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THE ETHICS OF JEWISH
APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

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THE ETHICS OF JEWISH APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

BY

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B.A., D.D. (LOND.)

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TO
MY MOTHER
AND
TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER
TO WHOM ANYTHING THAT IS MINE
IN THIS BOOK BELONGS



P R E F A C E

THE following pages treat of a field of study the importance of which is being increasingly realized. It has proved to me one of absorbing interest, and I venture to cherish the hope that this volume may assist, in some small degree, those who desire to read the New Testament in its historical connexions.

It is needless to state that my obligations are many and varied. I have endeavoured to make due acknowledgement in the proper place, and have not wilfully been guilty of any omission. I am especially indebted to the pioneer work of Dr. R. H. Charles, whose investigations have thrown so much light upon apocalyptic literature. The extent of such indebtedness it is impossible to estimate, but a reference to the Index of Names will show that it has been indicated as far as possible. I have further to express my gratitude to Prof. H. T. Andrews, of London, for valuable counsel, and to my wife, who has compiled the Index of Passages, and has helped me in many other ways in preparing the MS. for the press.

H. M. H.



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THE ETHICS OF JEWISH APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE LITERATURE

THE word Apocrypha, as applied to Jewish literature, is used in two senses. In the narrower sense it signifies those books (with 4 *Ezra*) which are found in the LXX, but not in the Hebrew Bible; in its wider meaning it includes, in addition to these, other Jewish writings which belong to the same period and are mainly apocalyptic in character. This literature covers (approximately) the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 100.

Our present purpose does not demand the treatment of the relation of any of these books to the Canon, but the consideration of the light which they throw upon the history and development of moral ideas. Their importance for the study of the N.T. is being increasingly recognized, and is apparent from the fact that they reflect the thought of the two centuries which preceded the coming of Christ, and of the days in which He was manifest upon the earth. Some of them were written contemporaneously with the N.T., and are thus fraught

with additional interest. The apocryphal literature therefore throws light upon the intellectual and moral world into which Christianity was born. It illumines many aspects of Jewish life ; it reveals the thoughts and ideals upon which the N.T. writers were nurtured, and in the light of which their teaching must be interpreted ; and it shows us how, in certain Jewish circles, there was steadily taking place a preparation for Christianity. When it is remembered that there is a distance of about two hundred years between the latest book of the O.T. and the earliest of the N.T., it will be seen that the study of this literature is at least as important as that of the O.T., for an intelligent understanding of the N.T. To neglect the Stoics and Epicureans and pass at one step from Aristotle to the later Stoicism of Cicero and Seneca would hardly be a greater leap than to pass from the O.T. to the N.T. without investigating Jewish literature in the intervening period.

In classifying these books different methods might be pursued. They might be grouped according as they originated in Palestine and its neighbourhood, or in the region of Alexandria, where there was a large and influential colony of Jews ; or (within certain limits) according to the schools of thought which they represent ; or according to their literary character. It will be convenient to adopt the last-named method as the basis of our present classification, while at the same time indicating as far as is known the place of origin of the books and the schools of thought which they represent.

Critical questions lie outside the scope of our study,

and, except in one or two instances, where there may be particular reasons, we shall content ourselves with the statement of generally accepted results.

I. HISTORY AND ROMANCE

The Jews drew on history in order to inculcate moral lessons, and sometimes used the historical romance for the same purpose, often finding the basis for these stories in actual history, but bringing their imagination freely to bear upon them.

TOBIT.—This is one of the most instructive of the O.T. Apocrypha. There is much to be said for Dr. J. H. Moulton's theory that its groundwork is a Persian romance which a Jew resident in Media rewrote in Aramaic, 'accommodating it throughout for the edification of his co-religionists.'¹ Whether this be so or not, there can be no doubt that it shows marked traces of Persian influence. Most authorities date it between 150 and 100 B.C.

ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.—These additions to the canonical Daniel are found in the LXX and are not regarded as historical. They consist of *The Song of the Three Children*, *Bel and the Dragon*, and *The History of Susanna*. If Ball's theory (stated in the next chapter) as to the origin of *Susanna* is correct, it must have been written soon after 100 B.C. The other two additions possibly fall in the same century, but nothing can be stated with certainty.

1 MACCABEES is the chief source of our knowledge of the Maccabaeon struggle for independence,

¹ *Expository Times*, March 1900.

and its interest is mainly historical. Geiger thinks that it is a partisan work written by a Sadducee who enthusiastically supported the Hasmonean dynasty, and 2 *Macc.* that of a Pharisee who was opposed to it. Whether it was a deliberate polemic or not, its Sadducean tendencies are beyond dispute. The author was a Palestinian Jew, and the date to which the weight of opinion leans is 100–80 B.C.

2 *MACCABEES* narrates the history of events from 176 to 161 B.C., and partly covers the same ground as 1 *Macc.*, which treats of the period 175–135 B.C., but it is not historically so trustworthy as its predecessor. It is an epitome of a previous work by Jason of Cyrene (ii. 23), to which the epitomizer has prefixed a preface of his own (ii. 19–32). There have also been added, probably by a later hand, two letters which are not regarded as authentic (i. 1–9, i. 10–ii. 18); the object of both seems to have been to persuade the Jews of Egypt to keep the Feast of Dedication. This book, though historical in form, differs from 1 *Macc.* in having a definitely moral and religious purpose. Some critics think it is the partisan work of a Pharisee with a bias against the Hasmonean dynasty, and that it is in a measure a reply to 1 *Macc.*, which was written by a Sadducee with decided leanings to that dynasty. It was written in Greek by a Jew who probably lived at Alexandria. Charles dates it between 60 B.C. and A.D. 1. It is impossible to tell how much or how little the epitomizer has coloured his materials with his own views, and it must be remembered that if he simply reproduces the beliefs of Jason, they belong to the second

century B.C., and not to the age in which he himself wrote.

3 MACCABEES.—This book describes certain persecutions of the Jews by Ptolemy IV (Philopator) King of Egypt (222–205 B.C.). It is a romance with some historical foundation, and has no connexion with the Maccabees. It is of no great value from the standpoint of history, religion, or ethics. It was probably written in Alexandria, and bears a few traces of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy. All that can be said as to the date is that the evidence points to the first century A.D., though the first century B.C. is possible.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH was probably written by a Palestinian Pharisee in the first century B.C. It is a historical romance, perhaps based on events which took place three centuries earlier.

THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER.—These additions to the canonical book of Esther are found in the LXX. Their main purpose seems to have been to give a religious tone to a book in which the name of God did not occur, and to emphasize God's special care over Israel. Their author (or authors) was a Hellenist. It is difficult to fix the date, but as will be seen later (page 9), there are certain doctrinal similarities between these *Additions* and other Alexandrian books, which suggest the possibility that they were written about the beginning of the Christian era.

3 EZRA (1 *Esdras*). There is some difference of opinion as to the date, origin, and purpose of this book. Lupton (*Speaker's Comm.*) dates it in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, about the middle of

the second century B.C. Thackeray (Hastings's *D.B.* i. 762) places it between the limits 170–100. Others attribute it to the first century B.C. (De Wette, Ewald, Fritsche). Probably it was written at Alexandria. Its purpose was to glorify the law of Israel, and also perhaps to make Greek-speaking Jews acquainted with the favour once shown to their nation by foreign nations (Thackeray) or perhaps to influence in favour of the Jews one of the Ptolemies or some other sovereign (Ewald and Lupton). The book is, except for one section, a composite work whose materials are derived from canonical sources :

Ch. i. = 2 Chron. xxxv., xxxvi.

Ch. ii. 1–14 = Ezra i.

Ch. ii. 15–25 = Ezra iv. 7–24.

Ch. iii.–v. 6 can be traced to no known source.

Ch. v. 7–70 = Ezra ii. 1–iv. 5.

Ch. vi.–vii. = Ezra v.–vi.

Ch. viii.–ix. 36 = Ezra vii.–x.

Ch. ix. 37–55 = Neh. vii. 73–viii. 13.

II. MORAL PHILOSOPHY

One of the developments of post-Exilic activity was the use of the new literary forms exemplified in Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, in which moral precepts are inculcated by a mingling of poetry and aphorism. This form was very different from that of the Greek philosophers, but it was the nearest approach to a deliberate moral philosophy as yet attained by Jewish thought. This new

departure was carried further in apocryphal literature.

THE BOOK OF SIRACH (or *Ecclesiasticus*) was originally written in Hebrew in Palestine by Jesus Ben Sirach, and was translated into Greek by his grandson of the same name. The original work is dated between 190–170 B.C., and the Greek translation about 130–120 B.C. Many Hebrew fragments have recently been discovered, and the weight of critical opinion is in favour of their being regarded not as retranslations, but as representing in the main the original Hebrew text. Apart from the Greek the most important version is the Syriac, which is universally agreed to be a translation from the Hebrew. This is one of the most important of the apocryphal books from the standpoint of ethics. It is full of instruction bearing upon all the different relationships of life, and shows those tendencies which ultimately culminated in Sadduceeism.

THE BOOK OF WISDOM.—This is in many respects the noblest of the apocryphal books. It reaches a lofty level of thought and poetry. It was written in Greek, and shows the influence of Greek philosophy, which in the writer's hands is not subversive of Judaism, but establishes it more firmly in the face of disintegrating forces. Most critics accept the integrity of the book, but there is much to be said for the theory of a dual authorship, since it falls into two very distinct parts (i.—ix. 17 and ix. 18 to end). Toy, who defended the unity of the book in the *Encyc. Biblica*, has since written in support of the dual authorship.¹ The latter position is also

¹ *International Journal of the Apocrypha*, July 1907.

defended by Kohler (*Jewish Encyc.*), who thinks that Part II is a haggadistic addition to Part I. The differences between the two parts are very striking. There is some evidence from which it might be argued that there are passages in Part II which elaborate and even criticize passages in Part I.

(1) It is laid down in i. 8, 9, 15 that unrighteousness is always punished, and that righteousness is immortal. 'No man that uttereth unrighteous things shall be unseen; neither shall justice, when it convicteth, pass him by. For in the midst of his counsels the ungodly shall be sought out; and the sound of his words shall come to the Lord, to bring to conviction his lawless deeds . . . righteousness is immortal.' The operation of these principles is illustrated in ix. 18—xi. 20, from the national history of Israel.

(2) There is a marked difference between the standpoint of iii.—v., and xi. 21—xii. 27. In the former passage the purely retributive aspect of punishment is emphasized; but the latter brings out beautifully its remedial character, both in the case of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shows an appreciation of divine grace not present in the former.

(3) Part I exalts understanding (i. 5), and tends to the Platonic identification of knowledge and virtue, but this position is modified in Part II (xiii. 8 f.) as by the Stoics, who taught that the 'error which is of the essence of vice is so far voluntary that it can be avoided if men choose to exercise their reason' (Sidgwick).

(4) While Part I is concerned with the praise of Wisdom, Part II exalts the Almighty and Foreseeing God. The transition is made in ch. x. (in which wisdom is simply a divine attribute), after which the theme is no longer Wisdom, but God. The writer seems anxious that the position ascribed to Wisdom be ascribed to God, e.g.:

vii. 22.	xi. 17.
Wisdom is described as the artificer of all things.	God's all-powerful hand is spoken of as having created the world.
viii. 17.	xv. 3.
In kinship unto wisdom is immortality.	To know thy (God's) do- minion is the root of im- mortality.

Probably, too, the Stoic conception of God as the world-soul (vii. 24, viii. 1) is in xii. 1 identified with the O.T. doctrine of the Spirit of God, the principle which animates all living things (Ps. civ. 29 ff.).

It is significant that at Alexandria, towards the dawn of the Christian era, great importance was attached to the doctrines of the Divine Sovereignty and Providence, and the special election of Israel, both of which doctrines are present in Part II of *Wisdom*. Evidence of this fact is found in 2, 3, and 4 *Macc.* Geiger holds that 2 *Macc.* was written as a reply to 1 *Macc.* and it is worth noting that while in 1 *Macc.* the name of God is never used, it is used very freely in 2 *Macc.* *The Additions to Esther* attest the same tendency. It is impossible to fix the date of their composition, but what is of importance for our present purpose is that they

were written in Alexandria, and with a view to supplying the defects of the canonical Esther, which lacks any mention of the name of God. It is therefore not unlikely that there was a school of thought at Alexandria which was very jealous for the prerogatives of God, and this may explain the anxiety of the writer of Part II of *Wisdom* to ascribe to God the functions ascribed to Wisdom in Part I.

(5) As we shall see when we come to study the book, there are differences of ethical outlook in the two parts, which are best explained by a dual authorship.

The main argument in favour of the unity of the book is linguistic. Such words as *πρωτόπλαστος* (vii. 1., x. 1), *κακότεχνος* (i. 4, xv. 4), *φιλόανθρωπος* (i. 6, xii. 19), and the unusual *μεταλλεύειν* (iv. 12, xvi. 25) occur in both parts. But this may be explained on the supposition that the author of Part II had Part I before him when he wrote. And apart from this, as Prof. Toy has written, 'it seems, to judge from extant works, that educated Hellenistic Jews cultivated the Greek language, and often employed a somewhat artificial academic style, with fondness for compound words, sometimes even making new compounds: this is true of Philo and Josephus, and was true doubtless of not a few other men. No great stress should be laid on general similarity in style and vocabulary as an argument for identity of origin.'¹

Part I is dated by Kohler about the middle of the first century B.C., and Part II must therefore fall somewhat later.

¹ *I.J.A.*, July 1907.

4 MACCABEES is attributed to Josephus by Eusebius, but the evidence of language and style is against the hypothesis. It is based mainly on 2 *Macc.*, with which Josephus shows no acquaintance ; indeed it is to a large extent a philosophical version of that book. More deeply than any of the apocryphal books it shows the influence of Greek philosophy, especially of Stoicism. Some have thought it to be a sermon, but although it is hortatory, it can hardly have been preached in its present form. It is more of the nature of a sermon expanded for the press. It was written by a Hellenist probably of Alexandria, who, like the author of *The Assumption of Moses*, was a Pharisaic Quietist. All that can be said with certainty as to the date is that it was written somewhere about the commencement of the Christian era, after 2 *Macc.*, and before A.D. 70.

III. PSEUDEPIGRAPHS

Much of the writing of Exilic and post-Exilic times was anonymous, as in the case of the prophet known as Deutero-Isaiah, many of the Psalms, and oracles embedded in various prophetic books. Later writers, not content with remaining anonymous, adopted the device of pseudonymity, and sought to give their message weight by putting it in the mouth of some bygone hero, whose words would carry authority. There are instances of this in the O.T., in Job, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel, and one of the apocryphal books which we have already discussed employs the same device, namely *The Book of Wisdom*, the first part of which (or at any

rate chs. vi.-ix.) is put into the mouth of Solomon. This is not the place to discuss the morality of the literary practice. Suffice it to say that Jewish literary standards were not those of to-day, and that in Judaism the messenger was of little importance in comparison with his message. As all the later developments of the law, and even the commentaries upon it, were brought under the name of Moses, so it was a recognized practice to issue new writings under the authority of some great name of the past.

Most of those pseudepigraphic writings are apocalyptic in character. The apocalypse is a development of elements latent in prophecy. The apocalyptists had not the originality and independence of the earlier prophets, nor had they their passion for interpreting the divine will in relation to the needs of their own age, but they carried to greater lengths that side of prophecy which was concerned with predicting the future. The transition may be seen in the prophecy of Ezekiel, in which apocalyptic elements first appear in a clearly defined form. Similar features may be traced in all the post-Exilic prophets. The first fully developed apocalypse was either the book of Daniel, or (if Charles's date be accepted) Enoch i.-xxxvi. Most of these apocalypses have been translated and edited by Prof. Charles, and, unless otherwise stated, where quotations are given they are from his translations.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH (*Ethiopic Enoch*) is extant in an Ethiopic version, derived from the original Hebrew through a Greek translation. It was

written in Palestine. Charles distinguishes several strata in the book :

(1) Chs. i.-xxxvi., written from the prophetic standpoint of such chapters as Isa. lxv., lxvi., before 170 B.C.

(2) Chs. lxxxiii.-xc., mainly from the standpoint of Daniel, and written between 166-161 B.C. by a Chasid in support of the Maccabaeian movement. Porter thinks that this date is too early.

(3) Chs. xci.-civ., written between 134-95 B.C. by a Pharisee, or perhaps more probably between 94 and 78 B.C.

(4) Chs. xxxvii.-lxx., known as the *Similitudes*, and written between 94-79 B.C. or 70-64 B.C.

(5) Chs. lxxii.-lxxxii., known as *The Book of Celestial Physics*. The date is uncertain. This book contains no ethical references, except in lxxx. and lxxxi., which Charles regards as interpolations probably from the hand of the editor of the complete Enoch. All these sections contain interpolations mainly belonging to a lost book of Noah. The whole was put into its present form by an editor before the commencement of the Christian era.

In regard to the above analysis it should be said that Porter is of opinion that Charles's analysis and dates must not be accepted as final.¹

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.—This is a book written originally in Hebrew by a Palestinian Pharisee, who was deeply attached to the Hasmonean house, about 109-106 B.C. A few passages have been interpolated; some Charles dates 70-40 B.C., others are of doubtful date, and a

¹ *Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, p. 300.

few are Christian additions. The book has come down to us in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic versions. From the standpoint of ethics it is one of the most important of the non-canonical books. There can be little doubt that it was read by Christ, and that the influence of its teaching can be traced in the Gospels.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.—This is not a pseudigraph, nor is it, strictly speaking, an apocalypse, but it contains many apocalyptic elements, and may be conveniently dealt with here. It is a restatement of Genesis from the standpoint of the Priestly Code. There are many conflicting theories as to its origin and purpose. The weight of evidence seems to point to a Pharisaic authorship. This is the view held by Charles and Kohler. It was probably written in Palestine between 135 and 105 B.C. The book is a strong polemic against Hellenism, of the disintegrating effects of which on the life of Israel it warns the nation. It glorifies the law and its ordinances, sets up the patriarchs as examples of piety, and advocates an attitude of rigid exclusiveness in relation to the Gentile world.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.—This is a composite work of mixed Jewish and Christian elements, whose composition extends from the second century B.C. far into the Christian era. The task of disentangling the various parts is very difficult, and critics have not yet come to an agreement. It is, however, generally agreed that the oldest portion consists of iii. 97–829, together with the fragments known as the Proemium. These were written by a Jew of Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy (vii.)

Physcon (146–117 B.C.). Bk. iv. is also accepted by many as Jewish (probably Palestinian), and is dated about A.D. 80. The version followed is the metrical translation of Terry, but the numbering of the Greek editions is given in the references.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES probably consisted originally of two parts—*The Testament of Moses*, and *The Assumption of Moses*. That which has come down to us is in reality the Testament. It is only found in one Latin version, which has been translated from a Greek version, which in its turn was translated from the original Hebrew. The date is fixed by Charles between A.D. 7 and 30. There have been many theories as to its authorship. It has been variously contended that it was written by a Sadducee, a Zealot, and an Essene. The weight of evidence is in favour of the hypothesis of Charles, that the author was a Pharisaic Quietist.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—This is a composite work, partly Jewish, but put into its present form by a Christian hand not later than 150–200 A.D. Charles distinguishes three component elements :

(a) *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* (i. 1, 2 a, 6 b–13 a, ii. 1–8, 10–iii. 12, v. 1 b–14), a Jewish work written between 1 and 50 A.D.

(b) *The Testament of Hezekiah* (iii. 13 b–iv. 18), the work of a Christian writer, A.D. 88–100. Possibly based on an earlier Jewish work.

(c) *The Vision of Isaiah* (vi.–xi. 1–40). Possibly from the hand of the same writer as *The Testament of Hezekiah*.

As our present purpose is the study of *Jewish* ethics, we are concerned only with *The Martyrdom of Isaiah*.

SLAVONIC ENOCH (*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*) was only discovered in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and exists only, so far as is known, in Slavonic. In its present form it is regarded as the work of one author or editor. The original language of the greater portion of it was Greek, but parts were in Hebrew. It was written in Egypt, at the beginning of the Christian era.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH has come down to us in a Syriac version, which is a translation of a Greek version translated from the original Hebrew. Charles follows Kabisch and de Faye in an elaborate analysis of the book. He believes it to be a composite work containing various Jewish writings from A.D. 50 to 100, the final redaction being dated about 110-120. It may be well to indicate the various strata which are said to have been discovered.

(1) Writings optimistic in their tendency, in which hope for the future centres in the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, and in which the law is only mentioned incidentally. They are :

(a) A¹ = xxvii.-xxx. ; A² = xxxvi.-xl. ; A³ = liii.-lxxiv. These were written before A.D. 70.

(b) B¹ = i.-ix., xliii.-xliv. 7, xlv.-xlvi. 6, lxxvii.-lxxxii., lxxxiv., lxxxvi.-lxxxvii. These were written after A.D. 70, and, while looking forward to a Messianic kingdom, contain no mention of a Messiah.

(2) Writings pessimistic in their tendency, in which the writers despair of the present world, and look for a speedy judgement. The hope of the future centres in the law, and in the law alone. These, which were written after A.D. 70, are :

B² = ix.-xii. (?), xiii.-xxv., xxx. 2-xxxv., xli.-xlii., xliv. 8-15, xlvii.-lii., lxxv.-lxxvi., lxxxiii.

B³ = lxxxv.

An editor (E) is responsible for the connecting passages and the present form of the work.

Critical questions lie outside the main scope of this essay, but it must be pointed out that there is more agreement among critics¹ as to the composite nature of *Ap. Bar.*, than e.g. in the case of 4 *Ezra*. It must be remembered, however, that the critical methods used are highly subjective, and nothing would be gained for our present purpose in treating the strata separately. We may therefore treat the work as a unity, save in so far as it is necessary to take account of divergent teaching in the different strata.

4 *EZRA* (2 *Esdras*) must probably be dated between A.D. 81 and 96. The Apocalypse proper consists of chs. iii.-xiv. (chs. i. and ii., xv. and xvi., being later additions), which are probably a unity. Charles² accepts a complicated analysis of the book by Kabisch, but Gunkel³ and most authorities defend its unity, though the author probably drew largely from various writers and oral sources. It is argued by some that it shows traces of Christian influence, but on the whole it is more likely that Gunkel's hypothesis is correct, namely, that it emanated from the circles of Judaism in which Paul moved previous to his conversion.⁴

¹ Cf. Ryssel in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen*, &c.

² Edn. of *Apoc. of Baruch*, p. lxvii. f.

³ In Kautzsch, op. cit. ii. 351.

⁴ Kautzsch, op. cit., &c., ii. 349.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM is only preserved in a Slavonic version. There is no English translation, and the one followed is the German edition of Bonwetsch. The book falls into two parts: i.-viii., which is haggadistic, and ix.-xxxii., which is apocalyptic.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 93 ff.) dates the first part prior to *The Book of Jubilees* (to which he attaches a later date than Charles), as the legends are not so fully developed in form as in the latter book. He places the second part between 90 and 100 A.D. Certain Gnostic and Christian influences can be traced in the book.

There remain a few pseudepigraphs which are not apocalyptic.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH is a composite work. Apart from the historical introduction (i. 1-14), it consists of three parts:

(1) Chs. i. 15—iii. 8, made up of two penitential prayers, one on behalf of the remnant left in Palestine during the Exile (i. 15—ii. 10), the other on behalf of the exiles (ii. 11—iii. 8). As i. 15—ii. 12 shows dependence on Dan. ix. 4-19, it could not have been written before 160 B.C., except in the event of both having drawn on the same source. Probably it was written in Maccabaeian times, somewhere about 150 B.C. It is thought to have been originally written in Hebrew.

(2) Chs. iii. 9—iv. 4. A song in praise of wisdom, written just before, or some years after, A.D. 70, probably originally in Aramaic.

(3) Chs. iv. 5—v. 9. Written for the consolation of the exiles, after A.D. 70, and probably in Greek.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES is only found in some MSS. of the LXX; it is also found in *The Apostolic Constitutions*. Nestle¹ argues that it has found its way into some LXX MSS. from *The Apostolic Constitutions*, and that the prayer is not of Jewish but of Christian origin. In this he is followed by Swete.² Porter³ holds that there is no doubt it is Jewish, but suggests that it is of Hellenistic origin, and that its eschatology indicates an earlier rather than a later date. Ryssel⁴ places it in Maccabaeian times. With so much diversity of opinion, it is not possible to place it in its chronological connexion with any confidence.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—These psalms were written by a Pharisee, or Pharisees, between 70–40 B.C., probably at Jerusalem. They have come down to us in Greek, but it is probable that they were originally written in Hebrew. They throw a vivid light upon the state of Jewish parties half a century before the coming of Christ. The Pharisees are depicted as the faithful repositories of the national ideals, while the Sadducees, who are called sinners, are denounced as being faithless to the Theocracy. The latter are depicted in such black colours that it is impossible to acquit the psalmists of party animus. Great dislike is displayed towards the Hasmonean dynasty. The translation followed is that of Ryle and James.

THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY was written in Egypt

¹ *Septuaginta Studien*, iii. p. 13.

² *Expository Times*, Oct. 1899, p. 39.

³ Hastings's *D.B.* iii. p. 233.

⁴ Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen*, &c., i. 167.

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probably before 2 *Macc.*, which is held by some to refer to this epistle (cf. 2 *Macc.* ii. 4-6). A warning is uttered against idolatry, and its folly is exposed. Very little light is thrown upon our subject.

It will perhaps be helpful to state the results in tabular form :

<i>Palestinian</i>	<i>Alexandrian</i>
Sirach, 190-170 B.C.	
Eth. Enoch (i.-xxxvi.) before 170 B.C.	
Eth. Enoch (lxxxiii.-xc.) 166-161 B.C.	
Tobit, 150-100 B.C.	Sibylline Oracles (iii. 97-829 and Proem). c. 140 B.C.
Baruch (i.15-iii.8) 150-100 B.C.	
Jubilees, 135-105 B.C.	
Tests. of XII. Patriarchs, 109-106 B.C.	Prayer of Manasses (?)
Additions to Daniel, c. 100 B.C. (?)	3 Ezra (?)
1 Macc., 100-80 B.C.	Ep. of Jeremy (before 2 Macc.)
Eth. Enoch (xci.-civ.) prob. 94-78 B.C.	2 Macc., 60-1 B.C.
Similitudes of Enoch, 94-64 B.C.	Wisdom, pt. i., c. 50 B.C.
Psalms of Solomon, 70-40 B.C.	Wisdom, pt. ii., c. 10-1 B.C.
Judith, c. 50 B.C.	
Assumption of Moses, A.D. 7-30	Additions to Esther (?)
Martyrdom of Isaiah, A.D. 1-50	3 Macc., A.D. 1-10 (?)
Baruch (iii. 9-iv. 4) just before or some time after A.D. 70	4 Macc., A.D. 1-10
Baruch (iv. 5-v. 9) after A.D. 70	
Sib. Oracles (iv.) c. A.D. 80	Slav. Enoch, A.D. 1-50
Apocalypse of Baruch, A.D. 50-100	
4 Ezra, A.D. 81-96	
Apoc. of Abraham, A.D. 90-100	

We shall now proceed to trace the development

of moral ideas through this literature, as far as possible chronologically. First, we naturally deal with the Moral Ideal, its content and development. Then we shall turn to a consideration of the hindrances to the realization of the Ideal, a study which will involve an investigation of Jewish teaching as to the constitution of man, and as to the origin and nature of moral evil. Next, we shall discuss the teaching as to the Will, the discussion being necessarily deferred to this point, as the view held of the constitution of human nature and the origin of moral evil will be seen to have exercised an important influence on the doctrine of the Will. Moral sanctions, although so intimately bound up in thought with the pursuit of the Moral Ideal, may be conveniently discussed last, since in Jewish ethics they raise the whole question of eschatology.

The study upon which we are entering does not, of course, involve a complete survey of the whole range of Jewish ethics during this period. Such a task would necessitate the investigation of the *Mishna* (the depository of the contents of the oral law) which began to be composed before 30 A.D., and also of the writings of the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, who was born about 20 B.C. But the literature before us represents very important tendencies in Jewish thought, and therefore throws much valuable light upon the development of moral ideas.

CHAPTER II

THE MORAL IDEAL: ITS CONTENT AND DEVELOPMENT

THE Babylonian Exile was a turning-point in the history of Israel. It constituted the watershed where the streams of pre-Exilic Judaism gathered, and whence they were re-distributed, together with the waters which had their source in Babylon. Throughout the centuries that intervened before the birth of Christ these streams were fed by new tributaries. The reformation under Ezra and Nehemiah about 458-400 B.C. influenced the development of Judaism in two directions. In the first place, the promulgation of the Priestly Code gave to religious and ethical thought a ceremonial and legalistic bias—a bias which was strengthened by the gradual growth of the oral law, with its burdensome obligations. In the second place, the rigorous demand made by Ezra and Nehemiah for national separatism, however necessary it may have been for the preservation of Israel, narrowed its outlook, and stamped Judaism with a particularism which was further fostered by the regulations of the Priestly Code. It is true that the universalism of some of the earlier prophets is not absent from the post-

Exilic prophetic writings (e.g. Zech. ii. 11 and Jonah), but the narrower view of the ultimate destiny of the Gentiles predominates (Joel, Zech. ix.-xiv., Daniel). Our study will show us how these tendencies developed during the subsequent centuries.

Throughout this period foreign influences poured into Palestine, which Israel, despite itself, could not shut out. From the Return, in 536, down to 330 B.C. it was under the domination of the Persian Empire. Zoroastrianism and Judaism had much in common, and if the latter did not directly borrow from the former, there can be little doubt that Zoroastrianism stimulated the development of the angelology, demonology, and eschatology of Judaism.

The Persian Empire was followed by the Greek, and for nearly three centuries Greek ideas and customs insidiously crept into Judaism. Before the rise of the Maccabees there were probably Greek schools in Jerusalem itself. Antiochus Epiphanes made a deliberate attempt to hellenize Palestine, which led to the Maccabæan revolt. Nor must it be supposed that this hellenizing movement was entirely from without. Within the nation there was a strong party which succumbed to the fascination of a cultured paganism, and was unfaithful to the law, and it was strengthened by many of the Jews of the Dispersion who had become more or less hellenized. It was against these tendencies, so subversive of the national religion and morality, and so fatal even to the national existence, that the Maccabæans led their heroic revolt, which awakened afresh the national self-consciousness, and sounded

the call to a renewed zeal for the law. Out of this struggle there emerged, in a new form, the spirit of prophecy, which found expression in the apocalyptic literature.

At Alexandria, where there was a large Jewish colony, there grew up a school whose members, while zealous for the law, attained to a wider outlook than their brethren of Palestine, and were influenced by Greek modes of thought; but instead of allowing Hellenism to become subversive of Judaism, they held tenaciously to their faith, and sought to make Greek philosophy its handmaid, as in *The Book of Wisdom* and *4 Macc.* This was an important step forward, for, whatever the writers intended, it could not but make a gap in the walls of Jewish particularism and prepare the way for a recognition of the unity of all truth.

After the Maccabaeian kingdom came Rome (63 B.C.), and the subjugation of the nation once more to a Gentile power. In the literature of the period we find reflected the perplexities and disappointments, the hopes and aspirations of the pious in face of this latest calamity, until at length there comes the greatest trial of all, when Jerusalem is destroyed in A.D. 70.

But although Jerusalem fell by the hands of Rome, it would be more correct to say that it was destroyed as a result of the bitter internal feuds that, from the days of the return from the Exile, rent the nation asunder. From the beginning the wealthier class, and especially the high priestly family, were opposed to the separatist policy of Ezra and Nehemiah and

the more zealous of the returned exiles. They accepted the law, but not its oral expansions, and were willing to compromise with Gentile customs. Their descendants readily yielded to those Greek influences and habits which, had they been unopposed, would have undermined Judaism. This party came to be known as the Sadducees. On the other side were those pious upholders of the law, called the Chasidim, who stood for loyalty both to the law and its oral expansion, and were opposed to conformity of any kind with the Gentiles. Behind these were the common people. When the Maccabean revolt broke out they threw themselves wholeheartedly into the fight on the national side, and for the time being the Sadducees were submerged beneath the wave of popular enthusiasm. Gradually, however, the Chasidim, who now came to be known as Pharisees, grew disaffected towards the Maccabean house. They were opposed to the setting up of a temporal as against a theocratic kingdom, and were deeply offended by the action of Jonathan in taking to himself the high priestly as well as the kingly power. So restive did they become that about 105 B.C. John Hyrcanus was compelled to break with them and throw in his lot with the Sadducees. The history of Palestine from that date to 63 B.C. is that of the struggle of these two sects for power, and their alternate successes and failures. When one party was in power it persecuted the other, and *The Psalms of Solomon* show how bitter was their mutual hatred. This bitterness was increased by the fact that they were divided by theological as well as political

differences. Their rivalry continued after the subjugation of the nation to Rome, but gradually the ideals of Pharisaism (although other tendencies still persisted) became more and more secular until at length their extreme wing, known as the Zealots, in their endeavour to cast off the Roman yoke, compassed the destruction of Jerusalem, and with it the annihilation of the national hopes.

It will be seen, therefore, that the period before us was a time of intense activity, and of the impact of many conflicting forces, all of which played their part in shaping the moral history of Israel. We are now in a position to trace the development of the Moral Ideal through the literature before us. But first it is necessary to point out that the Jewish mind was not of the same metaphysical cast as the Greek. Neither in the O.T. nor in apocryphal literature do we find those elaborate discussions as to the nature of the moral end, and as to the relation, e.g., of virtue and pleasure, which abound in Greek philosophy. For the Jew, the Moral Ideal was embodied in the law, which was the expression of the divine will. That was the basis of his ethics, and he did not inquire as to why the divine will had expressed itself in certain precepts and not in others. It follows, then, that the ethical interest of the Jew centred in the content of the Moral Ideal which was ready to hand in the law, not in the quest for the Moral Ideal itself.

I. THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

Sirach, 190-170 B.C.

Eth. Enoch (i.-xxxvi.) before 170 B.C.

Eth. Enoch (lxxxiii.-xc.) 166-161 B.C.

Tobit, 150-100 B.C.

Baruch (i. 15—iii. 8), 150-100 B.C.

Jubilees, 135-105 B.C.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 109-106 B.C.

B. ALEXANDRIAN

Sibylline Oracles (iii. 97-829 and Proem.), c. 140 B.C.

Prayer of Manasses ?

A. PALESTINIAN

SIRACH

The Moral Ideal is wisdom, which is both objectively and subjectively conceived. The objective becomes immanent, and thus manifests itself subjectively in varying forms. The source of wisdom is in God, who created it before all things, and with whom it exists eternally (i. 1-9). It is immanent in differing degrees in nature (xxiv. 4-6) and in man, especially in those who love God (i. 10, xvii. 7). It exalts its children, and to love it is life ; it brings gladness, glory, and blessing ; its service is one with the service of God, and is the way to the discernment of truth,¹ and to security (iv. 11-15). The personification of Wisdom is most marked in ch. xxiv. It

¹ The Syriac, which is admitted to be a translation of the Heb. original, reads in iv. 15 *a*, 'shall judge truth,' not 'shall judge nations,' as in the LXX.

'came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth as a mist' (3); it became immanent in creation and in all peoples (5-7); then it 'took root' in Israel (8 f.) and was embodied in the Mosaic law (23 f.).

Sirach,
Proverbs,
and The
Book of
Wisdom.

Sirach has points of contact with Proverbs (i.-ix.). Very possibly they belong nearly to the same period and express similar tendencies. Both conceive of wisdom as being specially concerned with men, and not as an agent in creation (Prov. viii., *Sir.* xxiv.), and in this they differ from the *Book of Wisdom*, where it is represented as in some measure an active agent in the creation of the world (*Wisd.* viii. 4 b.). Both Proverbs and *Sirach* conceive of wisdom as having its source in God, and yet as existing eternally side by side with God (*Sir.* i. 4; Prov. viii. 22 f.).

Extent of
Greek
influence.

How far these ideas are due to the influence of Greek thought is difficult to determine. Siegfried says: 'The notion of the Divine Hokmah as a separate existence outside of and over against Jahveh, is as un-Israelitish as possible, and absolutely opposed to the monotheism that had become firmly established since the time of Deuteronomy. It can be explained only as due to the influence of Greek philosophy, according to which the archetypes of things, or the powers of the Divine Essence diffused throughout the world (the *κοινὰ ἐννοιαὶ* of the Stoics), are regarded as having a separate existence of their own, although in their relation to the world they are otherwise conceived of than in Proverbs' (*D.B.* iv. 925 a). Nowack, on the other hand, writes concerning Prov. i. 9: 'It has been sought to discover the influence of the Greek doctrine of ideas, but this

notion is rightly rejected by Kuenen, Bandissin, and others. The contrast with the personified Folly shows that we have to do merely with a poetical personification' (*D.B.* iv. 142*b*). With such divergence of view dogmatism is out of the question, but whether dependence can be proved or not, it is clear that the Greek and Hebrew conceptions have points of kinship. Parallels with Greek thought do not necessarily imply dependence, but may only illustrate the fact that the same ideas often appear independently at different places.

Sirach teaches that wisdom is only realized subjectively by those who trust it by submitting to its discipline, which fits for initiation into its secrets (iv. 11-19). Such initiation is not for the unlearned, to whom she is 'exceeding harsh' ¹ (vi. 20-22). A more universal note characteristic of Greek thought is struck in xxiv. (cf. xxxvi. 1-5). Wisdom, it is true, finds its highest embodiment in Israel and the Mosaic law, but she is also made to say 'in every people and nation I got a possession' (xxiv. 6). A distinction is drawn between the wisdom of the scribe who meditates in the law of the Most High, and seeks out the wisdom of the ancients, and that of the artificer.² The former is of a much higher order, though the latter is not despised. 'They will maintain the fabric of the world; and in the

Initiation
into wisdom.

Degrees of
wisdom

¹ Swete reads *ταχέια* in place of *τραχέια* (B² & A C) in verse 20*a*, but the latter seems to accord better with 20*b*-22.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 248, where it is laid down that the soul that has seen truth in the seventh lowest degree becomes incarnate in an artificer or husbandman.

handiwork of their craft is their prayer' (xxxviii. 24-xxxix. 11).

Virtue and
knowledge.

Since wisdom is the Moral Ideal, it follows that virtue and knowledge are one. The virtuous man is the wise man, and the sinner is the fool. A poor man who is wise should not be dishonoured, and there is nothing unseemly in free men ministering to a wise servant (x. 23-25). Wisdom glorifies a poor man far more than riches a rich man (x. 30), and makes him sit in the midst of great men (xi. 1). 'A man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth' (xxi. 7). There must be a certain natural capacity for wisdom, otherwise it is unattainable. 'He that is not clever (*πανούργος*) will not be instructed' (xxi. 12); 'The inward parts of a fool are like a broken vessel, and he will hold no knowledge' (xxi. 14). Uninstructed children are a shame to their father (xxii. 3). The fool and the ungodly are placed in the same category, and their lot is worse than death (xxii. 11, 12). Sin and ignorance are spoken of as though they are identical¹ (xxiii. 3). To treat a man of understanding as refuse is a grievous sin (xxvi. 28).

Different words are used to express wisdom as manifested in the ethical life :

Distinctions
of meaning
between the
Greek words
used.

Σοφία (i. *et passim*) and *φρόνησις* (xix. 23, 24, xx. 27 *et passim*). *Σοφία* was defined by Aristotle as 'the union of science and intuitive apprehensions.' It was speculative wisdom as opposed to practical wisdom. In Plato's view speculative and practical

¹ Ch : xix. 22 in the Syriac reads, 'He is not wise who is wicked,' &c. That summarizes the standpoint of Sirach. Cf. Plato, *Protag.* 357, 358.

wisdom are one, and in the *Republic*, at any rate, the two terms are used interchangeably.¹ It is impossible to distinguish clearly a different sense for the two words as used in *Sirach*. *Σοφία* is sometimes practical wisdom (e.g. vii. 19, ix. 14 f.). *φρόνησις* is probably best translated prudence (xix. 22, 24, xx. 27 *et passim*). *Σύνεσις* is understanding (iii. 13, v. 12, vi. 35 *et passim*). Lightfoot says 'σύνεσις is critical, apprehending the bearing of things; φρόνησις is practical, suggesting lines of action.' *Γνώσις* (xxi. 13) is more dependent on the senses than σοφία. *Ἐπιστήμη* (xvii. 7 *et passim*) is knowledge gained from experience. *Πανουργία* (vi. 32, xxi. 12) is cleverness or shrewdness.

This identification of virtue and knowledge can be traced, in tendency at any rate, in older Jewish literature (e.g. Deut. iv. 5, 6; Job xxviii. 28; Ps. cxix. 34). It was developed in *Sirach* (and perhaps in Proverbs) under the influence of Greek philosophy, but under a characteristically Jewish form. The wisdom to be striven after is not merely intellectual, but has a religious origin and motive, being grounded in 'the fear of the Lord.' The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (i. 14); the fullness of wisdom (i. 16); the crown of wisdom (i. 18); the root of wisdom (i. 20); wisdom and instruction (i. 27); in it all honour and glory consist (x. 19-24); children who lack it can be no delight (xvi. 2); it is the sum of all wisdom (xix. 20); it leads to repentance (xxi. 6);

Wisdom has
a religious
basis in the
fear of God.

¹ Sidgwick, *Hist. of Ethics*, p. 44 n. Jowett holds that Plato uses σοφία in the wider sense, i.e. 'the highest combination of virtue and intelligence,' and φρόνησις in the sense of prudence, or forethought.

its end is wisdom (xxi. 11) ; it is a path of discipline which leads to the kindling of righteous acts (xxxii. 14-16) ; it is a safeguard against evil, and a mode of deliverance from temptation (xxxiii. 1) ; it delivers from cowardice (xxxiv. 14) ; it is greater than riches and strength, is all that a man needs, and covers him with glory (xl. 26). The conception of wisdom is thus saved from an arid intellectualism, and is made to include the ideas of faith and meekness (i. 27, iii. 17, x. 28), godliness (xii. 2, *et passim*), goodness (xii. 7 *et passim*), and righteousness (xxvii. 8).

Conditions
of its
development
a. Inquiry.
b. Recep-
tivity.
c. Fellow-
ship.

d. Discipline.

The moral life has its basis in reason (λόγος, xxxvii. 16). Wisdom is not gained except by cultivation and experience. The conditions of its development are an inquiring and receptive spirit, fellowship with the wise and aged (iv. 16 f., vi. 23-36, viii. 8 f., ix. 14 f., xiv. 20-xv. 10) and discipline (iv. 16). Again and again the word *παιδεία* (instruction, or discipline) occurs (i. 27, iv. 24, vi. 18, viii. 8). It is defined by Plato as 'the constraining and directing of youth towards that right reason, which the law affirms and which the experience of the eldest and best has agreed to be truly right.'¹ It was defined by Basil in a sense which represents its usage in the LXX, as 'a training beneficial to the soul, often painfully cleansing it from the stains of evil.'² So in *Sirach*, this discipline is at first painful, but it is a testing process which fits for advance in wisdom (iv. 16 f.). Experience, too, is an important factor in the cultivation of wisdom. 'He that hath no experience knoweth few things.' Experience includes a wide knowledge

¹ *Legg.* ii. 659.

² *In Prov.* i., quoted by Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 112.

of men and things (xxxiv. 9-12). Thus the wise man is called 'a man of experience' (πολύπειρος, xxi. 22). There is no finality in the great quest. 'They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty' (xxiv. 21).

The influence of Greek thought is seen in the emphasis laid on leisure as a condition of wisdom. 'The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure' (xxxviii. 24 ff.).¹

e. Leisure.

The highest wisdom in the moral life is to obey the ordinances of the law, in which wisdom is immanent (xxiv. 23). 'If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments' (i. 26). The desire of wisdom is granted to him who 'meditates on the ordinances and the commandments' (vi. 37). A man's discourse should be in the law of the Most High (ix. 15). 'In all wisdom is the doing of the law' (xix. 20). A wise man will not hate the law, but will put his trust in it (xxxiii. 2, 3; cf. xxxii. 24).

Wisdom and the law.

When he proceeds to apply the law to the practical affairs of life Sirach's view of morality (as that of Ecclesiastes) is seen to be decidedly prudential. The book abounds in counsels of worldly wisdom, the general standpoint of which is indicated by the following :

External prudential-ism.

Do no evil, so shall no evil overtake thee.

Depart from wrong, and it shall turn aside from thee.

My son, sow not upon the furrows of unrighteousness,

¹ Cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 172 E. But, as illustrating Jewish thought, cf. *Pirq. Ab.* ii. 4: 'Say not, When I have leisure I will study; perchance thou mayest not have leisure' (Hillel). *Pirq. Ab.* iv. 14: 'Have little business, and be busied in the Torah' (R. Meir).

And thou shalt not reap them sevenfold (vii. 1-3).
 If thou doest good, know to whom thou doest it,
 And thy good deeds shall have thanks, &c. (xii. 1 f.).

(Cf. also vi. 5-13, viii. 10-19, xx. 27-31, xxii. 23, xxxiii. 19-23.) This spirit of prudent calculation is carried to the extent of meanness and hypocrisy in xxxviii. 17 f., where a pretence of mourning for the dead is recommended 'lest thou be evil spoken of.' Where prudence is the chief concern it is quite natural to attach the same importance to the rules of etiquette as to the laws of morality, and it is therefore not surprising to find Sirach including a condemnation of leaning the elbow on the table at meals in the same category as that of serious moral offences (xli. 17-24). Nowhere does he strike the note of passionate yearning for the attainment of a high ideal. He is content with moderate success. 'Seek not things that are too hard for thee, and search not out things that are above thy strength. . . . Be not overbusy in thy superfluous works' (iii. 21-4). This cannot fail to suggest the Greek doctrine of the Mean (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*).¹

Doctrine of
the Mean.

Indications
of a more
inward view.

There are, however, a few indications of a more inward view of morality: 'Who will set scourges over my thought and a discipline of wisdom over mine heart?' (xxiii. 2). 'The trial of a man is in his reasoning. The fruit of a tree declareth the husbandry thereof; so is the utterance of the thought of the heart of a man. Praise no man before thou hearest him reason: for this is the trial of men'

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics*, bk. ii. ch. v.: 'Both the excess and defect belong to vice, and the mean state to virtue.' Plato, *Hipparch.* 228 E.

(xxvii. 5-7). These extracts imply some recognition of the fact that the essential moral life is inward, and has to do with a man's inmost thoughts and motives (cf. also xix. 16 *a*, 26 *b*).

Sirach's view of human nature is somewhat cynical. He has little faith in disinterested action, and is always on his guard against selfish motives in others. The aphorism, 'He that is hasty to trust is light-minded' (xix. 4), is typical of his standpoint (vi. 7 ff., viii. 12 f., xi. 29 ff., xii. 8-18, xiii. 1-13, xiii. 21-3, xx. 27-31, xxvii. 22-4, xxix. 3-7, xxxiii. 19-22, xxxvii. 1-12). His view of life, too, is somewhat pessimistic; there is nothing but 'great travail,' and a 'heavy yoke' and 'trouble,' and 'fear of death' for all the sons of men, from the king clad in purple to the peasant in his smock (xl. 1-11). Yet he inculcates cheerfulness; his motto, like that of the Epicurean, is *carpe diem*, 'defraud not thyself of a good day; and let not the portion of a good desire pass thee by. . . . For there is no seeking of luxury in Hades' (xiv. 14-16; cf. xxx. 21-5). But pleasure must not be purchased at the price of independence; better a simple life than the loss of self-respect. 'The chief thing for life is water and bread, and a garment and a house to cover shame. Better is the life of a poor man under a shelter of logs than sumptuous fare in another man's house'¹ (xxix. 21-8).

Cynicism.

Epicurean-ism.

Poverty and independence.

Despite his cynicism, Sirach has a noble view of

¹ Cf. the Epicurean maxim, 'Cheerful poverty is an honourable thing' (Seneca, *Epp.* ii. 5).

Cf. also *Pirq. Ab.* iv. 3: 'Who is rich? He that is contented with his lot.'

The dignity
of man.

the dignity of man and the essential independence of the soul. Man is the lord of nature (xvii. 1-14), and let no one say, 'What is my soul in a boundless creation?' (xvi. 17). Counsel must be taken with the godly, but in the ultimate issue a man must bear his own burden, and trust the counsel of his own soul (xxxvii. 12-15). The soul must be guarded from all shame, and none must be revered to its dishonour, neither must violence be done to its convictions. 'Strive for the truth unto death, and the Lord God shall fight for thee' (iv. 25 ff.). The description cannot fail to suggest Aristotle's High-Minded Man (*Nic. Ethics*, bk. iv. ch. iv.) and the Stoic Wise Man (*Diog. L.* vii. 117-19). But Sirach introduces modifications into his description which strike a note not characteristic of Greek philosophy. His independent man will be abashed at his own ignorance,¹ and will not be ashamed to make confession of his sins (iv. 25 f.). He will not be unbearable and full of whims at home, nor will he arrogantly walk in the desires of his own heart (iv. 30, v. 2 f.). In a word, his self-sufficiency and independence will be tempered with meekness.² In harmony with his view of the dignity of man, is the emphasis which he places upon the virtue of self-control. The section commencing xviii. 33 is headed ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς in the LXX; the word generally used by the Greeks was σωφροσύνη. According to Aristotle, in the man of self-control (ἐγκρατής) the appetites obey reason; in the man of perfected self-

Comparison
with Greek
views.

Self-control.

¹ Socrates' confession of ignorance was hardly in the spirit of humility.

² Cf. iii. 17 with Jas. iii. 13.

mastery (σώφρων) they are even more obedient, for in him they agree entirely with reason.¹ In the N.T. while the σώφρων enjoys moderately what is lawful, the ἐγκρατής refrains from the unlawful (Tit. i. 8). Sirach inculcates self-control in relation to the appetites) xviii. 30-33, xxxvii. 27-31)² and in the use of the tongue ³ (v. 10-vi. 1 *et passim*).

The teaching as to the obligation of forgiveness is a distinct advance on that of the O.T. inasmuch as it is laid down that the divine forgiveness is conditioned by a man's readiness to forgive his neighbour. 'Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee ; and then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest' (xxviii. 2).⁴ But the advance is limited, for the obligation is not made to extend to the treatment of enemies (xxv. 7, xxx. 6). It is a significant step forward, however, that divine forgiveness is made dependent upon even a limited exercise of human forgiveness. This teaching is further developed in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁵ Other virtues inculcated are endurance (ii. 2), long-suffering (i. 23), justice (iv. 1 ff.). The practice of philanthropy is enjoined (iv. 3-10,⁶ vii. 32-5, xiv. 13, xxix. 1-10), but sometimes the motives appealed to savour of worldly wisdom (vii. 35, xxii. 23, xxix. 11-13). Reverence for parents (iii. 1-16), for ancestors (viii. 4), and for the aged (xxv. 4-6) is taught.

The teaching as to forgiveness marks an advance.

Various virtues.

A woman who is wicked breaks all bounds, according to the view of Sirach (xxv. 13-26, xxvi. 6-12),

Domestic virtues.

¹ *Nic. Ethics*, bk. i. ch. xi.

⁴ Cf. Matt. vi. 14.

² Cf. xxxvii. 28 with 1 Cor. vi. 12.

⁵ Cf. T. Gad vi.

³ Cf. Jas. iii.

⁶ Cf. with Jas. ii. 15 f., v. 4.

but 'happy is the husband of a good wife' (xxvi. 1). The book contains numerous reflections upon the marriage relationship (vii. 19, 26, ix. 1-4, xxv. 1, xxvi. 13-18, xxxvi. 24-6). Instruction is given as to the treatment of servants (xxxiii. 24-31), of cattle (vii. 22), and of children (vii. 23 f., xxvi. 10, xvi. 1-5 *et passim*), *Sirach*, like Proverbs, advocating rigorous discipline. Great stress is laid on the value of friendship (vi. 14-17 *et passim*). The dignity of manual labour¹ is asserted (vii. 15, xxxviii. 34), though it is held to be inferior to 'the wisdom of the learned man' (xxxviii. 24 ff.).

*Opus
operatum.*

Like *Tobit*, *Sirach* emphasizes the importance of the *opus operatum* as a means of atoning for evil. Reverence for parents (iii. 3), alms-giving (iii. 30, xvii. 22, xxix. 11-13), though only to the godly (xii. 3-7), and offerings (xiv. 11)—all exercise atoning efficacy. But while acts good in themselves are enjoined, the motives with which they are enforced are often on a low plane. Alms, for instance, must be given not so much from compassion for the poor, as for the furtherance of selfish ends: 'Bestow thy treasures according to the commandments of the Most High, and it shall profit thee more than gold' (xxix. 11).

