the entrance. And Cæsar said to him, Most impious one, when thou sawest so great signs done by that man, why didst thou dare to do thus? By daring to do an evil deed thou hast ruined all the world.

And Pilate said, King and Autocrat, I am not guilty of these things, but it is the multitude of the Jews who are precipitate and guilty. And Cæsar said, And who are they? Pilate saith, Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas, and Caiaphas, and all the multitude of the Jews. Cæsar saith, For what cause didst thou execute their purpose? And Pilate said, Their nation is seditious and insubordinate, and not submissive to thy power. And Cæsar said, When they delivered Him to thee thou oughtest to have made Him secure and sent Him to me, and not consented to them to crucify such a man, who was just and wrought such great and good miracles, as thou saidst in thy report. For by such miracles Jesus was manifested to be the Christ, the King of the Jews.

And when Cæsar said this and himself named the name of Christ, all the multitude of the gods fell down together, and became like dust where Cæsar sat with the senate. And all the people that stood near Cæsar were filled with trembling because of the utterance of the word and the fall of their gods, and being seized with fear they all went away, every man to his house, wondering at what had happened. And Cæsar commanded Pilate to be safely kept, that he might know the truth about Jesus.

And on the morrow when Cæsar sat in the capitol with all the senate, he undertook to question Pilate again. And Cæsar said, Say the truth, most impious one, for through thy impious deed which thou didst commit against Jesus, even here the doing of thy evil works was manifested, in that the gods were brought to ruin. Say then, who is He that was

crucified, for His name hath destroyed all the gods? Pilate said, And verily His records are true; for even I myself was convinced by His works that He was greater than all the gods whom we venerate. And Cæsar said, For what cause, then, didst thou perpetrate against Him such daring and doing, not being ignorant of Him, or assuredly designing some mischief to my government? And Pilate said, I did it because of the transgression and sedition of the lawless and ungodly Jews.

And Cæsar was filled with anger, and held a council with all his senate and officers, and ordered a decree to be written against the Jews, thus:

To Licianus who holdest the first place in the East Country: Greeting.

I have been informed of the audacity perpetrated very recently by the Jews inhabiting Jerusalem and the cities round about, and their lawless doing, how they compelled Pilate to crucify a certain god called Jesus, through which great transgression of theirs the world was darkened and drawn into ruin. Determine therefore, with a body of soldiers, to go to them there at once and proclaim their subjection to bondage by this decree. By obeying and proceeding against them, and scattering them abroad in all nations, enslave them, and by driving their nation from all Judea as soon as possible show, wherever this hath not yet appeared, that they are full of evil.

And when this decree came into the East Country, Licianus obeyed, through fear of the decree, and laid waste all the nation of the Jews, and caused those that were left in Judea to go into slavery with them that were scattered among the Gentiles, that it might be known by Cæsar that these things had been done by Licianus against the Jews in the East Country, and to please him.

And again Cæsar resolved to have Pilate questioned, and commanded a captain, Albius by name, to cut off Pilate's head, saying, As he laid hands upon the just man, that is called Christ, he also shall fall in like manner, and find no deliverance.

And when Pilate came to the place he prayed in silence, saying, O Lord, destroy not me with the wicked Hebrews, for I should not have laid hands upon thee, but for the nation of lawless Jews, because they provoked sedition against me: but thou knowest that I did it in ignorance. Destroy me not, therefore, for this my sin, nor be mindful of the evil that is in me, O Lord, and in thy servant Procla who standeth with me in this the hour of my death, whom thou taughtest to prophesy that thou must be nailed to the cross. Do not punish her too in my sin, but forgive us, and number us in the portion of thy just ones. And behold, when Pilate had finished his prayer, there came a voice from heaven, saying, All generations and the families of the Gentiles shall call thee blessed, because under thee were fulfilled all these things that were spoken by the prophets concerning me; and thou thyself must appear as my witness at my second coming, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and them that have not confessed my name. And the Prefect cut off the head of Pilate, and behold an angel of the Lord received it. And when his wife Procla saw the angel coming and received his head, she also, being filled with joy, forthwith gave up the ghost, and was buried with her husband.

THE END

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