

# THE CONCEPTION OF THE MESSIAH IN THE APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE \*

BY

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## FOREWORD

The conviction of the chosen people through the ages that, after their many sufferings, they will not disappear but attain a glorious fulfillment of the prophetic promises of an ideal life in the future is one of the most important traits of religious thought in Israel.

This is what we call the Messianic hope, a conception which originated in Old Testament times, but assumed its characteristic form in later Judaism.

The books known as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha<sup>1</sup> give us a varied picture of this Messianism, but before we present it, it is necessary to give a brief statement of its origin and meaning in the Old Testament. Besides, to base it on the earlier as well as the later literature is to show its importance as the transition between the Old and New order, the religion of Israel and the religion of humanity<sup>2</sup>, based on the idea that the history of the world is a plan of God, and on the faith that he will carry it out to the end<sup>3</sup>; for what was conceived strictly as a hope of Israel in the past, came to be spread and transformed to the singular relief of mankind.

### I. THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

It is generally accepted that the hope of the Messianic king and his kingdom is confined, almost solely, to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament<sup>4</sup>.

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1. The use of the terms Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is made herein to meet the needs of a Protestant audience. However, a Greek Orthodox (or a Roman Catholic) refers to the books, called Apocrypha by Protestants, as «Deuterocanonical» and «Anaginoscomena». What is known to a Protestant as Pseudepigrapha an Orthodox calls either Pseudepigrapha or Apocrypha. See Bratsiotis, P. Introduction to the Old Testament. Athens, 1937 (in Greek), p. 625.

2. Cp. Touzard in Revue biblique internationale, 1913, p. 128 «L'espérance messianique guarda la foi...».

3. See Moore, G. F. Judaism. 2 Vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1927. Vol. 2, p. 323.

4. For further study on the Messiah in the O. T. cf. Stanton, V. H. «Messiah» in Hastings' A Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. III, Edinburgh, 1900,

But though the idea of an ideal king coming to establish his kingdom in the latter days (בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים Is. 2 : 2 et al.) is spread throughout these books, the name Messiah (מָשִׁיחַ=anointed one) used in apocalyptic literature with the article and not in apposition with another word, as a proper name (the Greek ὁ Χριστός renders the Aram. מְשִׁיחָא), is found here only as a predicate applying to actual monarchs then reigning, and never to an ideal monarch who was to come.

It is very often found in a constructive form with the name of God (מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה) as a title of honor for the king (e. g. I Sam. 24 : 6), and in a more general use, refers to the patriarchs (Ps. 105 : 15), to Cyrus (Is. 45 : 1) and to the high priest (Lev. 4 : 3 et al. הַכֹּהֵן הַמְּשִׁיחַ in post-exilic times. Priests as well as kings, and occasionally prophets, were anointed as a sign of their elevation to high functions.

Now, as to the idea of the ideal king we have to trace it as follows :

Isaiah is the first of the prophets who gives a clear picture of such a king (Is. 9 : 1—6 ; 11 : 1—10 ; 32 : 1—5). He is to come from the stock of Jesse ; he will have the spirit of God and will in righteousness lead his people to endless peace and prosperity. The nation will turn to him for guidance and arbitration.

Jeremiah (23 : 5—6) gives a picture of a righteous king springing up of a «branch» from the fallen trunk of David. His name will be יְהוָה צְדִיקֵנו (=Yahweh is our righteousness).

Ezekiel also developed and enforced the hope, giving the name David to the expected king (Ez. 34 : 11—15, 23—31). Nevertheless, the authority of these passages has been disputed by several scholars on the ground that they are closely connected with a universal dominion which is found in a later stage of development. Such an objection, we think, might be strong, if the above conception was contrary to any other prophetic ideal. The future promised the prophets the fulfillment of their expectations : a government which would be in conformity with God's righteous will.

pp. 352 f. Goodspeed, G. S. *Israel's Messianic Hope*. New York, 1900, pp. 101 f. Gressmann, H. *Der Messias*. Göttingen, 1929, pp. 232 f. McFadyen, J. E. «*Israel's Messianic Hope*» in the *Abingdon Bible Commentary*, Nashville, 1929, pp. 181 f. Baab, O. J. *The Theology of the Old Testament*. Nashville, Tenn., 1949, pp. 195 f.