Penitence.

But there are indications of a more inward and moral view. Works are of no avail apart from sincere and heartfelt penitence. The way of repentance is open, but it involves the forsaking of sin (xvii. 24-6, cf. vii. 8). The best 'propitiation' is to depart from unrighteousness. 'Put away wrongdoing, and order thy hands aright, and cleanse thy

¹ C. Pirq. Ab. i. 11: 'Love work.'

heart from all manner of sin' (xxxviii. 10).¹ If character be corrupt offerings avail nothing; to offer sacrifice of that which has been taken from the poor is an outrage; the formal observance of ritual and fasting as an atonement for sin, followed by an immediate repetition of the same offence, is profitless (xxxiv. 19-26; ² cf. xxxv. 12). The prudential externalism of *Sirach* is thus tempered by a moral inwardness which, though not wholly absent from *Tobit* (iv. 5), is not apparent in it to the same degree.

On the whole it must be concluded that the ethical teaching of *Sirach* is somewhat individualistic and self-centred. Ethical questions are viewed from the standpoint of the individual, and that chiefly in their external bearing; the nation and the race lie outside the writer's range of interest. He gives many evidences of a humane feeling, but none of a spirit of genuine altruism.

Sirach's
ethics in-
dividualistic.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (i.-xxxvi.)

This apocalypse is chiefly concerned with the origin of evil and the vision of the consummation of all things, and refers only incidentally to the nature of the Moral Ideal, which is conceived of as righteousness (i. 1, 8 *et passim*). That the apocalypticist defined righteousness in terms of the law may be inferred from the fact that those are condemned who have not fulfilled 'the law of the Lord' (v. 4). As physical order is maintained by the obedience of

Righteous-
ness defined
in terms of
the law.

¹ Cf. xxx. 21-3 and xxxviii. 18 with 2 Cor. vii. 10.

² This is possibly an anti-Pharisaic polemic.

Problem of
the moral
government
of the world
especially in
relation to
Israel.

the creation to physical law, so moral order can only be realized by obedience to the law (ii. 1-v. 4). The problem of the moral government of the world is evidently present to his mind, and he finds a solution in two directions : First, in his theory of the origin of evil, which we shall discuss in the next chapter. Second, in the vision of the day 'when all the wicked and godless are to be removed' (i. 1). The kingdom of righteousness, then to be established, will be universal, embracing the Gentiles (x. 21). God will abide with men (xxv. 3), but the hope of a Messiah is absent.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (lxxxiii.-xc.)

Israel's
problem in
the light of
the course of
world-
history.

These chapters do not define the Moral Ideal except comprehensively as righteousness and uprightness (lxxxiv. 6), which consists in obedience to God's commands (lxxxix. 60). By means of symbolism derived from the animal world, the apocalyptic traces the course of world-history in its relation to Israel. He propounds substantially the same theory of the origin of evil as the writer of i.-xxxvi. He then raises the problem of the adversities endured by Israel from the time of the Exile. He admits that the nation is worthy of punishment, but not of all the afflictions that have come upon it (cf. lxxxix. 65). The explanation is found in the theory that at the beginning of the Exile God committed the care of Israel to Seventy Shepherds, who abused their trust, and not merely chastened the nation, but brought unduly severe afflictions upon it, for which they will ultimately be punished. Most

critics have interpreted these Shepherds to mean the Gentile kings who oppressed Israel, and the theory is attractive in view of the fact that there is abundant evidence that these were regarded as the divine instruments for Israel's chastening. Charles thinks it is more satisfactory to regard them as angels to whom was committed the guardianship of Israel. Whichever may be the true explanation, the writer either predicts or describes the ultimate rise of a great Warrior-Prince (xc. 9 ff.) who has Messianic features and who must be identified with Judas or John Hyrcanus. The hostile Gentiles will be destroyed, and the Messianic age will set in. This is the solution offered of the problem of Israel's adversities.

An interesting light is thrown upon the rise of the Chasids, who are represented as becoming enlightened, and appealing in vain to the nation, who 'did not hear what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were exceedingly and forcibly blinded' (xc. 6 f.). Their origin must be traced to a date earlier than the Maccabees, who of course did not appeal to the nation in vain. What precise historical event is referred to in the mention of the futile protest of the Chasids is not clear. Probably no single event is intended, but the general protest which they uttered against those hellenizing tendencies which were proving themselves to be so subversive of the law.

Rise of the
Chasids.

TOBIT

Though the setting of this book is Persian, the ethical thought is characteristically Jewish,

approaching in some respects to Pharisaism, but in others to Sadduceeism. It had a wide circulation in its Greek form. The Moral Ideal is realized in the fear of God (iv. 21). This is manifested in walking in the ways of truth and righteousness (i. 3), in refusing to transgress the divine commandments (iv. 5), and in turning to God with the whole heart and soul, to do truth and righteousness before Him (xiii. 6). A general rule of conduct is given which anticipates the Golden Rule: 'What thou thyself hatest do to no man' (iv. 15).¹

Anticipation
of the
Golden Rule.

In his regard for legalism the writer shows the spirit of Pharisaism. Tobit prides himself on not having violated his ceremonial purity by eating 'of the bread of the Gentiles' (i. 10), upon having given tithes (i. 7), and upon 'prayer with fasting and alms and righteousness' (xii. 8).

Pharisaic
tendencies.

Intermarriage with the Gentiles is condemned (iv. 12), but the book goes further than the advocacy of marriage within the nation, and strongly encourages marriage between kinsfolk (i. 9, iii. 15, iv. 12, vi. 11 f.). This is, of course, not countenanced in O.T. legislation, though practised by the patriarchs (cf. *Jub.* iv.). The Deuteronomic Code enjoins the brother of a man who dies childless to marry the latter's widow (Deut. xxv. 5), but even this exception is not made in the Priestly Code, which forbids all marriages between those closely related (Lev. xviii. 6-18, xx. 11 f.). We have here undoubtedly a trace of the Persian source of the groundwork of the

Marriage
with
Gentiles and
between
kinsfolk.

Persian
influence.

¹ Cf. Hillel's 'What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow man.'

² Cf. *Jub.* xxii. 16.

book. Dr. J. H. Moulton¹ says that the practice of consanguineous marriage was normal among the Iranian Scyths, and that it was preached by the Magians as a religious duty. The teaching is found in the Parsi patristic writings, but not in the Avesta. 'For centuries past the Parsis have warmly repudiated the existence of the practice; and it is probable that the people, as distinct from the priests, never to any large extent came nearer to it than the marriage of first cousins.' Possibly *Tob.* vii. 4 is to be taken literally, in which case Tobias and Sarah were first cousins. This disregard of the Levitical law seems to make against the Pharisaic origin of the book.

The practical teaching of *Tobit* is on a high plane. A master must pay his servant just wages, as they become due (iv. 14, xii. 1 f.). A fine sense is displayed of the true value of material wealth. 'Be not greedy to add money to money; but let it be as refuse in respect of our child' (v. 18). 'A little with righteousness is better than much with unrighteousness' (xii. 8). Guidance is given for the conduct of family life, and the precepts inculcated breathe a high and lofty spirit (iv. 3 f., viii. 5 ff., x. 12).

Practical
teaching on
a high plane.

Tobit has a consuming passion for philanthropy, which finds expression in two ways: First, in the burial of the bodies of his slain fellow countrymen (i. 19, ii. 1-10). The importance attached to this is connected by Dr. Moulton with the Parsi teaching that it is a meritorious act to remove a corpse to the

Philan-
thropy.

¹ *Expository Times*, March 1900.

‘tower of silence.’¹ Second, by alms-giving (i. 3, 16 f.), which he enjoins upon Tobias as a duty: ‘Give of thy bread to the hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked : of all thine abundance give alms ; and let not thine eye be envious when thou givest alms ’ (iv. 16). ‘It is better to give alms than to lay up gold ’ (xii. 8). ‘As thy substance is, give alms of it according to thine abundance : if thou have little, be not afraid to give alms according to that little ’ (iv. 8). But unfortunately, although his own purity of motive was beyond reproach, Tobit inculcated a motive which has led to disastrous results. He ascribed to alms-giving the power to win the favour of God and to purge away sin, and thus gave a powerful impetus to the doctrine of salvation by works, which was a characteristic of Pharisaism, and was dominant in the Christian Church down to the Reformation : ‘Alms delivereth from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness. Alms is a good gift in the sight of the Most High for all that give it ’ (iv. 10 f.). ‘Alms doth deliver from death, and it shall purge away all sin ’ (xii. 9).²

Atoning
efficacy of
alms.

¹ Loss of burial was regarded as a calamity in Judaism (2 Kings ix. 10, Jer. xxv. 33). Burial was accorded even to criminals, suicides, and national enemies (see Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 31).

² The same teaching is found in Parsi literature. ‘In the *Nihadum Nask* the high priests have taught thus. When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man has too much bread, all the good works which he shall perform through that superabundance become as much his who gave it as though they had been done by his own hand ’ (*Shâyast La Shâyast*, xii. 16, *S.B.E.* v. p. 345). The *Vendidad* also speaks of philanthropic works as atoning for the killing of a sacred dog (*Fargard* xiv., *S.B.E.* vol. iv.).

This teaching, which we have already seen in *Sirach*, is not found in the O.T. until Dan. iv. 27, but Prov. x. 2, xi. 4, xvi. 6 were interpreted by the Rabbis in the same sense, and also Ps. xvii. 15, which they read, 'I shall behold Thy face by almsgiving.' It must be borne in mind that the duty of benevolence is enforced throughout the O.T., especially in Deuteronomy. Justification is by the works of the law, of which kindness is one. As larger views of eschatology were developed it was natural to conceive of benevolence, in its various forms, as winning the favour of God both here and hereafter. The doctrine of the atoning efficacy of alms was therefore a natural development of Jewish thought. At the same time it must be admitted that *Tobit* and *Sirach*, the two works that emphasize this most, have not an advanced eschatology. In these two writers the doctrine can only apply to the present life.

This teaching
is rooted in
the O.T.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH (i. 15—iii. 8)

This consists of two penitential prayers, one on the part of the Palestinian remnant (i. 15—ii. 10), the other on the part of the Babylonian exiles (ii. 11—iii. 8). Israel is God's 'holy house,' and is called by the divine name (ii. 15 f.). The Moral Ideal is righteousness (i. 15), but it is conceived under Jewish forms, and is realized by obedience to the commands and ordinances of the Mosaic law (i. 18, ii. 2, 12) and in the fear of God (iii. 7).

The law.

The writer looks for the redemption of Israel, but there is a note of urgency and perplexity in his

Israel's
problem.

prayer. Why does not God redeem the people? However guilty the fathers may have been, his own generation is not guilty, but the chastisement still continues, 'For Thou sittest as king for ever and we perish evermore' (iii. 3).

JUBILEES

Religious
basis of
morality.

The writer's conception of the Moral Ideal is summed up in the words righteousness (i. 6 *et passim*), uprightness (i. 20 *et passim*), truth (i. 17), holiness (xxi. 4), and love (xx. 2). His view of morality is determined by his doctrine of God, for these moral attributes inhere in Him (xx. 2, xxi. 4). To strive after the Ideal is to do the divine will (xxi. 3, 25). Moral progress presupposes a certain relationship to God.

I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
And cleave ye to His commandments.

But serve ye the Most High and worship Him continually,
And hope for His countenance always,
And work uprightness and righteousness before Him
(xx. 7-9; cf. xxi. 2-5).

Abraham 'believed in the Lord and it was counted to him for righteousness'¹ (xiv. 6).

The eternal
validity of
the law,
written and
oral.

When we examine in closer detail the content of the teaching of *Jubilees*, we find that the Ideal is realized in the fulfilment of the law and commandments and ordinances of God (i. 1, 14, xxiii. 16, xxiv. 11). The view of morality is therefore mainly

¹ Cf. Jas. ii. 23.

external. The moral demand is satisfied by loyal obedience to the precepts of the Mosaic law, and also of the unwritten tradition (e.g. xxx. 7)—obedience not only to moral commands, but to ritual and ceremonial ordinances (vii. 3 f., vii. 36, xiii. 25, xv. 1, xxi. 16). The law was given to men by the mediation of angels¹ (i. 27). Its precepts and ordinances, moral and ritual, are not the ephemeral expression of the moral consciousness of a particular age, but are valid for all eternity, not only among men, but some of them among angels (ii. 18, xv. 27). They are written on the 'heavenly tables' (iii. 31, vi. 17 *et passim*). To the law against eating of blood 'there is no limit of days, for it is for ever' (vi. 14). The celebration of the Feast of Weeks once a year 'is ordained and written on the heavenly tables' (vi. 17). Circumcision is an 'eternal ordinance' (xv. 13). The Feast of Tabernacles is ordained on the heavenly tables a statute for ever (xvi. 29). To the law of the tithing of the tithe 'there is no limit of days for ever' (xxxii. 10). The Sabbath 'was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever' (ii. 33). The writer records the protest of the Chasids against the forsaking of the law by the leaders of the people (xxiii. 16).

So far the view of morality is external. There are moments, however, when the writer rises to a loftier level, and realizes that the noblest morality is a matter of the heart and of the soul, involving holiness of spirit and inward cleansing. At times he attains to the prophetic spirit of Deuteronomy (Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6), and describes not only the material, but

Illustration
of a more
inward view.

¹ Cf. Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2.

the moral and spiritual restoration of Israel : ' And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness, and with all their heart, and with all their soul, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them, so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. And their souls will cleave to Me, and to all My commandments, and I shall be their Father, and they shall be My children ' ¹ (i. 15-25).

The special election of Israel, the signs of which are :

a. Circumcision.

b. The Sabbath.

Israel, to whom the law has been entrusted, is marked out by God from among all other peoples, ' that it should be unto the Lord a people for His possession above all nations, and that it should become a kingdom and priests, and a holy nation ' ² (xvi. 18 ; cf. xxxiii. 20). While every nation has its own guardian spirit, God Himself is the Ruler and Preserver of Israel (xv. 30 ff., xxii. 9). Certain outward observances are enjoined as a sign of this special election. *Circumcision* ³ is an eternal covenant (xvi. 14) ; it is observed by the two highest orders of angels (xv. 27), and every Israelite who is not circumcised on the eighth day belongs to the children of destruction (xv. 26). The omission of this rite is unpardonable ; it is an ' eternal error ' (xv. 34). The *Sabbath* is the peculiar possession of Israel and

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. vi. 18.

² Exod. xix. 6 ; 1 Pet. ii. 9 ; Rev. i. 6, v. 10.

³ Circumcision was not confined to the Jews. It was practised by the Ancient Arabs, and by various African, Australian, Polynesian, and South American tribes. (See Hastings's *D.B.* i. 442 ; *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 330.)

the two highest orders of angels (ii. 18 f.). Neither the Gentiles (ii. 31 f.), nor (by inference) the lower orders of angels, who preside over natural phenomena (ii. 2) are expected to obey it. The children of Israel are forbidden on that day to do any work which is unseemly, to do their own pleasure (cf. Isa. lviii. 13), to prepare anything to be eaten or drunk, to draw water, or to carry in or out of the gates any burden (ii. 29). On the Sabbath they must not have conjugal intercourse, go a journey to buy and sell or for any other purpose, light a fire, ride a beast, travel by ship, strike or kill anything, catch anything in the chase, fast or make war (l. 6-13). The penalty for violating the Sabbath is death (ii. 27, l. 8, 13). This detailed list of prohibitions is not found in O.T., except those of carrying a burden (Jer. xvii. 21 f., Neh. xiii. 19), of lighting a fire (Exod. xxxv. 2 f.) and of buying and selling (Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16). That of cooking can be deduced from Exod. xvi. 23, and that of going a journey from Exod. xvi. 29. The law as to abstinence from warfare on the Sabbath was observed before and during part of the Maccabaeen War, and was turned to advantage by the soldiers of Antiochus, but was eventually abandoned by Mattathias (1 *Macc.* ii. 33-41, Jos. *Ant.* xii. vi. 2) so far as to justify defensive warfare, but not offensive (2 *Macc.* viii. 26).

Regulations
as to the
Sabbath.

Israel must hold itself rigidly aloof from the Gentiles, and 'eat not with them, and do not according to their works, and become not their associate' (xxii. 16). *Mixed marriages* are sternly prohibited (xx. 4, xxii. 20, xxv. 1-10). No offering of sacrifice

Exclusive-
ness.

can atone for this transgression (xxx. 16). If a man gives his daughter or sister in marriage to a Gentile he is to be stoned to death. His conduct is likened to the offering of his child to Moloch. The woman guilty of entering into such a marriage is to be burnt. Such unions bring the whole nation under the charge of uncleanness and profanation (xxx. 7-17). The law condemning the guilty woman to be burnt finds no sanction in O.T. (but cf. Gen. xxxviii. 24, and Lev. xxi. 9). For the case of the father the same penalty is attached as in Lev. xx. 2 to the crime of passing children through the fire to Moloch. This particularism is in marked contrast to the universalism of the contemporary *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but it must not be forgotten that, as in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, a certain measure of exclusiveness was necessary for the self-preservation of Israel.

Sanctity of
marriage.

In harmony with Gen. ii. 24, the sanctity of marriage is upheld (iii. 6, 7). There is also a reference to a law forbidding a man to give his younger daughter in marriage before the elder (xxviii. 6 = Gen. xxix. 26), but there is no trace of such a law in O.T. legislation, or even in the rabbinic tradition.

Brotherly love is inculcated (vii. 20, xxxvi. 4), and also *reverence for parents* (vii. 20). The *lex talionis* is approved (vi. 8, xxi. 19).

Moral
advance on
the
Pentateuch.

The book shows moral advance on the Pentateuch. Although it is a restatement of Genesis from the priestly standpoint, there are certain omissions which cannot be accounted for either by a desire for brevity or by the priestly bias of the writer. *Jub.* contains no reference to certain doubtful inci-

dents in the lives of the patriarchs, e.g. Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (Gen. xii. 11-20) and of Abimelech (xx. 2 f.) in reference to Sarah; Isaac's deception of Abimelech (Gen. xxvi. 7-10); Jacob's too astute dealings with Laban (Gen. xxx., xxxi.). The omission of these narratives denotes a certain moral sensitiveness on the part of the writer. Again, his moral sense seems to revolt against the attribution of certain acts to God, in Genesis. He ascribes to Mastema, not to God, the command to Abraham to offer up Isaac (*Jub.* xvii. 16), the attempt on the life of Moses (Exod. iv. 24 = *Jub.* xlviii. 1-3), the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians (Exod. xiv. 8 = *Jub.* xlviii. 17), and the slaying of the first-born (Exod. xii. 29 = *Jub.* xlix. 2).

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

This book, written by a Pharisee, is of importance as showing the moral depth and inwardness of Pharisaism in certain of its phases. More than any other writing, it seems to have influenced the teaching of Christ.

The Moral Ideal is expressed in terms of the law The law. (which is described as the law of God), and obedience to its commandments (T. Reub. iii. 8; T. Jud. xviii. 3, xxvi. 1; T. Iss. v. 1; T. Zeb. x. 2; T. Dan v. 1; T. Gad iii. 1; T. Ash. v. 4). 'Every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him' (T. Jos. xi. 1). 'Do ye therefore, my children, keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all commandments of the Lord,

having your conversation therein' (T. Ash. vi. 3). The law must be read unceasingly. To know it is to gain for oneself honour, and friends, and service, and 'whosoever teaches noble things and does them shall be enthroned with kings' ¹ (T. Levi xiii.).

The fear of
God.

The moral attitude necessary to the realization of the Ideal is the fear of God (T. Reub. iv. 1; T. Levi xiii. 1; T. Zeb. x. 5; T. Dan. vi. 1; T. Jos. xi. 1), which delivers from evil (T. Sim. iii. 4). 'The Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him' (T. Jos. ii. 4). In illustration of this statement Joseph points to his own experience, and the words may be quoted here because of their influence on the language, if not the thought, of Christ.

I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me;

I was alone, and God comforted me;

I was sick, and the Lord visited me;

I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me.

(T. Jos. i. 5 f.) ²

The 'two
ways.'

The idea contained in Jer. xxi. 8, 'Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death' (cf. Deut. xxx. 15) is developed, and for the first time in Jewish literature we have the phrase 'two ways,' as applied to moral conflict. 'Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and two modes [of action]

¹ Cf. 'Whosoever shall do and teach them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. v. 19).

² Matt. xxv. 35 f.: 'I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat. . . . I was a stranger, and ye took me in. . . . I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me.'

and two issues' (T. Ash. i. 3).¹ One is the way of God, the other the way of Beliar, and the moral task is 'to hold fast the will of God,' and 'to cast away the will of Beliar' (T. Naph. iii. 1). 'Two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth' and the spirit of deceit' (T. Jud. xx. 1). 'Choose therefore for yourselves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar' (T. Levi xix. 1).

As is to be expected in the work of a Pharisee, emphasis is laid upon the need of observing the external ordinances of the law (T. Jud. xiii. 1). They must, however, be observed in their proper time and season; the obligations of worship and those of the family must not be allowed to conflict (T. Naph. viii. 7 f.).⁴ Great importance is attached to prayer (T. Jos. iv. 8, x. 1); the payment of tithes (T. Levi ix. 4); the offering of 'sacrifices, whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, free-will offerings, peace offerings' (T. Levi ix. 7; cf. T. Iss. iii. 6); ceremonial ablutions (T. Levi ix. 11); and fasting and abstinence (T. Reub. i. 10; T. Sim. iii. 4; T. Jud. xv. 4; T. Jos. iii. 4, iv. 8, x. 1; T. Ben. i. 4); but it must be with humility (T. Jos. x. 2).

Ceremonial
observances

But despite this interest in external ordinances

Interest is
mainly in the
inward
aspects of
morality.

¹ Cf. *Sl. En.* xxx. 15, *Sir.* xv. 17; *Pirq. Ab.* ii. 12, 13, 'Go and see which is the good way that a man should cleave to. . . Go and see which is the evil way that a man should shun, &c.'; *Matt.* vii. 13 f.; *Didache*, i. 1 f.; *Ep. Barnabas*, xviii. 1.

² Cf. the Johannine phrase, 'Spirit of Truth.'

³ Cf. 2 Cor. vi. 14 f.: 'What communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial?'

⁴ Cf. T. Naph. viii. 8 with 1 Cor. vii. 5.

the writer is far more deeply concerned with the distinctively moral aspects of the law. The Moral Ideal is described as the Truth (T. Reub. iii. 8; T. Gad iii. 1); the moral command is 'Make your hearts good before the Lord, and your ways straight before men' (T. Sim. v. 2); and the moral life is one of 'wisdom in the fear of God' (T. Levi xiii. 7). This life of wisdom is absolutely inviolable. Nothing can rob the wise man of his wisdom save 'the blindness of ungodliness and the callousness that comes from sin.' In the midst of foes it will be to him a friend, and in a strange country he will find in it a fatherland (T. Levi xiii. 7 f.).

Love to God
and love to
man.

The essentially ethical character of the writer's outlook is illustrated by the fact that he connects, for the first time in literature, the two commandments of love to God (Deut. vi. 5) and love of our neighbour (Lev. xix. 18).

Love the Lord through all your life
And one another with a true heart.

(T. Dan. v. 3; cf. T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6.)

The variant 'he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour' appears in T. Ben. iii. 4. It is natural to associate this passage with Matt. xxii. 37-9, Luke x. 27, and to assume that it was known to Christ. In the Leviticus passage the term neighbour applies only to the Israelites; whether in the *Testaments* its content is as wide as in the Gospels it is difficult to tell. All that can be safely said is that, in view of the universalism of the *Testaments*,¹ it would not be right to deny the possibility of its

¹ See below, p. 61.

use of 'neighbour' in a wide and non-racial sense, although there is not sufficient evidence to justify us in affirming it.

The doctrine of justification by works is taught under the form of a conception, common in this literature, of good works being stored up in heaven.¹

Salvation by works.

Work righteousness therefore, my children, upon the earth,
That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven.²

(T. Levi xiii. 5; cf. T. Naph. viii. 5).

But this doctrine is taught with important modifications, for the writer has a deep insight into the inwardness of morality. He condemns in strong terms those who do a good act for the furtherance of an evil end (T. Ash. ii. 1-4). He describes as 'hares,' 'half-clean, but in very deed unclean,' those who seek by pitying the poor to atone for fraud, injustice, and perjury, or by fasting and ritual observance to atone for fleshly sins and an abuse of wealth (T. Ash. ii. 5-10; cf. iv.).

Modifications of this teaching.

God takes account of intention and motive, that is, the inward thoughts of the heart. 'Let all your works be done in order, with good intent in the fear of God' (T. Naph. ii. 9). God looks on the inclination (T. Gad v. 3). Sins of the flesh may be committed not only in act, but in thought (T. Iss. vii. 2, T. Jos. ix. 2). 'He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication'; for he hath no defilement in his heart,

Motive and intention.

¹ See *Pss. Sol.*, *Sl. En.*, 4 *Ezra*, *Ap. Bar.*

² Cf. Matt. vi. 20, 'Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven.'

³ Cf. Matt. v. 28.

because the spirit of God resteth upon him ' (T. Ben. viii. 2).

Conscience.

In harmony with this inward view of morality is the teaching as to *Conscience*. 'Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my impiety ' (T. Reub. iv. 3). 'He that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, being reproved not of another but of his own heart ' ¹ (T. Gad v. 3). 'And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all ²; and the sinner is burnt up by his own heart, and cannot raise his face to the judge ' (T. Jud. xx. 5).

The same moral insight is displayed in the treatment of various virtues and practical duties.

Single-mindedness.

(a) *Single-mindedness*.—Different expressions are used to indicate this virtue—singleness (*ἀπλότης*) of heart (T. Reub. iv. 1), of face (T. Ash. v. 4), and of eye ³ (T. Iss. iii. 4).

The single-minded man coveteth not gold,
He over-reacheth not his neighbour,
He longeth not after manifold dainties,
He delighteth not in varied apparel.
He doth not desire to live a long life,
But only waiteth for the will of God.
And the spirits of deceit have no power against him,
For he looketh not on the beauty of women.

¹ Cf. Rom. ii. 15: 'Their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them.'

² Cf. John xvi. 8.

³ Cf. this reference to the single eye and that to the evil eye (T. Iss. iv. 6) with Matt. vi. 22 f.: 'If therefore thine eye be single. . . . But if thine eye be evil. . . '

There is no envy in his thoughts,
 Nor worry with insatiable desire in his mind.
 For he walketh in singleness of soul,
 And beholdeth all things in uprightness of heart,
 Shunning eyes made evil through the error of the world,
 Lest he should see the perversion of any of the command-
 ments of the Lord (T. Iss. iv. 2-6).

It is evident that single-mindedness stands for no single virtue, but for the sum of all the virtues.¹

(b) *Forgiveness*.—In no point is this book more remarkable than in its teaching as to forgiveness. The O.T., while recognizing the reality of the divine forgiveness, does not inculcate the corresponding obligation of human forgiveness. As Charles points out, there are exceptions, as in the case of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren, and Prov. xxv. 21 f., 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat,' &c.; but the general trend of O.T. thought on the question is represented by David's dying commands in regard to Joab and Shimei. As we have seen, *Sirach* marks an advance on this position: 'Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee; and then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest' (*Sir.* xxviii.); but 'neighbour' does not include enemies (*Sir.* xxv. 7, xxx. 6). This writer makes a further advance; his position is identical with that of N.T., and it is hard to believe that Christ was not acquainted with the words.

Advance in
 the teaching
 as to
 forgiveness.

'Love each one his brother,
 and put away hatred from
 your hearts; love one another

¹ For a similar use of ἀπλότης cf. Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22.

in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. . . . Love ye therefore one another from the heart ; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate, and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile ; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.

But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest, catching the poison from thee, he take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly. . . . And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent, so as not again to wrong thee ; yea, he may also honour thee, and fear and be at peace with thee. But if he be shameless and persisteth in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging' (T. Gad vi.).

' If thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone ; if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother ' (Matt. xviii. 15).

' If ye forgive not every one his brother from your hearts ' (Matt. xviii. 35).

Cf. also ' If thy brother sin, rebuke him ; and if he repent, forgive him,' &c. (Luke xvii. 3).

The distinction which the writer draws between full reconciliation and the discharge of personal responsibility by casting away all resentment so as to leave the way open to reconciliation, shows a deep ethical insight. It is true that this passage does not make the consciousness of divine forgive-

ness dependent upon the practice of human forgiveness, as does the teaching of Christ (Matt. vi. 14 f.). But this connexion was already established in a limited form in *Sirach*, and it is implied in the exhortation, 'Have therefore compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him' (T. Zeb. v. 3; cf. viii. 1, 2).

(c) In keeping with the teaching as to forgiveness is the inculcation of a spirit of *non-retaliation*. 'And if any man seeketh to do evil unto you, do well unto him, and pray for him,¹ and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil' (T. Jos. xviii. 2). 'The holy man is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace' (T. Ben. v. 4).²

(d) *Just dealing*.—T. Dan i. 3; T. Reub. vi. 9.

(e) *Truthfulness*.—'Unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and anger, and love truth and long-suffering, ye shall perish' (T. Dan ii. 1). 'Hate lying, . . . speak truth each one with his neighbour' (T. Dan v. 1 f.). In spite of this T. Jos. x. 5–xviii. represents Joseph as telling lies several times, and on this and other grounds Charles suggests that the section is from a different hand.

(f) *Brotherly Love*.—'Love each one his brother with a good heart' (T. Sim. iv. 7; cf. T. Reub. vi. 9; T. Zeb. viii. 5; T. Gad vi. 1). 'The spirit of love

¹ Cf. Luke vi. 28, 'Bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.'

² Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 23, 'Who, when He was reviled, reviled not again.'

³ Cf. Zech. viii. 16; Eph. iv. 25.

worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the salvation of men' (T. Gad iv. 7). There is a beautiful passage in T. Jos. xvii. : 'Do ye also love one another, and with long-suffering hide one another's faults. For God delighteth in the unity of brethren, and in the purpose of a heart that takes pleasure in love. . . . And when my brethren came into Egypt . . . I suffered them not to be afflicted even in the smallest matter ; and all that was in my hand I gave unto them. And their children were my children, and my children as their servants ; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, and all their sickness was my infirmity. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not myself among them in arrogance because of my worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the least.' ¹

Philan-
thropy.

(g) *Philanthropy*.—The obligations of philanthropy are enforced with discernment. Alms must be given (T. Iss. iii. 8), and also sympathy. 'If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his, and I shared my bread with the poor' (T. Iss. vii. 5). He who cannot give alms must give practical manifestations of tender sympathy. 'If ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that needed, and I walked with him weeping, for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in compassion' (T. Zeb. vii. 3 f.). The obligation is universal ; compassion must be shown not

¹ Cf. Luke xxii. 27, 'I am among you as one that serveth.'

only to neighbours, but towards all; not towards men only, but also towards beasts (T. Zeb. v. 1, cf. vii. 2). Such works of compassion win for their doers the special favour of God (T. Zeb. v. 2).

(h) *Temperance*.—The writer displays sanity in his treatment of temperance, in the restricted modern sense. Wine is a fruitful source of error, passion, and sin, and much discretion is needed in the use of it. The principle laid down for direction is that 'A man may drink so long as he preserveth modesty' (T. Jud. xiv.); 'in the fear of God' (T. Jud. xvi. 2). But the safe line is abstinence: 'If ye would live soberly, do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and in transgressions of the commandments of God, and ye perish before your time' (T. Jud. xvi. 3). Temperance

(i) *Humility*.—T. Gad v. 3.

(k) *Long-suffering and Patience*.—T. Dan ii. 1, vi. 8; T. Jos. ii. 7, x. 1.

There is a fine description of the 'good man' in T. Ben. iv.—vi.

Unlike *Sirach*, which emphasizes the need of leisure for the cultivation of the moral life (xxxviii. 24), this book advocates continual occupation in good works, in study, and in husbandry, as a preventive against moral lapses (T. Reub. iv 1; cf. T. Iss. v. 3). Moral life cultivated by work.

In contrast with the contemporary book of *Jubilees*, which is particularistic in its outlook, this book strikes the universal note, and looks for the salvation of the Gentiles as well as of Israel. The light of the law 'was given for to lighten every Universalism.

man '¹ (T. Levi xiv. 4). There is an angel (Michael) who intercedes not only for Israel but for 'all the righteous' (T. Levi v. 7). The blessings of the Messiah and Messianic kingdom will extend to the Gentiles (T. Levi iv. 4, xviii. 9; T. Naph. viii. 3; T. Ash. vii. 3; T. Ben. ix. 2). It is hardly too much to say that universalism was the necessary outcome of the writer's breadth of ethical outlook and the emphasis which he laid on moral inwardness as distinct from the mere fulfilment of ordinances.

B. ALEXANDRIAN

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (iii. 97-829 and Proem.)

Ceremonial-
ism.

These Alexandrian fragments are strongly Jewish in the emphasis which they attach to oaths (iii. 117 f.), drink-offerings, burnt-offerings, sacrifices (iii. 573, 808; Proem i. 20 f.), ablutions (iii. 592 f.); and to the sanctity of the Temple (iii. 688, 772 ff.).

The law and
the service of
Jehovah.

The Moral Ideal is realized in the service of the one true God. Godly men keep to 'the counsels and mind of the Most High' (iii. 573 f.), for 'He is the only God, and other there is none' (iii. 629; cf. 760, 763, Proem. i. 15). Israel is God's chosen nation, destined to be 'guides of life to all men' (iii. 193 f.; cf. 218 ff.). To this nation has been given the law, which is the embodiment of the Moral Ideal (iii. 256 f., 768). It is the 'holy law of the immortal God' (iii. 276), 'the most righteous

Election of
Israel for the
fulfilment of
a universal
purpose.

¹ This may be a later passage, as Charles suggests, but its universalism is in harmony with the rest of the book.

of all laws on earth ' (iii. 719 f.), and by confidence in it Israel will ultimately be vindicated (iii. 283 f.). But though the law was thus specially given to Israel, other nations were not without moral guidance. Gentile nations were not wholly ignorant of the great principles of morality, for they are charged with 'transgressing the immortal God's pure law which they were under' (iii. 597-600). The life of obedience to the law is marked by wisdom (Proem. i. 31), righteousness and virtue (iii. 234; cf. 580). The writer emphasizes the sanctity of marriage (iii. 594 f.), the obligation of reverence for parents (iii. 594), and the social virtues of justice (iii. 630) and philanthropy :

The natural
conscience.

Social
virtues.

But with them,
Just measure, both in fields and cities, holds,
Nor steal they from each other in the night,
Nor drive off herds of cattle, sheep, and goats,
Nor neighbour remove landmarks of a neighbour,
Nor any one of great wealth grieve the one
Less favoured, nor to widows cause distress ;
But rather aids them, ever helping them
With wheat, and wine, and oil ; and always does
The rich man in the country send a share
At the time of the harvests unto them
That have not, but are needy, thus fulfilling
The saying of the mighty God, a hymn
In legal setting ; for the Heavenly One
Finished the earth a common good for all (iii. 237-47).

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

This prayer is a noble expression of the spirit of penitence, and a recognition that the only ground

Penitence,
the sense of
demerit.

Universal-
ism.

of forgiveness is in the mercy of God. The merits of the patriarchs avail nothing;¹ each soul must repent of its own sin. 'Thou, therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, hast not appointed repentance to the just, to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against Thee, but Thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner.' The prayer sounds a universal note; it is not offered by one who is a Jew so much as by one who is a sinner, and God has promised 'repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned.'

Summary

Judaism and
foreign
influences.

If a glance be taken over the whole period no one can fail to observe that one of its outstanding features is the struggle of Judaism against the many foreign influences which came pouring into it. We have traced Persian influence in *Tobit*, and Greek influence not only in the Jewish-Alexandrian literature, but in the Palestinian work of Ben Sirach. So far, these impulses from without enlarged the ethical outlook of Israel, but the very existence of Judaism was threatened when Greek habits and customs were introduced, and attempts were made to break down its distinctive ordinances. Against these tendencies the Chasids protested as early as 166 B.C. (*Eth. En.* lxxxiii.-xc.), and the same protest can be traced in the book of Daniel. *The Book of Jubilees* is a vigorous polemic against hellenizing tendencies, and reveals the continuous

¹ The patriarchs are set forth simply as examples in 4 *Macc.* (ii. 2, 17-19 *et passim*).

effort to hedge Israel round by the expansion of the written law in oral traditions.

It will be evident, from our study, that Judaism was not a compact and consistent body of thought, but that it contained many currents and cross-currents. The warfare of the sects does not come as prominently before us in this century as in the next, but we can trace its beginnings. The germs of Sadduceeism can be discerned in *Sirach*, and light is thrown upon the beginnings of Pharisaism in the rise of the Chasids (*Eth. En.* lxxxiii.-xc.), and upon its subsequent developments during the latter half of the century. The literature of this period illustrates the difficulty of dividing men into rigidly demarcated schools of thought. Different currents tend to cross each other, and divergencies that are almost antagonisms may be traced even in the same school. *Tobit*, for instance, is in many respects Pharisaic, but its Sadducaic eschatology and its disregard for the Levitical law show the presence of other tendencies. That Pharisaism must not be taken in this period to stand for a clearly defined system of thought may be seen by contrasting *Jubilees* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The former is legalistic, and chiefly external in its view of morality; the latter is characterized by a depth of moral inwardness closely akin to the spirit of the N.T. The former is particularistic in its outlook; the latter sounds the universal note.

Cross-currents in Judaism.

Different standpoints are evident in the mode in which ethical questions are approached. *Sirach* is so individualistic as to become almost atomistic,

Divergent methods of approach to ethical questions.

Every moral problem is solved in the light of its bearing upon the interests of the individual; moral maxims are enforced by an appeal to individual self-interest. In *The Book of Jubilees* moral questions are approached from the standpoint of the nation; the interest of the nation is regarded as supreme. In the *Testaments* a higher level is reached, and the writer, while not able to break away entirely from Jewish particularism, is still able to approach ethical problems from the universal standpoint. As a consequence he rises to a genuine spirit of altruism. The prudential philanthropy of *Sirach* is a whole world removed from the command of the *Testaments* that compassion must be shown 'towards all men; not towards men only, but also towards beasts.'

The law
and the
Messianic
hope.

In the main the ethical hopes of these writers centre in the law, in terms of which the Moral Ideal is always expressed. But the problem is raised (especially in the *Enoch* sections), why it is that Israel, which with all its perversity is more faithful to the law than other nations, is yet oppressed by them. The attempt to solve this problem led the apocalyptists to cast their gaze into the future, and to foreshadow a Messianic kingdom in which Israel and the law should be vindicated and its enemies overthrown. In *Jubilees* and the *Testaments* we see the emergence of the figure of the Messianic Prince. But the chief emphasis of the writers is still laid on the law, and the need for unfaltering loyalty to it. The politicization of Judaism, later carried to such lengths by the Pharisees, is here only discernible in germ,

As a result of the emphasis attached to the law, it was natural for it to be believed that salvation was by the works of the law. But here, again, we can trace divergencies of standpoint and outlook. The doctrine is taught unambiguously in *Sirach*, but it is relieved by the teaching that works are of no avail apart from penitence. *Tobit*, however, makes no such qualification. *The Book of Jubilees* seems to be feeling after a higher conception when it affirms that 'Abraham believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness'; but this declaration has little practical effect upon the writer's moral teaching that the ordinances of the law are of eternal validity. The *Testaments*, while not underrating the importance of obedience to the ordinances of the law, rise to a loftier level when they teach that God takes account of motive and intention. The highest point is reached in *The Prayer of Manasses*, which perhaps belongs to this period, where it is recognized that the only ground of forgiveness is in the mercy of God, and individual repentance for sin, and where the doctrine of merit derived from the righteousness of others is repudiated.

The¹
doctrine of
salvation by
works and
its modi-
fications.

The Jews of Alexandria did not show the same literary activity during this period as their brethren of Palestine, or if they did their writings have not been preserved. But the fragments which have come to us show breadth of ethical outlook, and the hope of universal moral progress, as might be expected from those dwelling in so cosmopolitan a centre as Alexandria.

II. THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN.

Additions to Daniel.

1 Macc., 100-80 B.C.

Eth. Enoch (xci.-civ.), probably 94-78 B.C.

Similitudes of Enoch (Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx.), 94-79
or 70-64 B.C.

Psalms of Solomon, 70-40 B.C.

Judith, c. 50 B.C.

B. ALEXANDRIAN

3 Ezra (?)

2 Macc., 60-1 B.C.

Wisdom, Pt. I. c. 50 B.C.

Wisdom, Pt. II, c. 10-1 B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA

This is placed before Dan. i. in the LXX, but at the end of Daniel in the Vulgate. Ball (*Speaker's Commentary*) propounds a theory derived mainly from Rabbi Brüll as to its ethical purpose. He attributes its composition to the times of Simon Ben Shetach, who was president of the Sanhedrin about 100 B.C., and condemned his own son to death, even carrying out the sentence when the false witnesses had confessed to perjury. Simon is known to have advocated the rigid cross-examination of witnesses, one of his sayings being, 'Make full examination of the witnesses; but be guarded in thy words; perchance from them they may learn to lie' (*Pirq. Ab.* i. 10). He also urged that

Opposing
judicial
methods of
Pharisees
and
Sadducees.

those found guilty of perjury should be punished with the penalty appointed for the crime with which they had falsely accused another. In this he was opposed by the Sadducees, who contended that perjurers should only be liable to the capital sentence if their victims had already been put to death. The theory of Ball is that this tract was written with an anti-Sadducean tendency to enforce the necessity of a reform of judicial methods, e.g. a more rigid examination of the witnesses (48), and the suppression of perjury by inflicting the same punishment upon the perjurer as his victim would have received if proved guilty of the charge (68).

THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN

This is an addition to Daniel found only in the Greek versions, and in the LXX is placed between verses 23 and 24 of chap. iii. Here the Moral Ideal is righteousness and truth (5), and is realized in obedience to the divine commandments (7). The calamities of the nation are the result of its transgressions (8). The writer rises from the priestly, or ritual, to the prophetic, or spiritual, view of sacrifice. The sacrifices whereby he hopes to secure deliverance are those of penitence and humility (16, 17). The story is of ethical value as inculcating the need for loyalty to principle.

BEL AND THE DRAGON

This has ethical interest simply as a polemic against idolatry.

I. MACCABEES

The book is purely historical, with probably no didactic purpose, but it is not without indications of the moral standpoint of the author. He believes that righteousness is a stronger defence than a great army (ii. 61, iii. 18). He has a fervent belief in the sanctity of the law, not as a philosophy, but as a revelation or covenant (ii. 50). The Moral Ideal is realized by obedience to its commandments and ordinances (ii. 21, 50; iii. 21; iv. 42, *et passim*). Among the latter, importance is attached to circumcision (ii. 46), fasting, first-fruits, and tithes (iii. 49). The Nazirite vow is also recognized as meritorious (iii. 49). The writer, however, sees that circumstances may sometimes absolve men from obedience to an ordinance, and he relates, with evident approval, the determination of the Maccabees to engage in defensive warfare on the Sabbath (ii. 32-40, ix. 43 f.). It may be, too, as Fairweather suggests,¹ that vi. 49, 53 is intended to point out the disadvantages of the observance of the regulations of the Sabbatic Year in time of war.

The law
and its
ordinances.

Recognition
that these
must
sometimes
be adapted
to circum-
stances.

Sadducean
tendencies.

The Sadducean tendencies of the historian are illustrated by the following facts: He displays no belief in supernatural agencies; he has no eschatology; his views of the Sabbath law are more elastic than were permitted by the Pharisees; he views with enthusiasm the transference of the High Priesthood to the Hasmonean house (xiii. 41 f.); he holds the Messianic hope only in the vaguest form (iv. 46, xiv. 41); he never mentions the

¹ *I.J.A.*, Oct. 1907.

Divine Name, and his conception of God is so transcendent as to become almost deistic (ii. 21, iii. 50, iv. 10, xvi. 3). He presents the Chasidim (the forerunners of the Pharisees) in an unfavourable light, as first joining the national cause and then deserting it (ii. 42, vii. 13 f.); but as this is an unimpugned historical fact, the narration of it does not of itself necessarily augur any anti-Pharisaic bias on his part.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (xci.-civ.)

These chapters were written by a Pharisee at a time when his party was suffering severe persecution at the hands both of the Sadducees and the Court. They may belong to the later years of John Hyrcanus, who towards the end of his reign (135-105 B.C.) broke with the Pharisees. There are indications, however, which point to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus as the more probable date. The phrase 'the sinner will not withhold his hand from his honoured brother' (c. 2) is probably a reference to Aristobulus I, who slew his brother Antigonus (105 B.C.). The description of the bloody persecution of the Pharisees (ciii.) fits in better with the events of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.) than of John Hyrcanus. There was a violent breach between Alexander and the Pharisees in 96 B.C., and from then until the close of his reign, when, with the accession of Alexandra, the tide turned in their favour, they were ruthlessly persecuted both by the king and by the Sadducees (cf. ciii. 14 f.). It seems best, then, to date these chapters between 94-78 B.C.

Historical
references of
this section.

Righteous-
ness.

The Moral Ideal is conceived of in terms of uprightness and righteousness (xc. 4, xcii. 1, 2, xciii. 1, 10). 'Love righteousness and walk therein; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance, but the paths of unrighteousness are suddenly destroyed and vanish' (xciv. 1). 'But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and a holy life, and walk in the paths of peace, that ye may prosper' (xciv. 4). Opposed to the 'paths of righteousness' are 'the paths of violence and of death' (xc. 18 f., xciv. 2 f.). By righteousness is meant obedience to the law (xciii. 4), which is regarded as eternally valid (xcix. 2).

Righteous
Israel's
problem and
its solution
in the hope
of a future
life.

As in the sections of *Enoch* already dealt with, the problem of the suffering of the righteous is also present here. There is no reference to a personal Messiah, but the writer looks forward to the dawn of a Messianic age when even on this earth the righteous will be vindicated (xc. 12, xcvi. 1, *et passim*). But he finds the solution of the problem chiefly in the hope of a future life: 'I know this mystery, and have read it on the heavenly tables, . . . that manifold good shall be given you in recompense for your labours, and that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living' (ciii. 1-3). As for the wicked, 'Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol, and they will become wicked, and great will be their tribulation' (ciii. 7; cf. civ. 1 ff.).

The conflict
of the sects.

One of the main interests of this section arises from the light which it throws upon the conflicts between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. As in *The Psalms of Solomon*, the Pharisees are here called righteous and the Sadducees sinners (xc. 12

et passim). The former are 'children of heaven' (ci. 1), and the latter 'children of earth' (c. 6, cii. 3). The Sadducees are represented as being persecutors and oppressors of the righteous (xc. 12, xciv. 6, xcv. 7, xcvi. 8), even to the extent of robbery, torture, and bloodshed (ciii. 9-15). They 'fulminate irreversible anathemas,' requite evil to their neighbours, and are lying witnesses and unjust judges (xcv. 4-6). Their wealth enables them to appear outwardly righteous, but their hearts convict them of being sinners (xcvi. 4), for they work unrighteousness and deceit and blasphemy (xcvi. 7). They pursue pleasure and luxury (xcvi. 5 f., xcvi. 2), but their riches are unrighteously acquired (xcvii. 8-10), for they use false measures (xcix. 12), and sweat the poor. They are given over to superstition (xcix. 7-9), and hold that God is uninterested in the doings of men (xcviii. 6 f., civ. 7). They are apostates, who have forsworn the heritage of their fathers, and have perverted the law, making themselves that which they were not, by submitting to Greek influences and adopting Greek customs (xcix. 2, 14; cf. xciv. 5). According to civ. 10, the Sadducees had written books in defence of their perverted interpretation of the O.T., and their hellenistic doctrines, but unfortunately these writings have not survived, and we have to depend almost entirely upon Pharisaic literature for our knowledge of Sadduceeism.

As to the Pharisees, this section represents them as not lacking in hatred of their Sadducaic oppressors, and as looking forward to the time when they should be delivered into their hands. When

that time came, in the reign of Alexandra (79–70 B.C.), they seem to have meted out the measure that had been meted out to them. Three elements of Pharisaic teaching stand out prominently in these chapters—the belief that God is interested in human affairs (civ. 1), the doctrine of retribution in the hereafter (ciii.), and the demand for separatism. In regard to the last of these, it is forbidden to the righteous not merely to consort with the Gentiles, but even to associate with their Sadducaic fellow-countrymen (xci. 4, civ. 6).

Possible
Essenic
features.

Chapter cviii., which is an addition to this section, contains teaching of a decidedly ascetic character, and is regarded by many as Essenic in origin. Those humble souls who afflict their bodies are recompensed by God. They ‘loved God, and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the goods of the world, but gave over their bodies to torture, and who since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded their bodies as a breath that passeth away, and lived accordingly, and were much tried by the Lord, and their spirits were found pure, so that they should bless His name.’ This is not pure Jewish teaching, but is the outcome of the Greek dualism of body and soul. If it is not Essenic in origin, it certainly contains Essene elements.¹

THE SIMILITUDES OF ENOCH (xxxvii.–lxx.)

Righteous
Israel's
problem and
its solution.

This section was written by a Pharisee, who is perplexed because ‘the kings and the mighty and

¹ Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* II. viii. 2–13.

the exalted,' by which he means the later Macabean kings, and the Sadducees,¹ are permitted to oppress the righteous Pharisees (lxii. 9-11). The blood of the martyred Pharisees cries out to Heaven, and the angels of heaven join their supplications with those of the living (xlvii. 1 f.). He finds relief in two directions: first, in his conception of the origin of evil (xl. 7, liv. 6), and, second, in the belief in a pre-existent Messiah, who will come and establish a universal kingdom of righteousness (xlviii. 1 ff.), and execute judgement upon all (xlvi.).

The Moral Ideal is expressed by the general terms righteousness and uprightness (xxxix. 6, xlv. 6, xlvi. 3), the pursuit of which brings men into antagonism with the world. The righteous '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 they are saved in His name' (xlviii. 7). The last clause implies some comprehension of the fact that the moral life can only be lived in communion with the spiritual. Indeed, the writer definitely affirms that the works of the righteous are wrought 'in dependence on the Lord of Spirits,' and that he who denies the reality of the spiritual comes into moral condemnation (xxxviii. 2).

Antagonism
to the world,
and dependence
on the
spiritual.

The only mention of the law occurs in the Noachic section lx. (verse 6), but the use of the term right-

The law.

¹ Porter thinks that Augustus and Herod and other vassal kings under Rome are meant, and attributes it to the reign of Herod the Great (37-34 B.C.) as the most probable date (*Messages of the Apocryphical Writers*, pp. 318 ff.).

eous to denote the Pharisees makes it evident that the righteousness inculcated is Pharisaic. This, however, is a term of varying significance, and is not necessarily exclusive of all spiritual elements. It is true that salvation is by works: 'I saw how the actions of men are weighed upon the balance' (xli. 1); but this idea is not out of harmony with the conception of divine grace implied in salvation 'in His name.' We have not here the degraded and mechanical conception of the Talmud, according to which salvation depended on there being a balance of good deeds to a man's credit, when his righteous and unrighteous acts had been set over against one another as in a ledger account.

Works and
grace.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

Although God is the Lord of the whole earth (v. 17), He stands in a peculiar relationship to Israel. 'And now Thou art our God, and we are the people whom Thou hast loved; behold and have pity, O God of Israel, for we are Thine. . . . For Thou didst choose the seed of Abraham before all the nations, and didst set Thy name upon us, O Lord, and Thou wilt abide among us for ever. Of a truth Thou didst covenant with our fathers concerning us' (ix. 16-19; cf. viii. 37 f., xiv. 3, xviii. 2). The Moral Ideal is expressed in terms of the fear of God in understanding (ii. 37), in patience (ii. 40), and in innocency (iv. 26); of the love of God in truth (vi. 9, x. 4); of righteousness (i. 3, *et passim*); and of obedience to the law, which is a divine witness in the world (x. 5), and is de-

The
election of
Israel.

Morality as
expressed in
the law has
a religious
basis.

scribed as a 'yoke'¹ (vii. 8). 'Faithful is the Lord unto them that love Him in truth; even unto such as abide His chastening; who walk in the righteousness of His commandments, in the law according as He commanded us for our life' (xiv. 1).

There is present to the mind of the psalmist the same problem as we found in *Eth. En.*, and which later perplexed the writers of 4 *Ezra* and *Ap. Bar.*, but he does not deal with it with the same fullness, and certainly not with the same depth as 4 *Ezra*. Why does God punish Israel, which, despite its unrighteousness, has been more righteous than other nations? This perplexity is expressed in the opening words of psalm ii.: 'When the sinful man waxed proud, he cast down fenced walls with a battering-ram, and *Thou didst not prevent him.*' Relief is found in two directions. First, in the thought that Israel's adversities are for its chastening, and are therefore a token of the divine love. 'Thou wilt have pity for evermore on the house of Israel, and wilt not cast them off. And as for us, we are . . . beneath the rod of Thy chastening' (vii. 8). 'And Thy love is toward the seed of Abraham, even the sons of Israel; Thy chastening is upon us as upon a firstborn son, only begotten, to convert the soul that is obedient from simpleness and from sins of ignorance' (xviii. 4 f.). Second, in the hope

Israel's
problem and
its solution.

a. Disciplin-
ary value of
adversity.

b. Messianic
Hope.

¹ Cf. *Pirq. Ab.* iii. 8: "Whoso receives upon him the yoke of the law, they remove from him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care, and whoso breaks from him the yoke of the law, they lay upon him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care" (cf. also Matt. xi. 29).

of the coming of the Messiah, who shall rule by moral, not by physical force (xvii.).

Patience and
resignation.

This view of the problem of Israel's suffering determines the psalmist's conception of the righteous man, who, believing in the divine government of Israel, will cultivate patience and resignation. There is little doubt that by the 'righteous' in these psalms are meant the Pharisees, and it is interesting to note their characteristics, or, perhaps better, their ideals, as described by themselves.

The moral
life and
poverty.

Throughout these psalms the moral life is in the main associated with poverty. It is upon the needy (*οἱ πτωχοί*) that God has mercy (v. 2, x. 7, xv. 2, xviii. 3). This is doubtless partly due to the fact that the Sadducees were generally rich and the Pharisees poor,¹ but this does not wholly explain the connexion. The word *πτωχοί* is the LXX equivalent of the Hebrew עניים word (Ps. lxi. 33; Isa. lxi. 1), and אֲבִינִים (Ps. cix. 16; Isa. xiv. 30). These two terms seem 'to have been two of the more prominent and distinctive designations of a party in ancient Israel, which appears to have first begun to form itself during the period of the later pre-Exilic prophets, but which during the Exile, and subsequently, acquired a more marked and distinctive character—the party, viz., of the faithful and God-fearing Israelites, who held together and formed an *ecclesia in ecclesia*, as opposed to the worldly and indifferent, often also paganizing

¹ 'The Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich . . . but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side' (Jos., *Ant.* XIII. x. 2).

and persecuting, majority. The psalms, especially the psalms of "complaint," abound with allusions to the two opposed parties, the opposition between which seems to have been intensified in the post-Exilic period, till it culminated, in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the struggle between the nationalists and hellenizers.' ¹ The descendants of these two parties were the Pharisees and Sadducees. The 'needy' therefore designated those who, usually in humble circumstances, lived the spiritual life, and, in dependence on God, turned aside from material and secular ambitions. That the moral life is helped, if not by poverty, at any rate by *mediocres res*, is clearly taught. 'Blessed is the man whom God remembereth with a sufficiency convenient for him; if a man abound beyond measure he sinneth. Sufficient is a moderate provision with righteousness; and herein is the blessing of the Lord, that a man be satisfied in righteousness' ² (v. 18-20).

These righteous ones are thus characterized: They are humble (v. 14), quiet souls (xii. 6), and are 'as innocent lambs' (viii. 28); they justify God's judgements and look to Him in time of adversity; they guard the purity of their own households; they make atonement with trespass-offerings for unwitting sin, and discipline their souls with fasting (iii. 3-10); they think on God in their hearts, and find in the thought a protection

Ethics of
Pharisaism.

¹ Driver in Hastings's *D.B.* iv. 20.

² Cf. *Pirq. Ab.* iv. 3: 'Who is rich? He that is contented with his lot; for it is said, When thou eatest the labour of thine hands happy art thou, and it shall be well with thee.'

against the lusts of the flesh ; they follow the divine rule of life ; they are on their guard against sins of speech and passion ; they do not murmur or grow faint-hearted in times of affliction, but endeavour to cultivate ' good-will and cheerfulness ' (xvi. 6-12) ; they rejoice in praise (iii. 1, v. 1 *et passim*), and prayer (ii. 24, v. 7 *et passim*), and their prayers are efficacious in the overthrow of evil (ii. 24, 30) and in securing peace of soul (vi. 1-6) ; they understand the value of chastening discipline, and know that affliction sometimes saves them from falling into sin. ' He that prepareth his back for stripes shall be cleansed ; for the Lord is gracious unto such as patiently abide chastening ' (x. 1-4). ' When my soul slumbered and fell away from the Lord, then had I wellnigh slipped in the heaviness of sleep : . . . He pricked me as a man pricketh his horse, that I might watch unto Him. He that is my Saviour and helper at all times preserved me ' (xvi. 1-4).

Such are those whom the psalmist regards as realizing the Moral Ideal. The righteousness here described bears undoubtedly a marked Pharisaic cast. Emphasis is attached to works (ii. 38, ix. 7-9, xvii. 21), and especially to ceremonial observances (iii. 8-10), and the fulfilment of righteousness, i.e. obedience to the ordinances of the law (v. 20). ' Righteous acts,' by which are probably meant almsgiving and ceremonial observances, are stored up before God (ix. 6).¹ To disregard the ceremonial law is grievous sin (viii. 13). But when the elements have all been taken into

Ceremonial-
ism
tempered by
moral
inwardness.

¹ Cf. *Tests of Twelve Patriarchs*, Sl. En., 4 *Ezra*, Ap. Bar.

account, it must be recognized that there is a wide gulf between this Pharisaic righteousness and that of the Pharisees depicted in the Gospels. The *πρωχοί* of these psalms are far removed from the arrogant, self-complacent Pharisees who opposed Christ. There is in these psalms, with all their emphasis on ceremonialism, a spiritual inwardness which stands in striking contrast to the narrow politico-legalism which characterized the main trend of Pharisaism half a century later.¹

¹ It is interesting to contrast this picture of the Pharisees with that given in the Gospels of the Pharisees of Christ's day. The following are the charges which Christ brings against them: Their righteousness falls short of that which is necessary for admission into the kingdom of heaven (Matt. v. 20); they exalt tradition and the precepts of men above the commandments of God; they hold that a rash and dishonest vow absolves them from the obligations of filial piety; they offer a hypocritical worship of the lips to which their hearts do not respond (Matt. xv. 1-9, Mark vii. 6-13). His great philippic against them is found in Matt. xxiii. 1-33 (= Luke xi. 37-52), which, although in the former part is addressed to Pharisees, and in the latter to lawyers, is evidently a continuous discourse addressed against one and the same class—Scribes and Pharisees. He brings against them these accusations: They show presumption in arrogating to themselves the position of public teachers; they make severe moral demands on others which they do not make on themselves; they are guilty of display, self-assertion, self-advertisement, and lordliness; they are hypocrites, who will neither enter the kingdom of heaven themselves nor permit others to enter; they make proselytes only to involve them in moral degeneration; they are blind teachers; their oaths are mere quibbles, since they make false and petty distinctions as to the value of an oath; they exalt ritual above morality, and tolerate serious moral offences, while they look severely on lapses of ritual; they have completely externalized the law,

Moral
limitations.

Like the canonical psalms, these psalms show certain moral limitations in their attitude towards the unrighteous. A terrible imprecation is uttered against the men-pleasing Sadducees.

‘Let dishonour be his portion, O Lord, in Thy sight; let his going out be with groaning and his coming in with a curse; let his life be spent in pain, in poverty and want; let his sleep be in anguish and his awaking in perplexities. Let sleep be withdrawn from his eyelids in the night season; let him miscarry with dishonour in every work of his hands; let him enter his house empty-handed; and let his house lack everything where-with he can satisfy his desire. Let his old age be childless and solitary until the time of his being taken away. Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be torn in pieces by the beasts of the field, and the bones of transgressors lie dishonoured in the sight of the sun. Let ravens peck out the eyes of the men that work hypocrisy’ (iv. 16–22).

Cynicism.

There is a hint of the cynicism of Sirach¹ in laying stress on the outward appearance rather than the inward state of the heart; they are whited sepulchres, beautiful without, but full of corruption within; they are unsuspected sources of corruption; they pretend to reverence righteousness, but kill its servants; one generation slays the prophets, the next raises beautiful monuments to their memory. Christ closes His great indictment by calling them ‘serpents, offspring of vipers.’

We can only conclude that, by the time of Christ, the Pharisees had so degenerated that, morally, there was little to choose between the majority of them and the Sadducees, pilloried so mercilessly in these psalms and *The Assumption of Moses*. The older piety of Pharisaism was kept alive by the writers of *The Assumption of Moses* and *4 Ezra*,

¹ Cf. *Sir.* vi. 7 ff.

an incidental reference to the quality of human nature. 'The kindness of a man is toward his friend [to-day] and to-morrow, and if he should do it a second time without grudging, even so wouldst thou marvel' (v. 15).

These psalms throw a lurid light upon the ethics of Sadduceeism. Probably the description is not free from party bias, but it is noteworthy that it is borne out in most particulars by *The Assumption of Moses*.¹ The Sadducees as a class are referred to throughout as sinners (ἀμαρτωλοί). They are charged with secret abominations and with violating the laws of ceremonial purity (i. 7-9, ii. 3, viii. 8-14). They look upon life as a curse, and add sin to sin (iii. 11-13). They are profane men, who are zealous for righteousness in speech and outward appearance, and when sitting on the seat of judgement are severe,² and make haste to carry out the sentence; but in reality they are utterly shameless, being guilty of impurity and lies and all manner of wickedness (iv. 1-6). They are men-pleasers, who pervert the law to their own ends. They make subtle schemes to overthrow the domestic peace of the righteous, and further them by flattery and lying words. They persecute mercilessly (the Pharisees)³ for

Ethics of
Sadduceeism.

¹ Ch. vii.

² Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. x. 6) says the Pharisees 'are not apt to be severe in punishments,' but the Sadducees 'are very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews' (*Ant.* xx. ix. 1).

³ In the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (105-79 B.C.) the Sadducees were in the ascendant and persecuted the Pharisees. In the next reign, that of Alexandra (79-70 B.C.), the Pharisees

the satisfaction of their own wicked desires (iv. 10-15). 'They have made desolate with dishonour many men's homes, and scattered them in their lust; and remembered not God, nor feared God in all things; and provoked God to anger and vexed Him. That He should cut them off from the earth, because with craftiness they beguiled the souls of the innocent' (iv. 23-5). Finally, they have forsaken the theocratic ideals of the nation in favour of a temporal monarchy (xvii. 7).

THE BOOK OF JUDITH

This book is strongly Pharisaic in tone and tendency. The ideals to be realized, and unfaithfulness to which is punished, are those of Judaism (v. 17 ff., ix. 13). Israel is God's chosen nation (ix. 14, xvi. 17), and woe to the nations that rise up against it. The nearest approach in the book to the universal note is sounded in the prayer, 'Make every nation and tribe of Thine to know that Thou art God, the God of all power and might' (ix. 14). But there is no hint of the admission of the Gentiles on equal terms. It is desired that God may be made known to them, only that they may know 'that there is none other that protecteth the race of Israel but Thou'

Legalism
and parti-
cularism.†

gained the supremacy, and in their turn persecuted the Sadducees. On her death war broke out between Hyrcanus, the legitimate heir, and Aristobulus, his brother. The former had the support of the Pharisees, the latter of the Sadducees. At first Aristobulus was victorious, and it is his policy towards the Pharisees which is probably referred to in this psalm.

(ix. 14). One instance is recorded of the admission of a proselyte by circumcision (xiv. 10).¹

Great reverence is shown for the Temple and the priesthood (iv. 3, 6, v. 19, viii. 24, ix. 8). Importance is attached to the observance of Sabbaths and feast-days (x. 2), and to offerings and sacrifices (iv. 14, xvi. 18). A rigid view of the obligations of first-fruits is taken (xi. 13), not even famine being allowed to cancel it. Fasting is regarded as meritorious (iv. 13, viii. 6). Judith observed a continual fast during the days of her widowhood, 'save the eves of the Sabbaths, and the Sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts, and the joyful days of the house of Israel.' This differs from the teaching of the O.T., where certain regular fast-days are appointed in addition to any fasts voluntarily undertaken, viz. the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 29, 31), 'the fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth' (Zech. viii. 19). The writer is at pains to make clear that Judith violated none of the ceremonial laws of diet, for she provided her own food while in the camp of Holofernes (x. 5, xii. 2, 19); emphasis is laid, too, on ceremonial ablutions (xii. 7, xvi. 8).² This scrupulous regard for ceremonial purity stands in striking contrast with the deliberate pursuit of lying and deceit (xii. 1-4). The end is held to justify the means. Judith even prays that her deceit may be used as the weapon of divine chastisement of the enemies of Israel (ix. 10, 13). In the

Ceremonial-
ism.

The means
and the end.

¹ Cf. Exod. xii. 43-5, 48, 49.

² Lev. v. 2 f.; Num. xix. 11 ff.

very act of her deceit she protests the truth of her utterances (xi. 5). The moral standard is low, and an unfavourable light is cast by the book upon the moral (as distinct from ceremonial) standard of Pharisaism.¹ These tendencies, operating and developing, amply explain Christ's indictment of the Pharisees, about a century or so later.

Asceticism

There would seem to be an exaltation of chastity implied in the emphasis laid on Judith's continuance in the state of widowhood (ix. 4, xvi. 22).² The statement that Judith and her husband were of the same tribe and family (viii. 2) suggests kinship with *Tobit* in its exaltation of consanguineous marriage.

Indications
of a higher
view.

There are, however, one or two indications of a higher than a purely external view of morality. As in Proverbs, virtue and understanding are closely connected: 'From the beginning of thy days all the people have known thy understanding, because the disposition of thy heart is good' (viii. 29). Even sacrifices are of no avail apart from a religious motive.

In all sacrifice is little for a sweet savour,
And all the fat is very little for a whole burnt offering
to thee:

But he that feareth the Lord is great continually
(xvi. 16).

¹ It is true that 'the question of the morality of Judith's deed should not be discussed without reference to the existing state of war, and to such examples as Jael and Esther' (Porter in Hastings's *D.B.* ii. 824 a); but what is of importance for our subject is not the morality of Judith's action, but the fact that it is narrated with such evident approbation by a Pharisee in the first century B.C.

² Cf. Luke ii. 38 f.

This book is lacking in moral passion, and in the spirit of philanthropy. God is described as 'a God of the afflicted, . . . a helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the fallen, a saviour of them that are without hope' (ix. 11). But the reference is to Israel in its afflictions. There are no exhortations to works of love and mercy. Even Judith is not represented as a philanthropist. It is true she manumits her slave-girl (xvi. 23), but her wealth, apart from certain temple offerings (xvi. 24), is given to her kinsfolk (xvi. 24), and none of it to the poor.

But the book
lacks moral
passion.

B. ALEXANDRIAN

III. EZRA (1 *Esdras*)

This is an historical rather than an ethical treatise, and only incidentally throws a little light upon the moral ideas of its time. In the independent section (iii.-v. 6) truth is exalted as the mightiest power on earth. 'With her there is no accepting of persons or reward, but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unrighteous and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works. Neither in her judgement¹ is any unrighteousness, and she is the strength and the kingdom and the power and the majesty of all ages. . . . Great is truth, and strong above all things' (iv. 39-41).

The might
of truth.

There is also a tendency to exalt wisdom and understanding (iv. 59, v. 6, viii. 44, 47). The conception that dominates the writer, however, is that

¹ For the conception of Truth as judge cf. Plato, *Apol.* 39.

The law.

Particular-
ism.

of obedience to the Mosaic law as the way of realizing the Moral Ideal (v. 47-53, viii. 7, 24, ix. 39 ff.). He must have had some purpose in relating the exclusiveness of the returned exiles as illustrated by their refusal of the co-operation of the Samaritans in the rebuilding of the Temple (v. 68-73), and also by the crusade against mixed marriages (viii. 69-ix.). It is impossible to suppose that he viewed these events of the sixth and fifth centuries with anything but approval. Despite his manifest appreciation of the part played by the Persian kings in the deliverance of his people, and notwithstanding his (probable) Greek environment, which might have been expected to enlarge his outlook, he clings to the exclusive nationalism of Ezra and Nehemiah. He does not suggest that there was any unfitness in the wholesale repudiation of foreign wives and the children whom they had borne (viii. 93, ix. 36).

II. MACCABEES

The law,
its
ordinances
and
ceremonial
observances.

The moral interest of this book is centred in the law and its observances, which are regarded as 'the holy laws of God's ordaining' (vi. 23; cf. ii. 22, iii. 1 *et passim*). On several occasions miraculous interventions are said to have taken place on behalf of Israel and its religion (iii. 24-30, x. 29 f., xi. 6-8). In harmony with this is the importance attached to the observance of Jewish feasts (vi. 6, x. 8 *et passim*), sacrifices (x. 3), circumcision (vi. 10), and laws of diet (vi. 18, xi. 31). Great sanctity is attached to the Temple, which is world-renowned,

'great and holy' (ii. 22), and which kings delight to honour (iii. 2).

Unlike 1 *Macc.*, a very rigid view is taken of the Sabbath (vi. 6, viii. 26 ff., xii. 38).

The Sabbath.

A narrow national exclusiveness is advocated, and mingling with the Gentiles is discountenanced (xiv. 3, 38). Israel is God's people and portion (xiv. 15). Gentile nations are sometimes the instruments of God in chastening Israel (v. 17 f., vii. 18 f., 32), but He governs them on different principles from those with which He rules Israel (vi. 12 ff.). The introduction of Greek customs is severely reprobated, especially the establishment of a gymnasium¹ in Jerusalem itself (iv. 7 ff., xi. 24). It is a matter for surprise that this writer, who presumably lived in Alexandria, is so unbending in his attitude to Greek influences and customs.

Particularism.

The speech of Eleazer, one of the principal Scribes,² contains a fine statement of the ethics of martyrdom. Ordered to eat swine's flesh, the friendly officials of Antiochus 'privately besought him to bring flesh of his own providing, . . . to make as if he did eat of the flesh of the sacrifice.'³ But he strenuously refused to compromise his convictions. To do so would be to set a bad example to the young, to pollute his own soul, and to bring upon himself a divine chastisement which neither in life nor death could he escape (vi. 18-31). As the epitomizer

Ethics of martyrdom.

¹ Cf. *Jub.* iii. 31, vii. 20.

² It is interesting to contrast this presentation of the Scribes with that of the Gospels.

³ Cf. the practice of the *libellatici* in the early Church under the Decian persecution.

puts it, he welcomed 'death with renown, rather than life with pollution' (vi. 19). The Moral Ideal as conceived in this book is very narrow, but absolute devotion is instilled. Men must learn 'to die willingly and nobly a glorious death for the reverend and holy laws' (vi. 28).

Influence on
Church
ethics.

In one respect, however, this book influenced the development of Christian ethics. It teaches, or rather assumes, the efficacy of prayers for the dead (xii. 44), and lends support to the doctrine of the intercession of the saints (xv. 12-14).¹ The same atoning value is also ascribed to the martyrdom of the righteous (vii. 38).²

WISDOM (Part I, i.—ix. 17)

Wisdom.

The Moral Ideal is wisdom. It is conceived of both as transcendent and as immanent, progressively realizing itself in nature and in man. The writer comes very near to the hypostasis of wisdom. We must beware of interpreting poetical images too literally, but it is difficult to interpret the conception of wisdom as something in which a spirit dwells as being other than an approximation to hypostasis. Wisdom is the artificer of creation (vii. 22, viii. 4), and shares God's throne with Him (ix. 4).

For there is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy,
Only-begotten, manifold,
Subtle, freely-moving,

¹ The doctrine of the intercession of the saints is held by Philo (*de Exsecrat.* 9), and Josephus (*Ant.* i. xiii. 3).

² Cf. 4 *Macc.* xvii. 22.

Clear in utterance, unpolluted,
 Distinct, unharmed,
 Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,
 Beneficent, loving towards man,
 Stedfast, sure, free from care,
 All-powerful, all-surveying,
 And penetrating through all spirits,
 That are quick of understanding, pure, most subtle :
 For wisdom is more mobile than any motion ;
 Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason
 of her pureness,
 For she is a breath of the power of God,
 And a clear effulgence of the glory of the Almighty ;
 Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
 For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
 And an unspotted mirror of the working of God.
 And an image of His goodness.
 And she, being one, hath power to do all things ;
 And from generation to generation passing into holy
 souls,
 She maketh men friends of God and prophets.
 For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with
 wisdom.
 For she is fairer than the sun,
 And above all the constellations of the stars ;
 Being compared with light, she is found to be before it ;
 For to the light of the day succeedeth night,
 But against wisdom evil doth not prevail ;
 But she reacheth from one end of the world to the other
 with full strength,
 And ordereth all things graciously
 vii. 22—viii. 1 ; cf. i. 4-6, viii., ix.).

This conception has points of contact with
 Proverbs and *Sirach*, upon which a distinct advance
 is made in the teaching that wisdom was an active

Advance on
 Proverbs
 and *Sirach*.

agent in creation (vii. 22, viii. 4). Perhaps there is no real progress in the direction of hypostasis and the Philonic identification of wisdom and the Logos, but at any rate the idea is less vague, and is more clearly defined.

Plato.

The influence can also be traced of the Platonic doctrine of the *Noûs* and the Stoic conception of the World-soul. The starting-point of Plato's philosophy is the maxim of Anaxagoras—*Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα Νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησεν* (All things were mixed up; then Mind came and arranged them all in distinct order).¹ Plato teaches that *Noûs* has absolute power and mixes with nothing, and orders all things, and passes through all things.² It (with *σοφία*) is the attribute of the World-soul which orders the universe, and is the source of human souls and minds.³ The world is 'a living creature truly endowed with soul and intelligence by the providence of God.'⁴ In Anaxagoras the *Noûs* is an immaterial principle, but physically conditioned; it is 'in strictness only a mover of matter; in this function its entire virtue is almost quite exhausted.'⁵ In Plato, it is an attribute of Deity, immanent in the universe, but not hypostasized, or conceived of as having an existence apart from God. Of course, it must not be supposed that Plato had attained to the theistic conception of personality in the World-soul.

The Stoics.

This conception of the World-soul was developed

¹ Cf. *Phaedo*, 72 C., 97 C.; *Diog. L.* ii. 8.

² *Crat.* 413.

³ *Phileb.* 30.

⁴ *Tim.* 30.

⁵ Schweigler, *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 29.

by the Stoics. 'That the world is an animal, and that it is endued with reason and life and intellect, is affirmed by Chrysippus, . . . and that it is an animal in this sense, as being an essence endued with life and with sensation. . . . And it is endued with life, as is plain from the fact of our own soul being, as it were, a fragment broken off from it.'¹

In Philo the *Λόγος* is the mediator between God and man, 'neither being uncreate as God, nor yet create, as you.'² It is immanent in the creation; the intelligible world is nothing else than the Logos engaged in making a world.³ It is sometimes identified with wisdom, but at other times distinguished from it. The Logos is not a 'demi-urgus, creating, under orders, a universe which God Himself would not touch, but rather the effectual Divine thought.'⁴ It is difficult to decide whether Philo hypostasized the Logos, as his teaching is not self-consistent. The Logos is not Himself God, but rather an emanation from Him, only-begotten. It is true that He is described as a second God, but elsewhere it is stated that to apply the word absolutely to the Logos is a misapprehension of terms.⁵ Probably 'owing to the manifold relation in which Philo places the Logos—to divine power, ideas, angels, to the supersensual and to the visible world, to the thought, speech,

Philo;
Wisdom and
the Logos.

¹ *Diog. L.* vii. 142.

² *Quis rer. div. her.* 42.

³ Οὐδὲν ἄν ἕτερον εἴποι τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιούντος (*de Op. Mund.* 6).

⁴ Drummond, in Hastings's *D.B.*, Ex. vol., p. 206.

⁵ *De Som.* i. 39.

and creation of God, and again to the human spirit whose heavenly prototype He is—a perfectly clear and consistent conception of this mythical figure is rendered a virtual impossibility.’¹

Place of the
teaching of
this book.

The conception of wisdom in *The Book of Wisdom* comes between the Greek World-soul and the Philonic Logos. It is an attribute of a personal God, the Jewish Jahveh, and is poetically personified, but not personalized, as is the tendency in Philo.

Bearing of
this
discussion
on our
subject.

This discussion bears upon our subject both as showing the writer’s relation to Greek and Alexandrian thought and as defining the philosophical (or theological) basis of his ethics. The Moral Ideal is realized by the indwelling and energizing of wisdom in man. From generation to generation it passes into the souls of holy men, and makes them friends of God and prophets (vii. 27, cf. ix. 10). A spirit of wisdom is a treasure which is to be preferred to dignities, wealth, health, and beauty² (vii. 8–10; cf. ix. 6).

Universal-
ism.

Unlike *Baruch* iii. 9—iv. 4, this book teaches that wisdom is universally accessible, and is easily acquired by those who seek it. ‘Wisdom is a spirit that loveth man’ (i. 6). ‘Easily is she beheld of them that love her, and found of them that seek her. She forestalleth them that desire to know her, making herself first known. He that riseth up early to meet her shall find her sitting

¹ Lipsius, quoted by Fairweather, Hastings’s *D.B.*, Ex. vol., p. 283 b. The use of λόγος in *Wisd.* ix. 1 is simply an echo of Gen. i., and is therefore not anticipatory of Philo.

² Cf. *Phaedo*, 69; Matt. xiii. 45, 46.

at his gates. . . . She goeth about herself, seeking them that are worthy of her ' (vi. 12 ff.).

This exaltation of wisdom is on the lines of the Platonic identification of virtue and knowledge, and that of sin and folly in Proverbs. 'Crooked thoughts separate from God; and the supreme Power, when it is brought to the proof, putteth to confusion the foolish' (i. 3). 'A holy spirit of discipline . . . will start away from thoughts that are without understanding' (i. 5). To think on wisdom is perfectness of understanding (vi. 15). The world is saved by wise men (vi. 24). God loves only the wise (vii. 28). Against wisdom evil does not prevail (vii. 30).

Virtue and knowledge.

But the writer does not fall into the snare of intellectualism, for wisdom has a decided moral quality, as is evidenced by the importance attached to virtue (*ἀρετή*, iv. 1), by the passage 'Envy shall have no fellowship with wisdom' (vi. 23), and by the references to holiness, righteousness, and uprightness of soul (ix. 3). This is further seen in the method laid down for the cultivation of wisdom, and in the account of its beginnings.

Wisdom has a moral quality.

For her true beginning is desire of discipline (*παιδεία*),
And the care of discipline is love of her;
And love of her is observance of her laws (vi. 17).

It will not 'enter into a soul that deviseth evil, nor dwell in a body that is held in pledge by sin' (i. 4).

The Jewish law is not brought into the foreground, but is present in the background of the book. It is not definitely stated that wisdom is immanent

The law present in the background.

in the law ; indeed the word law, where it occurs, is without the definite article (ii. 12, vi. 4), but such phrases as 'Think ye of the Lord' (i. 1), 'the way of the Lord' (v. 7), are Jewish, and by the latter is probably meant obedience to the law. The powerful and ungodly apostate Jews, who oppress the Chasidim, are accused of lawlessness (iii. 16, iv. 20, v. 7), and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that by this is meant violation of the Jewish law. It is therefore legitimate to suppose that the author meant, by righteousness (i. 1, viii. 7), obedience to the divine commands as revealed in the law, but that he expressed the content of that idea in Greek form, perhaps to commend Judaism to Greek readers, but also to give to Jewish morality the support of Greek philosophy.

Cardinal
virtues.

The virtues are thus enumerated after the Platonic¹ and Stoic² method, the four cardinal virtues being named. 'For she teacheth soberness (*σωφροσύνη*) and understanding (*φρόνησις*), right-

¹ 'Is there not one true coin for which all things ought to be exchanged ?—and that is wisdom ; and only in exchange for this, and in company with this, is anything truly bought or sold, whether courage, or temperance, or justice. And is not all true virtue the companion of wisdom, no matter what fears or pleasures or other similar goods or evils may or may not attend her ? But the virtue which is made up of these goods, when they are severed from wisdom, and exchanged with one another, is a shadow of virtue only ; . . . but in the true exchange there is a purging away of all these things, and temperance, and justice, and courage, and wisdom herself, are the purgation of them' (*Phaedo*, 69, Jowett's translation).

² *Diog. L.*, vii. 92.

eousness (δικαιοσύνη), and courage (ἀνδρεία); and there is nothing in life for men more profitable than these ' (viii. 7).

The book contains a fervid polemic against the oppressors of the Chasidim, and vindicates the oppressed (ii.-v.). These highly placed persecutors of the pious seem to have been influenced by the Epicurean philosophy and to have subscribed to its tenets.

Polemic
against
Epicurean-
ism.

The similarity between *Wisd.* ii. and *Ecclesiastes* is so close that it seems certain that the writer deliberately set himself to controvert some of the positions taken up in that book, e.g.:

Wisdom ii. 1

For they said within themselves, reasoning not aright: Short and sorrowful is our life; and there is no healing when a man cometh to his end, and none was ever known that gave release from Hades.

Ecclesiastes ii. 23

For all his days are but sorrows, and his travail is grief.

Wisdom ii. 2, 3

Because by mere chance were we born, and hereafter we shall be as though we had never been: because the breath in our nostrils is smoke, and while our heart beateth reason is a spark, which, being extinguished, the body shall be turned into ashes, and the spirit shall be dispersed as thin air.

Ecclesiastes iii. 19, 20 |

For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath: and man hath no pre-eminence over beasts: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.

Ecclesiastes ix. 11

Time and chance happeneth
to them all.

Wisdom ii. 4

And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall remember our works ; and our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud, and shall be scattered as is a mist, when it is chased by the beams of the sun and overcome by the heat thereof.

Ecclesiastes i. 11

There is no remembrance of the former generations, neither shall there be any remembrance of the latter generations that are to come, among those that shall come after (cf. ii. 16, ix. 5).

Wisdom ii. 5

For our allotted time is the passing of a shadow, and our end retreateth not, because it is fast sealed and none turneth it back.

Ecclesiastes vi. 12

For who knoweth what is good for man in his life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow ? (cf. viii. 8)

Wisdom ii. 6

Come, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that now are ; and let us use the creation with all our soul as youth's possession.

Ecclesiastes ii. 24

There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and make his soul enjoy good in its labour.

Range of
attack
wider than
Ecclesiastes.

The range of his attack, however, is wider than *Ecclesiastes*, for he attributes to the apostate Jews thoughts that certainly find no countenance in that book. Contrast, e.g. :

Wisdom ii. 10

Let us oppress the righteous poor, &c.

Ecclesiastes v. 8

If thou seest the oppression of the poor . . . marvel not at the matter, for one higher than the high regardeth : and there be higher than they.

There is no trace in Ecclesiastes of the thoughts expressed in *Wisd.* ii. 12–20 as to the wicked lying in wait for the righteous, but they may be found in the Psalms (e.g. Ps. xxxvii. 10 ff.).

The passages iii. 13, 14, iv. 1 seem at first sight to inculcate an asceticism which disparages marriage. Such, however, is not their intention. Clearly, the thought which the writer is endeavouring to express is that the consequences of a man's sin manifest themselves in his children, and that it is better to be childless and virtuous than the father of many children who are wicked.

The assumption that asceticism is taught is baseless.

WISDOM (Part II, ix. 18–end)

Part II is more decidedly Judaistic in tone and tendency than Part I. Wisdom is referred to in x. 1–xi. 1, but as an attribute of God exercised providentially, not as a cosmic force, nor as a divine power immanent in man. The 'World-soul' is not wisdom, as in vii. 24, but the 'incorruptible Spirit' of God (xii. 1; cf. Ps. civ. 29 f.). Consequently the Moral Ideal is not expressed in terms of wisdom, but in those of righteousness and holiness: 'Thy strength is the beginning of righteousness' (xii. 16). 'To be acquainted with Thee is perfect righteousness' (xv. 3; cf. xvi. 23, xviii. 7 *et passim*). Idolaters are guilty of 'contempt for holiness' (xiv. 30).

This Part is more decidedly Judaistic.

Righteousness and holiness.

While unrighteousness is still regarded as 'folly' (xii. 23) the Greek identification of virtue and knowledge is considerably modified. The writer speaks scornfully of 'vaunts of understanding'

Modification of identification of virtue and knowledge.

(*φρόνησις*, xvii. 7). At first he is disposed to attach 'small blame' to idolaters, thinking they erred through ignorance, but second thoughts lead him to a different conclusion :

But, again, even they are not to be excused,
 For if they had power to know so much
 That they should be able to explore the course of things,
 How is it that they did not sooner find the Sovereign
 Lord of these His works ? ¹ (xiii. 6-9).

Stoic
 universalism
 and Jewish
 particular-
 ism.

Stoic universalism and Jewish particularism exist side by side in the writer's mind. All men are loved of God, and capable of realizing the Moral Ideal. 'Thou hast mercy on all men. . . . And Thou overlookest the sins of men that they may repent.' 'For Thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest none of the things that Thou didst make.' 'Thou sparest all things, because they are Thine, O Sovereign Lord, Thou lover of men's lives ; for Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things' (xi. 23—xii. 2). An important element in righteousness is, therefore, this spirit of universalism : 'The righteous must be a lover of men' (xii. 19). But side by side with this is Jewish particularism in a pronounced form, and the two ideas are reconciled by the conception of the special election of Israel. Israel is a holy people (x. 15, xii. 7), and even by confession of its enemies is God's son (xviii. 13). While righteousness is conceived of comprehensively as something for which the cosmic forces are fighting (xvi. 17), yet for practical purposes it is thought

¹ The Stoics taught that 'error, which is of the essence of vice, is so far voluntary, that it can be avoided if men choose to exercise their reason' (Sidgwick, *Hist. of Ethics*, p. 76).

of under Jewish forms and expressed in Jewish terms. Righteousness is identified with Jahvism, unrighteousness with idolatry. To be acquainted with Jahveh is perfect righteousness (xv. 3).

The Moral Ideal is realized in so far as the Mosaic law is obeyed (xvi. 6, xviii. 9); importance is attached to sacrifices (xviii. 9) and to the oaths and covenants made with the patriarchs (xii. 21, xviii. 22). But Israel's election was not an end in itself; it was only for the fulfilment of a wider purpose. Once more the universal note is sounded. Through Israel the Mosaic law was to become the instrument of universal righteousness, for through it 'the incorruptible light of the law was to be given to the race of men' (xviii. 4).

The law
and its
ordinances.

Election and
Universal-
ism.

It must not, however, be supposed, from the emphasis attached to the law, that the view of morality inculcated is purely external. The writer apprehends the secret processes that nourish the soul. He prays :

Inward
processes.

That Thy sons whom Thou lovest, O Lord, might learn
That it is not the growth of the earth's fruits that
nourisheth a man,¹

But that Thy word preserveth them that trust Thee
(xvi. 26).

There is in xvii. 11 some form of a belief in *Conscience*. 'For wickedness, condemned by a witness, is a coward thing, and, being pressed hard by conscience, always forecasteth ² the worst lot.' The text, however, is slightly corrupt.

Conscience.

¹ Cf. Deut. viii. 3; Luke xii. 15 b.

² Προειληφεν. This is the rendering of \aleph^{ca} . But Swete adopts the rendering προσειληφεν ('taketh to itself'), following B.

Summary

The quarrel
of the sects.

One of the most marked characteristics of this period, as we have seen, is the quarrel of the sects. The *Enoch* sections and *The Psalms of Solomon* bear witness to the unabated and untiring hostility that existed between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. It is unfortunate that no Sadducean literature has come down to us, so that we have to rely almost entirely upon the biased account of the dispute given in Pharisaic writings. If 1 *Macc.* is not definitely Sadducean, it is so in tendency, and up to a point it confirms the Pharisaic account of Sadducean doctrine. As opposed to the Pharisees, the Sadducees seem to have denied a spiritual conception of the world, the doctrine of retribution, and the Messianic hope. They took a laxer view of the obligations of the law, and refused allegiance to the oral tradition. They were less rigidly exclusive, and more open to acceptance of foreign ideas and conformity to foreign customs. If the story of Susanna has been rightly interpreted, the two sects differed from one another in their methods of judicial procedure. In the main the Sadducees were rich and the Pharisees poor. In theory, the aims and ideals of the Pharisees were spiritual and unworldly, despising the pomp of a temporal kingdom, while the Sadducees made the best of the present world. But in practice, as the literature of the period has shown us, the two sects strove for the mastery in the State, and in turn persecuted each other, and the spiritual ideals of the Pharisees were secularized and politicized.

The description of the Sadducees, given in the *Enoch* sections and in *The Psalms of Solomon*, if not exaggerated, shows them to have been unscrupulous pleasure-seekers and unqualified materialists, complete apostates from the national ideal. The picture of the Pharisees given in *The Psalms of Solomon* reveals them as scrupulous in their observance of all the ordinances of the law, though, at the same time, deeply spiritual; but, as in *En.* xci.-civ., the cloven hoof appears in the extreme vindictiveness displayed towards the Sadducees. A lower type of Pharisaism is brought to light in *Judith*. It is akin to *The Psalms of Solomon* in its emphasis of the importance of ceremonial ordinances, but it lacks the note of spiritual dependence characteristic of the latter, and moves on a much lower moral plane. No difficulty is experienced in conceiving of this variety of Pharisaism as the ancestor of that which showed such bitter hostility to Christ. Here, again, we have an illustration of the fact already noted, that Pharisaism was not a uniform and self-consistent school of thought, but contained within itself higher and lower strata.

The moral problem raised by the adversities of Israel has become more insistent during this century. Apart from the relief which is found in theories of the origin of moral evil, which will be discussed in the next chapter, light is sought in the view that Israel's adversities are for its chastening, in the hope of a future life, and, above all, in the anticipation of the Messianic age.

Israel's
problem.

Interest
transferred
from the
law to the
Messianic
hope.

This despair of any present salvation for Israel led to the transfer of ethical interest from the law to the Messianic hope. We are still some way from the recognition (as in 4 *Ezra*) that the law had reached the limit of its power as an instrument of ethical redemption, but we have arrived at the point at which it is felt that Israel's philosophy of history has broken down, and that loyalty to the law has not, as a matter of experience, secured either the vindication or the redemption of Israel. As a result, but without any conscious transfer of their allegiance, the righteous began to centre their hope in the coming Messianic age, rather than in the law. The theocratic ideal of a spiritual kingdom in which the Moral Ideal is realized by obedience to the law is gradually lost sight of, and its place is taken by an ethico-political kingdom, to be established by the sword under the leadership of a Messianic Prince. This conception appears in its most highly developed form in *The Similitudes of Enoch*. In *The Psalms of Solomon* the secularization is not complete; the hope of the temporal Messianic kingdom is present, but it is to be established not by physical force, but by the moral power of the Messiah. But even here confidence in the ultimate triumph of righteousness is not based on the progressive moral development of Israel, but on the subjugation of Israel's enemies by the Messiah. It will be seen that this politicization of the national ideal struck at the root of the moral life, by substituting, for a kingdom to be achieved by gradual moral progress, the expectation of a kingdom of righteousness to be

Process of
seculariza-
tion.

introduced more or less supernaturally and cataclysmically.

When we turn to the Alexandrian *Book of Wisdom* (Part I) we find ourselves in another world of thought. We move in an atmosphere which is far above that of the sects. The polemic against Epicureanism in Part I must have included the Sadducees in its scope, if the description of the latter in Pharisaic literature is true; but the writer's objective seems to be wider than this particular sect, and there is certainly nothing Pharisaic in the book. With a breadth of outlook that does not disdain to use the resources of Greek culture, the author unfolds the great principles of universal law, and shows how they may be realized in the life of fellowship with wisdom. In the background of his thought, it is true, is the Mosaic law, but it is regarded, not as a mere national deposit, but as the noblest embodiment of the universal principles of wisdom and righteousness. Part II brings moral conceptions into closer harmony with Jewish forms of thought and expression, and emphasizes the special election of Israel; but it is only to enforce the fact that Israel is called to be the agent of universal redemption.

Wider
outlook of
*The Book of
Wisdom.*

The two parts of *The Book of Wisdom*, too, reach a high level in their teaching that salvation is attained through fellowship with wisdom or with God. In neither part is there a trace of the doctrine of salvation by works. There can be no doubt that the main trend of the Palestinian literature of the period, in spite of a certain measure of spiritual enlightenment (e.g. *Simil. Enoch, Pss.*

Spiritual
fellowship
and works.

Sol.) is in the direction of salvation by the works of the law. The same teaching also pervades the Alexandrian 1 *Macc.*, which supports the doctrines of the efficacy of prayers for the dead, the intercession of the saints, and the atoning value of the martyrdom of the righteous. But *The Book of Wisdom* towers above all contemporary literature, both Palestinian and Alexandrian, in its grasp of the essential inwardness of the moral life, and its realization that moral progress is only attained through spiritual fellowship.

Narrowing
of the
horizon.

This period saw a further narrowing of the horizon of Israel and a development of the process of hedging it round. We look in vain in any of the literature for a broad catholic outlook, save in *The Book of Wisdom*. The Pharisaic Palestinian literature emphasizes the need for the observance of a rigid separatism, not only in regard to the Gentiles, but also the apostate Hellenizers, and especially the Sadducees. It is remarkable that in so cosmopolitan a centre as Alexandria, and in the colony which produced *The Book of Wisdom*, there seems to have been, during this century, a school which inculcated a no less narrow nationalism, as is seen in 1 *Macc.*, and also in 3 *Ezra* and *The Additions to Esther*, which probably belong to this period.

Alexandrian
nationalism.

III. THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

As the Jewish-Alexandrian books of this period all fall within the first half-century, it may be well to deal with them first.

A. ALEXANDRIAN

3 Maccabees, A.D. 1-10 (?)

4 Maccabees, A.D. 1-10 (?)

Slavonic Enoch, A.D. 1-50.

B. PALESTINIAN

Assumption of Moses, A.D. 7-30.

Martyrdom of Isaiah, A.D. 1-50.

Baruch (iii. 9-iv. 4), just before A.D. 70, or some time after.

Baruch (iv. 5-v. 9), after A.D. 70.

Sibylline Oracles (iv.), A.D. 80.

Apocalypse of Baruch, A.D. 50-100.

4 Ezra (2 Esdras), A.D. 81-96.

Apocalypse of Abraham, A.D. 90-100 (?)

A. ALEXANDRIAN

III. MACCABEES

As in 2 *Macc.*, righteousness is synonymous with the observance of the ordinances of Judaism. Israel is God's 'sanctified inheritance' (vi. 2; cf. ii. 10, vi. 13), which must at all costs cling to the law (i. 22, ii. 32, iii. 3). Gentile kings (it is implied) can do no more pious deed than to offer sacrifices in the Temple (i. 9). Jews who apostasize are viewed with scorn, being regarded as enemies and debarred 'from the common usages of social intercourse' (ii. 33); when the opportunity occurs fierce vengeance is taken upon them

The law
and its
ordinances.

Apostasy.

(vii. 10-16). Several miraculous interventions on behalf of Israel and the law are recorded (ii. 21 f., iv. 21, v. 26-8, vi. 18 ff.).

Particular-
ism and the
hostility it
evoked.

Although the Jews of Egypt seem to have lived in friendly relations with the Greeks (iii. 8 ff.), yet on the whole they maintained an attitude of rigid national exclusiveness. The Gentiles are described as 'overweening' (v. 13), and as 'abhorred and lawless' (vi. 9). It was inevitable that this proud isolation should be resented by so cosmopolitan a community as that of Alexandria, and it is interesting to note the criticism which the Jews' manner of life evoked. They are charged with exclusiveness 'with regard to their worship and meats,' and with being 'unsociable, and hostile to the king's interests, refusing to associate with him or his troops' (iii. 6 f.).

IV. MACCABEES

The life
according to
religious
reasoning.

The thesis which the writer sets out to prove is that religious reasoning (*ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός*) is absolute master of the passions (i. 1). The Moral Ideal is therefore the life according to reason. 'Reasoning is the leader of the virtues, but it is the sole ruler of the passions' (i. 30). God has enthroned above all the 'holy leader mind' (*νοῦς*, ii. 22), and 'it is impossible to overlook the leadership of reflection' (*διάνοια*, xiii. 4). This, of course, is on the lines of the Stoics, who taught that the chief good is 'doing none of those things which the common law of mankind is in the habit of forbidding, and that common law is identical with that right reason

which pervades everything, being the same with Jupiter, who is the regulator and chief manager of all things.’¹

Reasoning and wisdom are defined as follows :

Definitions
of reasoning
and wisdom.

‘Reasoning is intellect accompanied by a life of rectitude, putting foremost the consideration of wisdom’ (i. 15). The inclusion of ‘a life of rectitude’ guards against a barren intellectualism.

‘Wisdom is a knowledge of divine and human things and of their causes’ (i. 16). This is more akin to the Platonic conception of wisdom as ‘true thought,’² and, above all, the knowledge that ‘God is perfect righteousness, and he of us who is the most righteous is most like Him,’³ than the Stoic definition : ‘a knowledge of what is good, bad, and indifferent.’⁴

The Stoic classification of the cardinal virtues is followed. The forms (*ιδέαι*) of wisdom (*σοφία*) are prudence (*φρόνησις*), justice (*δικαιοσύνη*), courage (*ἀνδρεία*), and self-control (*σωφροσύνη*) (i. 18). Sometimes, when the writer has evidently the same classification in mind, he uses *ἀγαθός* (good) and *εὐσέβεια* (piety) interchangeably with *φρόνησις* (ii. 23, v. 24). Like the Stoics, too, he lays stress upon the virtue of high-mindedness (*μεγαλόψυχος*) (xv. 10). This was defined by the Stoics as ‘a knowledge of engendering a lofty habit, superior to all such accidents as happen to all men indifferently, whether they be good or bad.’⁵ It is just this life, lived according to reason, which makes

Cardinal
virtues.

High-
mindedness.

¹ *Diog. L.* vii. 88.

² *Theact.* 170.

³ *Ibid.* 176.

⁴ *Diog. L.* vii. 92. But the word defined is *φρόνησις*.

⁵ *Diog. L.* vii. 93.

a man master of his irrational nature, and independent of all outward circumstances, that is here exalted. Reflection gains the victory over both 'passions and troubles' ¹ (xiii. 4).

The moral nature is rational, the passions irrational, and can be regulated only by the religious reason.

The writer's psychology is very simple. Man has a twofold nature—his morals and his passions (ii. 21). The moral life consists in the dominance of the latter by the former, and this is achieved by the supremacy of reason. The analysis of the affections will be treated in another chapter ('Moral Evil'). It will suffice, for the present, to point out that the passions are regarded as irrational and the moral nature as rational. The main thesis is that the religious reason can regulate the passions, 'yet so as to withstand without destroying them' (i. 1, 6). 'Reasoning is not an eradicator, but an antagonist of the passions' (iii. 5). Some passions are capable of being 'transferred' (ii. 18), and of being 'purged, and bound round, and watered, and transplanted' (i. 29). This, as we shall see later, is not Stoicism, but there are other passages of a more definitely Stoic cast. Some passions are capable of being 'made null' (ii. 18), and the 'fires of vehement passion' may be quenched (iii. 17).

The teaching is a Stoicized Judaism.

But although the teaching is Stoicism, it is a Judaized Stoicism, or, better, a Stoicized Judaism. The lower nature is mastered, not by pure reasoning, but by religious (*εὐσεβής*) reasoning. In one list of the cardinal virtues (v. 24), *εὐσέβεια* (piety) is substituted for *φρόνησις* (prudence), and what is meant by the former is clear from the use of *θεοσέβεια*

¹ The Stoic term, *ἀταραξία* (freedom from perturbation), is used, viii. 25.

(reverence for God), in xvii. 15. The Stoics identified the right reason with the common law of mankind; this writer identifies it with the Mosaic law. The wisdom in which right reasoning consists 'is contained in the education of the law, by means of which we learn divine things reverently and human things profitably' (i. 15-17). The law, 'acting through reasoning' (ii. 9) is able to give a man perfect mastery over all his affections (ii. 8-14). It is only by Israel, to whom has been given the law, that the Moral Ideal can be adequately realized, 'for through all my torments I will convince you, that the children of Israel are alone unconquered in respect of virtue' (ix. 18).

The great purpose of the book is to stimulate faithfulness to the law, and to show that the Greek ideal of virtue can be realized only by Judaism. The writer's heroes are not the Maccabaeen patriots, to whom he makes no reference, but the martyrs of Maccabaeen times. His silence as to the former is a significant hint that he did not sympathize with the political ideals which expressed themselves in active resistance to Gentile powers, but that he preferred the Quietistic method of vindicating the law, by absolute and unswerving faithfulness to it, at whatever pain and cost. The emergence of political ideals had resulted in the secularization of Judaism. The best way to vindicate the law is to obey it, and not to compromise it, even by a pretence of conformity to demands that violate it (vi. 15). 'We should be disgracing our fathers if we did not obey the law' (ix. 2). The adoption of Greek customs had exercised a subverting in-

The Greek ideal of virtue can only be realized by Judaism.

Quietism and passive obedience.

fluence, and must be withstood (iv. 19 ff., xviii. 5). Israel must be loyal to the ordinances of its own law (v. 19), which are boldly defended as being in the highest sense rational (v. 22-6).

Faith.

Along with loyalty to the law, faith in God is enjoined. The mother of the seven brethren exhorts them to emulate the faith of the patriarchs: 'You, then, having the same faith toward God, be not troubled' (xvi. 16-22). The same mother, 'although beholding the destruction of seven children, stripped off her feelings through faith in God' (xv. 24; cf. xvii. 2). This faith, however, is rather trust in an external Providence than an inner dependence arising from an inward relationship. Faith is not a renewing and life-giving power, but confidence in the providential order.

Mingling of
Judaism and
philosophy.

The writer's tendency to mingle Judaism and philosophic conceptions is well illustrated by the passage, 'I will not belie thee, O law, my instructor, or forsake thee, O beloved self-control. I will not put thee to shame, O philosopher Reason, or deny thee, O honoured priesthood, and science of the law' (v. 34).

Doctrine of
vicarious
merit and
propitiation.

Unlike *The Assumption of Moses* (iv. 2-5), this book does not teach the vicarious efficacy of the merits of the patriarchs, but simply sets them up as examples of piety (ii. 2, 17-19, iii. 6 ff., xvi. 20-22). It does, however, teach the atoning value for sinners of the martyrdom of the righteous, and gives expression to thoughts which must have been present to the mind of Paul when he stated his doctrine of propitiation: 'So they became the atonement for the sins of the people, and the divine providence

saved Israel, aforetime afflicted, by the blood of those pious ones, and their propitiatory (ἱλαστηρίου) death ' ¹ (xvii. 22).

SLAVONIC ENOCH

The conception of the Moral End set forth in this book is mainly Jewish, but blended with it are certain Greek elements. As in *Sirach*, the moral life is realized in the fear of God and its implications. Moral and intellectual qualities may inhere in different men in different degrees, but 'let it be heard everywhere; there is no one greater than he who fears God' (xliii. 2 ff.). Enoch exhorts his sons: 'Turn not aside from God; . . . but may God make confident ² your hearts in the fear of Him' (ii. 2 f.; lxvi. 1). This involves the preservation of the soul from all unrighteousness (lxi. 1, lxvi. 1), continual service before God's face (xlii. 6), and a life in keeping with God's will (xxxv. 1) and in obedience to His commandments (xxxvi. 1)—in short, a 'blameless' life (ix). So far the teaching is Jewish, but there are not absent some traces of the Alexandrian wisdom teaching. Wisdom is hypostasized, and is regarded as the agent in creation, as the Logos of Philo. It is looked upon as 'a concrete figure by the side of God' ³ (xxx. 8, xxxiii. 3, 4, xlviii. 4). This is of importance to Ethics, inasmuch as this Wisdom became immanent in Adam (xxx. 12). The moral

Blending of
Jewish and
Greek ideas.

¹ Cf. Rom. iii. 25.

² Cf. Prov. xiv. 26.

³ Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 396 f.

life is one of wisdom, for 'those who are wise, let them fear God' (xlvi. 7). Thus the Greek and Jewish conceptions are reconciled.

Stoicism.

A point of contact with Stoic thought is found in the teaching that virtue must be pursued 'not for the sake of recompense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing¹ in return' (xlii. 7). This is an echo of the Stoic doctrine that virtue is its own reward.

Practical duties.