The Messianic hope is also found in post-exilic prophetic literature. To Haggai (2:23) and Zechariah (3:8; 6:12) Zerubbabel seems to be the «sprout of David». In the so-called Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. 9:9—10) we find the righteous Prince of Peace, a conception similar to that of Isaiah.

As to the passages of the עֶבֶד in the so-called Deutero-Isaiah (42:1—4; 49:1—6; 50:4—9; 52:13—53:2; 61:1—3), scholars have interpreted them in different ways<sup>1</sup>. Those who see in the Servant of Yahweh a personification of the faithful remnant of Israel think that a really personal Messiah does not figure at all in the future hope of Deutero-Isaiah. Of those who see in the Servant a person, others identify that person with a historical figure—such as Moses, Jeremiah, Jehoiachin, Zerubbabel, Cyrus or even Deutero-Isaiah himself—and others consider it as the coming Messiah. Albright's compound theory, evidently based on the three points just mentioned, seems to me to explain sufficiently the Servant<sup>2</sup>, though I have to add that the third point, i.e. the Servant as the coming Messiah, must be strongly emphasized.

As to the book of Daniel, we find in it (7: 13 et al. in the LXX) the ultimate triumph of God on earth, and the establishment of a universal and eternal kingdom of God, which, in contrast with the brutal empires of the world, is to come with the Son of Man<sup>3</sup>.

This idea of the ideal king, whatever place it may occupy in the Old Testament, even subordinate and incidental, was vital enough to be used as the basis of the messianism of the later Judaism.

It was enshrined in the sacred writings and kept latent through the period between the fall of Jerusalem and the rise of the Maccabees<sup>4</sup>,

1. See Carpenter, L.L. *Primitive Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant*. Durham, N. C., 1929, pp. 23f. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 308f. Vellas, B. *Religious Personalities of the O. T.* Athens, 1935 (in Greek), pp. 198f. Rowley, H. H. *Israel's Mission to the World*. London, 1939, pp. 10f.

2. See Albright, W.F. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*. Baltimore, 1946, p. 255 «The Servant is the People of Israel, which suffers poignantly in exile and affliction; he is also the pious individual who atones for the sins of the many by his uncomplaining agony; he is finally the coming Savior of Israel».

3. Cp., however, what is said in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. Vol. VIII, New York, 1904, p. 508 «The one of the likeness of man... is the nation of God's holy ones (i.e. the faithful Jews)», according to the Hebrew text.

4. See *The International Journal of Apocrypha*, Jan. 1946, p. 3ff. for an explanation of that interval in the running of the Messianic conception.

when once more it took up its traditional character as well as additional elements which gave it new forms.

## II. THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

According to well-established critical theories as to the origin of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, it is said that there are more than fifty contributors to this literature<sup>1</sup>.

Of this large number one fourth gives direct references to a Messiah, human or divine, whereas another fourth of these books gives indirect references or suggestions. This is explained by the purpose and the literary character of these books, as well as by the time in which they came into existence.

There were prosperous times (as the third century B.C.), when the Messianic expectation was almost given up, but the occurrence of incidental references means that «the Jews were never wholly without cherishing the Messianic Hope in some degree and in some form»<sup>2</sup>. Later on, the victories of the Maccabees, and still later the tyranny of the Romans helped the revival of the Messianic Hope.

### I. Messianism Suggested

There are many who will not agree with us on this point since it is evident that the books listed below contain no reference to the Messiah, in the strict meaning of the word. But what we claim here is something particular: the references are indirect and incidental.

In the I Maccabees there is a brief general reference to the promise given to David that his throne would be re-established (2: 51).

In the II Maccabees, the righteous rise with their bodies (7: 11, 22f; 14: 46) to life eternal on earth (7: 29, 33, 37; 14: 15)<sup>3</sup>.

In Tobit, we find an apocalyptic tendency. Jerusalem at the end of a given period will be rebuilt and the Temple restored, the tribes reunited and the heathen will worship the God of Israel (13: 7—18; 14: 4—6)<sup>4</sup>.