The book abounds in practical moral precepts. The control of the tongue is enjoined, as in *Sirach* (lii. 1-6, 13 f., lx. 5). Great stress is laid upon the duty of engaging in works of love, mercy, and justice. Just judgements must be executed from pure motives (xlii. 7); silver must not be buried in the ground (li. 2), but everything possible must be done to minister to the hungry, the naked, the fallen, the outcast, the orphan, the widow, the injured, the oppressed, and the stranger (ix., xlii. 8 f., xliv. 4, l. 5, li. 1 f.). Truth, love, tenderness (xlii. 12 f.), patience, and meekness (l. 2) are inculcated. It is good to engage in the exercise of worship (li. 4). He who establishes peace² and love is blessed³ (lii. 11). Endurance must be cultivated in the face of affliction, and no spirit of vengeance must be harboured against those

¹ Cleanthes taught that 'one ought to seek out virtue for its own sake, without being influenced by fear or hope or by any external influence' (*Diog. L.* vii. 89); cf. Luke vi. 34 f.

² Cf. Matt. v. 9.

³ There is a sequence of nine beatitudes in xlii. 6-14, and seven in lii.; but, as Charles says, they are 'colourless,' especially when compared with Matt. v. 1-12.

who do us injury. 'Every evil word and attack, endure for the sake of the Lord. And when you might have vengeance, do not repay either your neighbour or your enemy. For God will repay as your avenger¹ in the day of great judgement. Let it not be for you to take vengeance' (l. 3 f.). This world is 'vain' (xlii. 10) and a place of 'sickness' (lxvi. 6). 'Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in humility, in spite of calumny and insult; in faith and truth: in the promises, and sickness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in deprivation, loving one another, till ye depart from this world of sickness. Then ye shall be heirs of eternity' (lxvi. 6).

Non-retaliation.

The test of character is conduct, for 'by their works those who have wrought them are known'² (xlii. 14).

Character and conduct.

The writer dislikes the use of oaths (xlix. 1 f.),³ as does his contemporary, Philo.⁴ This passage and those in Philo show, as stated by Charles, that the sentiment underlying Matt. v. 34 f. was a commonplace among the Jews.

Oaths.

The dignity of manual labour is asserted: 'Blessed is he who looks to raise his own hand for labour.'⁵ Cursed is he who looks to make use of another man's labour' (lii. 7 f.). The rights of the lower

Manual labour.

The lower animals.

¹ Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35 (LXX); Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30; T. Gad vi. 7.

² Cf. Matt. vii. 16, 20.

³ Cf. Matt. v. 34 f.; Jas. v. 12.

⁴ *De Special. Leg.* ii. 1; *De Decem Orac.* 17 (quoted by Charles, p. 65 of edn. of *Slav. En.*).

⁵ *Sir.* vii. 15, xxxviii. 34; Eph. iv. 28.

animals are recognized, indeed their souls are to survive in a future state, at any rate long enough for them to bring their indictment against man. 'Every soul of beast shall bring a charge against man if he feed them badly' (lviii. 6). 'If any one does an injury to an animal secretly, it is an evil custom, and he sins against his soul' (lix. 5).

Sacrifices
must be
offered.

The offering of sacrifices is enjoined (xlii. 6). 'He who hastens and brings his offerings before the face of the Lord, then the Lord will hasten the accomplishment of his work, and will execute a just judgement for him. He who increases his lamp before the face of the Lord, the Lord increases greatly his treasure in the heavenly kingdom'¹ (xlv. 1 f.; lix. 1-4).

But with a
pure heart.

But sacrifices avail nothing unless the heart and life be pure. 'God does not require bread, nor a light, nor an animal, nor any other sacrifice, for it is as nothing. But God requires a pure heart, and by means of all this He tries the heart of man' (xlv. 3, 4)—a passage which does not, of course, condemn sacrifices, but which, because of its connexion with the previous verses, inculcates the need of a pure motive in sacrificing (cf. also xlv. 1 f.). To offer to God that which has been wrongfully obtained,² even though with a good

¹ Cf. 'treasure in heaven' (Matt. vi. 20). There is an interesting parallel to this idea in Buddhist literature:

'Let the wise man do righteousness:
A treasure that others share not;
Where no thief can steal;
A treasure which passeth not away.'

Buddhist and Christian Gospels, ed. M. Anesaki, p. 83.

² Cf. *Sir.* xxxiv. 20.

motive, or to offer what is one's own with a grudging heart, is to sacrifice without avail (lxi. 4 f.).

The belief in the efficacy of the intercession of the saints,¹ which by this time was very widely held, is condemned (liii. 1); but gifts presented to the Lord have an atoning efficacy, if offered in the right spirit (lxii. 1).

Condemna-
tion of belief
in the
intercession
of the saints.

B. PALESTINIAN

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

This book, though Pharisaic, sounds a more spiritual and less legalistic note than most of the Pharisaic books. It breathes the spirit of the O.T. rather than that of the later legalism. Like other apocalyptic books, it teaches that Israel is God's chosen people (iv. 2), and that the world was made for Israel (i. 12). But it is noteworthy that the Moral Ideal is defined not so much in terms of the law as in those of the Covenant. The moral life demands the fulfilment, on Israel's side, of the conditions of the Covenant made between God and it. The Covenant presupposes, on the divine side, love and grace, and the expression of the demands of the moral life in terms of such a covenant saves the writer from the narrowness and arid legalism characteristic of the majority of his fellow-Pharisees. This covenant-relationship demands the pursuit of 'the truth of God' (v. 4), 'the fulfilment of the commandments' (xii. 10), and the living of a life 'blameless unto God'

The
Covenant
and its
pre-
suppositions.

¹ 2 *Macc.* xv. 12-14.

(i. 10). To compromise with hellenistic customs, and to seek to hellenize Judaism, as did the Sadocean Jason and Menelaus, was seriously to violate the Covenant (v. 3 ff.).

The sense of
demerit.

It is in harmony with the non-legalistic spirit of the writer that he does not teach the doctrine of the merit of works. He does not always seem to be consistent, for there is one passage that implies the absence of the sense of demerit. The transgressions of Israel are frankly confessed (ii. 7 ff.), and yet Taxo (Eleazar) is made to say, 'For observe and know that neither did [our] fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commandments. And ye know that this is our strength' ¹ (ix. 4 f.). It may be that the reference is only to Judah, since its adversities are attributed not to its own sins but to those of the ten tribes (iii.); or it may be, as Charles suggests, that the writer is thinking of the faithful remnant. But the nation's election is not due to any righteousness of its own. Moses is made to say, 'For not for any virtue or strength of mine, but in His compassion and long-suffering was He pleased to call me. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations' (xii. 8 f.). The covenant relation is based on divine grace, not on human merit; but there is no countenance of the antinomian spirit: 'Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God will increase and be prospered; but those who sin and set at nought the commandments will be without the blessings before mentioned,

¹ Cf. Pss. vii., xviii., ci.

and they will be punished with many torments by the nations' (xii. 10 f.).

The writer has a quiet confidence in the sufficiency Quietism. of the spiritual ideals of Judaism, and he is strongly opposed to their secularization by identification with political hopes and aspirations. The hope of a Messianic Warrior-Prince, who should deliver his people, is absent, and the ideal society to come is to be a Theocratic, not a Messianic, kingdom (x.). He makes no reference to the patriotic rising of the Maccabees, and that in spite of the fact that he was well acquainted with 1 and 2 *Macc.*; and it is evident from ch. vi. that he has a distinct prejudice against the Hasmonean dynasty. He relates with approval the story of the non-resistance practised by certain of the Chasids (1 *Macc.* ii. 29-38) and by Eleazar (2 *Macc.* vi. 18-vii.) during the persecution of Antiochus: 'Let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of lords, the God of our fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord' (ix.). The writer evidently intends to indicate the policy to be pursued by his nation in the face of the persecutions of Rome. As against the Zealots, who preached armed rebellion, he inculcates the practice of a quiet piety and trust in God, leaving to Him the avenging. The book is thus a protest against the secularization of the religious ideals of the nation, and the growing tendency to look for redemption through political agencies. The writer stands for the old Chasidism, or Pharisaism, which had held aloof from the political aspirations of the people, against the newer

Pharisaism, which blended the traditional belief in the law with a more or less political form of the Messianic hope.

Sadducean
Ethics.

An interesting light is thrown on the Sadducean Ethics, if, as Charles suggests, the people referred to in ch. vii. are identified with the Sadducees between A.D. 15 and 70: 'Scornful and impious men will rule, saying that they are just. And these will conceal the wrath of their minds, being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs, and lovers of banquets at every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands. . . . Devourers of the goods of the poor, saying that they do so on the ground of their justice, but [in reality] to destroy them; complainers, deceitful, concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset; saying, "We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, yea, we shall drink our fill, we shall be as princes." And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet their mouth will speak great things, and they will say furthermore, "Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me in the place where I stand" ' ¹ (vii.). If this picture

¹ This description of the Sadducees has little in common with that given by Christ. He accuses them of ignorance of the Scriptures, and of the power of God (Matt. xxii. 29). They are mentioned once or twice in alliance with the Pharisees, and Christ rebukes both parties because they read the signs of the weather better than the signs of the times—i.e. because they lack moral insight (Matt. xvi. 1-4). He bids the disciples beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, His intention being to warn them against the corrupting influence of their teaching (Matt. xvi. 6-12). The parallel passage (Mark

of unadulterated Epicureanism be true, it is a significant illustration of the effect of the Sadducean theology, which dispensed with the sanctions of a future life, upon its ethics.

Moral value is attached to the intercessory prayers of the saints (xii. 6). This doctrine is denied in *Sl. En.* (liii. 1), but is supported by 2 *Macc.* and Philo. The efficacy for sinners of the merits of the righteous is also taught¹ (iii. 9, iv. 2-5).

Intercession
of the
saints and
vicarious
merit.

Note.—As illustrating the value of the study of apocalyptic literature for N.T. Ethics, it may be suggested that this book throws light upon the difficult words *μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ* ('Resist not him that is evil,' R.V. Matt. v. 39).

In the passage Matt. v. 39-42 there are two clauses which do not occur in the parallel Luke vi. 29-31 :

(a) 'Resist not him that is evil' (v. 39).

(b) 'Whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile,' &c. (v. 41).

It is suggested by some commentators that (b) refers to the exactions of the Roman power. Is it not possible that (a) also refers to Rome?

1. *The Assumption of Moses* inculcates, as we have seen (against the Zealots), non-resistance to Rome, and a quiet waiting on God for deliverance (ix.). Thus the old Chasid view had not died out in the

viii. 15) reads: 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod.'

¹ Porter points out (Hastings's *D.B.* iii. 233) that this doctrine is implied in Exod. xxxii. 11-14; Deut. ix. 25-9; Ps. cv.; and other O.T. passages. It is combated in Jer. xv. 1; Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.

time of Christ, but was affirmed, and given fresh currency by the writer of *The Assumption of Moses* (and also, as we have seen, 4 *Macc.*). Is it not possible that Christ, who had a Zealot among His disciples, and who foresaw that the tendency of events was making the destruction of Jerusalem inevitable, was inculcating the same view?

2. Is ὁ πονηρός ever used to designate the Roman power? ¹ The following usages are significant:—

The Romans are called θηρία πονηρά (evil beasts) in *Pss. Sol.* xiii. 3.

Pompey (according to Ryle and James) is called ὁ ἁμαρτωλός (the sinner) in *Pss. Sol.* ii. 1.

The difficulty is removed by this interpretation, for μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ is then simply an exhortation to the Jews to endure patiently the Roman oppression, and not to look for a temporal Messianic deliverer—an exhortation which was in harmony with Christ's declaration that His kingdom was not of this world. This would explain the inclusion of the passage by Matthew, who wrote for Jews, and its exclusion by Luke, who wrote for Gentiles. The teaching of non-retaliation remains in a more intelligible form in Matt. v. 39b, 40, 43, 44 = Luke vi. 27–9.

¹ There is an instance of a similar usage in the O.T. in Hab. iii. 13, where רְשָׁעִים (wicked, LXX ἀνόμων) is used to denote the enemies of Israel. 'Evil is here spoken of as if concentrated in a single personality, *the wicked one*—an expression which seems to include both the Chaldean and every other God-denying power to the end of time' (Ottley, *The Hebrew Prophets*, p. 51). This, of course, applies only to the Hebrew, the plural form being used in the LXX.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

The Moral Ideal is not unfolded in this writing. It is summed up in the phrase 'the service of the God of his [i.e. Manasseh's] father,' but its content is not made clear, except that its opposite is 'the service of Satan and his angels and his powers' (ii. 2).

BARUCH (iii. 9—iv. 4)

This passage is of the school of *Sirach*; it is a song in praise of wisdom. Figurative language is used. Wisdom is not so much an attribute of God as something independently co-existent with Him. 'He that knoweth all things knoweth her; He found her out with His understanding' (iii. 32). 'Afterward did she appear upon earth, and was conversant with men' (iii. 37). But though this language is so akin to the Johannine, there is no real hypostasis, for the conception of incarnation is foreign to *Baruch*, as indeed to all the wisdom writers. 'The personification is thinner and more pallid than in *Sirach*. . . . The language is little more than a metaphorical expression of the idea that God has the wisdom which is above human reach.' ¹

Wisdom.

The moral life consists in the pursuit of wisdom: 'Give ear to understand wisdom. . . . Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding' (iii. 9, 14). What wisdom is has been revealed in the law, which endures for ever, and

Wisdom
immanent in
the law.

¹ Adeney in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 97.

which has been given to Israel, the beloved of God. The Moral Ideal is realized by obedience to its commandments. Israel is exhorted to 'take hold of it : walk towards her, shining in the presence of the light thereof.'¹ The nation must beware of giving its glory to another, and of letting the things that are 'profitable'² to it pass away to a strange nation, by which, it has been suggested,³ the Gentile Christians are intended (iii. 36-iv. 4).

Particular-
ism.

Unlike *The Book of Wisdom*, this writer sounds a particularistic note. Wisdom is not universally or easily accessible, but only to Israel (iii. 15-36).

BARUCH (iv. 5—v. 9)

This section was written for the encouragement of the Jews scattered by the destruction of Jerusalem. It displays an unabated faith in the law.

The Moral Ideal is realized in obedience to the law of God, and His statutes and commandments, and in treading 'the paths of discipline in His righteousness' (iv. 12 f.). Israel is exhorted to endure patiently its afflictions, for deliverance is nigh at hand (iv. 25).

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (bk. iv.)

Israel is called 'the nation of the pious,' and the eruption of Vesuvius is described as a divine

¹ Cf. Rom. ii. 19 : 'And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them that are in darkness.'

² Cf. Rom. iii. 1 : 'What advantage then hath the Jew ? or what is the profit of circumcision ? Much every way.'

³ Kneucken, quoted by Marshall, Hastings's *D.B.* i. 253.

punishment of Rome for its destruction of the Temple and slaughter of the Jews (iv. 130-36).

The Moral Ideal is realized by—

As many as shall love the mighty God,
Offering Him praise before they drink and eat;
Trusting in piety.

Righteous-
ness one
with the
worship of
Jehovah and
observance
of the
ordinances
of Judaism.

And they will look

To the great glory of one God (iv. 24-30).

Their life will be such that evil men will not imitate it, but rather will mock at them, and charge to their account the evil deeds which they do themselves (iv. 35-40). The Sibyl has a great horror of idolatry (iv. 5 ff.), and of sacrifices offered to pagan deities (iv. 2 ff.), and this, together with the exhortation to proselyte baptism as a condition and token of repentance (iv. 165),¹ indicates clearly that the righteousness inculcated is Judaistic.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

This writing is strongly Pharisaic in tone, as may be seen from the emphasis placed on the Law (iii. 6 *et passim*), fasting (v. 7 *et passim*), sacrifices (xxxv. 4, lxiv. 2), holy vessels (lxvi. 2), festivals and Sabbaths (lxi. 5, lxvi. 4, lxxxiv. 8), and circumcision (lxvi. 5). Israel is a chosen nation: 'For this is the nation whom Thou hast chosen, and these are the people to whom Thou findest not

Pharisaic
righteous-
ness and
separatism

¹ 'Wash your whole body in perennial streams.' Terry (in loc.) says this is a reference to Christian baptism, but it would seem more probable that it refers to proselyte baptism.

equal' (xlviii. 20). From of old God loved Israel, and never hated it, but above all educated it (lxxviii. 3). As for the Gentiles, 'it were tedious to tell how they always wrought impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness' (lxii. 7), and the rigid separatism of the legalistic Israel is counted to it for righteousness. There is a suggestion of Pharisaic self-righteousness in the confident assumption of pseudo-Baruch throughout as to the security of his own spiritual destiny (xiii. 3, xxv. 1, xliii. 1)—a disposition which is in marked contrast to that of ps.-Ezra.

Proverbs, --
Sirach, and
Wisdom.

This book has points of contact with Proverbs, *Sirach*, and *Wisdom* in its teaching of the moral value of the fear of God, of wisdom, and of understanding. The fear of God is rooted in understanding (xv. 5). 'Thy wisdom is right guidance' (xxxviii. 2). The righteous 'have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, and with them are found stores of understanding' (xliv. 14; cf. xlvi. 5, xlviii. 24, li. 3 f., li. 7).

Israel's
problem.

The problem of the book is similar to that of 4 *Ezra*. 'If Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered?' (iii. 5; cf. v. 1). 'What have they profited who confessed before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations; and have not said to the dead "Give us life," but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? And lo! they have been carried off, nor on that account hast Thou had mercy on Zion' (xiv. 5 f.). The world was made for man (xiv. 18) and more particularly

for Israel, but 'it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart' (xiv. 19).

In seeking to find an answer to the problem this writer does not display the same depth as ps.-Ezra. His answer is that of the orthodox Pharisaism of his day, and there is no suggestion that he feels its insufficiency. He does not take as serious a view of the power of moral evil as ps.-Ezra. If the latter goes to one extreme in his doctrine of the *cor malignum*, ps.-Bar. moves to the opposite extreme in his teaching that every man is 'the Adam of his own soul.' Consequently there is here no appreciation of the inadequacy of the law, or of the impotence of the will in the face of its demands. One of the problems that perplexes ps.-Ezra most of all, that of the small number of the ultimately saved, is non-existent for ps.-Baruch. 'And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous' (xxi. 11).

It is treated superficially.

He finds the answer to the problem that he raises in three directions. First, Israel is scattered among the Gentiles 'that they may do good to the Gentiles' (i. 4). Second, Israel's adversities have come upon it for its sin, and will last only for a time (i. 5, iv. 1, xiii. 9, lxxviii. 6). Third, the times are coming when God will vindicate Israel.

Solution.

In regard to the third point, there is a divergence of view in the different strata of the book. Certain passages are optimistic in tone, and depict a coming reign of righteousness upon earth under the rule of the Messiah, when Israel shall be triumphantly vindicated, and its oppressors punished. Afterwards will follow the final judgement (xxvii.-xxxi.,

Divergent teaching as to the Messianic hope in different sections.

xxxvi.-xl., liii.-lxxiv.). But there are other passages which are absolutely pessimistic, so far as the future of the present world is concerned. 'Ye husbandmen, sow not again, and thou earth, wherefore givest thou the sweets of thy sustenance? keep within thee the fruits of thy produce. And thou vine, why further dost thou give thy wine? for an offering will not again be made therefrom in Zion, nor will first-fruits again be offered,' &c. (x. 9 ff.). The world is hastening to judgement: 'For, behold, the days come, and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasures in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered' (xxiv. 1 ff.; cf. xxv., xxx. 2-5, xlii., xlv. 8-15, xlviii. 27-41, li., lii., lxxxiii., lxxxv.).

Interest
transferred
from the
Messianic
hope back
to the law
after A.D. 70.

It is significant that those passages which lack the Messianic hope lay most stress upon the law and its ultimate vindication. These passages were written after the overthrow of Jerusalem, and, with the destruction of the Messianic hope, these Pharisaic writers fall back upon the ancient trust in the law. In the Messianic passages (written before A.D. 70) there are but few references to the law, e.g. 'Thy law is life' (xxxviii. 2). The unwritten law was observed by Abraham and his sons (lvii. 2). In the days of Moses 'the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness' (lix. 2). Those who do not love the law justly perish (liv. 14). Righteousness is by the law (lxvii. 6).

In those passages written after A.D. 70, which

cherish the hope of a Messianic kingdom, but do not mention the Messiah, the following references occur. To Israel God gave 'a law beyond all peoples' (lxxvii. 3), for disobedience to which He sent the nation into captivity (lxxvii. 4). If Israel will not forget God's law, it will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7; cf. 3). There will never be wanting 'a son of the law to the race of Jacob' (xlvi. 4). 'Shepherds, and lamps, and fountains came [to us] from the law: and though we depart, yet the law abideth. If therefore ye have respect to the law, and are intent upon wisdom, a lamp will not be wanting, and a shepherd will not fail, and a fountain will not dry up' (lxxvii. 15 f.).

But it is the non-Messianic passages which speak with most reverence for the law and most confidence as to its ultimate vindication. The acceptance of the law is necessary for an understanding of the principles of divine judgement (xv. 5). The law is a 'lamp' for Israel (xvii. 4), and a 'yoke'¹ (xli. 3). The law will protect in the last day those who have brought forth its fruits (xxxii. 1). The observers of the law will be vindicated in the final judgement (xliv. 14). Israel cannot fall so long as it is faithful to the law (xlvi. 22, 24). The law 'exact its rights' (xlvi. 27), and requites the unrighteous in the day of judgement (xlvi. 47). The law is the hope of the righteous (li. 7), and by it are men justified (li. 3). In its distress Israel has nothing 'save the Mighty One and His law' (lxxxv. 3). 'There is one law by one, one age, and an end of all who are in it' (lxxxv. 14).

¹ Cf. *Pss. Sol.* vii.

Salvation by
works.

In harmony with this view of the law is the belief that men are justified by the works of the law. The righteous face death without fear, 'because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries' (xiv. 12). Justification is in the law (li. 3), and salvation is by works (li. 7). When Hezekiah prayed for deliverance from Sennacherib, he 'trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness' (lxiii. 3-5). There are also indications of the Pharisaic doctrine of vicarious righteousness. The Pharisees found it difficult to conceive of a free forgiveness, and thought of God as demanding an equivalent from some one else when forgiving the sinner. The works of the righteous are a protection to those among whom they dwell (ii. 2). Ps.-Baruch complains that it was due to Zion that the works of those who were righteous should have been efficacious to save it in spite of the transgressions of its members (xiv. 7). Forgiveness must be sought, not on the simple ground of personal penitence, but on the plea of 'the rectitude of your fathers' (lxxxiv. 10); and intercessory prayers are efficacious in so far as those who offer them are able to plead the merit of their own works (lxxxv. 2).

Vicarious
merit.

The book
represents
the
standpoint
of orthodox
Pharisaism.

This book therefore represents the orthodox Pharisaic standpoint. The Moral Ideal is realized in obedience to the law. There is no suggestion of the insufficiency of the law to meet the deepest moral needs. Faith is a conception foreign to the book. The will is quite able to fulfil the demands made upon it. A doctrine of *merit*, personal and vicarious, is held and taught.

IV. EZRA (2 *Esdras*)

There are many indications that this book emanated from the circles of Pharisaism. It displays a great reverence for the Temple and its services (x. 19 f.), for oblations (iii. 24), and for fasting (vi. 31, ix. 24). Israel has been chosen from 'among all the multitudes of peoples' (v. 27), and God has made a covenant with it (iii. 14 f.). It was for Israel's sake that the world was made (vi. 55), and God has 'brought it up' and 'nurtured it' and 'corrected it.' As for the other nations, they are 'nothing' (vi. 56). The law is a divine gift to Israel (iii. 19 f., ix. 31 f.), and ps.-Ezra rejoices that, even though the great mass of men perish because of their sins, yet the law is vindicated: 'The law perisheth not, but remaineth in its honour' (ix. 37). So far the outlook is typically Pharisaic, but a closer examination reveals the fact that the writer is dissatisfied with and deviates from the orthodox tenets of his sect. At several points he approaches the Pauline position, and it would seem that there was a leaven at work among the devout Pharisees making them dissatisfied with a rigid legalism, and preparing the way for Christianity. If this be true it is probable that Christianity found Paul not altogether unprepared for it.

Pharisaic
features.

Deviation
from
Pharisaic
orthodoxy,
and
approach to
Pauline
position.

It had been customary to account for the misfortunes of Israel by its unfaithfulness to the law, but this writer raises the question why it is that the Gentiles lord it over Israel, when the iniquities of the former are even worse than those of the

Israel's
problem.

latter. 'Are the deeds of Babylon better than those of Sion?' (iii. 28 f.). Why is it that 'they which did gainsay Thy promises have trodden them down that believed Thy covenants' (v. 29). Thus at the outset he realizes that he cannot find a solution of moral problems in the law alone. He finds the law to be in a sense burdensome, for to it is to be attributed the recognition of sin, 'for we that have received the law shall perish by sin'¹ (ix. 36); it has failed to deliver men from condemnation, for even of Israel few will be saved (viii. 41, ix. 15). He expresses dissatisfaction with the usual answer of legalism, that the issues of right and wrong have been clearly set forth in the law, and that therefore destruction is the just consequence of sin, for he sees that thus very few will be saved (vii. 127-40). He boldly appeals to the mercy of God against the condemnation of the law: 'O Lord, Thy righteousness and Thy goodness shall be declared, if Thou be merciful unto them that have no store of good works' (viii. 32-6). Ps.-Ezra's doctrine of the divine forgiveness shows a marked advance on Pharisaism in the direction of Christianity. Although good works are 'stored up' (vii. 77, viii. 33), the doctrine of merit is not taught, neither is that of the vicarious merits and intercession of the saints (vii. 102). Man is justified (i.e. pronounced just) not, it is true, on the mere ground of faith, but neither on the ground of works, but of works and faith (ix. 7, xiii. 23).

Another point to be noted is the absence of the Pharisaic spirit of self-righteousness. In *The Apoc.*

Inadequacy
of the law.

Appeal to
the divine
grace.

Justification
by faith and
works.

Sense of
demerit.

¹ Cf. Rom. iii. 20 b.

of *Baruch*, Baruch complacently assumes throughout that he will be among the redeemed, but ps.—Ezra is told that he has brought himself very near unto the unrighteous, ‘yet in this shalt thou be admirable before the Most High ; in that thou hast humbled thyself, as it becometh thee, and hast not judged thyself worthy to be among the righteous, so as to be much glorified’¹ (viii. 47 ff.)

It is in this spirit, and in this attitude to the law, that the writer sets himself to consider the problems with which the book is concerned. These problems, though they are of deep religious interest, are essentially moral in their character. More correctly, perhaps, the problem is one, viewed under a twofold aspect—that of the sin and suffering of Israel, and of the world.

1. THE PROBLEM OF ISRAEL.—Ps.—Ezra thus expresses the difficulty that perplexes him : ‘And I said in mine heart, Are their deeds any better that inhabit Babylon ? and hath she therefore dominion over Sion ? . . . Are the deeds of Babylon better than those of Sion ? Or is there any nation that knoweth Thee beside Israel ? Or what tribes have so believed Thy covenants as these tribes of Jacob ? And yet their reward appeareth not, and their labour hath no finish. . . . Weigh thou therefore our iniquities now in the balance, and theirs also that dwell in the world ; and so shall it be found which way the scale inclineth. Or when was it that they which dwell upon the earth have not sinned in Thy sight ? or what nation hath so kept

Why does
righteous
Israel
suffer ?

¹ Cf. Paul’s description of himself as the chief of sinners (1 Tim. i. 15.).

Thy commandments? Thou shalt find that men who may be reckoned by name have kept Thy precepts; but nations Thou shalt not find' (iii. 28-36; cf. v. 20-30, vi. 57-9). The problem cannot fail to recall that of the book of Job, but there the writer is concerned with the individual, not with the nation. The difficulty lies very heavily upon ps.-Ezra's spirit; so much so that he thinks it were better never to have been born than to 'live in the midst of ungodliness, and suffer, and not know wherefore' (iv. 12; cf. v. 35).

The answers to which he is able to fight his way are given in the form of visions, vouchsafed him by an angel. He does not formally develop his argument, but it is clear that he finds refuge in the following thoughts:

(a) God's ways are not our ways.

(a) *The Unsearchability of the Ways of God.*—Man cannot solve all the problems of even the material universe; how, then, can he hope to understand the mysteries of the world of incorruptible things? (iv. 7-11; cf. v. 35 f.).

(b) Human intelligence is finite.

(b) *The Limitations of Human Intelligence.*—The Angel tells ps.-Ezra that the intellect must keep to its own sphere. He replies that he does not wish to solve heavenly problems, but earthly, and is told that there are other and deeper issues which can only be interpreted in the light of the end (iv. 13-25).

(c) Evil must run its course.

(c) *It is the Predestined Order of the World that Evil must run its Course.*—Evil must run its course and come to full fruition, and then will come 'the threshing time of the righteous'¹ (iv. 27—v. 13).

¹ See parable of Wheat and Tares (Matt. xiii. 24 ff.).

The process cannot be hastened any more than can that of human gestation (v. 45-9); but the opinion is expressed that it is nearing its end. The writer's outlook is intensely pessimistic. The world is getting old, for moral deterioration has set in, and the moral stature of each succeeding generation is less than that of its predecessor (v. 51-5).

(d) *The Vision is seen of Divine Judgement followed by a New World.*—After various signs and tokens there will come a time of 'inquisition,' in which the power of Rome will be overthrown, and the supremacy of Israel established in righteousness (vi. 7-10, xi., xii.), bringing in a new age. 'Evil shall be blotted out, and deceit shall be quenched, and faith shall flourish, and corruption shall be overcome, and the truth which hath been so long without fruit shall be declared' (vi. 27 f.).

(d) Judge-
ment.

(e) *The Messianic Hope.*—The agent in this divine inquisition, and the Creator of the new age, will be the Messiah, God's Son (xi. 36-46, xii. 31-3, xiii.).

(e) The
Messianic
hope.

2. THE PROBLEM OF HUMANITY.—Section vi. 35-ix. 25 raises the larger problem of the moral future of the race in view of moral evil. Ps.-Ezra asks the old question, 'If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess for an inheritance our world?' But the answer of the Angel takes wider issues into account. The world to come is wide and spacious, but the entrance to it is narrow,¹ and is set between fire and water (vii. 1-13). Ps.-Ezra should therefore turn his attention to the future, rather than to the present (vii. 15 f.). But he answers that the law teaches that the inheritance

The
problem of
the race.

¹ Cf. Matt. vii. 13; Luke xiii. 24.

of the world to come is only for the righteous, and when he looks out on the world he finds that all are unrighteous, because of the evil heart. The Angel's answer is that moral issues have been set clearly before all born into the world, but that nevertheless they have been disobedient and therefore merit punishment, but comforts ps.-Ezra with the vision of the Messianic age when 'judgement shall remain, truth shall stand, and faith shall wax strong; and the work shall follow, and the reward shall be shared, and good deeds shall awake, and wicked deeds shall not sleep' (vii. 17-44).

Return to
the problem
of Israel.

Ps.-Ezra gives up the problem of the race, and reverts to that of Israel (vii. 46). How is it that 'the world to come shall bring delights to few, but torments to many?' (vii. 47). The Angel replies that the few are precious, and the many worthless (vii. 49-61); but ps.-Ezra's answer is that surely then it were better that men had never been created (vii. 62-9), or, at any rate, that Adam had been restrained from sinning (vii. 116-26). 'For what profit is it unto us, if there be promised us an immortal time, whereas we have done the deeds that bring death?' He is dissatisfied with the reiterated reply of the Angel, that man has known from the beginning the conditions of the battle, that good and evil have been plainly set before him, that God has been long-suffering, and that therefore the inexorable doom of the unrighteous is just (vii. 70-74, 127-31; cf. viii. 56-63). From this answer of legalism he appeals confidently to the mercy of God, who 'multiplieth more and more means to them that are present, and that are past, and also to them

which are to come.' He appeals to Him to judge Israel, not according to the wickedness of those who have been unfaithful to the law, but according to those 'that have always put their trust in Thy glory' (vii. 132-40, viii. 20-36). The Angel still maintains that few will be saved, but reminds ps.-Ezra of his human limitations, and that, great as his love for his fellow men may be, he cannot love them more than God. He admits that God's purpose in creation has partially failed. 'The Most High willed not that men should come to nought; but they which He created have themselves defiled the name of Him that made them, and were unthankful unto Him that prepared life for them' (viii. 37-63).

Thus, to sum up, ps.-Ezra conceives that the Moral Ideal is realized in obedience to the law. His loyalty to the law never wavers. He will face even the ultimate destruction of the many, if the law be but ultimately vindicated. But he is perplexed by two difficulties. In the first place, with the facts of Israel's national history before him, he cannot believe that obedience to the law brings present reward. In the second place, he cannot see how the law is to be the instrument of the redemption of even Israel, without taking into account the Gentile nations. For, owing to man's evil heart, the law has been transgressed, and, if they are to be judged by the standard of the law, very few men will be saved. In the face of these perplexities he cultivates a spirit of resignation, bearing in mind the limitations of human intelligence, and the unsearchability of the predestined ways of God. He

Summary
of the
argument.

refuses to surrender his faith in the law, but believes that the just shall live by faith no less than by works, and that judgement will be with mercy. Meanwhile he is comforted by the Messianic hope and the vision of a new world.

Ps.-Ezra
and Paul.

It will be seen that this teaching approaches very nearly to that of Paul, and that it would tend to create the attitude of mind which would make the acceptance of Christianity easy. Once the weakness of the law has been recognized, it is but one step forward to the Pauline position: 'For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and as an offering for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit' (Rom. viii. 3 f.).

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

The first part (i.-viii.) describes Abraham's discovery of the emptiness of idolatry,¹ and his consequent devotion to the service of Jahveh. The second part (ix.-end), describes how Abraham saw in a vision the course of world-history, and more particularly the destiny of Israel, which was to be God's chosen nation (xx., xxii.). Like *The Apoc. of Baruch* and *4 Ezra*, this book raises questions as to the moral government of the world. Abraham asks why God permits moral evil, and is told that the answer is found in man's free will (xxiii.). He asks when the redemption of Israel will come, and

Problem of
moral
government
of the
world.

¹ Cf. *Jub.* xii.

is told that history is moving through a predetermined course to the Messianic age (xxviii., xxix.).

Importance is attached to fasting (ix.) and to 'sacrifices and gifts of righteousness and truth' (xxix.).

Summary

The literature of this period is of special interest as being contemporary with the life of Christ, and the writing of the N.T. It must be said that it reveals the presence of nobler currents of thought in Judaism than the study of the Gospels would lead us to suspect. It further shows how the ground was being prepared for Christianity, and enables us to understand the lines along which Paul's thought must have travelled until he was constrained to accept the gospel.

Special
interest of
this period.

The quarrel of the sects is not obtruded so prominently upon our notice in this century. A picture of the Sadducees is given in *The Assumption of Moses*, which harmonizes with those in *Eth. En.* xci.-civ. and *The Psalms of Solomon*. As to Pharisaism, we can trace three different schools, or tendencies:

1. *Pharisaic Quietism*.—This school is represented by 4 *Macc.* and *The Assumption of Moses*. There are marked differences between the two books. The former uses the forms and expressions of Greek philosophy, the latter is purely Palestinian, and there is present in it a depth of spirituality and a moral inwardness which the other lacks. But both agree in their opposition to the politico-legalism which had led so many to centre their hopes in the coming of a kingdom of a temporal rather than a

Different
tenden-
cies in
Pharisaism.

spiritual character. Both inculcate the doctrine of a quiet endurance of affliction, as against resistance by physical force. The writer of 4 *Macc.* pins his faith to the law and its power to vindicate the righteous, that of the *Assumption* is quietly confident that the spiritual ideals of the law and the Covenant are sufficient for the moral demands of Israel. There was, therefore, at the beginning of the first century, both in Palestine and Alexandria, a school of thought which harked back to the early and more spiritual ideals of the Chasids, whose ideals were theocratic rather than Messianic, and who were strenuously opposed to the secularization of the moral and religious hopes of the people. The Quietists were not deeply concerned with the moral problem of Israel's adversities: it was enough for them to endure in patient trust. But the other two schools of Pharisaism were not able to dispose of the problem so easily.

2. *Orthodox Pharisaism.*—The chief representative of this class is *The Apoc. of Baruch*, although *The Sibylline Oracles* (iv.) and *The Apoc. of Abraham* represent substantially the same position. Ps.-Baruch, as we have seen, raises the problem of Israel's adversities, but his treatment of the question is superficial. His standpoint is that of orthodox Pharisaism. Israel is being afflicted for its sins, but redemption lies ready to hand in the law and the works of the law, and in due course deliverance will come from without in the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom. There is no suggestion of the inadequacy of the law, because of the impotence of the will in the face of its demands. As we have

seen, in the sections written after the destruction of Jerusalem the Messianic hope grows less pronounced, and a return is made with unabated confidence to the law as the instrument of redemption.

3. *The Type represented by 4 Ezra.*—Ps.-Ezra feels very deeply the problem of the adversities of the righteous, and refuses to be satisfied with the orthodox solutions of his day. He reverences the law, but fails to see how it can be the instrument of moral redemption, since very few are able to keep it. His position is precisely that of Paul. 'The things I would I do not, the things I would not those I do.' Although, at the end of his discussion, he protests anew his reverence for the law and his hope of deliverance in the coming of a Messiah and the establishment of a Messianic kingdom, it is not thus in reality that he finds his way out of the *impasse*, but by invoking his faith and casting himself upon the mercy of God. The Pharisaism which had reached this point was 'not far from the kingdom.' Ps.-Ezra must have been typical of many others in Judaism whose thoughts were travelling along the same path.

No one can fail to observe the contrast between the Pharisaism of this apocalyptic literature (especially *Ass. of Moses* and *4 Ezra*) and that which is pilloried in the Gospels. Must we conclude that there is a fundamental inconsistency between them? Not by any means. Christ's denunciations were directed against the mechanical system of Pharisaism which exalted ritual, legalism, and external authority, and against the men in whom this system had crushed out the essential elements of moral and

Contrast
between
Pharisaism
of this
literature
and that of
the Gospels.

spiritual life. History affords many illustrations of those who have risen above the system of which they formed a part, and have kept the sacred fire burning, even in days of deepest degradation. The fifteenth century was a degenerate period in the history of the Church. Near its beginning John Hus thus described the Church: 'All ye that pass by, stop and see if any sorrow is like My sorrow. I cry aloud in rags; my priests are clothed in scarlet. I agonize with bloody sweat; they delight in luxurious baths. I pass the night, spit upon and mocked; they in feasts and drunkenness.'¹ A darker picture could hardly be drawn, and yet a few years later the immortal *Imitation of Christ* was given to the world. Thomas à Kempis was a child of his own age, and accepted implicitly the mediaeval system of religion. Indulgences, adoration of the saints, transubstantiation, masses for the dead, auricular confession, penance, and unquestioning obedience to authority—all were part of his faith. Nevertheless, while loyal to this mechanical system, he rose above it, and wrote a book of transcendent spirituality. It was so with these Pharisaic writers. While they were steadfastly loyal to the ordinances of Judaism, and practised the separatism of Pharisaism, they were raised above the narrow bigots of the Temple and the market-place by their moral depth and earnestness. Although loyal to the Pharisaic system, their spirituality enabled them to rise superior to it.

Particular-
ism.

This century shows no mitigation in the particularism of Judaism. As may be seen from 3 and 4

¹ Quoted by Workman: *The Age of Hus*, p. 131.

Macc., there was still a school at Alexandria which inculcated a narrow nationalism. The writer of 4 *Macc.*, although he uses Greek philosophical forms, is in reality anti-hellenist, his purpose being to show that the Greek ideal of virtue can only be realized in Judaism. He has not the universal outlook of *The Book of Wisdom*; his interest is solely in Israel. Of the Palestinian literature, *The Apoc. of Baruch* teaches that Israel is scattered for the good of the Gentiles, and 4 *Ezra* takes a passing glance at the moral problem of the race; but the main trend of thought is particularistic throughout.

A distinct advance is registered in the conceptions of faith and grace. The doctrine of salvation by works is still taught. The rationality of the ceremonial system of Judaism is defended in 4 *Macc.*, which also teaches the atoning efficacy of the death of the righteous. The belief in the value of the intercession of the saints present in 2 *Macc.* is not held in 4 *Macc.* and is condemned by *Sl. Enoch*. The Alexandrian writing which displays the truest moral inwardness is *Sl. Enoch*, which teaches that the observance of ordinances must be accompanied by purity of heart, but does not rise to the conception of grace and forgiveness.

Faith, grace,
and works.

The Palestinian literature, with two exceptions, teaches the orthodox doctrine of works, but these exceptions are very notable. *The Assumption of Moses* breaks away from the conception of a covenant relation based on the merits of the patriarchs, and regards it as being grounded in the divine grace. Ps.-Ezra, although he never wavers in his loyalty to the works of the law, and persists in

regarding them as a factor in salvation, is nevertheless unable to find in this belief a complete solution of his difficulties. He is driven to the conclusion that the just shall live by faith, no less than by works, and casts himself upon the divine grace. Thus in the most ethical and spiritual circles of Judaism, the inadequacy of the external method of salvation was being realized, and the need of a gospel of faith and grace was being felt.

CHAPTER III

MORAL EVIL

To Israel moral evil always consisted in disobedience to the will of Jahveh, as expressed in the Covenant and the law. As has already been indicated, the interest of the Jew was practical rather than metaphysical, but, in the case of this particular problem, he pursued his inquiries not only into the nature but into the origin of moral evil. As a result there was in Judaism, by the time the N.T. was written, a well-developed theory of the constitution of human nature, and a doctrine of a fall and original sin, explanatory of universal sinfulness. But these doctrines, although they had their starting-point in the O.T., were not fully developed until the period of apocryphal and apocalyptic literature.

Speculation
as to the
origin of
evil.

The starting-point of speculation as to the origin of moral evil was the Jahvist narrative in Gen. iii., which describes the physical evils which came upon the race as a result of the transgression of its first parents. This is not the place to draw out the implications of the narrative, but, in view of our study, it is important to notice what it does not teach. It is not said in Genesis itself that the race fell in Adam, or that as a consequence of his sin his descendants inherited corruption and guilt; and

Gen. iii.

Gen. vi. the serpent who appears as tempter is not connected with Satan or with any demonic agency. The same writer (J) gives expression to the thought out of which was afterwards developed the rabbinic doctrine of the *yezers* (to be discussed below), that in man's nature are implanted evil impulses (Gen. vi. 5, viii. 21), but nowhere does he connect their presence with the transgression of Adam. The legend referred to in Gen. vi. 2 of the spread of depravity through sexual union between the 'sons of God' (later known as 'The Watchers') and the 'daughters of men' before the Flood played an important part in later Jewish thought, but its influence cannot be traced in any of the O.T. writings.

Later O.T. writings. That which was stated in Gen. vi. 5 as to the universal inheritance of sin found fuller expression in the later writings of the O.T., where both the universality and the inherence of moral evil in the heart are affirmed (e.g. Job iv. 17, Prov. xx. 9, Ps. li. 5, Jer. xvii. 9). Doubtless at first moral evil was regarded chiefly from the legal and ceremonial standpoint, but in the prophets of the eighth century we find its distinctly ethical aspects being emphasized, and thence onwards they were never wholly lost sight of. At first it was viewed more from the standpoint of the nation than of the individual, as was to be expected from the prevailing idea of the solidarity of Israel; but later, in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the individual emerges and the sense of individual as well as of national sin is confessed. The older view was not at once superseded, nor indeed did it ever wholly give way to the newer; but gradually the later conception gathered force, until it took its

The individual and the nation.

place in the national consciousness side by side with the earlier.

But what strikes the student of the O.T. as most remarkable is that the O.T. conception of sin is never brought into relation with Gen. iii. by the O.T. writers themselves (except perhaps Ezek. xxviii. 13). This narrative does not seem to have exercised any influence at all over Jewish thought until after the Exile. The great developments in the doctrine of the origin of moral evil took place in post-Exilic days, perhaps partly under the influence of Persian demonology. These are reflected partly in the apocryphal, but especially in the apocalyptic literature, in some of which moral evil finds its explanation in transgressions and conflicts in a spiritual sphere, whence the spirits of truth and deceit contend for the hearts of men.

O.T.
conception
of moral
evil, not
brought into
relation with
Gen. iii.

Post-Exilic
develop-
ments.

The adoption of the Priestly Code gave a new impetus to the legislative and ceremonial view of moral evil, but the more ethical outlook of the prophets was never lost, and found noble expression in such books as *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *Wisdom*.

Influence of
Priestly
Code.

I. THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

SIRACH

The writer is under no delusions as to the seriousness of moral evil. It bites and slays the souls of men. 'All iniquity is as a two-edged sword; its stroke hath no healing' (xxi. 1-3). It waits for

Moral evil
and folly.

the workers of iniquity as a lion lies in wait for its prey (xxvii. 10). As in Proverbs, wickedness is identified with folly, and the wicked man with the fool. The subtilty of the wicked man is in reality folly, and must be distinguished from the wisdom of the godly (xix. 22-5, xx. 13-23, xxi. 14-26, xxii. 7-15, xxvii. 11-13).

The Fall the historical starting-point of moral evil.

This book is of great importance because of the light which it throws upon the Jewish view of the problem of evil in the second century B.C. There is a reference to the Genesis story of the Fall in xxv. 24, where the LXX reads 'From a woman was the beginning (*ἀρχή*) of sin; because of her we all die' (xxv. 24). But *ἀρχή* may mean either beginning or cause, and the statement might therefore be interpreted in either an historical or a causal sense. In the Hebrew, however, the word used signifies 'beginning,' so that it is not to be inferred that a woman was the cause of sin, but only that the historical starting-point of moral evil was in her transgression.

The Fall and physical death.

The teaching seems to be divergent as to the relation of death to moral evil. Some passages rather imply that man was not created immortal. 'The Lord created man of the earth, and turned him back unto it again. He gave them days by number, and a set time' (xvii. 1 f.). 'All things that are of the earth, turn to the the earth again' (xl. 11). But these references are ambiguous, and must not be built upon with too great certainty. There are other verses which connect death with the entry of moral evil into the world. Probably xiv. 17 b ('For the covenant from the beginning is,

thou shalt die the death') does not refer to the pre-ordination of man to death, but to Gen. ii. 17, with its threat of death for the disobedience of our first parents. A causal connexion is unambiguously established in xxv. 24, 'Because of her we all die.' In xl. 9 f. death and all other evils are said to have been created, not indeed for Adam and Eve in particular, but for the wicked generally. The teaching of *Sirach* marks the first appearance in literature of the theory which connects the subjection of the whole race to the law of death with the moral evil of the first parents.¹ His position seems to be that the 'Fall was the *cause* of death, but only the *beginning* of sin.'²

This conclusion is borne out by his teaching on the *yezer*.³ This doctrine occupied a prominent place in the systems of the Rabbis. In the O.T. the word *yezer* had come to mean man's nature or disposition. This was looked upon by the Rabbis as mainly evil on the basis of Gen. vi. 5, 'Every *yezer* of the thoughts of his heart was only evil every day,' and Gen. viii. 21, 'The *yezer* of the

Doctrine of
the *yezers*.

¹ It is assumed here that the true interpretation of Gen. ii., iii. is that man was created subject to death, and that, at the most, moral evil only hastened it. 'This seems to be the view underlying Gen. ii., iii., though many take it to be conditional immortality. But such an interpretation is difficult in the face of Gen. iii. 19' (Charles, *Apoc. of Baruch*, p. 44 a. So Tennant, *The Fall and Original Sin*, pp. 117-121).

² Tennant, *op. cit.* p. 121.

³ See discussion, with copious quotations from rabbinic literature, by Porter (in *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, pp. 93-156), and Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 37, 64, 128-30, 147-52).

heart of man is evil from his youth.' The word is therefore generally used in rabbinic literature to signify man's evil impulses (*yezer hara*); but references sometimes occur to the good impulses (*yezer hatob*). This conception must not be confused with Greek dualism, which places the seat of moral evil in the body, and that of good in the soul. Neither the *yezer hara* nor the *yezer hatob* finds its seat either in the body or soul as such, but in the heart, which in Jewish psychology stands for the whole *ego* as a moral being. The Rabbis resolved the dualism of the two natures by making God the Creator of the evil impulses as well as of the good. The evil *yezer* is, therefore, not caused by the sin of Adam, but rather the reverse is the case. There is a sense in which even the evil nature is good, for apart from it 'a man would never build a house, nor marry, nor beget, nor trade' (*Bereshith Rabbah*, ix.). 'The evil nature is called *yezer* absolutely from its existing originally and for a long time alone, for 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth' (Gen. viii. 21), whereas *yezer hatob*, which is presided over by *νοῦς*, is added later, and then only co-exists with the evil which is thirteen years older (*Midrash Qoheleth*, ix. 14). The strong and the great man is he in whom the evil nature is strong; and 'therefore our wise men, of blessed memory, have said, In the place where penitents stand, the faultlessly righteous stand not' ¹ (*Berakoth*, 34 b). The evil *yezer* can be overcome because man is free, and the chief aids for vanquishing it are the law and prayer.

Must not be confused with Greek dualism.

The *yezer hara* is implanted by God, and is, in a sense, helpful to the moral life.

¹ Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 64.

Much of this teaching is found in *Sirach* :

For God created man from the beginning
And put him into the hand of him that would spoil him,
And gave him into the hand of his inclination (*yezer*)
(xv. 14, Heb.).

The second line does not occur in the Greek, and it has been suggested that lines 2 and 3 are doublets, but Porter thinks it possible that line 2 'was omitted by the translator or by later Christian scribes as suggesting too much intention on the part of God that man should fall into sin.' ¹ In any case the meaning of the passage in connexion with its context seems to be that God is not to be held accountable for evil, because although He implanted in man evil impulses, He gave him power to overcome them. Moral evil is thus explained by the existence of an evil *yezer* in man from the beginning. Other passages point the same way.

The *yezer* *hara*, though implanted by God, can be overcome.

Ch. xxi. 11 reads in the Greek, 'He that keepeth the law becometh master of the intent thereof,' but the Syriac, which represents the original, reads, 'He that keepeth the law gets the mastery over his *yezer*.' The meaning is clear, especially when it is compared with *Pirq. Ab.* iv. 2 (Taylor): 'Who is mighty?' he that subdues his *yezer*, and 'I created the evil *yezer*; I created for it the law as a remedy. If ye are occupied with the law, ye shall not be delivered into its hand.' ²

The law and the *yezer*.

The Hebrew text of xxvii. 5, 6 is difficult. It reads: 'A potter's vessel is for the furnace to

The value of moral conflict.

¹ *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, p. 138.

² *Kiddushin*, 30, quoted by Porter, op. cit. p. 141.

bake (?) ; and like unto it a man is according to his thought. Upon the bough } According to the husbandry } of a tree will be its fruit ; so the thought is according to the *yezer* of a man.' The meaning is either that the evil *yezer* tests a man, so that his thought is perfected by struggle ; or that a man's disposition, good or bad, lies behind and sustains his thought, as a bough sustains the fruit. Porter is of opinion that the reference to the potter makes the former the more likely meaning.

The problem
of evil.

According to the Greek text of xxxvii. 3, Sirach raises the problem of evil in the acute form in which it was raised later in Ezra iv., 'O wicked imagination, whence comest thou rolling in to cover the dry land with deceitfulness?' By the 'wicked imagination' (*πονηρὸν ἐνθύμημα*) is evidently meant the evil *yezer*. The Hebrew text is partially obliterated, but the Syriac reads, 'Hatred and evil, why were they created,' &c., which, although it raises the problem of evil, does not approach it from the standpoint of the *yezer*. Under the circumstances it would not be safe to draw any deductions from this passage.

The
rationalizing
of Satan.

One other passage must be noted in this connexion: 'When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul' (xxi. 27). On this, Edersheim¹ comments: 'This certainly accords with an exceptional rabbinic view which identifies Satan with the *yezer hara*, the evil inclination.'² This

¹ *Speakers' Comm. in loc.*

² Cf. R. Chisda's saying, 'Satan, evil *yezer* and the Angel of Death are one' (quoted by Porter, op. cit. p. 122).

rationalizing of Satan harmonizes with the writer's tendencies to Sadduceeism, with its denial of spiritual agencies.

The general consensus of these passages points to the belief that moral evil is due to evil impulses implanted in man from the beginning, which were not caused by the Fall, but rather themselves explain it. These impulses can be overcome mainly by means of the law. Possibly, too, it is taught (xxvii. 5 f.) that the evil *yezer* can be bent to serve moral ends, because the discipline of struggle has moral worth.