In Judith there are traces of judgment (6: 17 «The Lord Almighty will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment, to

1. Cp. The Intern. Journal of Apocr., Jan., 1916, p. 34.

2. Oesterley, W.O.E. Ecclesiasticus (The Cambridge Bible), 1912, p. lxxiii.

3. See Charles, R. H. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. 2 Vols, Oxford, 1913. Vol. I, p. 131.

4. See Charles, op. cit., vol. I, p. 197.

apply fire and worms to their bodies, and they will feel them and wail for ever»<sup>1</sup>.

In the book of Jubilees, we find only a meager reference to the Messiah; he will spring from Judah. No rôle of any importance is assigned to him (31: 18—20). We have, however, a good reference to the Messianic Kingdom (1: 29; 23: 24ff). It is to be brought about gradually. The last judgment was to take place at its close (cp. also 1: 26; 4: 26; 5: 10, 16; 7: 29; 9: 15; 10: 8 et al.). This book, written between 135 and 105 B.C., points probably to a temporary Messianic Kingdom.

In Ecclesiasticus, there is an indication that the Messiah will come from the seed of David (47: 11, 22) and a mention of the restoration of the tribes of Jacob (42: 18, 19; 48: 10. Cp. 48: 24, 25; 44: 21; 49: 12). It is probable that a reference to a personal Messiah is found in the Hymn of Praise which is contained in the Hebrew after 51: 12 («Praise him that causeth a horn to sprout forth unto the house of David, for his mercy endureth forever»)<sup>2</sup>. A visitation of God (last judgment) is found in some passages (2: 14 «what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you»? Cp. also 7: 17; 16: 18 «... The deep and the earth shall be moved when he shall visit»; 18: 24 etc.).

In the Wisdom of Solomon, the passages 3: 18 and 4: 20 reflect the belief in the day of judgment, whereas 3: 7 (the righteous shall «run to and fro like sparks amongst the stubble») seems to give us an echo of the judgment by the sword, inaugurating the Messianic Kingdom. Cp. also 3: 8 indicating a belief in a Messianic Kingdom<sup>3</sup>.

As to the book of Baruch, there is an opinion that by its absence (argumentum a silentio) the Messianic element is made conspicuous<sup>4</sup>.

In the Assumption of Moses, there is no Messiah. There is, however, mention of exultation of the tribes of Israel in the last judgment, and eternal punishment of their enemies in Gehenna (3: 5, 9; 10: 8—10)<sup>5</sup>.

1. See Charles, op. cit., vol. I, p. 247.

2. Cp. Oesterley, Eccl., p. lxxiii f.

3. See Charles, op. cit., I, p. 529. Cp., however, The Jewish Encycl., vol. VIII, p. 508 «The Hellenistic author of the Wisdom of Solomon is so thoroughly universalistic that the idea of a Messiah is precluded». There was, of course, a form of the hope for the future that held that God (without a Messiah) would be king. Passages which deal with a coming kingdom may not therefore be Messianic passages.

4. See Charles, op. cit., I, p. 581.

5. See Charles, op. cit., II, p. 412.

In Ethiopic Enoch 1--36, it is said that in the days of the theocratic Kingdom «all the children of men» will be righteous and will worship God.

And now let us turn to the books which give express references to the Messiah. They fall into two classes in the matter of their views as to the rank of the Messiah in the scale of being. These two classes give respectively two characters of Messiah. Side by side with the traditional idea of an earthly King of the house of David is the new conception of a heavenly pre-existent Messiah.

## 2. The Human or Earthly Messiah

The books which refer to a human Messiah are the following :

1. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (2nd Century B.C.).
2. Ethiopic Enoch, chapters 83ff. (2nd Century B.C.).
3. Psalms of Solomon (1st Century B. C.).
4. IV Esdras (A)<sup>1</sup>, (1st Century A. D.).

### a. The Time of His Coming

The time of the Messiah's coming is known to God only (Ps. Sol. 17 : 23, 47). He will come at the close of history (T. Judah 24 : 1), when time will be succeeded by eternity (Ps. Sol. 17 : 5, 39: an eternal King with an eternal Kingdom). In Enoch the Messianic era comes after the judgment which again follows the triumph of the Maccabees (En. 90:19—20; 99:6; cp. also Jub. 23:23—31). In the Psalms of Solomon there is a belief in a restoration in which the Psalmist himself (or the Psalmists) seems to anticipate a participation (Ps. Sol. 7 : 9; 6; 17 : 51). In Enoch the events of history occur in ten weeks; the author seems to place himself at the end of the seventh, after which the Messianic era opens with the eighth week (Hen. 91 : 12; 93 : 9, 10. Cp. also Ass. Mos. 10 : 12; 13; 1 : 17, 18).