Moral evil due to the implanted *yezer hara*, not to the Fall.

As might be expected from the universal existence of the evil *yezer*, moral evil is universal. No one can plead 'Not guilty' in the face of its indictment. 'We are all worthy of punishment' (viii. 5). The vices most strongly condemned by *Sirach* are anger (i. 22, x. 6), hypocrisy (i. 28 f.), pride (i. 30 *et passim*), covetousness (xiv. 3 f.), adultery (xxiii. 18-27), commercial dishonesty (xxvii. 1-3).

Moral evil universal.

ETHIOPIA ENOCH (i.-xxxvi., lxxxiii.-xc.)

Moral evil is regarded as consisting in transgression of the law. Its origin is ascribed to the lust of the angels, called Watchers, who, originally spiritual and holy, entered into sexual union with the daughters of men (vi., vii., xv.). In xix. 2, which Charles treats as an interpolation, the initiative is attributed to the women.¹ These illicit unions between the Watchers and women are regarded as the source of the corruption of the world (vii.).

Moral evil traced to the lust of the Watchers and the unauthorized revelations of Azazel.

¹ Cf. *Tests. of Twelve Patriarchs* (T. Reub. v.).

As in *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, Azazel, one of the Watchers, is represented as revealing 'the secret things of the world which were wrought in the heavens,' and also as having taught all unrighteousness on earth (ix. 6). 'And the whole earth has been defiled through the teaching of the works of Azazel: to him ascribe all sin' (x. 8).

Demonic
incitement.

The activity of the Watchers ceased at the Deluge (x.), but the evil spirits, which proceeded from the giants who were the offspring of the illicit unions of the Watchers with women, remained as sources of corruption.

Moral evil
not brought
into
connexion
with the
Fall.

The moral evil of the race is not brought into connexion with the transgression of Adam. The tree of life is referred to at length in chs. xxiv. and xxv., and it is stated that Adam and Eve ate of the tree of wisdom and were driven out of the garden (xxxii.). But no connexion is established between this and the deeds of the Watchers which corrupted the antediluvian world. We have here, evidently, a cycle of thought as to the origin of evil based, not on Gen. iii., but on Gen. vi. 1-3.

The same theory obtains in part in the section lxxxiii.-xc. The Watchers corrupt men until the Deluge (lxxxiv. 4), but there is no reference to continued demonic incitement. Their descent to earth is described as the fall of a star from heaven, followed by the fall of many stars (lxxxvi.). Evil seems to have its source entirely in the angelic world.

TOBIT

Tobit has little light to throw upon the question of moral evil. It is conceived of as disobedience

to the divine commandments (iii. 2 ff., iv. 5). The principle of solidarity is recognized; Tobit confesses and bears the burden of the sins of his fathers, as well as his own (iii. 3-5).

THE BOOK OF BARUCH (i. 15—iii. 8)

Moral evil consists in violation of the commands and ordinances of God as revealed in the Mosaic law (i. 17 ff., ii. 12). The writing is marked by an absence of the sense of personal demerit. It is true that sin is confessed with contrition, but the term 'we' (ii. 10, iii. 2) is used in a national, not a personal sense. National evils are attributed, not to the sins of the writer's own generation, but to those of their fathers. 'O Lord, hear the prayer of the children of them that were sinners before Thee' (iii. 8).

Absence of
sense of
demerit.

Solidarity of
the nation.

It is not clear from ii. 8 whether the writer means that men are by nature possessed of a 'wicked heart,' and so have an implanted bias to evil, or whether he simply means that the hearts of the Israelites were wicked, because of their many transgressions.

JUBILEES

This book follows the Genesis story of the Fall, through the agency of the serpent, with the addition that it makes Adam and Eve dwell in the garden seven years before the sin which drove them out (iii. 17 ff.), and also connects the dumbness of the animal creation with the Fall (iii. 28). The fact that Adam did not immediately die on eating the

The Fall.

fruit is thus explained: When Adam died 'he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day' ¹ in the testimony of the heavens, and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge, On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die' (iv. 30). There is no hint of any connexion between the Fall and subsequent moral evil; neither is there any doctrine of the *yezer*. The development of corruption and lawlessness is connected with the seductions of the daughters of men by the Watchers (v. 1-4), who were originally sent to 'instruct the children of men, that they should do judgement and uprightness on the earth' (iv. 15); and by the continued importunity of evil spirits (vii. 27), chief of whom are Mastema (identified with Satan, x. 8, 11), and Beliar (i. 20). The consequences of the sin of the Watchers are represented as being utterly done away with in the days of Noah (v. 12), but demonic incitement to sin still continued (vii. 27, x. 1-15, xi. 4 f., xii. 20).

It is not brought into causal connexion with moral evil, neither is there any doctrine of the *yezer*.

The Watchers.

Demonic incitement.

Legalistic view of moral evil.

The writer's view of the nature of sin, as might be expected of a Pharisee, is that primarily it consists in violation of the ordinances and commandments of the law (i. 10, xxxiii. 16), and also in disregard, even though unconscious, of the unwritten traditions ² (xxii. 14). But, like Paul, he teaches, though he does not elaborate the theory, that with the law comes the knowledge of sin, and that sin is not imputed where there is no law. He condones the sin of Reuben on the ground that 'until that time there had not been revealed the ordinances and

¹ Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 8.

² Cf. T. Levi iii. 15; *Pss. Sol.* iii. 9.

judgement and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days it has been revealed as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations ' ¹ (xxxiii. 16).

There are some evidences of a more inward view of moral evil. It is more than the external violation of an ordinance, for fornication 'after the eyes and the heart' is condemned ² (xx. 4). It is error of the heart (i. 11, ii. 29), a 'path of destruction' (vii. 26), a surrendering of the soul (xxxix. 6), and 'every imagination and desire of men,' imagining vanity and evil continually (vii. 24). Moral evil, thus interpreted, is universal: 'I see, my son, that all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness, and all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution, and there is no righteousness with them' (xxi. 21). Deliverance from sin involves a process of inward cleansing (xxii. 14). The writer even speaks of a 'sin unto death' ³ (xxi. 22, xxvi. 34, xxxiii. 18), but by this he probably does not refer to any particular sin, but to that habit of sin which makes for moral death.

Traces of a more inward view.

Confession of sin is necessary to moral restoration, and that not only of individual but of national sin. 'They will not be obedient till they confess their own sin, and the sin of their fathers' (i. 22; cf. Lev. xxvi. 40). There is even sin in heaven, and the angels confess 'all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth' (iv. 6). Confession

Confession and penitence.

¹ Cf. Rom. iv. 15, 'For where there is not law neither is there transgression.'

² Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. Jos. ix. 2; Matt. v. 28.

³ Cf. 1 John v. 16.

must be accompanied by true repentance, whereof an outward token must be given once a year, on the Day of Atonement (v. 17, 18).

Various
vices.

Certain sins are specially condemned: (a) *Idolatry* (i. 9-11, xii. *et passim*). (b) *Fornication and uncleanness* (vii. 20, ix. 15 *et passim*). Fornication with the father's wife is strongly reprobated, the case of Reuben not being allowed as a precedent, as the law had not then been completely revealed (xxxiii. 10-20). In the case of the fornication of a man with his mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, the penalty enacted is death by burning for both (xli. 26 f.; cf. Lev. xx. 12, Gen. xxxviii. 24). This is the punishment enacted for all adultery and fornication on the part of the woman (xx. 4), but according to the law the penalty for such offences was death by stoning (Deut. xxii. 23 f.; cf. Ezek. xvi. 40), the only exception being in the case of a priest's daughter, where fire was substituted (Lev. xxi. 9). (c) The *eating* (vi. 4-10 *et passim*; cf. Lev. vii. 26), and *shedding of blood* (vi. 8 *et passim*). But it must be noted that the condemnation of blood-shedding is not carried to the extent of forbidding animal sacrifices, as in the case of the Essenes. On the contrary, they are definitely enjoined (vi. 14, xxi. 7). (d) *Exposure of the person* (iii. 31, vii. 20). The author's references to this practice are probably intended as a protest against the custom, which had become popular, of Jewish youths stripping themselves and joining in Greek games (cf. 2 *Macc.* iv. 12 f., 1 *Macc.* i. 14 f., Jos., *Ant.* xii. v. 1).

Protest
against
helleniza-
tion.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

There is nothing in this book which definitely connects moral evil with the fall of Adam, unless it be the passage :

Evil not
connected
with the
Fall.

And he [the Messiah] shall open the gates of Paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam
(T. Levi xviii. 10).

But this does not clearly establish the connexion, and Charles is of opinion that for 'Adam' we should read 'man,' though there can be no doubt that the writer has Gen. iii. in mind.

Reference is made to the legend of the Watchers¹ who entered into illicit unions with the daughters of men (T. Reub. v. 6 f.), and brought about that iniquity which resulted in the Flood (T. Naph. iii. 5); but the writer represents the women, not the Watchers, as being the seducers (T. Reub. v. 6).

The
Watchers.

Moral evil is largely explained by the continual incitement of evil spirits, at whose head is Beliar (T. Ben. iii. 3; cf. T. Reub. iv. 7, vi. 3; T. Sim. v. 3; T. Jud. xxv. 3), who is the 'Prince of deceit' (T. Sim. ii. 7) and whose will is the embodiment of evil, as opposed to the will of God (T. Naph. iii. 1). The sinner is therefore the devil's 'own peculiar instrument' (T. Naph. viii. 6). If the soul yields to its evil inclination it comes under the dominion of Beliar (T. Ash. i. 8). Many evil spirits are mentioned in the book as tempting men to sin. T. Reub. (ii. 1 f., iii. 3-6) speaks of the 'seven spirits of deceit'² which are the special foes of youth—the

Incitement
of evil
spirits.

¹ Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15, v. 1.

² Cf. *Matt.* xii. 45.

spirits of fornication, of insatiableness, of obsequiousness and chicanery, of pride, of lying, and of injustice (cf. T. Sim. vi. 6). Mention is also made of the spirit of envy (T. Sim. iii. 1), the spirit of jealousy and vainglory (T. Dan i. 6), the spirit of anger (T. Dan ii. 4), and the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre (T. Jud. xvi. 1). There are also spirits of Beliar which incite to murder (T. Dan i. 7), idolatry (T. Naph. iii. 3), and to fleshly sins (T. Jos. vii. 4).

As to the constitution of man's nature, he is created in God's image (T. Naph. ii. 5), but there are implanted in him good and evil inclinations—the rabbinic *yezer hatob* and *yezer hara*. This is the first appearance in Jewish literature of the 'good inclination.'¹ 'Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations' (T. Ash. i. 3). If the soul take pleasure in the good inclination all the man's acts are righteous, and if he sin he immediately repents; but if his soul take pleasure in the evil inclination all his acts are wickedness, the good is expelled, and he becomes subject to Beliar. 'For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forces the issue of the action into evil for him, seeing that the treasure² of inclination is filled with an evil spirit' (T. Ash. i. 6–9). Fornication and covetousness 'blind the inclination of the soul' (T. Jud. xviii. 3) and the impulses of youth blind the mind (T. Jud. xi. 1). God looks on men's

The Two
Ways, and
the *yezer*
hara and
the *yezer*
hatob.

¹ For the evil *yezer* see *Sirach*; for creation in God's image see *Sir.* xvii. 3.

² Cf. Matt. xii. 35: 'The evil man out of his evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.'

inclinations (T. Gad v. 3), and knows them all (T. Naph. ii. 5), and sometimes tempts men to try their inclinations (T. Jos. ii. 6). A good man's inclinations cannot be contaminated by evil spirits, and men can neither add to nor take away from their glory (T. Ben. vi. 1, 4). God delights in the good inclination of the heart that takes pleasure in love (T. Jos. xvii. 3).

The evil inclinations originate no more in the body than in the spirit, but are their joint product. 'For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight and measure and rule was all the creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image' (T. Naph. ii. 1-5).

Yezzer hara does not originate in the body any more than in the spirit.

The evil *yezer* can be destroyed by good works (T. Ash. iii. 2). 'If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you. . . . For where there is reverence for good works, and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him' (T. Ben. v. 2 f.). The evil *yezer* is not traced to the Fall, but it is implanted in every man, and all have yielded to it. Sin is universal; corruption is everywhere,

Evil *yezer* and works.

Evil *yezer* not due to the Fall.

Moral evil
universal.

and unrighteousness and lawlessness are strongly entrenched; the whole race of men is in need of salvation (T. Levi ii. 3 f.). Sin is a violation of the commandments and ordinances of the law, as a result of the incitements of evil spirits upon the evil *yezer*. Doubtless commandments and ordinances include all the regulations wherewith the scribes had hedged the law, for reference is made to the angels of the presence 'who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous' (T. Levi iii. 5), by which are probably intended unconscious violation or neglect of any of the complex rules of the scribal law, to which the Pharisees attributed so great importance.¹ But the writer's outlook is by no means limited by a narrow literalism and formalism. He recognizes that sin may be committed in thought as well as in act (T. Zeb. i. 4), and shows a remarkable power of analysing the various vices and tracing their effects in character.

Recognition
of the
inward as
well as the
outward
nature of
evil.

Fornication.

(a) *Fornication*.—It is the mother of all evils, which separates from God and brings near to Beliar (T. Sim. v. 3). It is a pit to the soul, and leads to idolatry; it has brought upon many the reproach of men and the derision of Beliar, and has led them to premature death (T. Reub. iv. 6 f.). It involves the mastering of reason by passion, and the desire of it is the root of jealousy (T. Reub. vi. 4). He who commits fornication becomes impervious to shame and moral loss, for even if a man be a king, 'he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication' (T. Jud. xv.).

Its moral
effects.

¹ Cf. *Pss. Sol.* iii. 9, xiii. 6, xviii. 5.

In a word, fornication alienates a man from the divine law, blinds the inclination of his soul, teaches him arrogance, destroys his compassion, robs his soul of all goodness, oppresses him with restlessness and sleeplessness, hinders his worship, and makes him resent the truth. 'For he is a slave to two contrary passions, and cannot obey God, because they have blinded his soul, and he walketh in the day as in the night' (T. Jud. xviii.).

(b) Warnings are uttered against *envy*, 'for envy Envy. ruleth over the whole mind of a man.' It takes away the appetite, injures health, disturbs sleep. It makes the soul savage, causes anger, war, and frenzy in the mind, incites to murder, and is a poisonous spirit (T. Sim. iii. 2 f., iv. 5 ff.). Jealousy is forbidden, even as against rich men who prosper unrighteously, 'for the poor man, if, free from envy, he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart' (T. Gad vii.). 'For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened. And henceforward he sympathizeth with him whom he envied and agreeth with those who love him, and so ceaseth from his envy' (T. Sim. iii. 5 f.).

(c) *Anger* teaches a man all wickedness (T. Dan Anger. i. 3). It is blindness, and gives him a perverted vision of his kinsmen, friends, and teachers: 'For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying darkeneth his mind and giveth him its own

peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother. For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it becomes a soul to the soul itself. And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and it bestoweth upon the body power that it may work all iniquity. And when the body does all these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. . . . And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath he a power two-fold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying his works may be wrought. Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath that it is vain. For it, first of all, gives provocation by word, then by deeds it strengtheneth him who is angry, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger; . . . for first it pleaseth the hearing, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the grounds of provocation; and then, being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry. And if ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, be not angry; for this very spirit maketh a man desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction' (T. Dan iii. 4-iv. 5). It has been necessary to quote at length, for no passage could better illustrate the writer's acuteness of discernment and subtlety of analysis.

(d) *Hatred* blinds the soul. It makes a man misjudge all the actions of him whom he hates, it causes him to put a low estimate on truth, to

Stages in the
develop-
ment of
anger.

Hatred : its
moral
effects.

become envious, to welcome evil speaking, and to love arrogance. It makes him deaf to the commands of God and causes him to delight in proclaiming the lapses of others, and even in enticing them to sin, that they may suffer punishment. 'Hatred, therefore, is evil, for it constantly maketh with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and kindleth wrath, and stirreth up war, and violence, and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison' (T. Gad iii.-v.).

(e) *Covetousness*.—Like fornication, the love of money alienates from the law, blinds the inclination of the soul, teaches arrogance, and destroys compassion; it robs the soul of all goodness, and oppresses a man with restlessness and sleeplessness; it hinders worship and receptivity to the truth. 'For he is a slave to two contrary passions, and cannot obey God.'¹ 'The love of money leadeth to idolatry;² because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness' (T. Jud. xvii.-xix.).

Covetousness: its moral effects.

(f) *Intemperance*.—There are in wine four evil spirits—of lust, of hot desire, of profligacy,³ of filthy lucre (T. Jud. xvi. 1).

Intemperance.

¹ Cf. Matt. vi. 24: 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.'

² Cf. Col. iii. 5: 'Covetousness, the which is idolatry' (cf. Eph. v. 5).

³ 'Ἀσωτία. Cf. Eph. v. 18: 'And be not drunk with wine, wherein is ἀσωτία.'

Other vices. (g) *Deceit* (T. Sim. iii. 1); *lying* (T. Dan i. 3, ii. 1); *double-facedness* (T. Ash. vi. 2); *playing the busy-body* (T. Iss. v. 1).

Need for watchfulness.

There is need for continual watchfulness. That which is innocent may easily glide into that which is guilty. 'For in wealth is hidden covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness . . . in wedlock profligacy' (T. Ash. v. 1).

B. ALEXANDRIAN

SIBYLLINE ORACLES (bk. iii. 97-829 and Proem.)

Hostility to God and lawlessness.

Moral evil arises from hostility to God (iii. 499, 549, Proem. i. 20, 28 f.) and violation of the law (iii. 275 f.). The evil life is described as a 'lawless life, impure' (iii. 496). It is a deviation from 'the path of the Immortal' (iii. 721).

And ye in self-conceit and madness walk,
And, having left the true, straightforward path,
Ye went away and roamed about through thorns
And thistles. O ye foolish mortals, cease
Roving in darkness, and black night obscure,
And leave the darkness of night, and lay hold
Upon the Light. Lo, He is clear to all
And cannot err; come, do not always choose
Darkness and gloom (Proem. i. 23-8).

With such a view of man's true relationship to the one God and His law, it is not surprising that the writer utters strong denunciation of idolatry (iii. 276 f., 548, 586 ff.) and exposes its emptiness.

Idolatry.

Be ashamed to deify
Polecats and monsters. Is it not a craze
And frenzy, taking sense of mind away,

If gods steal plates, and carry off earthen pots ?
 Instead of dwelling in the golden heaven
 In plenty, see them eaten by the moth
 And woven over with thick spider-webs !
 O fools, that bow to serpents, dogs, and cats,
 And reverence birds and creeping beasts of earth,
 Stone images and statues made with hands,
 And stone-heaps by the roads—these ye revere,
 And also many other idle things
 Which it would even be a shame to tell ;
 These are the baneful gods of senseless men,
 And from their mouth is deadly poison poured.

(Proem. iii. 22–33.)

This writer does not enter into the question of the origin of moral evil, neither is there any reference to an inborn tendency to evil ; but its seat is placed in the heart (iii. 548), and before there can be moral reformation, the thoughts of the heart must be entirely changed (iii. 762). There is a trace of the teaching of the Wisdom writers (Prov., *Sir.*, *Wisd.*) that unrighteousness is foolishness. The sinner has ‘ a senseless soul ’ (iii. 687, 722), and it is ‘ foolish mortals ’ who rove in darkness (Proem. i. 25). Man, because of his mortal and fleshly nature, cannot behold the unseen God, and yet, so far as is necessary for the purposes of the moral life, ‘ He is clear to all ’ (Proem. i.). So far as the teaching of this writer can be gathered, the senselessness and foolishness of the unrighteous are due, not to an inborn taint,¹ or to an incapacity for perceiving the truth, but to a defect of will, which results in a corruption of the heart.

The origin of evil is not dealt with, but its seat is placed in the heart, and it arises from foolishness.

¹ It must be borne in mind that possibly a fragment of bk. iii., dealing with the Fall, is missing.

Various
vices.

Certain vices are explicitly condemned by this writer: sodomy (iii. 185), paederasty (iii. 596), adultery (iii. 764), ingratitude (iii. 765), astrology and soothsaying (iii. 221-8), envy (iii. 662) and greed ('which breeds unnumbered ills to mortal men, war and unending famine' (iii. 235; cf. 189).

Summary

External
view of
moral evil,
but we can
trace a
process of
internaliza-
tion.

The view of moral evil during this century is chiefly external, but it is possible to trace the process of internalization. In *Sirach*, it is viewed more from the human than the divine standpoint, and is condemned as folly. The *Sib. Or.* (iii.) also regard it as senseless, but a higher level is reached in its description of it as a deviation from the pathway of the Immortal. In the *Enoch* sections and in *Jubilees* it is a violation of the ordinances of the law, in the latter both written and oral. But with all its emphasis upon the eternal validity of legal ordinances, *Jubilees* is not lacking in some measure of appreciation of the fact that these ordinances may be violated inwardly as well as outwardly. The internalizing process, however, reaches its highest point of development in *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which traces moral evil to the pleasure of the soul in the evil inclination, and which attains a level upon which no advance was made in Judaism until the coming of the Divine Prophet out of Galilee.

Lines of
thought as
to the origin
of evil.

As to the origin of moral evil, we can trace three lines of thought:

(1) It is brought into relation with the narrative

of Gen. ii., iii., not causally, but historically, both in *Sirach* and in *Jubilees*. In none of the literature of this century is the Fall regarded as the cause of the moral corruption of the race, but only as its starting-point. It is, however, taught that the subjugation of the race to the law of death is the direct result of the transgression of Adam and Eve.

(2) It is brought into relation with the narrative of Gen. vi. 1-4. Moral evil is held to have had its source and origin in transgressions and conflicts in the angelic sphere. Fallen angels admitted men into the knowledge of forbidden secrets, and corrupted the world with their lust, and continued demonic incitement to evil has been the result. This is the teaching of the *Enoch* sections, *Jubilees*, and the *Testaments*. The field of moral conflict is not merely the world, but the angelic sphere. This idea is especially prominent in the *Testaments*, which teach that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit.

(3) It is brought into relation with the doctrine of the *yezer*, namely, that man was created at the beginning with evil impulses innate within him. This is the teaching of *Sirach* and the *Testaments*, the latter, too, recognizing the presence of good impulses which are also innate. The evil *yezer* may be overcome by the law, and by good works.

These theories are not mutually exclusive, and some of them exist side by side in the same writers without being brought into relation with each other. *Sirach* holds the doctrine of the *yezer*, and traces the

These
theories not
mutually
exclusive.

beginning of sin to the Fall, but does not say that the evil *yezer* was due to the Fall. The writer of the *Testaments* holds the theory of the *yezer*, and also that of the corruption of the world through demonic agency, but he does not bring the two theories into relation with each other. The *Enoch* section (i.-xxxvi.) refers both to the Fall and to the legend of the Watchers, but attributes both the beginning and the development of the corruption of the world to the latter and not to the former, and does not bring the two stories into any connexion with each other. Other writers seem to choose one of these two accounts, to the exclusion of the other. Evidently they represent different cycles of legend or tradition.

II. THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

I. MACCABEES

Legalistic
view of
moral evil.

Moral evil consists in transgression of the law (i. 11, 34, &c.). Alliance with Gentiles (especially Syria) is denounced as a transgression of the law (i. 11-15), but the Maccabaeen alliances with Rome (viii. 17-32, xii. 1-4, xiv. 24-7) and Sparta (xii. 6-18, xiv. 20-23) are viewed with entire approval.¹

¹ If 1 *Macc.* was written by a Sadducee, as Geiger supposes, it shows that the Sadducees were not such out-and-out hellenizers as their Pharisaic opponents represented them to be. Evidently they were ready to modify the Judaistic attitude to Gentile nations, in deference to considerations of expediency.

It is even stated that the Spartans are remembered in the Maccabaeae sacrifices and prayers (xii. 11). The introduction of Greek customs, as illustrated by the erection of a gymnasium in Jerusalem, is viewed as fraught with disastrous moral consequences to the nation (i. 14 f.).

The persons who move in the pages of the book are not characterized by a sense of sin. The note of penitence is altogether absent from the speeches and prayers put into the mouth of Judas (iv. 8-11, 30, 33).

Absence of
sense of
demerit.

ETHIOPIE ENOCH (xc1.-civ.)

Moral evil is viewed from the standpoint of Pharisaic Judaism, and consists in a violation of the law and subservience to hellenistic influences. 'Woe unto them who pervert the words of uprightness, and transgress the eternal law, and transform themselves into what they were not' (xcix. 2). The origin of evil is attributed to the Watchers. This view is more fully developed in chap. cvi., an addition to this section from the lost Apocalypse of Noah.

Apostasy.

The
Watchers.

A protest is entered against some form of the doctrine of original sin which led to the denial of moral responsibility. What precise doctrine the writer has in mind it is difficult to say. The corruption of the race is not *causally* connected with the transgression of Adam, in literature, until the beginning of the first century A.D., in Slavonic Enoch; but it may be that this view existed in popular thought long before. Possibly his

Implanted
evil, and
moral
responsi-
bility.

protest is directed against the belief that, as sin originated in the angelic world, no responsibility attaches to man. In any case, he declares human responsibility in unequivocal terms: 'I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain does not become a slave and will not, nor a hill the handmaid of a woman, even so sin has not been sent upon the earth, but man of himself has created it, and into great condemnation will those fall who commit it' (xcviii. 4).

THE SIMILITUDES OF ENOCH (xxxvii.-lxx.)

Moral evil as the denial of the reality of the spiritual and of retribution.

The form under which the writer of the *Similitudes* conceives of moral evil is largely determined by his opposition to Sadduceeism. The unrighteous are those who deny the reality of the spiritual (xxxviii. 2, xli. 2, xlv. 1, lxvii. 10). In chap. lx., which according to Charles is a Noachic fragment, they are those who violate the law, and deny the principles of retribution (lx. 6).

The Satans: a dualistic view of evil.

In dealing with the origin of evil, the *Similitudes* trace it a step further back than the other sections of Enoch, and attribute it to the Satans, who made subject the Watchers, and these in their turn corrupted the race of men (xl. 7, liv. 6, lxiv.) This involves some form of dualism, for the Satans are evidently conceived of as constituting a kingdom of evil opposed to that of the 'Lord of Spirits.'

The Fall through demonic seduction and the revelation of forbidden secrets.

In the Noachic fragments (lxv.-lxix.) there is a reference to the Fall story. The third angel, Gadreel, is said to have 'led astray Eve' (lxix. 6). The fourth angel, named Penemue, taught men

all the secrets of wisdom, e.g. writing, and ' thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity, and until this day ' (lxix. 8 f.). ' For man was created exactly like the angels, to the intent that he should continue righteous and pure; and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of him, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power [of knowledge] it [death] is consuming me ' (lxix. 11).

These passages seem to imply that Eve was led astray by demonic agency, her sin being perhaps sexual in character¹; and that man was originally created immortal, but that he came under the law of death through the sinful acquirement of the secrets of wisdom. But there is no attempt to formulate a doctrine of original sin based on the Fall story.

ETHIOPIO ENOCH (lxxx.)

The Book of Celestial Physics (lxxii.-lxxxii.) is not concerned with ethical questions, but chapters lxxx. and lxxxi. were added to give it a moral significance. Chapters lxxii.-lxxix. set forth and illustrate the fixity of the order of nature, but this is contradicted in lxxx., where it is asserted that moral evil has disturbed the stability of nature's laws, and has therefore cast a blight upon the physical universe.

Disturbing
effects of
moral evil
on nature.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

These psalms throw no light upon the origin of moral evil, neither do they hint at the existence

No light
thrown
on the origin
of evil.

¹ Cf. 4 *Macc.* xviii. 7 f.; *Apoc. Abraham*, xxiii.

of an evil bias in human nature. It would be going too far, however, to assume from this silence that the existence of such a bias is denied.

Legalistic
and
ceremonial
view of evil.

Moral evil is viewed from the Pharisaic standpoint, and consists of a disregard of God and a transgression of the commandments of the law (xiv. 1, cf. 4). The psalmist views with abhorrence the violation of the laws of ceremonial purity (i. 7-9, ii. 3, viii. 12 f.), and disloyalty to theocratic ideals (xvii. 7). This standpoint is further illustrated by mention of the sins of the righteous, committed through ignorance (iii. 9, xiii. 6, xviii. 5), where the reference is to the numberless regulations wherewith the Pharisees had fenced the law, so that it was difficult for the most devout to avoid unwitting transgression. But there are indications of a more distinctively moral view of evil. Sinners are described as those who shut their eyes to eternal issues, and give themselves up to the short-lived enjoyment of their lust (xiv. 4 f.).

Various
vices.

Hypocrisy (iv. 7) and the sins of the flesh (iv. 4 f., viii. 10 f.) are condemned, and, as in *Sirach*, a warning is uttered against the misuse of the tongue: 'O Lord, save my soul from the tongue that is wicked and lying, and that speaketh false and deceitful words. The words of the tongue of the evil man are for the accomplishment of frowardness: even as fire¹ in a threshing-floor, that burneth up

¹ Cf. Jas. iii. 5 f.: 'Behold, how much wood is kindled by so small a fire! And the tongue is a fire: the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue, which defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the wheel of nature, and is set on fire by hell' (cf. Prov. xvi. 27; *Sir.* xxviii. 11).

the straw thereof, so is his sojourning among men : that he may set fire to houses with his lying tongue, and cut down the trees of gladness with the flame of his wicked tongue, and put to confusion the houses of the wicked by kindling strife with slanderous lips ' (xii. 1-4).

Moral restoration is possible to the sinner. ' To whom will He forgive sins, save unto them that have committed sin ? ' The conditions are confession and repentance ¹ (ix. 11-15).

Confession
and
penitence.

JUDITH

This book throws but little light on the question of moral evil. It is described as sin against God (v. 20, xi. 10), but this consists in violation of the ordinances of Judaism, even in matters of ritual (xi. 11 ff.), and of enmity against the chosen nation (xvi. 17). Idolatry, too, is regarded as a serious offence (viii. 18-20).

Legalistic
view of evil.

¹ *Pirq. Ab.* iv. 70: 'Repentance and good works are as a shield against punishment.' Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 70 n.) quotes: 'It was a commonplace in the mouth of Raba that, "The perfection of wisdom is repentance" (*Berakoth*, 17 a). "When a man has been wholly wicked all his days, and has repented at the last, the Holy One, blessed is He, receives him." This follows from Ezek. xxxiii. 19: "But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby." Said Rabbi Jochanan, "Nay, more, all the transgressions which he has committed are imputed to him as merits, as is proved by Ps. xlv. 9 (8): 'Myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments': all thy *transgressions*, which thou hast committed against me, are as aloes, and myrrh, and cassia" (*T. J. Peah.* i. 1).'

B. ALEXANDRIAN

III. EZRA (1 *Esdras*)

Legalistic
view.

Various words are used in this book to characterize moral evil, e.g. uncleanness (i. 42), ungodliness (i. 42, 52), unrighteousness and wickedness (iv. 39), iniquity (viii. 72), and sin (viii. 75). When analysed they simply mean the violation of the law. Great guilt is attached to the practice of mixed marriages (viii. 68-ix). The view of evil is therefore purely legalistic.

II. MACCABEES

Moral evil as
apostasy.

This book throws little or no light upon the subject. Everything that is contrary to Judaism and its precepts more particularly as they are embodied in the Priestly Code, is evil (iv. 17 *et pass.*). To mingle with Gentiles, to adopt any of their customs, or to succumb to their influence in any direction, is wickedness (xi. 24, xiv. 3).

WISDOM (Part I, i.-ix. 17)

Moral evil
as folly.

As in Prov. and *Sir.*, moral evil is the antithesis of understanding and wisdom, and is described as folly (i. 3), which manifests itself in lawlessness (i. 9, vi. 7, 23), unrighteousness (i. 8), uncleanness (ii. 16), and ungodliness (i. 16). Moral evil has enticements which obscure the vision of the good. 'For the bewitching of naughtiness (*φauλότητος*) bedimmeth the things which are good, and the giddy wheel of desire perverteth an innocent mind' (iv. 12).

The view to be taken of pseudo-Solomon's teaching as to the origin of moral evil, and the moral bearings of heredity, must depend upon our interpretation of passages which have been generally taken to teach the pre-existence of the soul, and the inherence of evil in the body as such. Until recently it has been assumed that, following Plato, he teaches that the seat of evil is in the flesh, and that the soul, being pre-existent, enters the body with a heritage of good or evil from its previous state of existence, and that the quality of the body it obtains depends upon its own moral condition. Both these views have been challenged by Dr. Porter,¹ who contends that the extent of the Greek influences in the book has been exaggerated, and that the teaching on these points is Jewish, not Greek.

Are the Greek doctrines of pre-existence, and the dualism of soul and body held?

In the first place, a distinction must be drawn between the Jewish and Greek doctrines of pre-existence. Plato thought of the soul as constituting the real man, of which the body was but the tomb, or prison-house; the Jew thought of man as consisting inseparably of the body and the *neshamah*, or *ruach*, or divine breath. By the pre-existence of the soul the Greek meant that of the thinking self, but the Jew meant only that divine breath, which ultimately went to the making of the complete man. The Jew conceived of the pre-existence of the body in the same sense. Man in his totality consists of two elements, the dust of the ground and the breath of God, both of which, pre-existing, are brought

Pre-existence: Greek and Jewish.

¹ 'The Pre-existence of the Soul in *The Book of Wisdom* and in the Rabbinical Writings' (*American Journal of Theology*, Jan. 1908, pp. 53-115).

together to form the man (Gen. ii. 7). The difficulty which the Jew found in conceiving of the real *ego* as existing apart from the body, is illustrated by the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Which of these views is held by the author of Part I of *The Book of Wisdom*? The answer depends upon the interpretation of viii. 19, 20, where Solomon is made to say :

Now I was a child of parts, and a goodly soul fell to my lot.
Nay rather ($\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$), being good, I came into a body
undefiled.

It is usually supposed that the second clause of the verse destroys the force of the first, and is indeed a correction of it ; and the Greek doctrine of pre-existence is deduced. Porter contends that $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ does not destroy the force of what has gone before it, but that the writer feels that his meaning is best expressed by leaving the two clauses side by side, and indicating a preference for the second. In support of his contention he quotes such passages as 'It is Christ Jesus that died, nay rather, that was raised from the dead' (Rom. viii. 34) ; 'Those who were formerly despised and near to Hades, or rather, had entered it' (3 *Macc.* vi. 31) ; 'Pharaoh appointed Joseph successor of his kingdom, or rather, a king' (Philo, *De Josepho*, 21). Account must therefore be taken of both clauses, which together mean that Solomon was happily endowed with a healthy body and a soul disposed to goodness. 'When he wishes to explain that this child, Solomon, was $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ in both parts of his being, the first way that occurs to him of expanding the bare statement

is to say that he got by divine allotment a good soul. He is thinking of the body formed in the womb, as if it were the person, and of the soul as chosen by God from His treasury of souls and breathed into the growing embryo, or into the child at birth. Then it occurs to him that it would be better to connect the personality with the soul, and to say that the body was happily matched to the soul, rather than that the soul was matched to the body.' ¹ Does not this imply the pre-existence of the soul? Yes, but only in the sense in which that of the body is implied. God prepares a soul for the body, and a body for the soul. 'It is not the man himself that pre-exists, but only the two parts that make the man.' There is a passage (to which attention has already been drawn) in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which Dr. Porter does not quote, but which yields very strong support to this view: 'For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one doth not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight and measure and rule was all the creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image' (T. Naph. ii. 2-5). It is

The Jewish
view taught.

¹ Loc. cit. p. 68.

clear that, according to this conception, both body and soul pre-exist, and are adapted to one another by God; and if the line of argument which we have pursued is sound this is exactly the teaching of *Wisd.* viii. 19, 20, and we are forced to conclude that pre-existence, in the Greek sense, is not taught.

Is the body
regarded as
the source of
evil?

There remains the question whether, as has been supposed, it is taught that the body is the source of evil. No such idea is implied in the author's general view of creation.

For He created all things that they might have being :
And the generative powers of the world are healthsome,
And there is no poison of destruction in them,
Nor hath Hades royal dominion upon earth (i. 14).

These words are in the present tense, and cannot be taken as referring to a state of things before 'ungodly men called death into them' (i. 16). Their evidence is emphatically against the view that evil inheres in matter, unless it be supposed (as is unlikely) that the writer is describing the world as it is ideally,¹ not as it is actually.

The
evidence is
against this
view.

Another passage which bears upon our discussion is i. 4 :

Wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil,
Nor dwelleth in a body that is held in pledge by sin.

But there is here no suggestion that the body is necessarily pledged to sin. The two clauses supplement each other, and mean, according to the Jewish view of the constitution of man, that wisdom will not enter into a sinful man. As Porter points out,²

¹ Cf. Tennant, *op. cit.* p. 127.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 65.

the passage 'implies that the divine wisdom can dwell in the body as well as the soul, and that the soul is not good by nature and the body evil, but that body and soul alike may be either good or evil.' This teaching is more in harmony with Paul than Plato (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 19; 1 Thess. v. 23).

But the passage which is generally taken as teaching unambiguously that the body is the seat of evil is ix. 15:

For a corruptible body weigheth down the soul,
And the earthly frame lieth heavy on a mind that is full of
cares.

The Greek has many points of likeness with *Phaedo*, 81 C.: 'And this corporeal element of sight by which a soul is depressed and dragged down,' &c. But Porter¹ has shown that the similarity is one of language, not of thought. Plato is speaking, not of the present hindrance of the body, but of the souls which after death are dragged back to the visible region, because of the corporeal elements which they have absorbed into themselves during the time of their union with the body. But this is not the point which our author is enforcing. He is speaking, not of the lot of the soul after death, but of the present pursuit of wisdom, which is limited and hampered by a 'corruptible body' and 'earthly frame.' But the *φθαρτὸν σῶμα* does not mean a body in which evil inheres, but one that is subject to the law of death. The pursuit of wisdom is impeded by man's mortal and finite limitations. The 'corruptible body' is the explanation, not of

The corruptible body is not one in which evil inheres, but one subject to mortal and finite limitations, and so hindering moral growth.

¹ Loc. cit. pp. 72 ff.

moral evil, but of ignorance of the divine wisdom. If the body be free from every defilement it is still true that its mortal limitations impede it in its pursuit of truth. But this is very different teaching from that of Plato, who not only taught that the body is a 'distracting element' in the pursuit of wisdom, but regarded it as the seat of evil.¹

There is no suggestion of asceticism, or of matter as a hindrance to the creative Wisdom.

So far we have found no support in the book for the view that the body is the seat of evil. This conclusion is borne out by the general tenor of its teaching. There is no hint of the need for asceticism,² neither is it suggested that Wisdom, the 'artificer of all things,' found any hindrance in matter. That which hinders the designs of Wisdom, and limits its power, is moral evil. The antithesis which the writer elaborates is not that between body and soul, but that between evil and righteousness. Of himself, because of his mortal limitations, man cannot attain to that wisdom which will enable him to live righteously, except he be endued with the wisdom that comes from God (ix. 6), and the 'holy spirit from on high' (ix. 17). This is Judaism, not Platonism. The conclusion to which we are led is, therefore, that the book yields no support either to the doctrine that moral evil has its seat in the body or to that of the body as the prison-house of the soul owing to pre-temporal sin.

Is the Palestinian dualism held?

But if the Platonic dualism is rejected, what of the Palestinian dualism, which traced moral evil to demonic incitement? It may not have bulked

¹ 'Whence come wars and fightings and factions? Whence but from the body and the lusts of the body' (*Phaedo*, 66).

² Cf. *Phaedo*, 64.

large in his thought, and it may not be consistent with his general outlook, but that it was part of his philosophy it is difficult to disbelieve in the face of ii. 23, 24 :

God created man for incorruption,
And made him an image of His own proper being ;
But by envy of the devil death entered the world,
And they that are of his portion make trial thereof.

This is generally taken to refer to Gen. iii. and is the first instance in literature of the identification of the serpent with the devil.¹ The death² referred to is not physical, but moral. Moral death is, therefore, said to have first entered the world through demonic agency. This is an advance in the direction of dualism.

The serpent
of Gen. iii. is
identified
with the
devil.

Dr. Porter is hardly convincing in his attempt to discount the force of this passage. He says the author 'has, in strict consistency, no room in his world for any divine being except God, or for any spirit except God's one omnipresent and omnipotent spirit of Wisdom.'³ But surely the same objection might be brought against Christianity. It is difficult to harmonize the conception of a devil with any purely monistic system. Again, 'Our writer's mode

¹ Philo does not personalize the serpent, but takes it to be a symbol of lust, 'because, first, it is without feet, and is prone upon its belly ; second, because it uses clods of earth for food ; and third, because it carries poison in its teeth, with which it slays those who are bitten' (*De Opif. Mundi*, 56). In another passage, however, he refers to evil spirits as inciting men to sin (*De Gig.* 4).

² See under chap. "Moral Sanctions."

³ Loc. cit. p. 81.

Personality
ascribed to
the devil.

of thinking made it quite possible for him to accept the reality of the devil of current thought, and yet give him practically the value of a mere symbol of temptation and death.' ¹ But the ascription of such a personal quality as envy to the devil would seem to place his personality beyond doubt. It is true, as Dr. Porter points out, that nowhere else does he refer to demons as inciting men to sin; but this only proves that he did not hold a highly developed demonology, not that he did not accept the dualism prevalent among his Jewish contemporaries. If, as Tennant ² thinks, 'the ascription of envy to him (the devil) as his motive for ruining man suggests that we have here a fusion of the legend of the fallen angels, who corrupted the world in the age of the Deluge, with the story of the loss of Paradise,' the author's demonology is more developed than is at first sight apparent.

We must
conclude
that the
Palestinian
dualism is
held.

Inherited
depravity
not taught.

But nothing more is implied in ii. 24 than that the incident there recorded was the historic starting-point of moral evil in the world. Certainly the doctrine of inherited depravity is not taught, for it cannot be intended that moral death became the heritage of all men, for it is stated that it is restricted to those who are of the devil's portion.

Moral evil
due to man's
free choice.

Despite the part played by the devil, moral evil is traced to man's free choice. It must be laid at the door of the will. Ungodly men made a deliberate covenant with death (i. 16).

¹ Loc. cit. p. 82.

² Op. cit. p. 128.

WISDOM (Part II, ix. 18-end)

The word 'folly' is used to indicate moral evil on two or three occasions (x. 8, xix. 3), but it is not characteristic of the author. The prevailing term is unrighteousness (x. 3, xi. 15 *et passim*), which is described as 'folly of life' (xii. 23). Unrighteousness consists in a failure to recognize the being and power of the one sovereign Lord (xii. 17, xiii. 9), and manifests itself especially in idolatry (xiv.), and, in the case of Israel, in the violation of the law (xvi. 6). There is, it is true, an element of ignorance in moral evil (xiii. 6), but it is not such as to preclude all possibility of knowledge (xiii. 6).

Moral evil as unrighteousness, arising from a failure to recognize the being and sovereignty of Jahveh.

The most fruitful source of unrighteousness is idolatry, the invention of which is regarded as having led to the 'corruption of life':

Idolatry.

For the devising of idols was the beginning of fornication,
And the invention of them the corruption of life (xiv. 12).

The natural history of idolatry is traced in xiv. 12-31, and its terrible moral consequences are delineated:

The natural history of idolatry.

For, either slaughtering children in solemn rites or celebrating secret mysteries,
Or holding frantic revels of strange ordinances,
No longer do they guard either life or purity of marriage;
But one brings upon another either death by treachery or anguish by adulterate offspring.
And all things confusedly are filled with blood and murder,
and theft and deceit,
Corruption, faithlessness, tumult, perjury, turmoil,
Ingratitude for benefits received,
Defiling of souls, confusion of sex,

Disorder in marriage, adultery, and wantonness.

For the worship of these nameless idols

Is a beginning and cause and end of every evil (xiv. 23-7.)¹

What is the teaching as to the origin of evil and the constitution of man's nature? In the first place, there is no support for the contention that the Greek doctrines of the pre-existence of the soul, and of the body as the seat of evil, are present. The former doctrine has been deduced from xv. 8, 11, 16, but the reference to God's having inspired into man 'an active soul, and breathed into him a vital spirit' (xv. 11) is obviously based on Gen. ii. 7, and the passage, 'He who, having but a little before been made of earth, after a short space goeth his way to the earth out of which he was taken, when he is required to render back the soul that was lent him' (xv. 8), is simply an echo of Eccles. xii. 7.

Neither is there any basis for the doctrine that the body is the seat of evil. The whole creation is good (xi. 24, xii. 1a), and all the cosmic forces are on the side of righteousness (xvi. 17, 24).

Moral evil is not connected with the transgression of Adam, which is only referred to in x. 1, where it is said he was restored through the operation of the Divine Wisdom. At the same time, there is a distinct movement towards the doctrine of an inherited tendency to evil in human nature. All men are by nature vain (*μαραῖοι*, xiii. 1). Of the old inhabitants of Palestine it is said that God was not ignorant 'that their nature by birth was evil and their wickedness inborn, and that their manner of thought

No support
for Greek
doctrines
of pre-
existence,
and dualism
of soul and
body.}

Movement
towards
doctrine of
inherited
depravity on
a limited
scale, but
not
connected
with the
Fall.

¹ Cf. verses 25 and 26 with Rom. i. 29-31.

would in no wise ever be changed, for they were a seed accursed from the beginning' (xii. 10 f.). Taken by itself, the passage implies that these particular people inherited a moral taint that was irremediable; but it must be taken in the light of its context, which speaks of 'a place of repentance' (xii. 10 a.). Vigorous language is used, but the writer does not mean more than that these nations had a strong inherited tendency to evil, but not so strong, however, as to make moral recovery impossible, though, as a matter of fact, God foresaw that such recovery would not take place.

The passage which has just been discussed refers only to the inhabitants of Palestine, in whom it recognizes the presence of an inborn evil taint (ἔμφυτος κακία). It would not be fair to argue from this that the writer believed such a taint to be universal; but his teaching is significant, as showing a belief in original sin on a limited scale, although it is not connected with the fall of Adam. The occurrence of the phrase σύμφυτος κακοήθεια in 3 Macc. iii. 22, and the expression συμφυὲς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐστίν in Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, ii. (iii.) 17) is evidence that, about this time, the belief in an inborn tendency to sin was widely held at Alexandria, although as yet no doctrine of universal hereditary depravity appears to have been formulated.

Summary

The legalistic view of moral evil pervades 1 and 2 Macc., 3 Ezra, and *Judith*; the same is also true of *Pss. Sol.*, which, however, has indications of a more

inward view. In *Sim. Enoch* it consists chiefly in the denial of the reality of the spiritual; but this must not be taken to mark so great an advance as the bare statement might of itself seem to convey. It is not so much an affirmation that moral failure arises through lack of fellowship with the spiritual as a condemnation of the Sadducaic Deism, although the former idea is certainly present in some degree. The writer thinks quite as much of the theological heresy involved in this denial of the spiritual as of the resultant moral impoverishment. A higher point is reached in *Wisdom*, Part II, which is free from the atmosphere of the sects, and traces moral evil to ignorance of the being and power of the one sovereign Lord; such ignorance is not regarded as merely intellectual, but as arising from the lack of that experimental knowledge of God which springs from a realization of our relationship to Him (xv. 1-3).

In Part I of *Wisdom* moral evil is defined as folly and lack of understanding, as in *Sirach*, but in a different and deeper sense. In *Sirach* it is folly viewed from the standpoint of a prudential externalism, and with regard to the issues and interests of the present life; but in *Wisdom* it is folly judged from the standpoint of the pursuit of the divine wisdom, and with regard to the eternal issues of morality.

As to the origin of evil, there is, as we have seen, no recognizable reference to the doctrine of the *yezer* in the literature of this century. Here, again, different lines of thought can be traced, but it must be remembered that, as none of the writers

are dealing specifically with the problem of evil, and their references to it are only incidental, silence as to any particular theory does not necessarily imply that it was not held.

(1) The *Enoch* sections agree in tracing the origin of the corruption of the world to the seductions of the Watchers. But the *Similitudes* go a step further in attributing the fall of the Watchers to the action of the Satans—a conception which seems to imply a kingdom of evil as opposed to that of God. There is also a reference to the seduction of Eve by an angel, and to the initiation of men into forbidden secrets by another angel, as a result of which the race came into subjection to the law of death. But these different theories or legends are not correlated, and there is no attempt to formulate a doctrine of inherited depravity in connexion with any of them. Part I of *The Book of Wisdom* connects the entry of moral death into the world, historically not causally, with the successful temptation of Eve by the devil. Possibly, too, there is a hint of the story of the Watchers.

(2) Part II of *Wisdom* makes it clear that at Alexandria, by the end of the century, a belief in inherited depravity on a limited scale, at any rate, was existent, but it is not brought into any connexion with the story of the Fall.

III. THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

A. ALEXANDRIAN

III. MACCABEES

Legalistic
view of evil.

Here, again, Moral Evil is chiefly the violation of the precepts of Judaism (i. 7, ii. 33, iv. *et passim*), and disregard of Jahveh (ii. 3, iv. 16, vi. 11). It is something more, however, than the violation of external ordinances, for it is explained by the presence of an innate tendency to evil. Ptolemy describes the Jews as having 'innate malignity' (σύμφυτος κακότης)¹ and as 'constantly inclining to evil' (iii. 22); and probably the same idea is in the writer's mind when he attributes to Ptolemy an 'erring heart' (iv. 16). The belief in an inborn tendency to evil, without any causal dependence on the sin of Adam, had evidently found its way into Alexandrian Judaism; but this bias is not so strong as to destroy the possibility of moral restoration (ii. 19).

Innate
tendency
to sin, with
no causal
connexion
with the
Fall.

IV. MACCABEES

Antagonism
of the
moral
nature and
the passions.

This writer's view of the constitution of human nature is expressed in ii. 21: 'At the time when God created man He implanted within him his passions and his moral nature.' The moral nature and the passions are set in opposition to each other; the former is able to master the latter by the aid of the Mosaic law 'acting through reasoning'

¹ Cf. *Wisd.* xii. 10 f., and Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, ii. (iii.) 17.

(ii. 9). This is not the Stoic doctrine, for Cleanthes taught that 'nature herself never gives us anything but good inclinations,' and that 'If a rational animal goes the wrong way, it is because it allows itself to be misled by the deceitful appearances of external things, or perhaps by the instigation of those who surround it.'¹ Probably, as we shall see later, the view of human nature underlying the book is Jewish, but the thought is clothed in Stoic garb.

In its teaching as to the treatment of the passions the book is not quite self-consistent. The chief emphasis is laid upon their regulation. Reason rules over the passions, which are contrary to the cardinal virtues, 'so as to withstand without destroying them' (i. 6). Desire cannot be rooted out, but enslavement to it can be prevented by reasoning (iii. 5). 'Reasoning is absolute ruler of the passions' (i. 30). 'One may not be able to root out anger from the soul, but it is possible to withstand anger' (iii. 3). 'Reasoning is not an eradicator but an antagonist of the passions' (iii. 5). 'Religious reasoning is master of the passions' (vi. 31). 'For the affections of our appetites are resisted by the temperate understanding, and sent back again, and all the impulses of the body are reined in by reasoning' (i. 35). The aim is, therefore, not the eradication of the passions, but their mastery and regulation by the religious reason. Some of the passions are capable of being converted into aids to the moral nature. 'For the temperate mind is able to be superior to the

Regulation
of the
passions.

¹ *Diog. L. vii. 89.*

passions, and to transfer (*μεταθεῖναι*) some' (ii. 18). The word *μεταθεῖναι* can in this connexion only mean the transference of passion from a lower object to a higher. The same principle is implied in the view that some passions may be educated: 'As pleasure and pain are, therefore, two growths of the body and the soul, so there are many offshoots of these passions. And reasoning, the universal husbandman, purging and pruning these severally, and binding round, and watering, and transplanting, in every way improves the materials of the morals and the passions' (i. 28 f.).

Eradication
of the
passions.

This teaching is Platonic and Aristotelian, not Stoic, for Stoicism taught that the passions must be absolutely eradicated, and vigorously attacked the doctrine that they must be regulated.¹ The wise man must be emotionless.² There are, however, one or two passages which bring the writer nearer to Stoicism. He teaches that some of the passions can be 'made null' (*ἀκυρώω*) by the temperate mind (ii. 18), and the same idea of eradication is suggested by the expression, 'The temperate mind has power . . . to quench the fires of the vehement passions' (iii. 17).

Modification
of early
Stoicism.

As explaining this divergence of teaching, it must be remembered that, as time went on, the rigour of early Stoicism was relaxed, and the emotions were viewed with a more friendly eye. 'The first elements of the forbidden emotions were allowed under other names, and, emotions being still forbidden, certain mental affections were

¹ Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, p. 236.

² 'Απαθής, *Diog. L. vii. 117*.

allowed, and even declared to be desirable.' Our author illustrates the same tendency. His Stoicism is modified. Some passions may be made null or quenched, but the majority (and this is a great departure from early Stoicism) must be regulated. Like the Stoics, he does not clearly distinguish between the feelings and the passions.

The doctrine that reason is the ruler of the passions is modified by the statement, 'How, then, a man may say, if reasoning be master of the passions, has it no control over forgetfulness and ignorance? The argument is exceedingly ridiculous, for reasoning does not appear to bear sway over its own affections, but over those of the body' (ii. 24). What is meant by 'its own affections'? It is not the inner thoughts and motives, for the purpose of the passage which leads up to this verse is to show that 'it is not merely the stimulus of sensual indulgence, but that of every desire, that reasoning is able to master' (ii. 4), and instances are given of the mastery by reason, not only of carnal desire, but also of more spiritual sins, arising from the disposition (ii. 4-15). In addition to this, the only instances given of these affections of the reason are 'forgetfulness and ignorance.'

Reason does not rule over 'its own affections.'

The reference is not to the inner sphere of motive.

It is difficult to analyse the psychology of the passage, and it must be remembered that it is a mere *obiter dictum* in a composition of a sermonic character, somewhat loose and rhetorical in its construction. The writer (or preacher) is speaking directly of forgetfulness and ignorance. Plato, and even Aristotle, assumed that these are involuntary,

Plato and Aristotle taught that ignorance is involuntary.

¹ Zeller, op. cit. p. 273.

and consequently that any vice arising from these is involuntary too. Therefore reason cannot control those passions which spring from forgetfulness and ignorance. Whatever the true interpretation of the writer's psychology, his meaning becomes clear if it be remembered that his purpose is to show that the Greek ideal of virtue can only be fully realized in Judaism. If reason cannot rule over forgetfulness and ignorance, the law, acting through reasoning, can.

This defect
is made good
by religious
reasoning,
i.e. by
Judaism.

This interpretation is supported by vii. 17-24, the meaning of which becomes plainer if verse 23 be read in inverted commas, and verse 24 construed as a question. 'But perhaps some might say, It is not all who conquer passions, as all do not possess wise reasoning' (i.e. some are subject to the passions arising from forgetfulness and ignorance). 'But they who have meditated upon religion with their whole heart, these alone can master the passions of the flesh; they who believe that to God they die not; for, as our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, they live to God. This circumstance, then, is by no means an objection, that some who have weak reasoning are governed by their passions: since what person, walking religiously by the whole rule of philosophy, and believing in God, and knowing that it is a blessed thing to endure all kinds of hardships for virtue, would not, for the sake of religion, master his passion? "For the wise and brave man only is lord over his passions" (say the Greeks).¹

¹ 'Is not temperance a virtue belonging to those only who despise the body, and who pass their lives in philosophy?' (Plato, *Phaedo*, 68).

'In the man of self-control it [i.e. the irrational nature] obeys

Is it then on this account that even boys, imbued with the philosophy of religious reasoning, have conquered still more bitter passions? '¹ Greek philosophy had no message of hope for the man of weak reasoning, since it held the wise and the brave to be alone lord of the passions, but Judaism taught that even lads might conquer passions, if imbued with the philosophy of religious reasoning, i.e. if they meditated upon religion with their whole heart.

In regard to desires, the writer says: 'Some belong to the soul, and others to the body; and over each of these classes the reasoning appears to bear sway' (i. 31). This must not be interpreted to mean that he holds the Greek dualism of soul and body, and that certain desires have their seat in the body as such, and others in the soul as such, for no such distinction is recognized in ii. 21. All that is intended is that certain lusts have their most willing instrument in the body, while certain others find expression in the domain of the mind and spirit.

Desires belong to body and soul, but Greek dualism is not held.

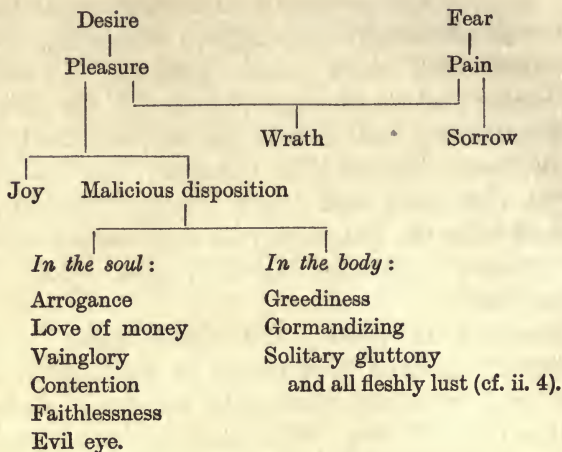
In his analysis and classification of the affections, he does not follow the Stoics,^² but pursues a method of his own (i. 20-27). They are best put in tabular form.

reason; and perhaps in the man of perfected self-mastery or the brave man, it is yet more obedient, for in them it agrees entirely with reason' (Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics*, bk. i. ch. xi.).

^¹ In the N.T. the interrogative particle is often dropped (Winer, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 638).

^² Cf. *Diog. L.* vii. 110-16.

Classifica-
tion of the
affections.



Point of
contact with
Stoicism.

An undoubted point of contact with Stoicism must be noted. It is taught that failure in one point is failure in all, 'For transgression of the law, whether in small matters or great, is of equal moment; for in either case the law is equally slighted' (v. 20 f.). This is, of course, the Stoic doctrine that he who falls short in one point fails in all, and that there is nothing intermediate between virtue and vice. 'The man who is a hundred furlongs from Canopus, and the man who is only one, are both equally not in Canopus; and so, too, he who commits a greater sin, and he who commits a less, are both equally not in the right path.' 'As a stick must be either straight or crooked, so a man must be either just or unjust.'¹

¹ *Diog. L.* vii. 120, 127; cf. also *Jas.* ii. 10. Mayor (*James*, p. 89) gives the following illustrations, among others from rabbinic literature. R. Jochanan: from *Sabb. f.* 70, 2 'Si faciat

How far is the writer's view of the constitution of human nature Jewish? It is not unlikely that, in the conception of the passions and the moral nature implanted by God at the creation (ii. 21), we have a Stoicized form of the doctrine of the *yezers*, the moral nature corresponding to the *yezer hatob* and the passions to the *yezer hara*, the religious reason mediating between them. The teaching that the passions must be 'transferred' and regulated, not eradicated, would then harmonize with the rabbinic view of the evil *yezer* as being in a sense good, and, when used aright, contributing to moral development. The mediating part played by the 'religious reason' also harmonizes with the rabbinic doctrine that the evil *yezer* can be controlled by means of the law. There is a hint of the legend that the sin of Eve was sexual in its character (xviii. 7 f.), but this is not brought into any causal relation with the moral evil of the race.

The *yezers*.

In other respects the teaching as to moral evil is, despite Greek influences, characteristically Jewish. The height of transgression is unfaithfulness to the Mosaic law. 'We, who are persuaded that we live under a divine law, consider no compulsion to be so forcible as obedience to that law; wherefore we consider that we ought not in any point to transgress the law' (v. 17).

Moral evil defined in Jewish terms.

Our author does not share the misgivings of omnia, unum vero omittat omnium et singulorum reus est.' *Pesikta*, f. 50, 1; 'Omnis qui dicit, totam legem ego in me recipio praeter verbum unum, hic sermonem Domini sprexit et praecepta ejus irrita fecit.'

Self-sufficiency of the law, acting through reasoning, to control every impulse.

Paul and ps.-Ezra as to the ability of the law to exercise control over the inner thoughts and motives. Paul wrote, 'I had not known coveting except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet: but sin, finding occasion, wrought in me through the commandment all manner of coveting' (Rom. vii. 7 f.). But this writer, having affirmed that the reason is able to master every desire, says: 'For instance, the law says, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor anything that belongs to thy neighbour. Now then, since it is the law which has forbidden us to desire, I shall much the more easily persuade you, that reasoning is able to govern our lusts' (ii. 4-6). He then proceeds to show that 'a man who regulates his course by the law' can 'put force upon his disposition,' so as to control covetousness, miserliness, conjugal affection, enmity, empty boasting, arrogance, and slander (ii. 8-15). The law is, therefore, regarded as capable of exercising complete dominion even in the inner realm of spirit.

SLAVONIC ENOCH

Satanic origin of evil.

According to this work, Moral Evil had its beginning in the fall of Satan, who fell through overweening ambition, and led other angels astray with him (vii. 3, xxix. 4 f.). He became moved with envy towards man in his unfallen glory in Paradise (xxxi. 1-3), and entered in¹ and (sexually)

¹ Tennant (op. cit. p. 209) points out that the Slavonic word translated 'entered in,' is often used in the old Slavonic Bible, in the biblical sense 'came in unto.'

seduced Eve ¹ (xxx. 6). Afterwards the earth was made foul, because those of the Watchers who had become subject to Satan wrought uncleanness with the daughters of men (xviii. 3 ff.). Up to this point, therefore, the introduction of moral evil is traced to Satan and his agents, and to Eve. But part of the responsibility has also to be borne by Adam. Originally he was placed upon the earth 'like a second angel, in an honourable, great and glorious way' (xxx. 11, xxxi. 2); he was created in the likeness of God (xliv. 1, lxv. 2), and given lordship over nature (lviii. 3); but he sinned, and through his transgression, and that of Eve, physical death entered the world (xxx. 16-18).

The sin of Adam is attributed to ignorance. The reality of moral distinctions was made clear to him, and the two ways set before him, but 'he did not know his nature, therefore his ignorance is a woe to him, that he should sin' (xxx. 15 f.). It is evident that Adam was not ignorant of moral issues, for it is said that those had been made clear to him; but he did not know his own nature, with its implanted *yezer hara* and *yezer hatob*. This seems to imply that Adam was created with an evil tendency at least equal in force to that for good, although xxx. 11 implies that it did not become active until the Fall. This ascription of moral evil to involuntary ignorance suggests a point of contact with Plato, who taught that no man would do the wrong if he really knew the right.² But the knowledge, the need of which is here emphasized, is not that of truth and goodness

Adam's transgression due to ignorance of his *yezer*.

¹ Cf. 4 Macc. xviii. 7. ² Prot. 345 D; Legg. 731 D, 860 D.

A Greek
idea in a
Jewish
form.

in the abstract (as with Plato), but of the good and evil impulses of human nature. The underlying idea is Platonic, but the writer has given it a Jewish form by applying it to the conception of the *yezers*. Perhaps he was led to give the principle this Jewish form by the application of the Socratic precept, 'Know thyself.' It was natural that, in carrying out this exhortation, he should take as his starting-point the Jewish, not the Greek view of human nature. Colour is given to this suggestion by the fact that he definitely counsels self-examination after the Socratic manner. A man 'should compute his life from the beginning till death, and should meditate upon his sin, and should write down his evil and good deeds' (lxv. 4).¹

Inherited
depravity
causally
connected
with the Fall
for the first
time in
literature.

The transgressions of Adam and Eve are fraught with serious consequences to the whole race. 'And I saw all our forefathers from the beginning with Adam and Eve, and I sighed and wept and spake of the ruin [caused by] their wickedness: Woe is me for my infirmity and that of my forefathers' (xli. 1). This seems to be the first appearance in literature of the doctrine which definitely and causally connects moral evil with the transgression of the first parents of the race. Previous writers relate them as a matter of historical sequence, but not causally. It should be noted, however—

¹ Cf. 'I must first know myself: . . . am I a monster more complicated and swollen with passion than the serpent Trypho, or a creature of a gentler and simpler sort?' (*Phaedrus* 229 E, 230 A). In the *Philebus* (48) Socrates says that the chief way in which ignorance of self is shown is that men 'imagine themselves to be much better men than they are.'

though perhaps this belongs to the sphere of theology rather than ethics—that there is here no suggestion of inherited *guilt* as well as infirmity. The writer's assumption is that the soul which, 'having been born, has never sinned before the face of the Lord,' will not enter the place of punishment (xli. 2).

There is one passage which is usually taken to teach the pre-existence of the soul in the Greek sense: 'For every soul was created eternally before the foundation of the world' (xxiii. 5). But Bonwetsch, as against Morfill, holds that 'created' should read 'prepared,' and apart from this the context points to the use of 'soul' in the Jewish sense. Certainly if, as we have deduced, the writer held the doctrine of the two *yezers* implanted by God at the beginning, he cannot have held that of the original goodness of the soul, as did Plato, who believed that the soul first enters the body from its pre-existent state, wholly good, but becomes tainted with evil through its union with the body and the limitations of its environment. Again, as we shall see in another chapter, the form of his doctrine of immortality is not Greek, and is inconsistent with the Platonic theory of pre-existence.

Greek doctrine of pre-existence is not taught.

The writer's conception of the nature of sin is Jewish. It is to dishonour God (x. 4), especially by means of idolatry (ii. 2, x. 6, lxvi. 1, 5); to 'transgress the commandments' (lxv. 5), and to do 'unrighteousness which the Lord hates' (lxvi. 1). He recognizes the inwardness of sin, for he says that the thoughts of wicked men 'lie in the store-places of the heart' (liii. 3).

Judaistic view of nature of moral evil.

Various
vices.

The forms of moral evil which are specially condemned are 'sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, devilish magic, boastfulness, stealing, lying, calumny, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder';¹ oppression of the poor, and a callous lack of compassion (x. 4, xxxiv. 2; xlv. 1 ff.); and the misuse of the tongue (lii. 2 f.).

B. PALESTINIAN

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

Moral evil
as a
violation
of the
Covenant.

This book has little light to throw upon the problem. Moral evil consists in a violation of the Covenant (ii. 7), and a transgression of the commandments (iii. 12, xii. 11), resulting in 'lawless deeds and iniquities' (v. 6). There is a reference to the coming overthrow of Satan (x. 1), but nothing is said of Satanic agency in the book as it has reached us. Tennant² points out that Origen (*De Princip.* iii. ii. 1) says that in the book as he knew it, the transgression of Adam and Eve is attributed to the serpent, inspired by the devil.

Greek
doctrine of
pre-
existence
not taught.

It is taught that Moses pre-existed: 'Accordingly He designed and devised me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His covenant' (i. 14). This does not necessarily imply the Greek doctrine of personal pre-existence; probably all that is meant is the pre-existence of the *ruach*, or *neshamah*, or perhaps that Moses pre-existed in the divine thought and intention. In any case, Moses is

¹ Cf. Mark vii. 21.

² Op. cit. p. 195.

regarded as exceptional, and the teaching as to pre-existence is not brought into any relation to the constitution of human nature as it affects the problem of moral evil.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

Moral evil is defined as lawlessness (ii. 4, 7, iii. 4), but the precise significance of the term is not defined. Probably it is used to signify any deviation from Jahvism, for Beliar, 'the angel of lawlessness,' makes strong in apostasizing, and the vices condemned by name are witchcraft and kindred practices, uncleanness, and the persecution of those who were true to the national ideal (ii. 4 f.).

Evil is manifested in the service of demons (ii. 2) and is due to their incitement, especially of Sammael and Beliar¹ (i. 9, ii. 4, iii. 11, v. 1).

Moral evil as apostasy.

Evil due to demonic incitement.

BARUCH (iii. 9—iv. 4)

Moral evil consists in forsaking the 'fountain of wisdom,' that is, in disobedience to the Mosaic law (iii. 12, iv. 1). The antithesis of wisdom is 'foolishness,' and this is universal outside Israel (iii. 28) because of the Gentiles' ignorance of the law.

Moral evil as foolishness.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (iv.)

There is in this book no theory of moral evil. The sins condemned are idolatry (iv. 5 ff.), murder, theft,

¹ Cf. *Jub.* i. 20, xv. 3; and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *passim*.

lust, and paederasty (iv. 31-4). There is a vivid description of the fruits of unrestrained iniquity:

But when piety shall perish from mankind,
And faith and right be hidden in the world,
. . . Fickle . . . and in unhallowed boldness
Living shall practice wanton violence,
And reckless evil deeds, and of the pious
No one shall take account, but even them all
From thoughtlessness they utterly destroy
In childish folly, in their violence
Exulting, and in blood holding their hands
(iv. 152-8).

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

Judaistic
view of the
nature of
evil.

As is already evident from our study of the Moral Ideal, ps.-Baruch conceives of moral evil as consisting in violation of the law (xv. 5 f., xix. 1-4). There is no trace here of the doctrine of the *cor malignum* so prominent in 4 *Ezra*, nor does the writer's thought move along the lines of the two *yezers*. Jeremiah is said to have had a heart 'pure from sins' (ix.), a phrase which stands in marked contrast to the *cor malignum*.

No doctrine
of total
depravity.

Adam and
Eve the
historical
starting-
point of evil.

Historically Adam is the starting-point of moral evil. 'He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that have imitated him. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam, and have not rejoiced in the light of his lamp' (xviii.). As Charles says, 'The law (xvii. 4) and Adam are in this passage symbolical names for the opposing powers of light and darkness.'¹ This book goes further than 4 *Ezra*

¹ *Ap. of Bar.* p. 33 n.

in tracing the beginning of sin not only to Adam, but also to Eve, who yielded to the incitement of the serpent (xlvi. 42).

What are the consequences to the race of this joint transgression? Like other apocalyptic writers, this writer traces the introduction of physical death into the world to the Fall. The teaching of the book on this subject is not quite uniform. Some passages seem to teach that, apart from the Fall, death would not have entered into the world at all (xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4); others point simply to its resulting in the premature introduction of death (liv. 15, lvi. 6). Other consequences which followed are thus described: 'Grief was named, and anguish was prepared, and pain was created, and trouble perfected, and boasting began to be established, and Sheol to demand that it should be renewed in blood, and the begetting of children was brought about, and the passion of parents produced, and the greatness of humanity was humiliated, and goodness languished . . . for he was a danger to his own soul.' The writer then goes on to describe how also, as a result of the Fall, some of the angels and the daughters of men entered into illicit relations with each other (lvi. 6 ff.). Tennant¹ deduces from this passage that 'the author of this apocalypse taught a partial disturbance of the constitution of our original nature . . . in consequence of Adam's sin. This is, however, a very different thing from moral incapacity, infirmity, or thorough corruption, such as other teachers have asserted to have been brought about by the Fall, and to which they trace all man's

Consequences of the Fall:

(a) physical death.

(b) Universal lawlessness.

(c) Man's physical nature became a danger to his spiritual nature.

¹ Op. cit. p. 216.

actual sinfulness.' It is true that ps.-Baruch does not teach the doctrine of total depravity as a result of the Fall, but it is easily possible to understate the tendencies of his teaching in that direction. The sin of Adam laid the foundation of boasting, it produced that sexual passion which has been and is accountable for so many sins, and caused man's physical nature to become a danger to his spiritual (lvi. 10)—a conception which is akin neither to the Greek dualism of body and soul nor to the rabbinic doctrine of the *yezzer*s, but to the Pauline antithesis of flesh and spirit. These results do not involve the total corruption of man, but they do seem to imply the transmission of a hereditary tendency to evil.

(d) The transmission in some degree, of a hereditary tendency to evil.

This interpretation is borne out by xlviii. 42 f. 'O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee? and what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent? For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours.' Charles would rule the passage out as an interpolation, because he believes it to be the only place in which spiritual death is traced to Adam.¹ Tennant takes it to teach 'conditional liability to punishment for imputed sin.'² But why need it mean more (or less) than that, as a result of the inherited tendency to evil dating from the Fall, when man's physical nature became a danger to his spiritual, multitudes have fallen into spiritual death? This is not the doctrine of total depravity or of inherited guilt, both of which are repudiated by this writer, but of a voluntary (not necessary) yielding to inherited

¹ *Apoc. Bar.* p. lxxx. n.

² *Op. cit.* p. 220.

evil tendencies. 'Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19). Each man is the Adam of his own soul.

IV. EZRA (2 *Esdras*)

This writer conceives of moral evil as consisting in a violation of the commandments of God which have been manifested to Israel in the law, to disobey which is sin (ix. 36); and in a wrong relationship to God (viii. 56 f.). Judaistic view of evil.

The most interesting questions raised by the book under this heading are those of the constitution of man, and the relation of Adam's sin to that of the race. This writer differs from the earlier apocalypses, and also from Genesis, inasmuch as he does not connect the fall of Adam with demonic incitement. There is no reference to any spiritual agencies inciting to evil, or to the transgression of Eve. Adam fell because of the 'grain of evil seed' (*granum seminis mali*) sown in the heart at the beginning (iv. 30); bearing a 'wicked heart' (*cor malignum*) he was overcome (iii. 21). There was therefore implanted in Adam at the very beginning, and before his transgression, a distinct bias towards evil. As we are dependent on a Latin version for our knowledge of the book, it is difficult to know how far the writer used rabbinic phraseology. Most probably the *cogitamentum malum* is the Latin equivalent of *yezer hara*, and there can be little doubt that the same rabbinic idea is intended to be conveyed by the phrases *cor malignum* (vii. 92) and *granum seminis mali* (iv. 30). Whether the *cor malignum* is Fall due, not to demonic incitement, but to the *granum seminis mali*. Yezer hara.

meant to describe a more developed state of evil than the *granum seminis mali* it is difficult to say. Probably not, since the existence of a grain of evil seed in a heart would suffice to make it wicked; and even if such a development took place it must have been before the Fall, for we are told that it was owing to his *cor malignum* that Adam fell (iii. 21). The Fall is therefore represented as the result of the *cor malignum*, not vice versa.

The *cor malignum* is universal.

This evil heart that was in Adam is in all his descendants (iii. 20 f., iv. 4) and is 'fashioned together with them' (vii. 92). The tendency to evil in the heart of Adam is transmitted from generation to generation (iv. 30). Thus by the joint sin of Adam and his descendants, the disease has become permanent, and evil has become engrained (*malignitate radicis*) in men's hearts (iii. 22; cf. viii. 53). 'There is no man among them that be born but he hath dealt wickedly, and among them that have lived there is none which hath not done amiss' (viii. 35). Consequently the world is 'full of sadness and infirmities' (iv. 27). Moral evil has had cosmic results, for it has made 'the entrances of this world narrow and sorrowful and toilsome' (vii. 12). The evil heart has brought into corruption and the ways of death 'not a few only, but wellnigh all that have been created' (vii. 48), 'for all that are born are intermingled (*commixti*) with iniquities and are full of sins, and laden with offences' (vii. 68). So universal is the corruption that ps.-Ezra cannot see any hope, from the principles of legalism, that more than a few will be saved (vii. 45-8), and those only by mercy (vii. 139).

No hope in the law.

So far the connexion between the transgression of Adam and the moral evil of the race is not shown. Adam sinned because he was mastered by his *cor malignum*, and his descendants have sinned for the reason that they, like him, possess a wicked heart. There is then, so far, no kind of causal connexion between the fall of Adam and the sin of the race; but there is one passage in which such a relation is indicated, though not explained: 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen upon thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee. For what profit is it unto us if there be promised to us an immortal time, whereas we have done the works that bring death?' (vii. 118, 119). The connexion between the sin of Adam and the subjection of the race to the law of physical death is established in iii. 7. It is true that it is made clear in vii. 119 that all men have become co-partners in the guilt of Adam, but probably the inference to be drawn from vii. 118 is that Adam by his transgression lost much of his power of resistance to the *cor malignum*, and that such loss of power was inherited by his descendants. But let it be noted, as will be seen more fully in a later chapter, this process is not conceived of in theory as proceeding so far as to involve the total destruction of moral responsibility, but from the practical standpoint it comes dangerously near to it.

The Fall
lessened
man's power
of resistance
to the *cor
malignum*.

This teaching naturally challenges comparison with that of Paul. But a close examination of the Pauline doctrine shows that the standpoint of the two writers is not the same. The interpretations

Ps.-Ezra
and Paul.

of Rom. v. 12-21 are many,¹ and cannot be discussed here. It is certain that Paul, like ps.-Ezra, connected the entry of physical death into the world with the Fall. That he connected human sinfulness with the Fall, and taught some form of the doctrine of Original Sin, is equally certain; but that it was not in the same form as 4 *Ezra* is clear, since he makes no reference to the existence of the *cor malignum* in Adam before the Fall. Paul does not hint that Adam had a naturally depraved heart as a result of which he fell, nor does his thought move along the line of the rabbinic doctrine of the good and evil *yezers*. He traces the sin of Adam, not to evil inclination, but to the will. Ps.-Ezra's teaching is rabbinic rather than Pauline, as may be seen from the following summary by Weber of that of the Talmud: 'Sin, to which the bent and leaning had already been implanted in men by creation, had become a fact, the evil impulse [*cor malignum*] gained the mastery over mankind, who can only resist it by the greatest efforts; before the Fall it had had power over him, but no such ascendancy.'²

Ps.-Ezra
and rabbinic
teaching.

¹ Tennant, while admitting the presence of some form of the doctrine of original sin 'in the broadest sense of that phrase' (op. cit. p. 257), says: 'It must be concluded that strict exegesis fails to find a doctrine of inherited corruption of human nature in St. Paul's theology' (op. cit. p. 270). On the other hand, both Charles (*Apoc. Bar.* p. lxxxi.) and Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. 134) hold that Paul taught the doctrine of inherited depravity as the result of the Fall.

² Quoted in Sanday and Headlam, op. cit. p. 137.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

Moral Evil arises primarily from the incitement of Azazel, a fallen archangel, who sinned in scattering abroad the heavenly mysteries on earth (xiv.). Not only is he made responsible for the Fall, but for the transgression of Cain (xxiv.), and from him proceed anger and strife and every evil spirit of deceit (xiv.). The Fall is explained as being due to Azazel, who appeared as a serpent, but with hands and feet like a man, who led Eve astray, so that she and Adam ate of the forbidden fruit, and as a consequence fell into sexual sin. The Fall is thus traced to the sexual union of Adam and Eve (xxiii.). Like *Sl. Enoch* and *4 Ezra*, this book definitely connects not merely historically, but causally, the sin of the race with the transgression of Adam and Eve. 'And he said: This is the counsel of man, this is Adam, and these are their desires on earth; this is Eve, but he who is between them is the godless power of their enterprise in ruin, Azazel himself. And I said: Eternal, Mighty One! Why hast Thou granted him such power to ruin the human race in its works upon earth?' (xxiii.).¹

Moral evil originated with Azazel, who revealed forbidden secrets, led astray Adam and Eve, and continually incites to evil.

Causal relation of the Fall to moral evil.

Abraham then asks: 'O Eternal, Mighty One! Why hast Thou willed to cause that evil is desired in the hearts of men, since Thou art angry at that which has been willed by Thee, with him who deals frowardly with Thy decree?' (xxiii.). The reference here is probably to the *yezer hara*, so that moral evil

Moral evil traced to the will in spite of the presence of the *yezer hara*, and of the admitted consequences of the Fall.

¹ In this passage the translation given by Tennant (op. cit. p. 194) has been followed.

is connected both with the Fall and with the evil impulses implanted in man at the beginning; but, in the development of his argument, the writer does not trace the wickedness of the individual to the evil *yezer*, but to the will (xxvi.). Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.*) thinks that these passages presuppose a knowledge of the Christian doctrine of Original Sin, and are directed against it. But the teaching as to the relation of moral evil to the will is substantially the same as that of *Apoc. Baruch*, and the polemic (if such it be) might equally well be directed against 4 *Ezra* as against Christianity.

Bonwetsch (p. 67) discerns an antinomian tendency in the vision of the ultimate conversion of Azazel (xxix.) and in the assertion that Azazel is numbered with the people separated to God, of the seed of Abraham (xx.).¹

Summary

There is little of the spirit of inwardness in the literature of this period in its interpretation of moral evil. As we have seen, in general it consists in unfaithfulness to the ordinances of Judaism. A more inward view is implied in 4 *Ezra*, with its doctrine of the *cor malignum*, and its recognition that the despising of the Most High is an element in moral evil. While it is held that the knowledge of the law has brought Israel under sin's con-

¹ 'Mache ich deinen Samen zu einer Nation des Volks und zu einem mir ausgesonderten Volk in meinem Erbteil mit Azazel.' Ginzberg takes the passage to mean that Azazel shares with God the rule over Israel, and refers the idea to Gnostic sources.

demnation (ix. 36), it is contended, as a matter of fact and experience, that the law has no power to master the *cor malignum*. The disease is more deep-seated than a mere violation of legal ordinances.

It is in the theory of the origin of moral evil that the greatest advance is made during this century. It is evident from 2, 3, and 4 *Macc.*, that there prevailed at Alexandria by now a theory of an inherited tendency to evil, without any causal dependence upon the transgression of the first parents. Like *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 4 *Macc.* teaches that good impulses as well as evil were implanted in man by God at the beginning.

The highest point in the development of the doctrine of original sin is reached in *Slavonic Enoch*, the writer of which brings together all the different theories on the subject. (a) His starting-point is the fall of Satan, who fell through ambition, and led other angels astray with him, and then (b) sexually seduced Eve. (c) Adam too fell, though precisely how is not stated. (d) The Watchers, i.e. the angels subject to Satan, wrought uncleanness on the earth. (e) Adam's fall was due to ignorance of the two *yezers*. (f) Through the transgression of Adam and Eve, the race came under the law of physical death. (g) The existence and power of moral evil are for the first time in literature causally connected with transgression of Adam and Eve.

In Palestinian literature we can trace the belief that the corruption of the race is due to the continued incitement of demons, and in the three

apocalypses which belong to the last half-century, it is causally related to the Fall. But within these limits we can distinguish three different theories: (a) Ps.-Ezra teaches that Adam's fall was due to his already existent *cor malignum*, to which, as a result, both Adam and his descendants have lost much of their power of resistance. In other words, the Fall did not produce the *cor malignum*, it only strengthened its power. (b) Ps.-Baruch, on the other hand, has nothing to say as to evil impulses implanted in man at the beginning, but traces the inherited bias or tendency to evil to the Fall. It would seem that Paul mediates between these two writers. His doctrine of original sin comes closer to that of ps.-Baruch, but his teaching as to the impotence of the unaided will to overcome evil is more akin to that of ps.-Ezra. (c) The writer of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* traces the universal tendency to evil both to the evil *yezer* and to the Fall, but does not bring these two into causal relation with each other, and, despite his recognition of these factors, contends that the evil deeds of individuals are the outcome of the free action of the will.

CHAPTER IV

THE WILL

IN the O.T. the doctrines of determinism (or predestination) and free-will are found side by side. Such is also the case in the literature before us, the various writers differing only from one another in the degree of emphasis which they attach to one or the other doctrine. Neither in the O.T. nor in the apocryphal literature is there a realization of the deep problems raised by the antithesis of the divine sovereignty and human freedom. The question was of sufficient interest to divide men into opposing factions, but it was only pursued far enough to enable them to take one side or the other. Josephus tells us that this was one of the bones of contention between the Jewish sects. 'Now for the Pharisees they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and that some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essenes affirm that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees they take away fate and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all

Freedom
and
determinism
in the O.T.

Jewish
mind not
metaphysically
inclined

Controversies of
the sects as
to the will.

our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly' (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). 'When they determine that all things are done by fate, they [the Pharisees] do not take away from men the freedom of acting as they think fit; since their notion is that it hath pleased God to make a temperament whereby what He wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously' (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3). The Pharisees 'ascribe all to fate, and to God, and yet allow that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action.' 'But the Sadducees . . . suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say that to act what is good or what is evil is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please' (*B.J.* II. viii. 14). The indeterminism of the Sadducees arose as a protest against those who tended to explain moral evil by referring it to transgressions and conflicts among the angels, and so limited man's responsibility. As against this teaching, the Sadducees, in harmony with their deism and their denial of all spiritual agencies, affirmed the unqualified freedom of the will. We shall find a close approach to this position in 1 *Maccabees*.

I. SECOND CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

SIRACH

Sadducean though this book is in tendency, it nevertheless recognizes certain elements of truth in determinism. As the Lord has exalted and hallowed certain days, and has made others ordinary days, so He has distinguished and made various the ways of men, though all alike have the same origin.

Determinist
elements.

Some of them He blessed and exalted,
And some of them He hallowed and brought nigh to
Himself ;
Some of them He cursed and brought low,
And overthrew them from their place.
As the clay of the potter in His hand,
All His ways are according to His good pleasure ;
So men are in the hand of Him that made them,
To render unto them according to His judgement
(xxxiii. 7-13).

But side by side with this, the absolute freedom of the will is taught. The identification of virtue with wisdom and of vice with folly characteristic of the book does not involve a denial of moral responsibility. An intuitive knowledge of the reality of moral distinctions was implanted in man at his creation (xvii. 7 ff.).

But neither
the divine
sovereignty
nor human
ignorance
destroys
freedom.

Neither is man's moral freedom destroyed by the existence of the evil *yezer* within him, or

Neither does
the *yezer*
hara.

by the fact that this *yezer* has been implanted by God :

Say not, My transgression was of God,¹
 For that which He hateth He made not.
 Lest thou say, He it was that made me stumble ;
 For there is no need of men of violence.
 Wickedness and an abomination the Lord hateth ;
 And will not let it befall them that fear Him.
 For God created man from the beginning ;
 And put him in the hands of him that would spoil him,
 And gave him into the hand of his inclination,
 If thou choose, thou mayest keep the commandments,
 And it is understanding to do His will.
 If thou trust in Him thou shalt even live.
 Fire and water are poured out before thee :
 Upon which soever thou choosest stretch forth thy hands.
 Death and life are before a man :
 That which he shall choose shall be given him
 (xv. 11-17 Heb.).

A stronger affirmation of moral freedom could not be desired. The Two Ways are clearly set before man, and, despite his *yezer*, he is absolute master of his destiny.

The will
 needs re-
 inforcement.

But the will needs guidance and reinforcement. The *yezer* is not mastered by the sheer force of an uninstructed will, but by obedience to the commands of the law (xxi. 11). The will must be strengthened by spiritual communion and fellowship : ' If thou choose, thou mayest keep the commandments. . . . *If thou trust in Him thou shalt even live* ' (xv. 15 Heb.). ' Put thy trust in Him, and He will help thee ' (ii. 6). The Lord is the deliverer

¹ Cf. Jas. i. 13.

in temptation ¹ (*πειρασμός*, xxxiii. 1) and He fights for the man who strives for the truth (iv. 28).

Thus Sirach, despite his Sadduceeism, rises above the Sadducean view that 'God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil,' and enforces the need of the dynamic derived through dependence on God. It is an illustration of the presence in one and the same writer of collateral streams of thought. At the same time we must not read too deep a spiritual meaning into these words; probably this dependence on God was conceived of as an external more than an internal relationship.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (i.-xxxvi.)

Underlying this section is a firm belief in the freedom of the will. It is expressly stated that, while nature follows its preordained course un-deviatingly, man has not continued steadfast, but has transgressed the law of God (v. 1-4). That moral responsibility is attached to such deviation is evident from the retribution which it is said will follow it (v. 5; cf. xxvii. 2).

Human actions are not pre-determined as the course of nature.

At the same time, whatever theory may have been held, for practical purposes the belief in the reality of moral freedom must have been to some extent undermined by the doctrine that evil had its origin in a lapse in the angel world, which brought consequent corruption upon the race, and left men the victims of demonic incitement to evil (vi., xv., xvi.). This view was not necessarily incompatible with that of the freedom of the will, but it could

Influence of theory that evil originated in the angelic sphere.

¹ Cf. Matt. vi. 13.

not fail to encourage a sense of moral impotence, even while the doctrine of freedom was strenuously maintained.

ETHIOPIE ENOCH (lxxxiii.-xc.)

As in Enoch i.-xxxvi., the origin of evil is traced to the angel world (lxxxvi.-lxxxviii.), but there is no reference to the continuance of demonic incitement after the Flood, so that here this theory of evil has no vital bearing upon the will. The teaching as to retribution (xc. 26) attests the writer's belief in moral freedom and responsibility. The fact that he represents the Seventy Shepherds (lxxxix. 59) as to some extent hindering the designs of God (lxxxix. 61) is sufficient evidence that he did not hold a determinist view of the world. It is true that these shepherds are held to have determined in some measure Israel's history in its relation to Gentile nations, but it is not said that they limited its freedom of moral action.

Belief in
retribution
attests
belief in
freedom.

TOBIT

Sin is traced to its source in the will: 'Let not thy will be set to sin, and to transgress His commandments' (iv. 5). But it is recognized in some degree that the will best realizes its freedom by submitting to the divine sovereignty: 'And bless the Lord thy God at all times, and ask of Him that thy ways may be made straight; . . . but the Lord Himself giveth all good things, and He humbleth whom He will' (iv. 19).

Freedom
through
submission
to the
divine
sovereignty.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH (i. 15—iii. 8)

Moral responsibility is assumed throughout. Disobedience to the divine commandments is an act of will (ii. 29, 30 ; cf. ii. 10). Yet there is a recognition that divine aid is necessary to achieve reformation : ' Yet have we not intreated the favour of the Lord, in turning every one from the thoughts of his wicked heart ' (ii. 8).

JUBILEES

This book exemplifies the Pharisaic combination of determinism and freedom. The judgement of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, and the path in which man should walk is ordained for him. ' And the judgement of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness—even the judgement of all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in ' (v. 13). Nevertheless, men are held morally responsible for their actions, ' and if they walk not therein, judgement is written down for every creature and for every kind ' (v. 13). The recognition of the possibility of repentance (xli. 25) is a tacit admission of the freedom of the will. But moral accountability varies according to knowledge and opportunity (xxxiii. 16). The will needs to be reinforced by divine power : ' May the Most High God . . . strengthen thee to do His will ' (xxi. 25, xxii. 10).

Pharisaic combination of determinism and freedom.

Moral dynamic.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

God's relation to man is that of the potter to the clay. Body and spirit are closely fitted to one

The Potter and the Clay.

another, so that 'the one does not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight and measure and rule was all creation made.' God knows the body and also every inclination and thought of man (T. Naph. ii. 1-5). Nevertheless man's freedom is strongly insisted upon. Every moral act is the outcome of a free personal choice between light and darkness, the law of God and the works of Beliar (T. Levi xix. 1). Man is beset by two spirits—the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit, 'and in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will' (T. Jud. xx.). The meaning evidently is that man's will has power to act on a choice made at the dictates of reason. Every such choice is registered in character (T. Jud. xx. 3), and though the writer does not say so, the inference is clear that it influences every subsequent choice. To this extent the man's freedom is limited. Apart altogether from the suggestion of divine predetermination, it cannot be said that a man's power of choice at a given moment is absolutely unfettered, so long as it is true that all his past works have been written on his heart (T. Jud. xx. 4), and so give a bias to his understanding, which guides his will.

Nevertheless, the will has power to make a free choice at the dictates of reason.

Self-determination.

Moral dynamic.

There is manifested a deep sense of the need of the will to be reinforced by spiritual aid. The fact that the writer enjoins the commandments of love to God and love to man (T. Dan v. 3) seems to indicate that he understood, in some measure at any rate, that the latter must be grounded in the former. He regards the fear of God as being

both a moral dynamic and a cleansing influence. He that feareth God . . . is helped by the Lord' (T. Ben. iii. 4, 5), and 'deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God. For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him¹ and his mind is lightened' (T. Sim. iii. 4 f.). The same idea of spiritual aid is implied in the conception of the 'spirit of truth' which waits upon man (T. Jud. xx. 1) as may be gathered from its subsequent development in John's Gospel.

B. ALEXANDRIAN

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (iii. 97-829 and Proem.)

Although this writer affirms the sovereignty of God in history, he declares unmistakably his belief in the freedom of the will. Certain afflictions overtake men because of definite acts or failures of will (iii. 601-606). The confident appeal is made to the will: 'Change entirely the thoughts in thy heart' (iii. 762). Men have sufficient knowledge of God to make them morally responsible: 'He is clear to all' (Proem. i. 28). The 'reward of evil counselling' is therefore 'merited' (Proem. i. 19). The penalty of unrighteousness is represented as being deliberately courted, and unrighteousness itself as a drunken sleep from which the unrighteous perversely refuses to awake to sober reason.

God in
history.

The will has
power to
change the
thoughts of
the heart.

With folly ye did all drain off the cup
Of judgement that was filled full, very pure ;

¹ Cf. Jas. iv. 7.

Closely pressed, weighed down, and withal unmixed.
 And ye will not wake from your drunken sleep
 And come to sober reason (Proem. iii. 38-41.).

Summary

Thus the freedom of the will is strongly affirmed by all the writers of this century. In those writings in which elements of determinism are most pronounced emphasis is placed upon the moral dynamic which is accessible, and freedom is saved. This, however, does not apply to *Sib. Oracles* (iii.), which, while teaching the divine sovereignty, regards the will as sufficient for its task, without any reference to a moral dynamic.

The will can be reinforced by dependence on the law, and upon divine aid, and by submitting itself to the divine sovereignty. Probably in most of the writings dependence on God is conceived of more as an external act than as an inward relationship, but such is not the case in the *Testaments*, which reveal a deep insight into the truth that the will is strengthened by spiritual fellowship.

The most noteworthy development is the adumbration by the writer of the *Testaments* of what is called to-day the theory of self-determination. He does not elaborate his idea, but the germs of the theory must be held to be present in the teaching that every choice is registered in character.

II. THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

I. MACCABEES

This book contains no direct teaching on this subject, but underlying it is the Sadducean view that man is master of his own destiny. The victories of the Maccabeans are not attributed to supernatural intervention, or even to an ever-present Providence, but to skill and endurance, though reliance is placed upon strength derived from prayer. But such prayer is addressed, not to a God who is near, but to a distant 'heaven' (iii. 19, 50, iv. 10, xii. 15).

The will is absolutely sufficient for its task.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (xci.-civ.)

Throughout this section moral freedom is assumed. The two ways of righteousness and violence (xci. 18), of holiness and death (xciv. 3 f.) are set before men, and they are exhorted to choose righteousness. The law of retribution is vehemently affirmed as against those who deny its reality (xcviii.), and in a moral universe retribution is inconceivable apart from the presupposition of moral freedom. The writer protests against the tracing of moral evil to any other source than the will: 'Sin has not been sent upon the earth, but man of himself has created it, and into general condemnation will those fall who commit it' (xcviii. 4).

Protest against any doctrine which traces moral evil to any other source than the free choice of the individual will.

THE SIMILITUDES OF ENOCH (xxxvii.-lxxi.)

The *Similitudes* assume throughout the reality of freedom, as is evidenced by the insistence on the cer-

Belief in freedom deduced from belief in retribution and the possibility of repentance.

tainty of the retribution (xxxviii. 2 f., xl. 1 f., lx. 6) which will overtake those who deny the Lord of Spirits, and serve not the righteous law and deny the righteous judgement—all of which implies free moral choice. The same deduction must be drawn from the recognition of the possibility of repentance (l. 4; cf. xl. 9). It is true that the writer continually speaks of the righteous as 'the elect' (xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, xlviii. 9 *et passim*), but this term does not seem to carry with it any idea of determinism. It is not intended even to set forth the divine election of Israel, for the Sadducees are evidently excluded from the number of the elect (xxxviii. 2). The meaning seems to be that those who keep the law are elect because they are righteous, and not righteous because they are elect.

Moral dynamic.

But while assuming the reality of moral freedom, the *Similitudes* recognize the need of spiritual aid as a moral dynamic. The works of the righteous 'are wrought in dependence on the Lord of Spirits' (xxxviii. 2). There is here some recognition, at any rate, of the truth that the will is strengthened by spiritual fellowship.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

'Everything is foreseen, and free-will is given.'

Unfortunately in the passage (ix. 7) which deals with the will, the text is uncertain and the meaning is not clear.¹ Ryle and James read, 'Ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ

¹ Dr. Rendel Harris kindly informs me that the Syriac Version of these Psalms, recently discovered by him, throws no fresh light upon this passage.

ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν ('O God, our works are in our choice, yea, in the power of our own soul, to do either righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hands'). They point out that ἐκλογή is used elsewhere in these psalms (xviii. 6), and in the N.T. always, of the divine choice. They therefore suggest the rendering, 'Our deeds are in the divine choice, and (at the same time) in the power of our own soul,' &c. In support of this they quote *Pirq. Ab.* iii. 24: 'Everything is foreseen, and free-will is given. And the world is judged by grace; and everything is according to work.' Also the passages in Josephus quoted above (pp. 215 f.)

Further support of this rendering is found in a passage in these psalms which is determinist in tendency: 'For no man taketh spoil from a mighty man,¹ and who shall receive aught of all the things that Thou hast made, except Thou give it? Because man and his portion are weighed in the balance before Thee; therefore he will not add to his abundance contrary to Thy judgement, O God' (v. 6).

JUDITH

This book shows the usual Pharisaic combination of determinism and free-will. The destinies of nations are determined by the over-ruling God, who 'hath power to defend us in such time as He will' (viii. 15). 'Thou didst devise the things which are now, and the things which are to come, and the things which Thou didst devise came to pass; yea, the things

Determinism is not regarded as being destructive of freedom.

¹ Cf. Matt. xii. 29 = Mark iii. 27 = Luke xi. 21 f.

which Thou didst determine stood before Thee and said, Lo, we are here : for all Thy ways are prepared, and Thy judgement is with foreknowledge (πρόγνωσις, ix. 5 f. ; cf. xxiii. 18, xvi. 6). This determinism, however, does not take away from human freedom. Judith attains her ends by the exercise of her own ingenuity and resource (viii. 32-34, *et passim*). There is here none of the atmosphere of angels and miracles which we find in 2 *Macc.*, but there is a deep realization of the value of prayer as a means of strength (iv. 11 f., vi. 19, vii. 19, viii. 31, ix., xii. 8, xiii. 4 f.).

B. ALEXANDRIAN

II. MACCABEES

Determinism is carried to the extent of miraculous intervention, yet freedom is not denied.

Here, again, we find the two ideas side by side. All whose deeds are recorded are held to be morally responsible for their actions, and are punished accordingly (iv. 16 f. *et passim*). Antiochus, Israel's great scourge, is accountable for his deeds, and suffers their consequences (ix.). Yet at the same time he is the instrument of God's wrath against Israel (v. 17, vii. 18 f., 32 f.). But this determinism does not exclude freedom ; Antiochus was an instrument, but a willing instrument.

In contrast to 1 *Macc.* this book breathes an atmosphere of miracle. Human forces are not left to work themselves out ; they are modified by miraculous interventions at crucial moments. The Gentiles are only the instruments of the divine anger up to a point ; suddenly there is a divine intervention

on behalf of Israel, and its foes are routed (iii. 22 ff., viii. 24, 36, xiii. 17). The nations are but pawns; within limits they shape their destiny according to the operation of ordinary human forces. When these limits are passed, there is a miraculous readjustment of the conditions in favour of Israel.

WISDOM (Part I, i.-ix. 17)

This writer assumes throughout the fact of moral responsibility. The freedom of the will is implied in i. 16, where men are represented as having made a deliberate covenant with the forces of moral degeneration. The same implication underlies the recognition of the possibility of penitence (v. 3). Penitence has no place in a purely determinist system of ethics.

Freedom
asserted.

There is perhaps a tendency to determinism in certain passages in which the wisdom essential to the moral life is represented, not as something which man can win for himself, but as a gift of God (viii. 21, ix. 6); but these passages must be read side by side with those that state that wisdom is found of all that seek her (vi. 12 ff.). Probably all that the writer intends in viii. 21 and ix. 6 is to emphasize the need of divine power for moral renewal and as a moral dynamic (cf. v. 6).

Yet the
dependence
of the will
on the
divine
grace is
recognized.

The whole thesis of the book is that the moral life can only be lived in fellowship with wisdom. 'Give me wisdom, her that sitteth by thee on thy throne. . . . For even if a man be perfect among the sons of men, yet if the wisdom that cometh from Thee be not with him, he shall be held in no account'

The moral
dynamic of
spiritual
fellowship.

(ix. 4-6). The will, therefore, can only accomplish its task through fellowship with wisdom. This relationship is an inward one. It is more than external dependence on Jahveh, or strength derived miraculously in answer to prayer. It is that continued fellowship with the spiritual which renews and reinforces the will.

WISDOM (Part II, ix. 18-end)

The divine
sovereignty
and
Providence.

This book, while clearly affirming the moral responsibility of the individual, has a determinist tendency. It is deeply imbued with the notion of the sovereignty of God (xi. 26), and the Stoic doctrine of Providence (*πρόνοια*, xiv. 3, xvii. 2).¹ But the providential government of the world is not identical with fatalism, although there are passages which so emphasize the omnipotence of God that, taken by themselves, they might seem to point in that direction.

The might of Thine arm who shall withstand ?
Because the whole world before Thee is as a grain in a
balance,
And as a drop of dew that at morning cometh down upon
the earth (xi. 21, 22).

The divine
fore-
knowledge
does not
limit
freedom.

All things are ordered ' by measure and number and weight ' (xi. 20), and that for moral ends. Stronger still is xii. 10: ' Not being ignorant . . . that their manner of thought would in no wise ever be changed.' At first sight this seems to teach unmitigated determinism, but a study of the context shows that what

¹ ' The world is inhabited and regulated according to intellect and providence ' (*Diog. L.* vii. 138).

the writer has in mind is divine foreknowledge (referred to also in xix. 1), not foreordination. The reiterated recognition of the universal possibility and obligation of repentance (xi. 23, xii. 10, xii. 19, xix. 2) is sufficient evidence that the writer's philosophy is not purely determinist, but includes a recognition of the reality of human freedom. It is true that it is held that freedom is sometimes limited by ignorance (xiii. 6), but there is always sufficient knowledge to justify moral accountability—knowledge which a man can increase by the exercise of his own will (xiii. 8, 9), and so win for himself a larger freedom.

Freedom
limited
but not
destroyed
by
ignorance.

The reconciliation of the two ideas of determinism and freedom is found in that of the moral dynamic. Moral victory is only achieved in so far as men recognize the might of the divine foreknowledge and power and cast themselves upon it. 'Thy strength is the beginning of righteousness' (xii. 16).

Moral
dynamic.

Summary.

There is no striking development to note during this century, except the deeply spiritual and inward conception of the moral dynamic set forth in the two parts of *The Book of Wisdom*. The Sadducaic view of the absolute self-sufficiency of the will is well illustrated by 1 *Macc*.

Attention has already been drawn to the emphasis laid on the sovereignty of God by Alexandrian writers at the close of this century and the beginning of the next, but the freedom of the will is always safeguarded.

III. THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

A. ALEXANDRIAN

III. MACCABEES

Divine
action does
not destroy
freedom.

The view underlying in this book is very similar to that of 2 *Macc.* Ptolemy is held accountable for his acts, for the possibility of repentance is recognized (ii. 24); so are the Jews, who are punished because of their sins, and in the punishment of whom Ptolemy is a divine instrument (ii. 13); and so are the apostate Jews, who are said to have willingly transgressed (vii. 10). As in 2 *Macc.*, the effects of the operation of human forces are sometimes modified by divine interventions on behalf of Israel, due to the working of the invincible Providence (*πρόνοια*, iv. 21).

IV. MACCABEES

The will is
absolutely
sufficient for
its task if
aided by the
dynamic of
Judaism.

Like the Stoics and the writers of *Wisdom* (Part II) and 3 *Macc.*,¹ this writer believes in an overruling divine Providence (*πρόνοια*, ix. 24, xiii. 18, xvii. 22). As in 2 *Macc.*, it intervenes miraculously on behalf of Israel (iv. 9 ff.), and uses the Gentiles as the instruments of Israel's chastening (iv. 21). But this belief in the divine sovereignty does not diminish in any degree his belief in the absolute freedom of the human will. As the Stoics believed that every action may 'be said to be free, and to be due to our own impulses and decision, although it may be brought about by the co-operation of causes

¹ *Wisd.* xiv. 3, xvii. 2; 3 *Macc.* iv. 21.

depending on the connexion of the universe and the character of the agent,'¹ so this writer believes that while the divine Providence co-operates in human affairs, man has free control over his actions, if he follows the way of religious reason. 'The law acting through reasoning' (ii. 9) is all-powerful, and a man who regulates his course according to it 'straightway puts force upon his own disposition' (ii. 9). Not for a moment does he admit that there is anything to prevent a man mastering his passions. The will, directed by religious reasoning, has absolute authority not only over fleshly lusts (i. 35—ii. 3), but, as we have seen, in the inner realm of thought and motive (ii. 4—16).

The need of divine grace and renewal is at most but dimly realized. It is true that the man who lacks 'wise reasoning' is recommended to reinforce his will by meditation on religion and believing in God (vii. 17), but it is more as an external act of submission and obedience than as an inward spiritual process.