### b. His Origin and Nature

In the Psalms of Solomon the Messiah is called «the Son of David» (17:23, 5), «King» (17:35—36), «King of Israel» (17: 23—47), «King

1. A is, according to Charles, one of the sources (S, E<sup>2</sup>, A, M, E, R) of IV Esdras, consisted of the chs. 11—12 (the eagle vision). See Charles, op. cit., II, p. 551.

of the Jews» (17:23), «the Messiah» (17:36; 18:6)<sup>1</sup>. He is to be raised up by God Himself (Ps. Sol. 17:23—47; 18:6) from the house of David (17:23), not a Supreme Sovereign but God's vice-regent upon earth. Yahweh is his God (17:28, 41; 18:8) and his King (17:38); he tends not his own, but Yahweh's flock (17:45). However high the conception of his moral character and spiritual qualifications are in the Psalms of Solomon, he is only a man, without any supernatural birth or pre-existence in the bosom of God. If he is called Lord (17:36), the word is only used of him as thought to be of an earthly Lord (cp. Ps. Sol. 17:28 where the redemption comes from God)<sup>2</sup>.

In the Testaments we have a double origin of the Messiah: he comes either from Judah (T. Levi 8:14; T. Simeon 7:2; T. Judah 24:1,6) or from Levi. In the last case, he is to be, first of all, priest, and then prophet and King (T. Reuben 6: 7—12; T. Levi 8:14; 18; T. Judah 24: 1—3; T. Dan 5: 10—11; T. Joseph 19: 5—9).

To disentangle this double origin of the Messiah, scholars are following Charles who thinks that the writer of the Testaments was generous-hearted enough to hold to a Messiah arising from the tribe of Levi (identified probably with John Hyrcanus) and that the references to a Messiah coming out of Judah are due to additions made after the quarrel of the Pharisees with John Hyrcanus, when the older view was revived)<sup>3</sup>. In IV Esdras 12:32 the Messiah is called «lion of the tribe of Judah».

### c. His Mission and Rule

The mission of the Messiah is of a twofold character, destructive and restorative (Ps. Sol. 17:25; 18:6: «purification»).

He is summoned to overthrow the supremacy of the Gentiles, to destroy them utterly from out of Jerusalem and the borders of Israel

1. The «Christ» (מֹשִׁיחַ) is in the Ps. Sol. 17:36; 18:6,8 perhaps used for the first time in literature of the expected Deliverer of Israel (so Ryle H.E. and James, M. R. The Psalms of the Pharisees. Cambridge, 1891, p. lv f.), if the priority does not belong to Enoch (so Charles, op. cit., II, p. 184).

2. Cp., however, Torrey, C.C. The Apocryphal Literature. New Haven, 1945, p. 108, «He is a divine being».

3. See Charles, op. cit., II, p. 282. Cp., however, Oesterley, op. cit., p. 149. «...The mention of a new priest points to the Seer's expectation of the abrogation of the Maccabean priesthood». Oesterley, also, accepts only a priest-Messiah without kingship, l.c.—Cp. Bonsirven, J. Le Judaïsme païstinien au temps de Jésus-Christ. 2 vols. Paris, 1935, II, p. 376.

(Ps. Sol. 17:25,27,31), to break up the power of «unjust rulers» (17:24), and to drive out from the heritage of God «the proud sinners» who had obtained unlawful possession (17:26,27,41,51)<sup>1</sup>. His salvation comes after a war against Belial and an eternal vengeance on the enemies of Israel (T. Dan 5:10—11). Immediately before the Judgment the Jews in a battle against the nations, destroy them by the sword (Enoch 90:19; 91:12).

His mission, however, is more than that; it is restorative. The Messianic Kingdom is to be set up in the room of the Gentiles and the sinners and to be established over Israel (Ps. Sol. 17:23, 35,36,47). The Messiah is to gather again the dispersed tribes of Israel (Ps. Sol. 17:28,30,34,46,48,50), to make Jerusalem his capital and to restore the glory of her Temple worship (17: 33—35). He is to make the Gentiles subject to him; they shall bring tribute to him, and shall be converted to the true faith (17: 31,32,34). The Testaments give a similar picture. Judah sees his descendants afflicted on account of their sins until the day of the Lord's visitation, when He graciously brings them home from captivity (T. Judah 23:5; 24:1. Cp. T. Levi 18; T. Benjamin 10:5; T. Simeon 6:5). In this way the old hope of their restoration will be fulfilled (Ps. Sol. 8:34; 11:9. Cp. Tobit 13:5—6; Eccclus. 36: 13; 2 Macc. 1: 27—29) after an announcement of a new Exodus (Ps. Sol. 11:1).

In Enoch, after the Lord of the sheep has brought the new Jerusalem and the nations have been converted to the Jewish belief, the white bull is born (90: 28—37; cp. T. Judah 23:5; 24:1—the rising up of a man like a son of Justice).

A peaceful character of his rule is found in the Testaments (T. Judah 23:5; T. Levi 2:11; T. Benjamin 10:9 et al. Cp. Jubilees 23: 26—29) along with a belligerent one (T. Dan 5: 10—11).

The Psalms of Solomon give a conspicuous conception of his idealized rule. This rule is to be spiritual. The Messiah is not an aggressive conqueror by force of arms. His administration does not rest upon physical power (17: 37). His trust is not in the ordinary safeguards of a throne, but in Yahweh (17: 38).

His rule is to be holy. Holiness and purity are the instruments of his power (17: 33,36,46). His purity from sin is the measure of his authority (17: 41). He does not tolerate the presence of iniquity (17: 28) all his subjects will be «sons of God» (17: 30); all will be holy (17: 36).

1. In the Ps. of Solomon, by «the Gentiles» allusion is made to the Romans; by «the sinners», to the Sadducees.



His rule is to be wise. With wisdom he is to begin his work of purification (17: 25) and with wisdom he is to judge the peoples (17: 31). God endows him with the holy Spirit and makes him mighty in wisdom and understanding (17: 42; 18:8).

His rule is to be just. Upon this quality, inseparable from that of wisdom (17 ; 31), great stress is laid. Justice will attend his work of destruction (17 : 25) and his task of ruling (17:28—29, 31). Justice will temper his might (17 : 42 ; 18 : 8), and under his rule no oppression shall take place (17 : 46). His utterance will be mighty to overthrow (17 : 27, 39) ; but his words will be purer than gold, and when he administers judgment they will be as «the words of angels» (17:48—49)<sup>1</sup>.

### 3. The Divine or Heavenly Messiah.

The books which refer to a divine Messiah are the following :

- 1, Sibylline Oracles (The III Book belongs, probably, to the 2nd Century B. C. )<sup>2</sup>.
2. Ethiopic Enoch, chs. 37—71 (Ist Century B. C.).
3. IV Esdras (M, E<sup>2</sup>, E)<sup>3</sup>, (Ist Century A. D.).
4. Apocalypse of Baruch (the A sections and especially A<sup>1</sup>)<sup>4</sup>, (Ist Century A. D.).
5. Ascension of Isaiah (Ist Century A. D.).

#### a. The Time of His Coming

God has assigned the time of the world (4 Esdras 4 : 36f ; 6 : 5 ; Baruch 48 : 2f.). The end of the world will come in time as the child-birth of a woman (4 Esdras 4 : 40 ; cp. 2 Baruch 22 ; 23 : 5). The author of Syriac Baruch is sure of the coming end ; the judge will not tarry, the time is near, the world is old and will disappear (2 Baruch 48 : 39 ; 20 : 1—2 ; 85 : 10 ; 83 : 1). Between this old world and the new one there will be a dangerous passage, difficult to be jumped (4 Esdras 5 : 50—55 ; 4 : 26). A divergent case is found in 4 Esdras (7 : 30) where the incorruptible world comes after the death of the Messiah and his saints, and in 2 Baruch (40, 3 ; 74, 2) where the Mes-

1. See Ryle and James, op. cit., p. lii—lviii.

2. See Torrey, op. cit., p. 109f.

3. See Charles, op. cit., II, p. 551, for the sources of IV Esdras.

4. See Charles, op. cit., II, p. 475, for the documents of II Baruch (A<sup>1</sup>—chs. 27—30 : 1 ; A<sup>2</sup>—chs. 36—40, A<sup>3</sup>—chs. 53—74).

sianic Kingdom comes in the age of corruption. In 4 Esdras 4 : 42 the Messiah will not come until all the souls projected by God have been created and drawn out of the place of reservation (g u p h) to live their earthly lives<sup>1</sup>.