SLAVONIC ENOCH

There is an element of determinism in this book, for the number of souls is fixed, and a place eternally predetermined for each in the hereafter² (lviii. 5). 'I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place hath not been prepared for every soul; and a measure is fixed, how long a man shall be tried in this world. O! my children, be not deceived, there

Element of
determin-
ism.

¹ Zeller, op. cit. p. 170.

² Cf. *Apoc. Bar.* xxiii. 4 f.

is a place prepared there for every soul of man' (xlix. 2, xxiii. 4). Nevertheless, the reality of moral freedom and responsibility is assumed throughout. Eden is said to have been set 'between corruptibility and incorruptibility' (viii. 6), that is to say, it was a place of probation, life in which resulted in either corruptibility or incorruptibility. God is represented as endowing Adam with will, and as showing him the two ways—the ways of good and of evil, of light and of darkness (xxx. 15). The latter is 'the unstable path of this vain world,' the former 'the righteous path which leads to eternal life' (xlii. 10). It is true that man's freedom is limited by his ignorance of his own nature (xxx. 16), but such limitation is not sufficient to destroy moral responsibility, for each soul is held accountable for its life in the body, and 'there is no repentance after death' (lxii. 2).

But the will
is free to
choose
between the
two ways.

Freedom
limited
but not
destroyed
by ignorance
of the *yezer*.

Moral
dynamic.

There is probably some kind of recognition of the need for a moral dynamic in the teaching that the moral life can only be lived in the fear of God (xliii. 2) and in the expression 'may God make confident your hearts in the fear of Him' (ii. 3). But there is no sign of a deep realization of the need for spiritual fellowship.

B. PALESTINIAN

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

The emphasis in this book is on the divine foreknowledge and predetermination rather than on the freedom of the will. Moses was devised to be the

Emphasis is
placed on
divine
predeter-
mination

mediator of God's covenant, before the foundation of the world (i. 14). 'All the nations which are in the earth God hath created as He hath us, He hath foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen, and caused all to come forth. Yea, all things which are to be in this earth the Lord hath foreseen, and lo! they are brought forward into the light' (xii. 4 f.). The phrase 'and caused all to come forth' shows that the writer has in mind predetermination as well as foreknowledge. Moses and Israel were 'called,' not as a result of their virtue, or strength, or godliness, but because of a gracious determination on the part of God (xii. 7 f.). But this divine determinism does not involve a denial of the freedom of the will. The writer looks forward to a 'day of repentance' (i. 18), and there can be no repentance where the will is not free. Moral responsibility is clearly affirmed in xii. 10. 'Those, therefore, who do or fulfil the commandments of God will increase and be prospered, but those who sin and set at nought the commandments will be without the blessings before mentioned,' &c.

and the
action of
divine
grace, but
freedom is
assumed
none the
less.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAAH

Little is said, but freedom of choice is clearly implied in ii. 4, 'And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar,' which can mean nothing else than a deliberate act of will.

BARUCH (iii. 9—iv. 4)

Freedom
held as
regards
Israel, but
practically
denied
as regards
the Gentiles.

This writer recognizes moral responsibility so far as Israel is concerned. He appeals to his fellow countrymen to make a definite choice of wisdom (iv. 2), and condemns them for having forsaken it (iii. 12 f.); but so far as the great mass of men is concerned his outlook is purely determinist. Wisdom is inaccessible to them; God has not chosen them, or given them the way of knowledge. They therefore perish through foolishness arising from lack of that wisdom which they have no opportunity of gaining (iii. 27 f.).

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (iv.)

Divine
sovereignty
real, but if
man will
turn his
will to
righteous-
ness, he can
ward off
even that
which has
been
divinely
ordained.

The Sibyl enforces the divine sovereignty over the nations. It is God who causes the rise and the fall of nations, 'for He Himself, by bringing them to pass, will prove all things' (iv. 21 f.). The race is hurrying on to destruction by conflagration (iv. 161, 171-8). But man is not the mere child of destiny; his fate is in his own hands. The disasters which the Sibyl foresees as divinely ordained may be warded off, if man will but repent. His will has the power to change.

Ah! miserable mortals, change these things,
Nor lead the mighty God to wrath extreme;

Wash your whole body in perennial streams
And, lifting up your hands to heaven, seek pardon
For former deeds and expiate with praise
Bitter impurity; and God will give
Repentance

. if in your hearts
Ye all will practise honoured piety (iv. 162-70).

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

This book teaches, with no uncertain note, the freedom of the will. Unlike ps.-Ezra, ps.-Baruch has no deep sense of human corruption, and consequently he does not feel the impotence of the will. The element of determinism in Jewish thought is here pushed into the background, and all the component parts of the book alike proclaim that man's choice is unfettered. The sovereignty of God is recognized, and is seen to be manifested in foreknowledge and in the predetermination of the number of souls that should be born into the world (xxi. 6 ff., xxiii. 4). But man is the captain of his own destiny; the issues of right and wrong have been clearly set before him, 'wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant and said: Behold I have placed before you life and death, and he called heaven and earth to witness against them. . . . For after his death these sinned and transgressed [the covenant], though they knew that they had the law reproving [them], and the light in which nothing could err, also the spheres which testify, and Me' (xix. 1-3). 'He transgressed though he knew' (xv. 6). 'The lamp of the eternal law shone in all those who sat in darkness' (lix. 2). The choice of unrighteousness is deliberate, 'for then they chose [not] for themselves that time, which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away, and they chose for themselves that time whose issues are full of lamentation and evils, and they denied the world which ages not those who come to it, and they

Man is
captain of
his own
destiny.

have rejected the time and the glory, so that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before ' (li. 16).

This is true
of the
Gentiles as
well as
of Israel.

This moral responsibility arising from moral light attaches to the Gentiles as well as to Israel, 'because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity,¹ and they have not known My law by reason of their pride ' (xlvi. 40). These words indicate, beyond doubt, the belief of the writer in an innate and universal moral sense.

Adam's fall,
and
freedom.

The sin of Adam, though fraught with consequences to the race, does not limit human freedom. It brought 'untimely' physical death, and initiated the conflict between flesh and spirit (lvi.), which in many has wrought spiritual death, but it left man's moral freedom unimpaired. 'For though Adam first sinned, and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him, each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again, each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come. . . . Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul ' (liv. 15-19). Though there is an inherited conflict between flesh and spirit, the will is fettered neither by hereditary depravity nor by hereditary guilt. Every man shapes his own destiny; every soul bears its own burden.

Ps.-Baruch shows no appreciation of the anti-thesis between the divine sovereignty and human freedom which is so sharply marked in the epistle to the Romans.

¹ Cf. Rom. ii. 14, 15.

IV. EZRA (2 *Esdras*)

There is a strong element of determinism in this book. Everything is predestined according to balance, number, and weight. 'He hath weighed the world in the balance; and by measure hath He measured the times, and by number hath He numbered the seasons; and He shall not move nor stir them, until the said measure be fulfilled' (iv. 36 f.).¹ God's purpose is predetermined, and it is beyond the power of the human mind to find it out (v. 34-40; cf. vi. 6, vii. 11, vii. 70). It is true that the freedom of the will is explicitly taught, and the justice of a man's ultimate condemnation is based on the contention that he freely chose evil when the issues of right and wrong were set before him. 'This is the condition of the battle, which man that is born upon the earth shall fight; that if he be overcome he shall suffer as thou hast said; but if he get the victory, he shall receive the thing that I say. For this is the way whereof Moses spake to the people while he lived, saying, Choose thee life that thou mayest live. Nevertheless, they believed not on him, nor yet the prophets after him, nor me which have spoken unto them' (vii. 127-30; cf. vii. 21, 72, 79, viii. 56-62, ix. 10 f.). Even the divine determinism is conditioned by human freedom: 'The Most High willeth not that men should come to nought: but they which be created have themselves defiled the name of Him that made them' (viii. 59 f.), and consequently the present moral course of the world was predetermined not from

Not only is there a determinist element in this book, but, although freedom is taught, the emphasis placed on the innate corruption of the heart amounts almost to a denial of it.

¹ Cf. *Wisd.* xi. 20.

eternity, but from the time of Adam's transgression (vii. 11). Men were given understanding, and also the law, but 'they dealt unfaithfully with that which they received' (vii. 72), and so fell into just condemnation.

But the teaching as to freedom is discounted by the fact that it is held that but few will be saved. Man was created with a *cor malignum*, and, in some way that is not explained, the sin of Adam has added to the burden of the sin of the race (vii. 11); how, then, can man keep the law? The writer despairs, and looks only for the salvation of a few (vii. 51-61, viii. 1-3, 41, ix. 14 f.). Such freedom is evidently theoretical, not actual, and seems to be introduced into the book rather to vindicate the justice of man's ultimate condemnation than the reality of the freedom of the will. Ps.-Ezra despairs of a life of absolute obedience to the law, even by Israel, not to speak of the world. The unconscious and unexpressed cry of the book is for a moral dynamic, which legalism could not supply.

Ps.-Ezra
and Paul.

This position is not far removed from Paul's view of the impotence of the will apart from Christ. Ps.-Ezra realizes the inadequacy of the law as other Jewish writers do not; he goes beyond them in his teaching of total depravity, and consequently in his view the freedom of the will is more limited than in theirs. But while Paul saw no less clearly the impotence of the will in the face of the law, he certainly did not teach the doctrine of inherited corruption in the extreme form in which it was held by ps.-Ezra.

Need for
Christianity.

There could be no better illustration of the need

for the Christian revelation than ps.-Ezra's doctrine of the will. He grasped the truth, not comprehended by many of his Jewish contemporaries, that the law of itself left the will almost powerless for righteousness. The next step was the realization of the moral dynamic in the life of faith. For this his light was insufficient, though he was groping in the right direction when he conceived of justification by faith as well as works. But faith is only dimly thought of as a condition of justification, not as a dynamic power. The step which ps.-Ezra was unable to take was taken by Paul when he surrendered to Jesus Christ, and this momentous advance represents the gulf between the moral outlook of the two.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

As the writer of *Ap. Bar.* declares that 'every man is the Adam of his own soul,' so this writer, while fully recognizing the dire consequences of the Fall, asserts the freedom of the will. To begin with, Azazel sinned by deliberate choice (xiii.), and the same is true of Adam and Eve and their descendants: 'Listen, Abraham; those that will evil, and as many as I hated among them that practise it, over them gave I him (i.e. Azazel) power, and to be loved of them' (xxiii.).

Freedom is limited neither by the *yeser* *hara* nor by the Fall.

It was by a definite act of will that Abraham's father refused to give up his idols, and the same power is recognized as residing in Abraham himself. At the same time the divine will carries out its predetermined purposes. Divine sovereignty and human freedom are not mutually exclusive (xxvi.).

Summary

With the exception of *Bar.* iii. 9—iv. 4, which practically denies the moral freedom of the Gentiles, all the writers of this century held, in theory at any rate, the freedom of the will. They differ from one another in the extent to which they conceive of human liberty as being limited. The thought of divine grace as a moral dynamic is almost entirely lacking.

(1) In *The Apoc. of Baruch* and *Apoc. of Abraham*, although the conception of the divine sovereignty is present, it is pushed into the background, and man's choice is regarded as being unfettered, either by the divine predetermination or by inherited depravity. In *The Assumption of Moses* the emphasis is placed on the divine sovereignty, but not so far as to lead to a denial of free-will.

(2) The ordinary Pharisaic teaching, which places the two ideas side by side without attempting to reconcile them, is present in 2 and 4 *Macc.* and *Sib. Oracles* (iv). It is not denied that there are large elements of determinism in life, but the reality of freedom is none the less stoutly affirmed.

(3) We find a new idea, probably introduced from Greek sources, and given a Jewish form, in the teaching of *Slavonic Enoch* that man's freedom (or at any rate such was the case with Adam) is limited by his ignorance of the *yezers*. But here moral responsibility is safeguarded, this ignorance not being regarded as sufficient to destroy it.

(4) The whole trend of 4 *Ezra*, in spite of its affirmation of freedom, is tantamount to a denial

of it, because of the depth of the inbred corruption of the heart. As we have seen, the book is an agonized confession of moral impotence. The writer, despite himself, is constrained to recognize the inadequacy and failure of Judaism as an ethical instrument. And although he does not himself see the way of deliverance, he reaches the point at which it became apparent to Paul that the will could only fulfil its task by inward fellowship with God and dependence upon the divine indwelling energy revealed by and in Jesus Christ. In this fellowship, as Paul saw, the corruption of the heart is overcome, and the antithesis between the divine sovereignty and human freedom is transcended. The human will realizes its freedom in so far as it becomes obedient to the divine will.

CHAPTER V

MORAL SANCTIONS

What is
meant by
moral
sanctions ?

By moral sanctions are meant those considerations which give force and authority to moral laws. They may be either external or internal ; they may refer to rewards or punishments imposed from without, either by some external authority in the present, or by the Divine Being in the hereafter ; or they may refer to consequences of conduct, which arise spontaneously from within, as what Bradley calls 'the feeling of self-realizedness' follows on a good, and remorse on a bad, deed. Such ethical schools as Stoicism and modern Idealism teach that ethics has little to do with sanctions, but that virtue is its own reward, and that the good must be pursued for itself alone ; but it may be doubted whether this is not in reality an appeal to an internal sanction. The very fact that virtue is its own reward (that righteous action produces a righteous character) is itself a motive which induces even the most ethicized men to fulfil their obligations. It would seem that moral law must always derive its authority from some sanction, even though that sanction be implicit within it.

Jewish
ethics
appeals to
both
external and

But, however that may be, Jewish ethics makes its appeal to both internal and external sanctions, because it is linked inseparably to the Jewish

religion. Judaism did not arrive at its conception of the Moral Ideal by the processes of philosophic reasoning, but by revelation. Its ethics was based upon the conception of a divine law revealed only to Israel, and, consequently, it was inevitable that the rewards and punishments believed to be attached to the observance or violation of that law should loom large in the sphere of ethical interest. The apocalyptic literature shows how important was the part played by these sanctions in the moral history of Israel. Despairing of the present world, baffled by the continued oppression of the nation, which had at any rate been more faithful to the law than its Gentile oppressors, the apocalyptic writers still exhorted their countrymen to be loyal to the law, enforcing their precepts by appealing to the sanction of a coming new world, and the future life. Our study would, therefore, be incomplete did we not trace the development of Judaistic teaching as to the Messianic hope, retribution, and the future life.

internal
sanctions.

In the O.T., up to the time of Jeremiah, moral responsibility is attached to the nation, and not to the individual, and consequently the sanctions to which appeal is made are national rather than individual. Solidarity, not individualism, was the governing principle of pre-Exilic thought. The nation suffered because of its sins, and each generation bore, not only the burden of its own sins, but that of its predecessors. Even when individualism emerged in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the latter taught that virtue brought prosperity and wickedness adversity to the individual in the present life, so as

In the O.T.
sanctions
are national
until
Jeremiah
and Ezekiel,
when individualism
emerges.

Future life
in the O.T.

to make the outward lot exactly proportional to desert. For long there was no clear vision of a life beyond the grave. Sheol was a place of subsistence rather than existence, and from it there was no redemption. At length the hope of individual immortality found utterance in Job (xix. 25-7), and more confident expression in Psalms xlix. and lxxiii.

The
Messianic
hope in the
O.T.

But side by side with this a national hope was being developed, that of the Messianic kingdom. The figure of the Messiah does not come very fully to light in the O.T. Amos, Hosea, and Jeremiah look for the coming of a time when the glories of the Davidic dynasty will be renewed, but in Isaiah (vii., ix., and xi.) and Micah (iv.-v.) there are passages in which the rise of a pre-eminent individual King of the house of David is anticipated. These great prophets all conceive of the Gentiles as having some share in the Messianic kingdom, but the trend of post-Exilic thought was particularistic. Ultimately the conception was reached that Israel's righteous dead would rise to share in this kingdom on earth (Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., a post-Exilic fragment). Daniel (xii. 2) goes further, and looks for the resurrection of both good and evil; but as he speaks of 'many,' it is evident that he did not hope for a universal resurrection.

We must now trace the development of these conceptions, which constituted the sanctions to which most of the apocryphal writers appealed. At the same time we must not overlook those internal sanctions which, operating from within, and being implicit in the moral law, are of equal if not greater

importance to morality. We shall see how, in the loftiest thought, the external and the internal blend, so that immortality is not regarded as the reward of virtue, but as its natural out-growth.

I. THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

SIRACH

The sanctions of Sirach are drawn from the present life. Side by side he lays down a doctrine both of individual and of corporate retribution. In the individual, virtue is rewarded with long life (i. 12, ii. 3 *et passim*), posthumous influence (xxx. 4 f., xxxix. 9), and material prosperity (i. 12). 'Who did ever put his trust in the Lord, and was ashamed?' (ii. 10). The penalty of evil is 'wrath and indignation' (v. 6 f.). History shows how transgression has been punished: 'Even if there be one stiff-necked person, it is a marvel if he shall be unpunished' (xvi. 7-14). Wickedness brings its nemesis of adversity: 'There shall no good come to him that continueth to do evil' (xii. 3). But the punishment is not without discrimination; each man is judged according to his works (xvi. 12 f., xxxv. 19). The retribution is not simply external, but internal. The processes of degeneration set in, in the evil soul. 'The sinner shall heap sin upon sin,' for a plant of wickedness has taken root within him (iii. 27 f.). Evil exercises a reflex influence upon the man who cherishes it. 'One that casteth a

Sanctions
drawn from
the present
life.

Individual
retribution.

stone on high casteth it on his own head. . . . He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it. . . . He that doeth evil things, they shall roll upon him,' &c. (xxvii. 25-9).

Corporate
retribution.

But this theory of individual retribution was bound to be felt to be inadequate, because it was disproved by so many instances. Sirach, therefore, develops along with it his conception of corporate retribution: 'The branch of violence shall not be unpunished, for the root of the godless is on the point of a crag' (xl. 15, Heb.). 'From an unrighteous son cometh a rule of evil, and with his seed abideth want' (xli. 6, Heb.; cf. xxiii. 24-6). But as for the righteous, 'with their seed shall remain continually a good inheritance; their children are within the covenants. . . . Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out' (xliv. 11-13). The same principle operates among nations: 'Sovereignty is transferred from nation to nation, because of iniquities, and deeds of violence, and greed of money' (x. 8; cf. x. 14 ff., xxxv. 18).

No outlook
beyond
death.

Sirach has no hope beyond death. Death is the end of all things. 'Be not afraid of death, which is thy sentence; remember that they which went before, and they which come after, will be with thee. This is the portion of all flesh from God, and why dost thou refuse the law of the Most High? Whether it be for a thousand years, or an hundred, or ten, there are no corrections in Sheol' (xli. 3 f., Heb.). When a man dies there is nothing before him but decay (x. 11, xix. 3); light fails him, and he enters into rest (xxii. 11)—the rest of eternal sleep (xlvi. 19).

The dwellers of Sheol have neither physical nor spiritual yearnings (xvii. 27 f.). The reference to Gehenna in vii. 17 is, in the opinion of Charles, 'undoubtedly corrupt; for belief in an abode of a penal character is contrary to the whole outlook of the book as to the future; moreover, it is without the support of the Hebrew, of the Syriac version, and of the best MSS. of the Ethiopic version.'¹

Sheol.

The book contains expressions of the Messianic hope, but it is difficult to harmonize them with the general outlook. Schmidt² thinks that the psalm xxxvi. 1-17, which is Messianic, 'is manifestly an interpolation. It voices the feelings of a people sorely oppressed by a foreign enemy, longing for deliverance and vengeance, encouraged by prophecies concerning the "end," and anxious to see the fulfilment of their predictions. The unmistakable allusion to Dan. ii. 27-35 seems to indicate that it was written after 165 B.C.' He is of opinion that chaps. xliv.-l. are a separate work written in Macabaeae times by Simeon, the son of the original author. This section contains Messianic teaching. The throne of David is to abide for ever (xlvii. 11). According to xlviii. 10, 11, the Messianic age is to be ushered in by Elijah, but Schmidt thinks these two verses have the appearance of being an interpolation of an earlier date than Ben Sirach the younger.' Chap. l., which describes the glories of the rule of Simon, has a Messianic ring. Schmidt suggests that the Simon referred to is the Hasmonean

The
Messianic
hope.

¹ *Eschatology*, p. 165.

² *Ecclesiasticus in the Temple Bible*, p. xxvi.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 174.

high priest of that name,¹ called 'the Jewel' (143-35 B.C.), and takes xlv. 24-6 to refer to the union of the civil and priestly authority in him. In that case it is possible that the writer of xlv.-l. sees the dawn of the Messianic kingdom at hand in the reign of Simon, as did the authors of *Jubilees* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in John Hyrcanus (135-105) and that of *Ethiopic Enoch* (lxxxiii.-xc.) in either Judas or John Hyrcanus. It is significant, too, that it has been suggested that the writer of 1 *Macc.*, looking back, seems to be in doubt whether Simon was not the Messiah (1 *Macc.* xiv. 15).

If this analysis is correct, *Sirach* proper has no Messianic teaching, but an addition belonging to the latter half of the second century bears witness to the expectation, otherwise attested, of the dawn of the Messianic age in Maccabaeian times.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (i.-xxxvi.)

Retribution
is placed in
the future.

Sheol : The
Intermedi-
ate State.

This writer derives his moral sanctions from the life which follows immediately on death, and from the hope of the Messianic or theocratic age. The soul, on death, passes to Sheol, which is divided into four compartments. In the first are the spirits of those who have been martyred for righteousness; in the second the spirits of the righteous who have died a natural death; in the third the spirits of those who lived unrighteous lives, but received no punishment in their life-time: 'Here their souls are

¹ 'Son of Onias' does not occur in all the versions, and Schmidt thinks it was not in the original.

placed apart in this great pain, till the great day of judgement and punishment and torture of the revilers for ever, and vengeance for their souls, there will they be bound for ever'; in the fourth the spirits of the wicked who were punished in their life-time: 'They will be with criminals like themselves, but their souls will not be slain on the great day of judgement, nor will they be raised from thence' (xxii.).

As the writer is only concerned with the problem of Israel, it is probable that his discussion only relates to the lot of the souls of his own countrymen after death. But his interest centres not in the nation, but in the individual. Retribution overtakes the individual, and he can no longer merge himself in the solidarity of the nation. It is noteworthy that Sheol has now become a place where moral distinctions exist,¹ but there is no passing from one moral grade to another. The divisions are hard and fast; neither growth nor degeneration is possible.

Retribution
is individual.

Moral
distinctions
in Sheol.

Ultimately there is to be a resurrection for judgement of all except those in the fourth class, who will remain where they are. God will appear with His hosts on Mount Sinai, there will be a convulsion of nature, all will be filled with fear, and the Great Assize will begin (i. 4-7). The Watchers will be led to Gehenna and confined there, together with

Resurrec-
tion, and
judgement
by God.

¹ There are two views of Sheol as the abode of all the dead in the O.T. 'The older represents it as the scene of considerable light, movement, and knowledge, the latter as the practical negation of all existence, and all but a synonym for annihilation' (Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 155).

Destiny of
the wicked.

the apostate Jews, who will suffer in the sight of the righteous (xxvii.). Hither also, apparently, will be transferred the wicked ones, honoured in their earthly life, who are confined in the third division of Sheol. All these will pass into eternal execration, and will find no mercy (v. 5).

The
Messianic
kingdom.

The risen righteous will then enjoy the blessings of the Messianic kingdom to be established in Jerusalem (xxv. 5); but there will be no Messiah, for 'the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King,' will set up His throne upon earth (xxv. 3). Physically and morally an ideal age will set in. There will be no disease or affliction (v. 9), labour will prove a blessing (x. 16), the whole earth will be fertile and fruitful (x. 18 f.), and men will grow old in peace, and live till they beget a thousand children (v. 9, x. 17). Light, joy, and peace shall be their possession (v. 7), they shall be filled with grace (i. 8), and wisdom (v. 8), and they shall be free from all sin, whether of ignorance or arrogance (v. 8). The earth will be cleansed from all oppression and unrighteousness (x. 16, 20), and 'righteousness and uprightness will be established in joy for evermore' (x. 16). God's kingdom will be universal, even the Gentiles will become righteous, 'and all nations shall offer Me adoration and praise, and all will worship Me' (x. 22). The store-chambers of blessing will be opened 'over the work and labour of the children of men. Peace and justice will be wedded throughout all the days of the world, and throughout all the generations of the world' (xi.).

The apocalypstist's vision does not penetrate

beyond this Messianic age. Apparently it is to be eternal, but yet men are still to be subject to death. No light is thrown upon the destiny of the righteous after their second death.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (lxxxiii.-xc.)

In these Dream-Visions moral sanctions are derived from the hope of the Messianic age. It is in this hope of a time when recompense will be given to the righteous, and retribution will overtake the unrighteous, that he finds the solution of the problem of Israel's afflictions, and the encouragement which was so sorely needed. Writing in the days of the Maccabees, the dreamer foreshadows a time when a great Warrior-Prince (probably either Judas or John Hyrcanus) will enter into a final struggle with all the nations of the earth (xc. 13-17). In the midst of the struggle God Himself will come down to earth, and all Israel's enemies will be destroyed (xc. 18 f.), God's throne will be erected on the earth, and the great Judgement will begin (xc. 20). The Watchers, the seventy unfaithful shepherds who oppressed Israel, and the apostate Jews, will be cast into Gehenna (xc. 21-7). The old Jerusalem will be removed, and the new Jerusalem established, and God will dwell within it (xc. 29). The Gentiles who survive the destructive judgement of God will fall down and do homage to Israel (xc. 30). The Jews of the Dispersion will return, and the righteous dead will rise to share the glories of the kingdom (xc. 33). Then the Messiah will appear (xc. 37), and the members of the community will be transformed into his likeness (xc. 38).

Retribution
referred
to the
Messianic
age.

Appearance
of a Warrior-
Prince.

Judgement
by God.

Destiny of
the wicked.

The
Messianic
kingdom,
and the
resurrection
of the
righteous.

Retribution
both
national and
individual.

It will be noticed that this section, like i.-xxxvi., while concerned with the vindication of the whole nation of Israel against its foes, teaches also the doctrine of individual retribution.

The two
Messiahs.

The teaching as to the Messiah is not altogether clear. The Warrior-Prince whose warfare against Israel's enemies is to precede the Great Judgement has more Messianic features than the apparently functionless Messiah introduced in xc. 37. Charles thinks that the latter must be accounted for through literary reminiscence, and that the Messianic hope must be regarded as practically dead at this period. Porter is of opinion that perhaps the writer expected two Messiahs, and that the warrior is to him the more interesting figure. Possibly we should not be far from the truth if we said that the writer introduced the second Messiah to supply the deficiencies of the first. His ethical sense was dissatisfied with a mere Warrior-Messiah, and he introduces the second Messiah in order to moralize his description of the Messianic kingdom. A Messiah who conforms all men to his own likeness is hardly as functionless as at first appears.

TOBIT

Retribution
regarded as
present.

The sanctions appealed to in Tobit belong to the present life. Israel's sins are punished by its adversities (iii. 1-5). The individual cannot separate himself from the nation. Tobit says: 'Many are Thy judgements, true are they; that Thou shouldest deal with me according to my sins and the sins of my fathers' (iii. 5). So far as the question is viewed from the standpoint of the

individual, the teaching is that goodness makes for material prosperity, and wickedness for adversity. 'If thou doest the truth, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee' (iv. 6). 'If thou serve God, recompense shall be made unto thee' (iv. 14). 'Naughtiness is the mother of famine' (iv. 13). But the suggestion that individual suffering is necessarily caused by individual sin is repudiated (ii. 14, iii. 6).

There is no reference to a Messiah, but xiii. 10-18 and xiv. 5, 6 are probably prophetic of the Messianic kingdom. Jerusalem and the Temple are to be rebuilt, and the tribes of the Dispersion shall return. The writer sounds the universal note; the Gentiles are to partake of the blessings of that age. 'And all the nations shall turn to fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols.'

Messianic age.

The eschatology is slight. As in the later O.T. writings, Sheol is a place of inactivity, where existence, if not at an end, is void. It is called 'the eternal place' (iii. 6).

No light beyond death.

THE BOOK OF BARUCH (i. 15—iii. 8)

Moral sanctions are derived only from the present life, for the inhabitants of Sheol¹ give to God neither glory nor righteousness (ii. 17). The passage 'hear the prayers of the dead Israelites' should probably be read 'hear the prayers of the men of Israel.' The Greek translators seem to have mistaken מְתֵי 'men of,' for מְתֵי 'dead of.'

Retribution regarded as present.

The writer's view is that sin is always followed

The basis is national.

¹ Sheol is used in the later O.T. sense.

by suffering, and righteousness by prosperity (i. 19—ii. 10), and he does not hesitate to ascribe disaster and calamity to the direct act of God (ii. 9). There is no trace of the individualism which we find in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Evil is viewed from the standpoint of the nation, not of the individual (i. 19—ii. 10, iii. 5). The nation's calamities are the result of the nation's sins. The Babylonian Captivity was not a mere accident or incident in the nation's history. The Babylonian kings were the divine instruments for the moral regeneration of Israel, and therefore obedience to them became a moral obligation (ii. 21 ff.).

JUBILEES

Retribution
is both
national and
individual,
both present
and future.

The moral sanctions to which the writer appeals are both national and individual, and operate both in the present world and in the hereafter. The prosperity of Israel as a nation is bound up with its faithfulness to the law, disobedience to which brings terrible adversities in its train. Because of its idolatry and unfaithfulness Israel passes through much calamity (i. 7 ff.). But judgement is also present and immediate. 'Thou hast broken thy oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy father wast thou condemned' (xxxvii. 17). 'But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed, and with those who will be rooted out of the earth' (xxx. 22).

The terrible nature of the moral consequences of sin are expressed in the pregnant phrase, 'He will give thee back into the hands of thy transgression' (xxi. 22). As to the external punishment of sin, it is adapted to the nature of the transgression¹ (iv. 32).

Moral consequences of sin.

The writer's hope is centred in the coming of the Messianic age. The Messiah himself is only dimly foreshadowed as a Prince who shall arise from Judah, and prove the salvation of Israel (xxx. 13 ff.). The interest centres in the kingdom, not in the person of the Messiah. It is to come, not catastrophically, but gradually, the physical renewal of the earth and the ethical renewal of man proceeding synchronously (i. 29, iv. 26).² Those who dwell in it will live to the age of a thousand years, the powers of evil will be restrained, the adversaries of Israel will be overthrown, the law will be studied with renewed zeal, and Israel will return to the paths of righteousness (xxiii. 26-30). Although it is said that all nations on earth are to be blessed in Israel (xviii. 16, xx. 10, xxvii. 23), there is no hint that they are to enjoy the blessings of the Messianic age.

The Messiah.

The Messianic kingdom to come gradually.

There can be no doubt that this author (like those of *Eth. Enoch* lxxxiii.-xc. and *The Tests of the Twelve Patriarchs*) believed that the Messianic age was already setting in (xxiii. 12-31). He sees in Hyrcanus the forerunner who is inaugurating the kingdom over which the Prince from Judah is to rule.

And is already setting in.

At the close of the Messianic age the final judge-

Judgement.

¹ Cf. 2 *Macc.* iv. 16; *Wisd.* xi. 15 f.

² According to Charles this view, which is based on Isa. lxxv. 17, lxvi. 22, was probably adopted from Mazdeism.

ment will take place, and judgement will be 'executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord' (iv. 19, v. 10, ix. 15, x. 17, xxiii. 11). It is described as a 'day of wrath and indignation' (xxiv. 28), a 'day of the wrath of judgement' (xxiv. 30). It is a 'day of turbulence and execution and indignation and anger,' on which he who devises evil against his brother 'will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration, and in wrath and in torment and in indignation, and in plagues, and in disease for ever' (xxxvi. 10).

The principles of judgement are laid down in v. 15-18; it will be according to men's ability and opportunity ('the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness'), and absolutely without respect of person.

Destiny of
the wicked.

Principles of
judgement.

Immor-
tality.

The resurrection of the body is not taught, but the immortality of the spirit.¹

And their bones will rest in the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy.
And they will know that it is the Lord who executes
judgement,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all
those who love Him (xxiii. 31).

¹ It is not necessary to suppose that the conception of immortality, apart from the resurrection of the body, was derived from Greek thought. The idea of the survival of the soul without the body is present in Job xix. 26, which Charles translates 'without my body shall I see God.' At the same time this idea may have been developed under Greek influence.

Where does the spirit await the final judgement? Not in Sheol, for that is the 'place of condemnation' reserved for those who shed blood, for idolaters and profane persons, and for Philistines (vii. 29, xxii. 22, xxiv. 31). The words of Isaac, 'I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are' (xxxvi. 1), are too ambiguous to enable us to decide whether it is taught that the spirits of the righteous go straight to heaven or await the final judgement in an intermediate state. Possibly the writer's thoughts were inchoate and inconsistent, as is the case of popular thought on the subject to-day.

The intermediate state.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

This writer lays great emphasis upon the moral consequences of righteousness and unrighteousness. For instance, as already shown, he traces out the moral effects of fornication, anger, and hatred. He who sows good things in his soul finds them in his life, but he who sows evil things reaps trouble and affliction (T. Levi xiii. 6). 'The sinner is burnt up by his own heart, and cannot raise his face to the judge' (T. Jud. xx. 5). Righteousness wrought on earth is stored up in heaven (T. Levi xiii. 5), and 'for a good work there is a good remembrance before God' (T. Naph. viii. 5). There is a judgement which is present, and the punishment of sin is adapted to the nature of the offence: 'By what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished' (T. Gad v. 10 f.).¹ As Charles points out, mechanically interpreted, this statement is without founda-

Emphasis is laid on internal sanctions.

Adumbration of view that moral laws are self-acting.

¹ Cf. 2 Macc. v. 10.

tion, but, spiritually interpreted, it adumbrates the N.T. principles: 'He that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done' (Col. iii. 25); 'Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap' (Gal. vi. 7). In the same way is foreshadowed the application of the same principle in the hereafter. 'For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works' (T. Ash. vi. 5).

The
Messianic
age and the
Messiah. 11

The writer's hope for the future is centred in the coming of the Messianic age. Its advent will be preceded by certain woes (T. Sim. vi. 4). The Messiah is to be of the tribe of Levi (T. Reub. vi. 7-12), though there are passages which indicate that the sovereignty is to be shared with Judah (T. Levi ii. 11), but the primacy is with Levi. It is a significant development of thought that, during the years of the Maccabaeian ascendancy immediately preceding John Hyrcanus's break with the Pharisees, the advent of the Messiah was looked for from Levi, not Judah. The Messiah will be like the sun of righteousness; he will be meek and righteous, and without sin; the heavens will be opened unto him (T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3), and the 'spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him' (T. Levi xviii. 7). He is to establish a new priesthood (T. Levi viii. 14), to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Levi viii. 15) and a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11). He will bring war to an end (T. Sim. vi. 4): 'Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot, and men shall rule over wicked spirits'¹ (T. Sim. vi. 6;

¹ Cf. Luke x. 19, 20: 'Behold, I have given you authority to

cf. T. Levi xviii. 12). He will banish sin from off the earth (T. Levi xviii. 9). He will open the gates of Paradise, and give the saints to eat of the tree of life, and will bind Beliar (T. Levi xviii. 10-12) and deliver the souls held captive by him (T. Dan v. 11). He will execute vengeance on Israel's enemies (T. Dan v. 10). He will pour out the spirit of grace upon men, 'and ye shall be unto him sons in truth, and ye shall walk in his commandments first and last' (T. Jud. xxiv. 3). This kingdom will be established upon the earth in the new Jerusalem (T. Dan v. 12), and will be an 'everlasting kingdom' (T. Jos. xix. 12). It will be a universal kingdom, embracing the Gentiles (T. Levi ii. 11), who shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth (T. Levi xviii. 9; cf. T. Naph. viii. 3; T. Ben. ix. 2). Probably the writer conceives it as already begun.¹

To this kingdom there will be a resurrection, first, of the O.T. saints and patriarchs 'on the right hand,'² then of all men, 'some unto glory, and some unto shame' (T. Ben. x. 6-8). Judgement will follow, the Messiah acting as judge (T. Levi xviii. 2). He will judge Israel first, and then the Gentiles, the standard of judgement being determined, as far as Israel is concerned, by the level attained by the choicest spirits among the Gentiles

Resurrection
and judge-
ment by the
Messiah.

Standard of
judgement
for Israel.

tread . . . over all the power of the enemy. . . . Howbeit, in this rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you.'

¹ Charles is of opinion that the writer already seemed to see the advent of the Messiah in John Hyrcanus (T. Levi xviii. 2-14; T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3; T. Dan v. 10-13).

² Cf. Matt. xxv. 33.

Destiny of
the wicked.

(T. Ben. x. 8-10). The instruments of punishment of the wicked are stored up in the first heaven, and in the second heaven 'are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar' (T. Levi iii. 1-3). The ungodly shall go into eternal fire (T. Zeb. x. 3), and the unrepentant to eternal punishment (T. Gad vii. 5).

Principles of
judgement
applied to
individuals.

The principles of judgement are thus expressed: 'Have yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the Lord also upon him'¹ (T. Zeb. viii. 1-3). 'Have therefore compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him again' (T. Zeb. v. 3).

B. ALEXANDRIAN

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (iii. 97-829 and Proem.)

Retribution
is both
national and
individual.

This writer teaches that no nation can sin with impunity. Both in the case of Israel (iii. 265-79) and of the Gentile nations (iii. 174, 493 ff., 601 ff.) national adversity follows on national transgression.

¹ Cf. Matt. vii. 2: 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.'

Kings, like Cyrus,¹ are made the instruments of divine judgement (iii. 286 ff., 652 ff.). The penalty of transgression can in no wise be escaped ;

And if perchance

One give no heed, he must unto the law

Make satisfaction, either at men's hands,

Or, if men's notice he escape, he shall

By ample satisfaction be destroyed (iii. 258-60).

Judgement is present as well as future. God rules all things, 'dealing out unto all mortals in a common light the judgement' (Proem. i. 15-18). The eternal Maker brings to the good, good recompense, but awakens wrath for the evil (Proem. iii. 18-20). The course of history moves on to the Messianic age, or, perhaps better, theocratic, since there is no mention of a Messiah. Its coming will be heralded by strange natural phenomena (iii. 796-808). The writer evidently considered it was beginning to dawn in the reign of Ptolemy VII (Physcon), the seventh king of the Graeco-Egyptian dynasty (iii. 318).

Present as
well as
future.

Messianic
age
already
beginning to
dawn.

O happy upon earth shall that man be,

Or woman ; what a home unspeakable

Of happy ones ! For from the starry heaven

Shall all good order come upon mankind,

And justice, and the prudent unity

Which of all things is excellent for men,

And kindness, confidence, and love of guests ;

¹ The passages iii. 286 ff. and iii. 652 ff. are best taken as referring to Cyrus, not to the Messiah. The passage iii. 663 ff., will then refer, not to the Messianic age, or the events leading up to 'it, but to the post-Exilic wars, and the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. Terry's note, in loc.).

But far from them shall lawlessness depart,
 Blame, envy, wrath, and folly ; poverty,
 And murder, baneful strifes, and bitter feuds,
 And thefts, and every evil in those days (iii. 371-80).

It will be a time of fruitfulness and peace (iii. 744 ff.). Israel's kingdom will be universal ; the glory of the Temple will be restored and all nations will bring gifts to it ; there will be peaceful commerce between nation and nation ; prophets will rule as kings and judges ; and there will be a righteous social order (iii. 787-95). ' The nation of the mighty God shall be again strong, and they shall be guides of life to all men ' (iii. 194 f.).

In bk. iii. the sanctions are mainly national, and there is no vision of a future life ; but in the Proemium the writer has a glimpse of rewards and punishments in the hereafter.

Immor-
 tality.

But of Him is life and eternal light
 Imperishable (Proem. iii. 34).

But they who fear the true eternal God
 Inherit life, and they for ever dwell
 Alike in fertile field of Paradise,
 Feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven
 (Proem. iii. 46-9).

This is the Alexandrian teaching of blessed immortality ; there is no hint of the doctrine of resurrection.

Destiny of
 the wicked.

As to the unrighteous—

Therefore on you the flash of gleaming fire
 Is coming, ye shall be with torches burned
 The livelong day through an eternal age
 At your false useless idols feeling shame (Proem. iii. 43-5).

Future punishment will, therefore, not be merely external, but internal, inasmuch as the wicked will experience a remorseful shame.

Summary

We can trace a great development in the doctrine of retribution during this period. *Sirach* teaches individual retribution, chiefly external, but in part internal, in the present life only. This position is modified by the extension of the principle in a corporate direction, but the outlook never extends beyond the present life. In *Tobit* and *Baruch* (i. 15—iii. 8) retribution is national, and here again the horizon is bounded by death. But with the widening of eschatology, as might be expected, retribution is made to extend to the future life and individualism becomes more pronounced. While the corporate results of Israel's sins are not lost sight of, it is realized more and more that the individual must bear his own burden, both in regard to sin's present moral consequences and its eternal punishment.

Develop-
ment of
doctrine of
retribution
owing to
widening of
eschatology.

There can also be seen an advance in the comprehension of the essentially moral and inward character of the consequences of moral evil. The prudential externalism of *Sirach*, which practically exhorts men to refrain from evil on the ground of expediency, is a whole world removed from *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which unfold with such subtlety of analysis the immediate moral and spiritual consequences of transgression.

Advance to
a more
inward
view of
retribution.

The belief in a future life emerges very clearly to view in this century, and is taught by all the writers,

The future
of the
righteous
and the
unrighteous.

except *Sirach*, *Tobit*, and *Baruch*. There is general agreement that the eternal destiny of the soul is determined by the character of its life in the present world. As to the nature of the future life there is diversity of teaching. Some of the writers conceive of the righteous as dwelling for ever in the Messianic kingdom upon a renovated earth; others fix a time-duration to that kingdom, and postulate a blessed life beyond. All who have any vision of a hereafter agree in relegating the wicked to eternal fire and torment.

Messianic
kingdom.

The teaching as to the Messianic kingdom is not uniform. Some look for its coming catastrophically; *The Book of Jubilees* looks for its gradual appearance. Most admit, at any rate, some of the Gentiles to participation in its blessings, but apparently *The Book of Jubilees* does not do so. Some place the final judgement at the beginning of the Messianic age, others at its close. Some foreshadow a resurrection only of the righteous, others look for a universal resurrection.

The Messiah.

It will have been noted that the conception of the Messianic kingdom is far more prominent during this century than the figure of the personal Messiah. We have observed, in every instance where the Messiah appears, a tendency to identify him with some contemporary prince, and to regard the Messianic age as beginning with contemporary events. This is, too, the teaching of the book of Daniel (which belongs to this century) according to its interpretation by most modern critics. In one or two instances (*Eth. Enoch* lxxxiii.-xc., *Jub.*) the figure of another and future Messiah flits before

our eyes, but the conception is not clearly defined. If our interpretation of the *Sib. Oracles* (iii.) is correct, the hope of a Messiah is entirely absent from Alexandrian literature.

No line of demarcation can be drawn between Palestinian and Alexandrian teaching as to the resurrection. The doctrine is absent from *The Book of Jubilees*, no less than the *Sib. Oracles*, and in both it is taught that the righteous enjoy a blessed immortality.

II. THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

A. PALESTINIAN

I. MACCABEES

Such sanctions as are referred to in this book are derived from the present life. All the rewards of righteousness mentioned in ii. 52-61 relate to the present world, except that of Elijah, whose case was regarded as exceptional. Moral evil is sometimes punished with disease (vi. 12; cf. ix. 54-6). Retribution is present.

There is no hint of resurrection or immortality. The only reference to eschatology is the statement that after death 'the wicked is returned unto his dust, and his thought is perished' (ii. 63). No light on the hereafter.

It is possible that the Messianic hope is foreshadowed, but, if so, it is but vaguely. It is said that David 'inherited the throne of a kingdom for ever and ever' (ii. 57); but the reference is evidently to the permanence of the Davidic dynasty, not to a personal Messiah. There are two passages which look to the coming of a 'faithful prophet' (iv. 46, The Messianic hope.

xiv. 41), which may have a Messianic reference, but, if so, it is very indefinite. It is noteworthy that the description of the rule of Simon (xiv. 4-15) bears many of the marks of the O.T. conception of the Messianic age. It has been suggested that the writer was in doubt whether Simon was the Messiah or whether the latter was yet to arise.¹ As we have seen, there are traces of the same idea in *Sirach*, another work of Sadducean tendency.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH (xci.-civ.)

The laws of
retribution
are
inexorable.

The outstanding feature of this section is its firm belief in the reality of retribution. Unrighteousness may go unpunished in the present life, but it is not unobserved, and retribution will surely overtake it. 'I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy and Great One, that all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens, and that none of your deeds of oppression are covered or hidden. And do not think in your spirit, nor say in your heart, that you do not know and that you do not see that every sin is, every day, recorded in the presence of the Most High. From henceforth ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppressed is written down every day till the day of your judgement' (xcviii. 6 ff.; cf. xcvii. 6).

The writer boldly disowns Ezekiel's view that retribution, operating in the present, makes outward circumstances exactly correspond with moral desert, and says to the persecuted righteous, 'Grieve not if your soul descends in grief into Sheol, and that

¹ Oesterley, in *I.J.A.*, April 1907.

in your life your body has not fared as your goodness deserved ; but truly as on a day on which ye became like the sinners, and on a day of cursing and chastisement ' (cii. 5). He admits that the unrighteous seem to get the best out of the present life (cii. 6-11), but he is not cast down, for although he does not rise to the thought that the blessed life of communion with God lifts a man above all outward circumstances, he is confident of a future life in which the balance will be redressed. ' Now I swear to you the righteous . . . that all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them, and are written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, and that manifold good will be given to you in recompense for your labours, and that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living. And your spirits [the spirits] of you who die in righteousness will live and rejoice and be glad, and their spirits will not perish, but their memorial will be before the face of the Great One unto all the generations of the world ; wherefore then fear not thou contumely. . . . I swear unto you that in heaven the angels are mindful of you for good before the glory of the Great One ' (ciii., civ.).

Retribution is often deferred in the present life, but will overtake men in the hereafter.

The righteous at their death fall into a long sleep, during which they are watched by guardian angels (c. 5), but the wicked descend to Sheol, the place of punishment, where they are recompensed according to their deserts, and from which they never escape (xcviii. 3, xcix. 11, ciii. 7 f.).

Intermediate state.

The writer conceives of the course of world-history as passing through ten periods. In the eighth, unrighteousness will be destroyed with the

Course of world-history.

sword and righteousness established (xci. 12), and 'at its close they [i.e. the righteous] will acquire houses through their righteousness, and the house of the Great King will be built in glory for ever' (xci. 13); that is, the new Jerusalem will be established. In the ninth period the coming judgement will be proclaimed to all mankind, and the whole world will turn to righteousness (xci. 14). In the tenth period will take place 'the great eternal judgement' and the destruction of the world. A new heaven (there is no mention of a new earth) will then be created, and after that there will be an endless period in which righteousness shall reign and sin shall be no more (xci. 15-17).

New Jerusalem.

Judgement.

A new heaven.

Resurrection of the righteous.

The spirits (cii. 3 f.) of the righteous dead will rise to share this blessed life (xci. 10, xcii. 3).

THE SIMILITUDES OF ENOCH (xxxvii.-lxxi.)

Retribution to operate in the Messianic kingdom.

The writer of the *Similitudes*, like those of the other sections of *Enoch*, enforces the moral command by reference to the doctrine of retribution. Men are to be judged according to their deeds, for 'the actions of men are weighed upon the balance' (xli. 1). His hope centres in the Messianic kingdom to be established in a new heaven and a new earth (xlvi. 4 f.), in the establishment of which, through the agency of the Messiah, retribution will be so complete as to vindicate both the righteous community of Israel and the righteous individual.

The Messiah.

The oppression of the righteous is to be suddenly ended by the appearance of God and the Messiah (xlvi. 2 ff.). The Messiah is not a man, but is a

supernatural, pre-existent Being (xlviii. 3-6). He is called the Son of Man (xlvi. 2 *et passim*), an expression which is found in the indefinite form in Daniel, but does not occur in the definite form until the *Similitudes*; the Anointed, or the Christ (xlviii. 10, lii. 4); the Righteous One (liii. 6); the Elect One (liii. 6). He possesses inherently the moral attributes of righteousness and wisdom: 'This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness for ever' (xlvi. 3). 'In Him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of Him who gives knowledge, and the spirit of understanding and of might' (xlix. 3). All judgement has been committed to him, and at his appearance there will be a resurrection apparently of all Israel (li. 1 f.), though in lxi. 5 the reference is only to the resurrection of the righteous. The latter will be clothed with garments of glory and of life (lxii. 15 f.), a conception which implies a spiritualized view of physical resurrection. The 'books of the living' will be opened (xlvii. 3), and judgement pronounced upon the holy (lxi. 8) and fallen (lv. 4) angels, the righteous and the unrighteous upon earth (lxii. 2 f.), and upon the proud and the wealthy who have oppressed the righteous (liii. 1-3). The fallen angels are cast into a burning furnace (liv. 6); the oppressors of the righteous are put to eternal torture in Gehenna (xlviii. 9 f.; liii. 3-5, liv. 1 f.). As to other sinners, their fate is only stated in the

Judgement
by the Mes-
siah, and
resurrection
of Israel.

Destiny of
the wicked.

general terms that they will be destroyed from off the face of the earth, by the word of the mouth of the Son of Man (xlv. 6, lxii. 2; cf. xxxviii. 3, xli. 2).

The
Messianic
kingdom
and eternal
life.

The Son of Man will possess universal dominion (lxii. 2), and 'he will be the light of the Gentiles. All who dwell on earth will fall and bow the knee before him, and will bless and laud and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits' (xlviii. 4 f.).¹ Heaven and earth will be renewed (xlv. 4 f.), and 'unrighteousness will disappear as a shadow' (xlix. 2). In this glorified community the righteous will enjoy eternal life (lviii. 3) with the angels (xxxix. 5), in the presence of the Messiah (xlv. 4), and in the light of the presence of God (xxxviii. 4). This life will be one of moral growth, 'and they will seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits: there will be peace to the righteous in the name of the Lord of the world. And after that it will be said to the holy that they should seek in heaven the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith' (lviii. 4 f.).

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

As is usual in Jewish thought, these psalms connect the adversity of Israel with its sins. The sudden invasion of Pompey is explained in the light of the secret sins of the Sadducees (ii.). The Babylonian Captivity is also explained as being due to the nation's transgressions (ix.). The adversities of Israel are not for its destruction, but

¹ Cf. Phil. ii. 10.

its chastening (vii. 3, 8, viii. 32, 35); it is the disciplining of a beloved son (xiii. 8), a process that works cleansing where there is penitence (ix. 12, 15). For this purpose God uses the Gentiles as His instruments (ii. 24-8, viii. 16), but does not suffer lust or overweening pride in them (ii. 27-35). Although the psalmist looks to the restoration of Israel when its chastening is accomplished (xi.), yet he hesitates to include the Sadducees within the sphere of the true Israel. For they 'live in hypocrisy in the company of the saints,' and he prays God to destroy them (iv. 7). Even Psalm xvii., which describes the Messianic kingdom, is full of anger against them (xvii. 6 ff.). And yet they are not entirely cut off. 'He will cleanse the soul that sinned, if it make confession and acknowledgement' (ix. 12). 'According to their works God had compassion on them; He sought out their seed diligently and forsook them not' (xvii. 11).

Disciplinary
value of
national
retribution.

As against the Sadducees, the doctrine of retribution is taught. God is Judge of all the earth (viii. 29, ix. 4), and judgement is not only future, but present (ii. 7, 17, xiii. 5).

Judgement
is present
as well as
future.

The hope of the psalmist is set on the coming of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom. The Messiah is to be of the seed of David ¹ (xvii. 23). As in *The Similitudes of Enoch*, he is called *χριστός* (xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8). He is not supernatural, but

The Messiah.