To know and reveal the signs of the end was one of the marked interests of Jewish eschatology (Sibyl. 3 : 796 f. «σῆμα . . . ἀριφραδές, ὥστε νοῆσαι ἡνίκα δὴ πάντων τὸ τέλος . . .»; 4 Esdras 4 : 52; 5 : 1—12; 9 : 5 etc; 2 Baruch 27 : 14; 48 : 32).

The fall of the Roman empire was to be considered indispensable for the Messianic restoration. Wars will break out and the collapse of this terrible power will be the outcome (Sibyl. 3 : 798; 5 : 107f. Cp. Enoch 56 : 5—8; 90 : 19; 4 Esdras 5 : 9—12; 6 : 21—24).

The precursor of the Messiah, who in many cases is identified with Elijah, is to come before him (Enoch 89 : 52; 2 Baruch 77 : 24; 4 Esdras 7 : 109; cp. Mal. 3 : 23—24; Ecclus. 48 : 1—10); his attributes however are not predicted<sup>2</sup>.

Wars and tribulations, famine and mortality, will make the time terrible and the conditions unbearable (4 Esdras 4 : 52; 5 : 1—9; 6 : 20—24 et al. 2 Baruch 25 : 2, 4; 27; 48 et al.; Sibyl. 3 : 77—91, 280 f; 632 et al.; Enoch 56 : 5—8; 58 : 2—8 et al.).

In one of Esdras' visions, the history of the world is divided into twelve periods, two and a half of which remain for the expected end (4 Esdras 14 : 11; cp. 2 Baruch 53—72 : twelve periods; Sibyl. 4 : 47 : ten generations; cp. Asc. Moses 10 : 12).

### b. His Origin and Nature

In Enoch, four titles applied to the Messiah are all, or at least three of them, found for the first time. He is «the Messiah»<sup>3</sup> (48 : 10; 52 : 4), «the Righteous One» (38 : 2; 53 : 6), «the Elect One» (4 : 5; 45 : 3—4; 49 : 2, 4; 51 : 3, 5 et al.) and «the Son of Man» (46 : 2, 4; 48 : 2; 62 : 9, 14; 63 : 11; 69 : 26—27; 70 : 1) The last title is the rendering of the Greek ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Aram. **בֶּר אֲנִישָׁא**). The Hebrew form is found in Ezekiel (2 : 1, 3, 8, et al. — **בֶּן אָדָם**) where it contrasts the prophet, as a frail human creature, with God. In Da-

1. Cp. Moore, op. cit., II, p. 353 and 390.

2. See Moore, op. cit., II, p. 357 f. for the precursor in later Judaism.

3. If the occurrence of this title in the Ps. of Sol. does not precede, then that in Enoch is the first in literature.

niel (7:13f. כִּרְ אֱנוֹשׁ) it idealizes the «human form». Here, in Enoch, it stands for a supernatural being<sup>1</sup>. He has been called near the lord of spirits before the creation (48 : 2—3)<sup>2</sup>, hidden under the wings of God, in company with the righteous (36 : 6—7; 48 : 6; 49 : 2; 62 : 7) and seated on the throne of God: «And the elect one shall in those days sit on My throne» (51 : 3; cp. 55 : 4).

Sibyl announces the coming of a saint prince sent by God from heaven (Sibyl. 3: 49, 652; 5: 414).

In 4 Esdras, the son of God is in heaven with the righteous (7: 28; 14: 9); until his coming out of the sea he will be hidden in God (4 Esdras 13: 3—4; 10: 32 et al.). Cp. the expressions «the Messiah of God», «His servant» in 2 Baruch 39: 7; 52: 2; 70: 9 et al. Cp. also 4 Esdras 13: 39—40 where redemption comes from God.

Finally, in one passage of 4 Esdras the Messiah is destined to die (7: 29); this is a declination from the common conception of a divine, and consequently immortal, Messiah.