¹ T. Jud. xxiv. 5 f., according to Charles a Jewish addition, 70-40 B.C., teaches that the Messiah will spring from Judah. It will be remembered that the expectation of the *Testaments* is of a Messiah sprung from Levi.

he is pure from sin (xvii. 41). He reigns as God's vassal, for God is the only ruler of Israel (xvii. 38, 51). 'He shall not faint all his days, because he leaneth upon his God; for God shall cause him to be mighty through the spirit of holiness, and wise through the counsel of understanding with might and righteousness' (xvii. 42). He will purge Jerusalem of the heathen (xvii. 25), overthrow the Sadducean aristocracy (xvii. 26) and vanquish the Gentile nations (xvii. 27). Nevertheless, he will not use force, 'for he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, nor shall he multiply unto himself gold and silver for war, nor by ships shall he gather confidence for the day of battle' (xvii. 37). He will overcome the wicked 'by the word of his mouth' (xvii. 27, 39), and the potent instrument of his rule will be wisdom, righteousness, holiness, and faith (xvii. 25, 42, 45). His moral influence will be such that 'he shall convict the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts' (xvii. 27). His reign will be a 'day of gladness of Israel' (x. 7). The Children of the Dispersion will return to Jerusalem (xi.). The Messiah will 'gather together a holy people, whom he will lead in righteousness'¹ (xvii. 28), 'and there shall be no iniquity in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy' (xvii. 36). 'In holiness shall he lead them

The
Messianic
kingdom.

¹ Cf. 'And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come' (T. Naph. iv. 5). 'But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His tender mercy' (T. Ash. vii. 7). Both passages are described by Charles as Jewish additions, 70-40 B.C., and therefore contemporary with these psalms.

all, and there shall no pride be among them, that any should be oppressed' (xvii. 46). He shall bring the nations beneath his yoke (xvii. 32), and shall judge them with righteousness and mercy' (xvii. 31, 38). 'And he shall purge Jerusalem, and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old. So that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her sons that had fainted, and may see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her' (xvii. 33-5).

Apparently the Messianic age will last only for the life-time of the Messiah. There is no hint of a resurrection of the righteous dead to partake in its glories.

The Messiah to die.

Although the psalmist's conception of the Messiah is so distinctly spiritual, so far removed from that of a Warrior-Prince, there can be no doubt that, in connecting the Messianic hope with the political aspirations of the people, he aided that secularization of the Pharisaic ideal which later emptied it so largely of its spiritual content and made it a rigid politico-legalistic system.

Influence of the Messianic conception on the process of secularization.

It is not stated whether resurrection and judgement follow immediately on the Messianic age. The psalmist undoubtedly looks to a Day of Judgement (iii. 14, xv. 14), a day of mercy for the righteous, but of destruction and darkness for the wicked (xiv. 6). Judgement will be without respect

Judgement.

¹ Cf. 'A man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and them that are near' (T. Naph. iv. 5; cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 5, 6, according to Charles Jewish additions, 70-40 B.C.).

of persons (ix. 9), according to works, and on an individual basis, 'according to each man and his house' (ix. 10).

Resurrection
of the
righteous to
eternal life.

The righteous will rise to an eternal life of gladness, and will inherit the promises of God (xii. 8). 'They that fear the Lord shall rise again unto life eternal, and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and it shall fail no more' (iii. 16; cf. ix. 9). 'The saints of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness' (xiv. 7). It is not said whether this is a physical resurrection.

Destiny of
the wicked.

As for the wicked, 'eternal destruction in dishonour' awaits them (ii. 35; cf. iii. 13, xii. 8, xv. 14); and 'the memorial of them shall no more be found' (xiii. 10). The wicked man 'is guilty of his own soul to destroy it' (ix. 9). His inheritance is 'hell, darkness, and destruction' (xiv. 6), and his iniquities will pursue him 'as far as hell beneath' (xv. 11). The word 'Hades' is probably used in these passages to signify the place of punishment of the wicked, as is the case in xvi. 2, where the psalmist says that because he had been far from God he had been 'hard unto the gates of hell in the company of the sinner.' It is therefore unlikely that he teaches the total annihilation of the wicked after or in death. His meaning is probably that they persist in Hades, but have no moral future, being guilty of the death of their own souls.

JUDITH

Retribution
is national.

The sanctions set forth in this book are national, and there is no clearly defined individualism.

Faithfulness to God on the part of Israel is followed by prosperity, unfaithfulness by adversity. As long as Israel is faithful it is invincible, but unfaithfulness makes it vulnerable (v. 17-21, viii. 19, xi. 11). Punishment is not apportioned according to individual transgression, but God punishes Israel 'according to our sins, and the sins of our fathers' (vii. 28). There is a punishment even of the righteous, but it is remedial in character: 'The Lord doth scourge them that come near unto Him, to admonish them' (viii. 27).¹

Remedial
punishment
of the
righteous.

There is no reference to the Messianic hope, and but scant light is thrown on the hereafter. Neither resurrection nor immortality is mentioned. There is to be a 'day of judgement,' when the nations opposed to Israel will be sent to torment of 'fire and worms' and 'shall weep and feel their pain for ever' (xvi. 17). The reference is to Gehenna, which is no longer the place of abode of apostate Jews,² but apparently the eternal abode of the Gentiles.

Judgement.

Gehenna.

B. ALEXANDRIAN

III. EZRA (1 *Esdras*)

There is no reference to the hereafter in this book. The Babylonian Captivity is regarded as the outcome of the wickedness of Israel (i. 49 ff., vi. 15 ff., viii. 77).

¹ Cf. Heb. xii. 6.

² Cf. Isa. l. 11, lxvi. 24; Dan. xii. 2; and *Eth. Enoch*, *passim*.

II. MACCABEES

Retribution
mainly
present and
external.

This writer views the sanctions of morality as mainly present and external (e.g. ix. 4). The laws of retribution are inexorable, 'for it is not a light thing to do impiously against the laws of God' (iv. 17). The consequences of evil can by no means be escaped, for retribution follows a man even after death (vi. 26; cf. vii. 17, 31).

The whole book is pervaded by the idea that righteousness brings prosperity and unrighteousness adversity (vii. 18, 33, 37). This is held to be as true of individuals as of nations, as is evidenced by the cases of Jason (v. 5 ff.) and Menelaus (xiii. 8) among the Jews, and Antiochus (ix.) and Nicanor (xv. 30-35) among the Gentiles. Like the author of the second part of *Wisdom*, this writer believes that punishment is exactly adapted to the nature of the offence (iv. 16, 38, v. 9, xiii. 8).¹

Punishment
is remedial
for Israel,
but
retributive
for the
Gentiles.

But the laws of retribution do not operate in the same way for Israel as for the Gentile nations. In the case of Israel, punishment is simply remedial; it is not for the destruction, but the chastening of the race. Retribution is, therefore, beneficent in its character. Israel may be sorely chastened, but God will never forsake His own people, and He shall 'again be reconciled with His own servants' (vi. 12-17, vii. 32 f.); but in the case of the Gentiles punishment is not corrective, but purely retributive, and even vindictive. God does not chasten them to wean them from evil, but

¹ *Wisd.* xi. 15 f., xvi. 1; T. Gad v. 10 f.

forbears until the cup of iniquity has been filled, when He smites them with vengeance (vi. 14 f.).

Retribution continues after death. The soul at death passes to Hades (vi. 23), which, in view of the references to prayers for the dead (xii. 44), must be conceived of (for the righteous, at any rate) as an intermediate state, and a place of chastening (vi. 26). Ultimately, at a time which is not stated, there will be a resurrection from the dead (vii. 9, 14, 23, 29, xii. 43; xiv. 46)—a resurrection which apparently is to include all Israelites, irrespective of character (xii. 42-4). For the unrighteous Gentile there is no resurrection (vii. 14), and this probably includes all Gentiles, for in the mind of the epitomizer righteousness is so bound up with Judaism that it is doubtful whether he could conceive of a righteous Gentile. This resurrection is to be an actual rising of the body, as is shown by the fact that it is expected that severed members and organs will then be restored to it (vii. 11, xiv. 46).

Inter-
mediate
state.

Resurrection
of Israel.

It must, however, be noted that, side by side with the Jewish doctrine of resurrection, is the belief in immortality. The resurrection is to be 'unto an eternal (*αἰώνιος*) renewal of life' (vii. 9). The short pains of martyrdom are the gateway to everlasting life (*ἀένναος ζωή*, vii. 36).

Immor-
tality.

Charles thinks there is a trace of the hope of a Messianic kingdom in vii. 33, 37; xiv. 15. He argues from vii. 29 ('Fear not this butcher . . . that in the mercy of God I may raise thee again with thy brethren') that this resurrection-life is to be realized in a community of the righteous, and

Messianic
kingdom?

connects the thought with the picture of the eternal Messianic kingdom on earth depicted in *Eth. Enoch*. He accounts for the similarity of thought by assuming that the epitomizer here reproduces fairly closely the work of Jason (who must have written soon after 160 B.C.) from which he derived his materials.¹

WISDOM (Part I, i.-ix. 17)

Inward-
ness of
retribution.

Moral evil brings its own nemesis: 'He that setteth at nought wisdom and discipline is miserable' (iii. 11). Moral degeneration sets in: 'A mouth that belielth destroyeth a soul' (i. 11). The culmination of this process is moral death. The references to death are in the main to ethical² (ii. 24) not physical death, though the latter idea is undoubtedly present subsidiarily in i. 14 ff. Bodily death is conceived of as the common lot of the descendants of Adam, sprung as they are

¹ *Eschatology*, p. 230.

² Instances of the use of death in an ethical sense are found in both Plato and Philo—e.g. Plato says: 'No one ever considers that which is declared to be the greatest penalty of evil-doing—namely, to grow into the likeness of bad men,' and goes on to say that the evil man 'perishes' (*Legg.* v. 728). Philo writes: 'And verily it saith, "In the day that ye eat thereof ye shall surely die." And, having eaten, they not only did not die, but begat children, and were the causes of life in others. What, then, must be said? That there is a twofold death, the one belonging to man, but the other to the soul. The death of man is, therefore, the separation of soul and body, but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue, the taking up of evil' (*Legg. Allegor.* i. 33).

'from one born of the earth' (vii. 1), but nowhere is it connected with Adam's moral failure.

The moral consequences of evil work themselves out in succeeding generations (iii. 12-19), and bring posthumous disgrace and oblivion (iv. 17-19).

The rewards of the virtuous life of wisdom are manifold. The good man enjoys posthumous influence and fame :

External
sanctions—
e.g. post-
humous
fame.

In the memory of virtue is immortality,
Because it is recognized both before God and before man.
When it is present men imitate it,
And they long after it when it is departed ;
And throughout all time it marcheth, crowned in triumph,
Victorious in the strife for the prizes that are undefiled
(iv. 1 f.).

The virtuous man leaves behind an eternal memory to those that come after him (viii. 13). Righteousness is the way to fullness of life, which is measured not by the standard of years, but by that of understanding and purity. Thus premature death, so far from being a sign of wickedness,¹ may be a blessing, as removing the virtuous man to a purer environment.

Internal
sanctions :
(a) Fullness
of life.

Being made perfect in a little while, he fulfilled long years ;
For his soul was pleasing unto the Lord,
Therefore hastened he out of wickedness

(b) Perfection.

(iv. 7-14 ; cf. iii. 1-9).

The pursuit of wisdom brings that moral wealth 'that faileth not,' and an ever-widening moral outlook (viii. 18, b, c). Faithfulness to the Ideal ensures moral growth, 'They that have kept holily

(c) Moral
wealth and
growth.

¹ Cf. Ps. lv. 23.

the things that are holy shall themselves be hallowed' (vi. 10). These are they who win 'wages of holiness,' and 'a prize for blameless souls' (ii. 22); that is, immortality.

(d) Immortality, not as an external reward, but as the crown of an inward process.

The supreme reward of virtue is immortality. This doctrine is held in a form that is more Jewish than Greek. The natural immortality of the soul, as such, is not taught, for, as has been seen, the writer did not hold the Greek view that the soul is the real *ego*, but the Jewish view that the body and the divine *neshamah* are both essential to the personality. What is taught is that God created men for incorruption, and made them in His own image (ii. 23); but men of their own free-will made friends with moral evil, and so brought on themselves, not physical death, which is the natural lot of all men, but that moral death which is the negation of immortality (i. 16, ii. 24). Immortality is therefore not a natural quality of the soul, but is the reward of righteousness. Physical death is, in reality, non-existent to the righteous. 'In the eyes of the foolish, they seemed to have died' (iii. 2), but 'their life is full of immortality' (iii. 4). The righteous win immortality through fellowship with Wisdom, of whose indwelling it is the fruit. 'Love of her is observance of her laws; and to give heed to her laws confirmeth incorruption; and incorruption bringeth near to God' (vi. 18 f.). 'In kinship unto wisdom is immortality' (viii. 17). 'Righteousness is immortal' (i. 15). Immortality is, therefore, not the external reward of wisdom, but its natural and inevitable fulfilment.

Not the Greek doctrine of natural immortality.

As for the wicked, in reality they have never lived at all : ' We, as soon as we were born, ceased to be ' (v. 13). They will be requited even as they reasoned ' (iii. 10), and their reasoning was thus :

The wicked
pass into
oblivion.

The breath in our nostrils is smoke,
And, while our heart beateth, reason is a spark,
Which, being extinguished, the body shall be turned
into ashes,
And the spirit shall be dispersed as thin air.
And our name shall be forgotten in time,
And no man shall remember our works ;
And our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud,
And shall be scattered as is a mist
When it is chased by the beams of the sun
And overcome by the heat thereof (ii. 2-4).

Whether the writer accepted any doctrine of resurrection it is difficult to say. Certainly he did not accept the resurrection of the actual physical body (ix. 15) any more than did Paul. But it is significant that Paul, in language that is closely akin to ix. 15, develops his own doctrine of resurrection (2 Cor. v. 1-4). Possibly by the ' time of visitation ' of the righteous is meant resurrection (iii. 7), but this is very uncertain. In any case, the teaching is more Jewish than Greek, for it is practically that of Prov. viii. 35 f. : ' For whoso findeth me findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord. But he that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul. All they that hate me love death.' ' In *Wisdom* vi. 17-21, the successive steps of the process of moral and religious discipline are traced by which man reaches the goal of immortality.

Is any
doctrine of
resurrection
taught ?

Teaching is
Jewish, not
Greek.

Wisdom and
Paul.

Taking the passage in connexion with others which speak of the indwelling of the Spirit of Wisdom in man (i. 1-5, vii. 27), we reach a conception not far from that of Paul, that it is the gift and indwelling of the divine Spirit that becomes in mortal man the power both of righteousness and of immortality (viii. 7, 17).'¹

Messianic
hope.

The book contains no reference to a Messiah, but there is language of a Messianic character which seems to indicate that the writer looked forward to a Messianic age, but we cannot deduce an ordered sequence of events such as is foreshadowed in some of the apocalyptic books. The main thought to which he gives expression is that the righteous are to judge the nations :

And in the time of this visitation they shall shine forth,
And as sparks among stubble they shall run to and fro ;²
They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples ;
And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore (iii. 7 f.).

Judgement
and the
destiny of
the wicked.

With beautiful imagery the writer describes the judgement to come, which is called 'the day of decision' (iii. 18). The wicked will be filled with coward fear when their sins are reckoned up, and their lawless deeds will convict them to their face (iv. 20). They will recognize, with pain, that the time for penitence is past (v. 3 ff.) and will be overtaken by a terrible retribution, of which the creation will be made the instrument.

¹ Porter, *American Journal of Theology*, Jan. 1908, p. 89.
See pp. 84-92.

² The diction is borrowed from Obadiah, 16.

He [God] shall take His jealousy as complete armour,
And shall make the whole creation His weapon for vengeance
on His enemies :

He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate,
And shall array Himself with judgement unfeigned as with
a helmet ;

He shall take holiness as an invincible shield,
And He shall sharpen stern wrath for a sword :
And the world will go forth with Him to fight against His
insensate foes.

Shafts of lightning shall fly with true aim,
And from the clouds, as from a well-drawn bow, shall they
leap to the mark,
And as from an engine of war shall be hurled hailstones
full of wrath ;

The water of the sea shall be angered against them,
And rivers shall sternly overwhelm them ;
A mighty blast shall encounter them, and as a tempest
shall it winnow them away (v. 17-23).¹

But this destruction of the wicked does not
involve total annihilation, for they will endure
pain (iv. 19) ² and will witness the blessedness of
the good (v. 1 f.).

Not total
annihilation.

Judgement will be without respect of person, and
according to opportunity.

Principles of
judgement.

For the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy,
But mighty men shall be searched out mightily,
For the sovereign Lord of all will not refrain Himself from
any man's person,
Neither will He reverence greatness ;
Because it is He which made both small and great,

¹ Cf. *Wisd.* v. 17-20 with 1 Thess. v. 8 and Eph. vi. 13-17.

² The reference is probably to Gehenna.

And alike He taketh thought for all ;
 But strict is the scrutiny that cometh upon the powerful.
 Unto you, therefore, O princes, are my words (vi. 6-9).¹

Vindication
 of the
 righteous.

But the judgement will be a time of vindication for the righteous, for ' then shall the righteous man stand, in great boldness, before the face of them that afflicted him ' (v. 1).

The righteous live for ever,
 And in the Lord is their reward,
 And the care of them with the Most High ;
 Therefore shall they receive the crown of royal dignity
 And the diadem of beauty from the Lord's hand ;
 Because with His right hand shall He cover them,
 And with His arm shall He shield them (v. 15 f.).

WISDOM (Part II, ix. 18-end)

Emphasis on
 present and
 external
 retribution.

The consequences of evil are mainly external and present. The work is a record of historical illustrations of the theory that unrighteousness is punished, and righteousness rewarded, by adversity or prosperity in the present life. There are indications that the writer believed that the punishment inflicted was exactly fitted to the evil done :

But in requital of the senseless imaginings of their unrighteousness,
 Wherein they were led astray to worship irrational reptiles and wretched vermin,

¹ The same thought is expressed by Plato in the *Gorgias* myth of the Scars of the Soul—e.g. ' And when they come to the judge . . . he places them near him and inspects them quite impartially, not knowing whose the soul is ; perhaps he may lay hands on the soul of the great king, or some other king or potentate,' &c. (*Gorgias*, 524).

Thou didst send upon them a multitude of irrational creatures for vengeance ;
That they might learn that, by what things a man sinneth, by these he is punished (xi. 15 f. ; cf. xvi. 1).

Punishment, though ultimately retributive,¹ is primarily remedial in its purpose. God loves all men, and has mercy on all, and overlooks their sins 'to the end that they may repent' (xi. 23). He convicts 'by little and little them that fall from the right way . . . that, escaping from their wickedness, they may believe on' Him (xii. 2). 'By judging them by little and little, Thou gavest them a place of repentance' (xii. 10 ; cf. xii. 18). But a distinction is drawn between the treatment of Israel and of the Gentiles :

Punishment is primarily remedial, even in the case of the Gentiles, but especially in the case of Israel.

For these [Jews] as a father admonishing Thou didst prove ;
But those [Gentiles] as a stern king condemning them,
Thou didst search out (xi. 10).

'For if on them that were enemies of Thy servants and due to death, Thou didst take vengeance with so great heedfulness and indulgence . . . with how great carefulness didst Thou judge Thy sons' (xii. 20).

But although external consequences are chiefly emphasized, such as are internal are not overlooked. Ch. xiv. contains a vivid and powerful description of the moral consequences of idolatry. Cain is said to have 'perished himself in the rage wherewith

Internal Sanctions :

(a) Moral consequences of sin.

¹ There seems to be a trace of the Greek doctrine of Nemesis in the use of *ἀνάγκη* in xix. 4. (See Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels*, p. 340.)

he slew his brother' (x. 3), which can only refer to the moral consequences of his act. It is a thing alien from God's power 'to condemn one that doth not himself deserve to be punished' (xii. 15)—a statement that at least adumbrates the view that moral laws are self-acting. Again, the wicked become possessed of a fear which is 'a surrender of the succours which reason offereth' (xvii. 12).

(b) Immortality the fulfilment of righteousness.

Destiny of the wicked.

As to the hereafter, the teaching is Jewish rather than Greek. Immortality is not an inherent quality of the soul, but is the reward, or rather the fulfilment and completion, of righteousness. 'To know Thy dominion is the root of immortality' (xv. 3).¹ There is no hint of resurrection. Hades is a place where all sleep the same sleep (xvii. 14). Of the idolater it is said, in words which recall Eccles. xii. 7: 'He who, having but a little before been made of earth, after a short space goeth his way to the earth out of which he was taken, when he is required to render back his soul which was lent him' (xv. 8). The R.V. reading of xvi. 14c is, 'Neither giveth release to the soul that *Hades* has received.' Porter thinks that *God*, not *Hades*, is the correct reading, and, if that be so, it is not taught by this writer that the soul goes to Hades at death.²

The teaching which it is intended to convey is, probably, that the reward of righteousness is immortality, but that the wicked abide eternally in

¹ Cf. John xvii. 3.

² Sheol is spoken of as the abode of the wicked in Ps. xlix. 14, 15, but it is also there described as an intermediate place for the righteous.

Hades, possessed of a quasi-existence described as sleep.

Summary

In this century retribution is viewed almost entirely from the standpoint of the individual. The quarrels of the sects broke up the sense of national solidarity, and the Pharisees came to regard the Sadducees as being in a sense outside the true Israel. It is true that *The Psalms of Solomon* trace the adversity of the whole nation to the sins of the Sadducees, but when they turn to future retribution they conceive of it as being on an individualistic basis. Only in *The Book of Judith* is the emphasis still placed on the solidarity of the nation, and in 2 *Macc.* side by side with the belief in individual retribution.

The conflict of the sects served to force the doctrine of future retribution into prominence during the period, inasmuch as this was one of the bones of contention between the two parties. The *Enoch* sections and *The Psalms of Solomon* affirm, almost with passion, against the Sadducees, that retribution is not only present, but will overtake the workers of iniquity in a judgement that is yet to come.

In regard to present retribution, both 2 *Macc.* and Part II of *Wisdom* hold the view that unrighteousness is punished and righteousness rewarded by adversity or prosperity in the present life, but this theory is repudiated in *Eth. En.* xci.-civ. The remedial character of the present punishment of

transgression in the case of Israel is taught in *Pss. Sol.*, *Judith*, and *2 Macc.*,¹ and even in the case of the Gentiles in *Wisd.*, Part II.

As to future retribution, it is generally conceived of purely externally, and not as the natural result of the operation of moral processes in the soul. Resurrection and eternal life are the externally given rewards of virtue, and eternal punishment the externally imposed penalty of transgression. It is only in the two parts of *The Book of Wisdom*, especially in Part I, that the conception is reached of immortality as the crown and culmination of moral development, and moral death as the natural outcome of the process of moral degeneration.

At the same time we can discern a groping movement towards a comprehension of the fact that moral laws are self-acting. As in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, at the end of the second century, it was taught, 'By what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished,' so *2 Macc.* and *Wisd.* (Pt. II) teach that the present punishment of sin is exactly adapted to the nature of the offence. As yet, doubtless, the principle was interpreted and applied literally and mechanically, but it bore within it the germs of the Pauline principle, 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.'

The Messianic hope is only dimly discernible, if present at all, in the Alexandrian literature of the period, but it plays an important part in Palestinian thought, as represented in the *Enoch* sections (*Sim. En.* and xci.-civ.) and in *The Psalms of*

¹ This theory was as old as Hosea ; cf. also *Baruch* ii. 21 ff.

Solomon. All three teach that the Messianic kingdom is to be universal, but while the *Similitudes* hold that it is to be everlasting, *En.* xci.-civ. and *Pss. Sol.* fix a limit to its duration. Again, the two last place the resurrection of the righteous at the end of the Messianic age, but the first places at the beginning.

The interest, however, centres in the person of the Messiah rather than in the kingdom He is to found. The politicization of the hopes of Judaism has proceeded apace, and the advance has been made from the theocratic to the Messianic conception of the ideal state. The hope of the nation, or at any rate its Pharisaic portion, now centres in the Messiah, who is to be the agent of retribution. The most remarkable and revolutionary conception is that of the *Similitudes*, which foreshadows the coming of a Warrior-Messiah, pre-existent with God, and endowed with supernatural gifts. Very different is the conception of ps.-Solomon, who anticipates the coming of a human Messiah, who shall establish his kingdom by moral, not by physical force. The vision of the *Similitudes* was the one that left the deepest marks on Jewish thought, but that of the *Pss. Sol.* was the more truly moral and spiritual, and, had it been uppermost in the hope of the nation, would have taught it a more inward view of retribution, and would have saved it from the extreme politicization which ultimately led to its overthrow.

The reward of virtue is eternal life. As to the resurrection there is divergence of teaching. *The Book of Wisdom*, as we have seen, probably does

not teach it, certainly not in a physical form. The *Similitudes* and 2 *Macc.* look for the resurrection of all Israel, but *En.* xci.-civ. and *Pss. Sol.* only for that of the righteous Israelites. The Alexandrian 2 *Macc.* understands it to be physical, but in the *Similitudes* it is conceived under a more spiritualized form.

The wicked are consigned to eternal torment and to irretrievable moral ruin, but there is no evidence that the doctrine of total annihilation was taught.

III. THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

A. ALEXANDRIAN

III. MACCABEES

Retribution
both present
and
external,
national and
individual.

The moral sanctions appealed to by this writer are all present and external. He has nothing to say of the hereafter, save that the soul at death goes to Hades (iv. 8, v. 42), the nature of which is not defined. It is assumed that moral evil is always punished (vi. 10), and the belief is illustrated by the cases of Ptolemy (ii. 21), the apostate Jews (vii. 10 f.), and the Jewish nation itself. Appeal is made to the national history to show that, both nationally and individually, blessings accompany righteousness and adversities follow unrighteousness (ii. 4 ff., vi. 4 ff.).

IV. MACCABEES

Immortality
and eternal
life for the
righteous.

Although the work is based on 2 *Macc.*, which looks for a physical resurrection of the Israelites,

there is no hint here of a resurrection of the body. Those who are loyal to the law are filled with 'the hope of salvation' (xi. 7), and the 'rewards of virtue' (ix. 8) are immortality and eternal life (xvii. 12, ix. 22, xiv. 5, xvi. 13; cf. xviii. 3). This life will be one of purity (v. 37, xviii. 23) and blessedness (xvii. 18), lived in the divine presence (xvii. 5, 18), and in a spiritual community of which the patriarchs¹ (v. 37, vii. 19, xvi. 25, xviii. 23) and all the saints (xvii. 19) are members.

As to the wicked, their punishment is both present and future. While yet alive they are punished (xii. 19), and are 'tortured with threatenings for impiety' (ix. 32). In the hereafter they are punished with eternal fire and torment (ix. 9, 32, x. 15, xii. 12, 15, xviii. 5, 22).

Destiny of
the wicked.

SLAVONIC ENOCH

This writer is chiefly concerned with the consequences of moral evil in the hereafter, but he does not overlook its disastrous effects on the soul in the present life. 'If he does an injury to the soul of man he does an injury to his own soul. . . . He who kills the soul of a man, kills his own soul. . . . If a man acts crookedly, or speaks evil against any soul, he shall have no righteousness for himself for ever' (lx. 1 ff., lxiii. 3).

Moral conse-
quences of
sin.

When the world has run its course for 6,000 years a period of 1,000 years of rest is to set in,

Millennium.

¹ Charles (*Eschatology*, p. 268) deduces from this that the phrase 'Abraham's bosom' was a current one; 'but whereas in the Gospels it is an intermediate abode, here it is heaven itself.'

Judgement:
individual
retribution.

but there is no hint of a Messiah (xxxiii. 2). Then time will pass into eternity (xxxiii. 1 f.), and the great judgement will take place. Every act of man will have to be accounted for; the angels who are over the souls of men 'write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord' (xix. 5). The conception of divine forgiveness is foreign to the tone of this book. There is no repentance after death (lxii. 2; cf. lx. 1 f.).

The inter-
mediate
state.

There is more than one intermediate place of abode. The rebellious angels await judgement in a region of the second heaven (vii. 2); the lustful Watchers are confined under the earth (xviii. 7); Satan's sphere is the air (xxix. 4 f.). Men, both good and bad, go to Hades, a place of lamentation, to await 'the immeasurable judgement' (xl. 12). Adam and Eve, and Enoch's forefathers, are in this place of punishment until the Day of Judgement (xli. 1), for those who 'have only sinned a little in this life, always suffer in the eternal life' (xlii. 2).

Final
judgement.

At the great judgement (vii. 1, xviii. 6, xxxix. 1, xliv. 5, xlvi. 3, xlviii. 8 f., l. 4, lxv. 6 f., lxvi. 7), also called the second coming of God (xxxii. 1), the physical universe will be dissolved, and time will come to an end (lxv. 6 f.). The wicked will be sent to the place of torture and impenetrable gloom, where a fire is always burning¹ (x. 1 ff., probably the same as the 'mighty hell' described in xl. 12), to the evil mansions prepared for evil men, in which 'there is no rest, nor any means of return from them' (lxi. 2 f.).

Destiny of
the wicked.

¹ This is evidently Gehenna, now the abode of all the wicked.

The righteous will enter into eternal life (ix., xlii. 5, l. 2). The doctrine of physical resurrection is not held, neither is that of the immortality of the soul, in the Platonic form. The souls of the righteous are clothed with a spiritual body, the 'raiment of God's glory' (xxii. 7-9).¹ Enoch himself passes into the highest heaven (lv. 2), but his case is exceptional, and the abode of the righteous is in paradise in the third heaven (ix. 1). The descriptions given of the heavenly state have much in common with N.T. passages. 'For in the world to come, I know all things, how that there are many mansions' prepared for men, good for the good; evil for the evil; many and without number. Blessed are those who shall go to the mansions of the blessed' (lxi. 2 f.). 'There shall be one eternity, and all the just who shall escape the great judgement shall be gathered together in eternal life, and for ever and ever the just shall be gathered together and they shall be eternal. Moreover, there shall be no labour,² nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need,³ nor darkness, but a great light.⁴ And there shall be to them a great wall, that cannot be broken down; and bright and incorruptible paradise shall be their protection, and their eternal habitation. For all corruptible things shall vanish, and there shall be eternal life' (lxv. 8-10).

The
righteous
inherit
eternal life,
clothed with
a spiritual
body.

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. v. 1-4.

⁴ Rev. vii. 16.

² Cf. John xiv. 2.

⁵ Rev. xxii. 5.

³ Rev. xiv. 13.

B. PALESTINIAN

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

Retribution
viewed from
the national
standpoint.

The nation's adversities are on account of its sins, more particularly those of the ten tribes (iii.). Those Israelites who set at nought the commandments will be unblest, and will be afflicted by the Gentiles; those who fulfil the commandments will increase and be prospered (xii. 10 f.). The Gentile kings become the instruments of divine vengeance (v. 1, viii. 1). There is a hint in v. 1 that the punishment of sin is often exactly adapted to the nature of the offence, the Israelites being represented as suffering at the hands of the very people whose manners and customs they had aped to the subversion of their own religion.¹

World-wide
Messianic
kingdom,
but no
Messiah.

The writer looks for the final vindication of Israel in a theocratic kingdom which will ultimately be established by God alone, without the aid of a Messiah (x. 7). The establishment of this kingdom will be preceded by a 'day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord shall visit them in the end of the days' (i. 18).² Then will be established a world-wide kingdom of God.

¹ Cf. 2 *Macc.* iv. 16, 38, v. 9, xiii. 8; *Wisd.* xi. 15 f., xvi. 1.

² 'It was a commonplace in the mouth of Raba that, The perfection of wisdom is repentance' (*Berakoth*, 17 a, quoted in Taylor, op. cit. p. 70 n.).

'If all Israel together repented for a single day, redemption through the Messiah would follow' (*Pesikta*, 163 b, quoted by Charles in loc.).

And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation,

And then Satan will be no more,

And sorrow will depart with him.

Then the hands of the angel will be filled,

And he will be appointed chief,

And he will forthwith avenge them of their enemies (x. 1, 2).

Then will follow certain natural portents (x. 3-6).

For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,

And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,

And He will destroy all their idols ;

Then thou, O Israel, wilt be happy,

And thou wilt mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,¹

And (the days of thy mourning) will be ended.

And God will exalt thee,

And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of stars,

And He will establish thy habitation among them.

And thou wilt look from on high, and wilt see thy enemies in Gehenna ;

And thou wilt recognize them and rejoice,

And thou wilt give thanks and confess thy Creator (x. 7-10).

Charles thinks that verses 1, 2, and 3-10 are from different hands, since (a) verse 1 refers to a new heaven and new earth, while 10 *a* points to the hereafter. (b) In verse 2, Michael is the avenger of Israel, but in 3-10 it is God. But too great self-consistency and exactitude of chronological sequence must not be looked for in a passage full of poetic imagery, where ideas are apt to leap in advance of their chronological order. The sequence of events, as conceived by the writer, would seem to be : the repentance of the people (i. 18) ; the manifesta-

Course of events.

¹ i.e. Rome.

tion of the divine wrath in unusual portents (x. 3-6); divine activity, both direct and through angelic agency, in the punishment of the Gentiles and the overthrow of idolatry (x. 2, 7); the subjugation of Rome by Israel (x. 8); the new heaven and new earth (x. 1); the final judgement, with the exaltation of Israel to a glorified life, and the casting down of its enemies to Gehenna (x. 9 f.). There is nothing in the book to show whether this writer accepted the Jewish doctrine of resurrection, or the Alexandrian of blessed immortality.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

This book gives little, if any, light. We have the popular view that evil is punished in the present life in ii. 14, but the theme of his work must have shown the writer that there were many exceptions. Nothing is said of a future life, but it is difficult to think there is not a hint of a belief in the indestructibility of the human spirit in the words, 'Thou canst not take [from me] aught save the skin of my body' ¹ (v. 10).

BARUCH (iii. 9—iv. 4)

Wisdom brings length of days and life; it reveals where is 'the light of the eyes and peace' (iii. 14). Such as hold it fast are appointed to life, but such as leave it, or who for any reason have not attained to it, perish and die (iv. 2, iii. 28). It is impossible to draw any definite conclusions from such scanty references.

¹ Cf. Matt. x. 28: 'And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul.'

BARUCH (iv. 5—v. 9)

Israel's afflictions have come upon it because of its transgressions, but its sufferings are 'not for destruction' (iv. 6-13). Its redemption is nigh, when its enemies will be destroyed (iv. 25-33). Those of the Dispersion shall return (iv. 36 f.) to Jerusalem, which shall be restored (iv. 19-35) with great glory. It will be clothed with the robe of the righteousness which comes from God, and crowned with the diadem of the glory of the Everlasting. Its name will be 'the peace of righteousness,' and 'the glory of godliness' (v. 2-4). 'Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand upon the height, and look about thee toward the east, and behold thy children gathered from the going down of the sun unto the rising thereof at the word of the Holy One, rejoicing that God hath remembered them'¹ (v. 5).

Israel's
punishment
remedial.

The
Messianic
kingdom.

It will be seen that the writer's concern is with the nation, not the individual.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (iv.)

Following on the destruction of the world by fire as a result of sin (iv. 171-8), the Sibyl sees a coming resurrection, followed by the dawn of the Messianic kingdom.

General
resurrection.

But when now all things shall have been reduced
To dust and ashes, and God shall have calmed
The fire unspeakable which He lit up,
The bones and ashes of men God Himself

¹ Cf. *Bar.* iv. 36—v. 9, with *Pss. Sol.* xi.

Again will fashion, and He will again
Raise up mortals as they were before (iv. 179-82).

Judgement
by God.

This resurrection will be universal. Then will follow
the judgement, when God Himself shall act as Judge :

And then will be the judgement, at which God
Himself as Judge shall judge the world again ;
And all who sinned with impious heart, even them
Shall He again hide under mounds of earth,
Dark Tartarus and Stygian Gehenna.
But all who shall be pious shall again
Live on the earth, and shall inherit there
The great immortal God's unwasting bliss,
God giving spirit, life, and joy to them,
The pious ; and they all shall see themselves
Beholding the sun's sweet and cheering light.
O happy on the earth shall be that man ! ¹ (iv. 183-92).

Messianic
kingdom.

Thus the Messianic kingdom is to be everlasting,
and its scene is to be a renovated earth.

Hope of a
personal
Messiah
tends to
recede after
A.D. 70.

It will be noted that, as in the sections B ¹ of *The Apoc. of Baruch*,² there is here no reference to a personal Messiah. With the destruction of the national hope in the overthrow of Jerusalem, there was a growing tendency to fall back upon the law, and to recede from the politico-legalism of an earlier day, which looked to a temporal Messiah for deliverance, though that hope still appears in 4 *Ezra*.

¹ Zenos (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*), as against Charles and others, is of opinion that bk. iv. is more probably Christian than Jewish. Terry, while accepting the Jewish authorship, is of opinion that the picture of resurrection and judgement 'embodies the substance of familiar Christian doctrine.' The passage is, however, accepted as Jewish by an eminent modern Jew—Israel Abrahams (*Short History of Jewish Lit.*, pp. 16, 17).

² See above Ch. I. p. 16.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

This book teaches the ordinary view that Israel's adversities are the consequence of its sins, and are designed for its chastening. But the main moral sanctions to which appeal is made are derived from the hope of the Messianic kingdom, or the future life, or both. 'For if there were this life only, which here belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this' (xxi. 13).¹ Such is ps.-Baruch's vision of the future life that, as he contemplates the destiny of the unrighteous, he says: 'For what, then, have men lost their life, and for what have those who were on earth exchanged their soul?' (li. 15).

Sanctions
are derived
mainly
from the
Messianic
hope and
the future
life.

In some strata² of the book hope is centred in the Messianic kingdom, and, in those written before A.D. 70, in the Messiah. The true Jerusalem 'is not this building which is now built in your midst; it is that which will be revealed with Me' (iv. 3).

'When the time of the age has ripened, and the harvest of its evil and good seeds has come,' then sore tribulations and unnatural portents will befall the earth, and evil will wax more and more. These calamities will affect the whole world, and none shall be protected save those who dwell in the Holy Land (xxvii.-xxix. 2; lxx., lxxi.). Then the Messiah⁴ will appear (xxix. 3), and will overthrow Rome (xxxix. 7—xl.). He will summon all nations

Sections
written
before
A.D. 70.

Messiah.

World-
judgement
by the
Messiah.

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

² Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.

³ See Charles's analysis in ch. i. of this book.

⁴ Chs. iv., vi., xliv. (written after A.D. 70) contain references to a Messianic kingdom, but not to a personal Messiah.

Messianic
age.

before him. Those that have not known Israel or oppressed it shall be spared, but those that have ruled over it or known it shall be given up to the sword (lxxii.). The principate of the Messiah will then be established until the world of corruption is at an end (xl. 3). The Golden Age will set in; 'joy will then be revealed, and rest appear. And then healing will descend in dew, and disease will withdraw, and anxiety and anguish and lamentation will pass from amongst men, and gladness will proceed through the whole earth. And no one shall again die untimely, nor shall any adversity suddenly befall. And judgements and revilings and contentions and revenge and blood and passions and envy and hatred, and whatsoever things are like those, shall go into condemnation when they are removed. For it is these very things which have filled the world with evils, and on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled. . . . And it will come to pass in those days that the reapers will not grow weary, nor those that build be toil-worn; for the works will of themselves speedily advance with those who do them in much tranquillity' (lxxiii., lxxiv.; cf. xxix. 5-8; xliv. 7).

Return of
Messiah to
heaven,
and the
judgement.

Destiny of
the wicked
and of the
righteous.

At the end of this reign of righteousness the Messiah will return to heaven; 'then all who have fallen asleep in hope of him shall rise again' (xxx. 1). The judgement which follows is not described in these sections, but is hinted at. The unrighteous will be sent to torment in Gehenna (liv. 14, lv. 7, lix. 2, 10), and the righteous will receive the promise of their reward (lix. 2), and enjoy the glories to come (liv. 15).

In other sections of the book, written after A.D. 70, the writers look for a speedy end of the world, and the final judgement. As to a kingdom of righteousness on this earth, they have no hope at all. Soon there is to come a time of tribulation in which retributive afflictions will fall upon the nations (xiii. ; cf. xxv., xlviii. 31-7,) yet not wholly retributive, for they will have in them a remedial power (xiv. 1). This time cannot be long delayed: 'The pitcher is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey to the city, and life to consummation' (lxxxv. 10).

Sections
written after
A.D. 70.

Speedy end
of the
world.

Then will follow the judgement, and the transformation of the corruptible into the incorruptible (xxxii. 6 ; cf. xlv. 8-14). The dead will be raised, 'the dust will be called, and there will be said to it: Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until this time' (xlii. 8 ; cf. l.).¹ The souls of the righteous will come forth from their abodes in the intermediate state, and the unrighteous will also appear (xxx.). God's judgement will then exact its own, and His law its rights (xlviii. 27) ; the books will be opened containing the record of the sins of the unrighteous, and the treasures in which are stored up the good works of the righteous

Resurrection
and
judgement.

¹ The nature of the resurrection body is dealt with in xlix. 2-li. It will be in the same form as when committed to the earth, but will afterwards be transformed to fit it for a spiritual existence. The same doctrine of transformation is found in Dan. xii. 2 f. and in *Eth. Enoch* ; cf. the whole passage with 1 Cor. xv. 35-50, which, as Charles points out, in the light of these passages, is 'a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism.'

Destiny of
the righteous
and of the
wicked.

(xxiv. 1); and God will examine men's most secret thoughts, and make them 'manifest in the presence of all with reproof' (lxxxiii. 3). To the righteous will be given 'the world to come, but the dwelling of the rest, who are many, will be in the fire' (xliv. 15; cf. xv. 7 f.).

Sadducaic
fragment.

There is one fragment which, in the opinion of Charles, is Sadducaic. It is x. 6—xii. 4. The writer has no hope for the present life. Life is not worth living (x. 6). The dead rest in the sleep of tranquillity (xi. 4), and have no knowledge of what is going on on earth (xi. 5). There is no hope of a resurrection, or of a blessed immortality, but only of final vengeance on Israel's enemies (xii.). The dead apparently dwell for ever in Sheol, which here can mean no more than the abode of shades (xi. 6 f.).¹

IV. EZRA (2 *Esdras*)

Moral con-
sequences
of sin.

This writer is impressed with the moral consequences which follow on the sins of the individual. To despise the law is to court moral destruction (vii. 20). The sinner must face not only physical but moral death, 'for an evil heart hath grown up in us which . . . hath brought us into corruption and into the ways of death, hath showed us the paths of perdition and removed us far from life' (vii. 48; cf. vii. 119).

¹ Elsewhere in the *Ap. Bar.* Sheol signifies the intermediate state of all the dead prior to the judgement. It has not, however, the same significance for the good and bad. The good dwell in the treasures of the righteous (xxx. 2), but the wicked 'recline in anguish and rest in torment' (xxxvi. 10).

At first ps.-Ezra seems to hold to the old philosophy of history which saw in the adversities of Israel a punishment for its sins (iii. 27), but he finds it impossible to reconcile this view with the real facts of life (viii. 28-36, *et passim*). Indeed the whole purpose of the book seems to be to question this view. Ultimately, despite the strong elements of determinism in his thought, and his belief in the total depravity of the race, he sounds a clear note of individualism. 'The day of judgement is a day of decision, and displayeth unto all the seal of truth ; . . . so never shall any one pray for another in that day, neither shall one lay a burden on another, for then shall all bear every one his own righteousness or unrighteousness' (vii. 104 f.).

Revolt
against the
prevalent
philosophy
of history.

Individual
retribution.

The main sanctions of morality are derived by this writer from the hope of future judgement and the future life. The following is a brief summary of his expectation of the course of events.

Sanctions
drawn from
the future :

Immediately after death the spirit leaves the body. The spirits of the wicked shall wander and be in torment forthwith : (a) They will be consumed with remorse ; (b) they will recognize that the past is irrevocable ; (c) they will see the reward of the righteous ; (d) they will catch a glimpse of the torment reserved for them after the last judgement ; (e) ' they shall see the dwelling-places of the others guarded by angels with great quietness ' ; (f) ' they shall see how forthwith some of them shall pass into torment ' ; (g) in the light of the vision of God they will be consumed with agonizing remorse, confusion, and shame (vii. 78-87).

Intermedi-
ate state of
the wicked.

Intermedi-
ate state
of the
righteous.

The spirits of the righteous, on the other hand, shall be filled with joy (a) because they have striven to overcome the *cogitamentum malum*; (b) because they see the perplexity and punishment of the ungodly; (c) because they see the divine witness to their righteousness; (d) because they understand the rest and quiet of their intermediate state, and the glory that awaits them in the final judgement; (e) because they realize the painful corruption from which they have been delivered, and cherish the hope of immortality; (f) because of the incorruptible radiance and glory that await them; (g) 'because they shall rejoice with confidence, and be bold without confusion, and shall be glad without fear, for they hasten to behold the face of Him whom in their life-time they served, and from whom they shall receive their reward in glory' (vii. 88-98). These experiences last for seven days, at the end of which the spirits are shut up in the 'chambers of the soul' (vii. 101; cf. iv. 41), there to await the development of events leading up to the final judgement of God. But the chambers of the soul of the righteous are unlike those of the unrighteous, for the former shall dwell in quietness, guarded by angels (vii. 85, 95), and their dwelling-places shall be 'habitations of health and safety' (vii. 121).

God, who created the world, will in due time Himself end the present order (vi. 1-6),¹ but meanwhile evil must be allowed to run its course (iv. 26-

¹ It has been contended that this passage is a polemic against Christianity, but while the supposition is possible, it is by no means necessary.

32). The coming of the last things will be heralded by certain signs, of which the chief will be unusual natural phenomena, unrest of nations, and the waxing of evil more and more (v. 1-13; vi. 17-24; ix. 1-4). Then a Messiah of the seed of David is to appear, and overthrow the power of Rome, and re-establish the supremacy of Israel (vii. 28; xi. 36 ff.; xii. 32; xiii.; cf. vi. 7-10). He, with the righteous dead, is to reign upon the earth for four hundred years (vii. 28), and men's hearts will be changed, and 'evil shall be blotted out, and deceit shall be quenched; and faith shall flourish, and corruption shall be overcome, and the truth which hath been so long without fruit shall be declared' (vi. 26-8). After this the Messiah and all the citizens of the Messianic kingdom are to die (vii. 29), and there will be a silence for seven days (vii. 30), to be followed by a renovation of the earth (vii. 31). Then there will be a resurrection of the dead, and the spirits shall come forth from the 'chambers of the soul,' and all shall be judged (vii. 32 f.), the period of judgement extending over seven years (vii. 43). Then 'the reward shall be showed, and good deeds shall awake, and wicked deeds shall not sleep.' For the good there is a place of delight and rest, but for the wicked the pit of torment; for the good the paradise of delight, but for the wicked the furnace of Gehenna (vii. 35-8).

The
Messiah.

Resurrection
of the
righteous.

Messianic
kingdom.

Death of the
Messiah and
of all the
living.

General
resurrection
and
judgement.

Destiny of
the wicked
and of the
righteous.

But this teaching as to retribution is modified by ps.-Ezra's appeal to the forgiveness and mercy of God. He sees that if the law of retribution is to operate remorselessly in accordance with the

Judgement
with mercy,
and
according to
faith as well
as works.

standard of the law, very few will be saved. He therefore turns from the cast-iron Pharisaic view of retribution, and declares that judgement will be with mercy, according to faith, no less than works (viii. 32-6, ix. 7, xiii. 23).

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

The
Messiah.

When history has run its course, the Gentiles will suffer certain woes (xxviii., xxix.), and then, with the sound of a trumpet, the Messianic age will set in. The description of the Messiah shows the influence of a Christian hand. Many of the Gentiles will hope in him ;¹ of the Jews some will revile and beat him, many will be offended in him,² but some (including Azazel) will worship him (xxix.). The description of the Messianic age and the judgment is Jewish. The tribes of the Dispersion will be gathered together, and ' they will dwell securely through sacrifices and gifts of righteousness and truth in the age of the righteous, and they shall always be glad in Me, and they shall be destroyed who destroyed them, and they shall be put to shame who put them to shame ' (xxix.). Israel's enemies will be destroyed with fire. Those who have scorned God will be consumed with fire and eaten with worms in the under-world of Hades, and those who have chosen God's will and kept His commandments will look on and rejoice in their destruction (xxx.).

Messianic
age and the
judgement.

Destiny of
the wicked
and of the
righteous.

There is no reference either to a resurrection or to a blessed immortality.

¹ Cf. Matt. xii. 21.

² Cf. Matt. xi. 6.

Summary

In the literature of this century the main sanctions of morality continue to be derived from the belief in the retribution which overtakes the individual in the hereafter. In one or two instances, however, there is no individualism, emphasis being placed upon the solidarity of the nation. The standpoint of *Baruch* iv. 5—v. 9 is national, not individual. *The Assumption of Moses* teaches that individual retribution operates in regard to the present, but that in the future judgement the nation will be dealt with as a solidarity. But in the majority of these writings, as we have seen, retribution is conceived of as following the individual into the future life. The most notable development is the revolt of ps.—Ezra against mechanical views of retribution. If men are to be judged simply by the standard of conformity to the law, then it can happen that only few will be saved. From this despairing view he appeals to the mercy of God, and, though he is unable to explain or understand how, he expresses his faith that the operation of retributory forces will be tempered by, and in some way give expression to, the divine love. The only writers who show any real appreciation of the inward processes of retribution by the action of moral laws are those of *Sl. Enoch* and *4 Ezra*. This is another illustration of the decline of Judaism in this century.

As in the two previous centuries, we have found no expression of the hope of a personal Messiah in the Alexandrian literature of this period. It is significant that it should be lacking in all the

writings emanating from Alexandria,¹ and is explained by the fact that, removed from the centre of political aspiration and life, and influenced by the more spiritualized Judaism represented in *The Book of Wisdom*, the faith and ideals of the Alexandrian Jews did not suffer secularization to the same extent as those of their Palestinian brethren. But if the conception of a personal Messiah is absent, that of the Messianic kingdom is not, and in *Slavonic Enoch* it is represented as being realized in a coming Millennium.

In Palestinian circles we can trace diversity and modification of the Messianic belief. *The Assumption of Moses* is a protest against the hope of a personal Messiah, and a plea for reversion to the older theocratic idea. *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, in the sections written before A.D. 70, foreshadows the coming of the Messiah; but of the sections composed after the destruction of Jerusalem some cherish the hope of a Messianic kingdom without a Messiah, others look for a speedy consummation and judgement, and one fragment bears witness to the survival of the Sadducaic view of the present and the future. The figure of the Messiah is absent from *Bar.* iv. 5—v. 9, *Sib. Or.* (iv.), and *Apoc. Abraham* (all written after A.D. 70) although the vision of a Messianic kingdom is present. Evidently the destruction of Jerusalem

¹ An exception must be made in the case of Philo, who, although he does not delineate the figure of a personal Messiah, speaks of the coming of the Messianic age being heralded by a man going forth to war and subduing great nations (*De Praemiis et de Poenis*, 16, quoted by Fairweather, Hastings's *D.B.*, Ex. vol., 301 a).

dealt a severe blow to the political hopes of Judaism, but that they were not entirely destroyed is clear from 4 *Ezra*, where the person of the Messiah is brought into the foreground of the picture of the future.

As to the character of the Messianic kingdom, and its relation to judgement, there is diversity of teaching. All (except perhaps *Baruch* iv. 5—v. 9) admit the Gentiles, or some of them, to a share in its blessings. *Slavonic Enoch* expects it to last only a thousand years. Then time will pass into eternity, and the final judgement will take place, the resurrection of the righteous occurring at the end, not at the beginning, of the Messianic era. *The Assumption of Moses* predicts a judgement of the nations at the beginning of the Messianic age, but the final judgement takes place at the end. The sections of *The Apoc. of Baruch* written before A.D. 70 teach that the Messiah will execute a world-judgement and then establish his kingdom, at the end of which he will return to heaven, and there will be a resurrection of the righteous, followed by the final judgement. The sections of this apocalypse written after 70 A.D., which predict a Messianic kingdom without a Messiah, expect that kingdom to be of indefinite duration. *Sib. Oracles* (iv.) looks for an everlasting kingdom preceded by a universal resurrection and judgement. These are the only references in this century to the expectation that the Messianic kingdom will be everlasting. This conception naturally died out with the development of more spiritual views of resurrection and the future life. In 4 *Ezra* the resurrection of the righteous is placed

at the beginning of the Messianic age, which will last for four hundred years; then the Messiah and the citizens of the Messianic kingdom will die, and this will be followed by a general resurrection and the last judgement.

The reward of righteousness is eternal life, the penalty of unrighteousness eternal fire and torment. Some of the writers do not make it clear whether they held the doctrine of blessed immortality or that of resurrection to eternal life. The writer of 4 *Macc.*, for instance, simply speaks of immortality and eternal life, and that of the *Assumption* in general terms of a glorified life. Even as to the nature of resurrection there was diversity of opinion. *Sib. Or.* (iv.) holds to the doctrine of a physical resurrection, while a more spiritual view is taught in *Sl. Enoch* and *Apoc. Baruch*.

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