#### e. His Mission and Rule

The Elect of Justice, the Son of Man, abiding until his coming near God and revealed only to the saints, is to appear for judgment of righteous ones and sinners; his appearance will be sudden, triumphant and supernatural (Enoch 48: 7; 61: 7—10; 62: 5,7; 69: 26).

He comes raised up by God to punish his enemies, gather his people and govern them in righteousness, wisdom and power (Sibyl. 3: 652f.—he kills and gives peace; 5: 414f.; 4 Esdras 13: 3—4,32; 2 Baruch 29: 3; 30: 1—at the close of his temporary kingdom the Messiah will return to heaven and the righteous shall rise to a blessed life; 40: 1f.; 72: 2f.; Enoch 33: 2; 39: 6; 49: 1; 62: 6). He takes vengeance on Rome and the nations rising against him either with the sword, or with the breath of his mouth (4 Esdras 12: 33; 13: 6—11, 36 f. II Baruch 72: 6; 36: 2—11; 39;40:1—2). Finally, the righteous will rejoice in the place where they suffered before (48: 9; 42: 12; cp. Asc. Moses 9). Fire (Enoch 48:9;54:1—2,6; 62: 4,8; Sibyl. 3: 83f, 673f. et al.; 4 Esdras

1. Cp., however, The Jewish Encycl., Vol. XI, p. 462f. for a different opinion. Cp. also «the son of woman» in Enoch 62 : 5 ; 69 : 29.

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

13: 4, 10, 11, 27; 2 Baruch 38), pressure and anger (2 Baruch 13: 8) are reserved for punishment of nations and the impious.

The terrestrial princes will be stricken after the celestial ones (2 Baruch 40: 2; cp. also Enoch 38: 5; 46: 4f.; 48: 8; et al.). In addition, he has to do more than that: He will bring to light the invisible worlds of righteousness and sin (Enoch 46: 3; 49: 2, 4), raise the dead (51: 1; 61: 5) for a last judgment (51: 2; 55: 4; 61: 8; 62: 2-3; 69: 27), and uphold the case of the righteous (39: 7; 48: 4, 7; 51: 5 et al.). In Enoch 48: 4 this mission of the divine Messiah is climaxed:

«And He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay  
themselves and not fall,  
And He shall be the light of the Gentiles, and of those  
who are troubled of heart».

Repentance and conversion<sup>1</sup> will precede the Messianic Kingdom (Enoch 50: 2; Sibyl. 3: 556f. et al.; cp. Jubilees 23: 26). The return of the exiles is not emphasized in places where one would expect it (e.g. Sibyl. 3: 652, 702; 4 Esdras 13: 39-47 et al.); this, I think, is due to the apocalyptic character of these books, in which the Messiah is not a human being, and not to their exclusive interest in the Temple and the other homely affairs<sup>2</sup>. In Enoch 57 the passengers of a new exodus are brought on the clouds.

The rule of the Messiah is to be stamped by righteousness<sup>3</sup> as its leading characteristic (Enoch 46: 3). His punishment of the nations and the impious is based on his righteousness (Enoch 38: 5; 48: 9; cp. Sibyl. 3: 694f., 760; 4 Esdras 13: 4f.; 2 Baruch 36: 4-5; 37 et al.).

## CONCLUSION

Having examined above the Messianic expectations contained in the apocryphal writings, we may now give a brief statement covering only the main points. The Messiah is 1) a purely human figure, a descendant of Judah (Eth. Enoch 83-90; Ps. Sol.; 4 Esdras, A) or of Levi (Testaments). He is 2) a divine figure, though he has as it were the likeness of a man; he comes out of the sea and flies with the clouds of heaven; he destroys his foes by a flood of fire which he sends forth from his mouth (4 Esdras, M). He dwells in the unseen world (E<sup>2</sup>), whence he is to be revealed (E). He is pre-existent and

1. In 4 Esdras 6: 26 people are converted by Elijah and Enoch.

2. Cp. Bonsirven, *op. cit.*, II, p. 406 f.

expected to come in glory (2 Baruch, A<sup>1</sup>); an entirely supernatural figure, «chosen and hidden by God, before the creation of the world», sitting on the throne of God (Eth. Enoch 37—71).

From another point of view 1) the Messiah is not destined for active service in the world; he appears amongst men at the end of the world when there is nothing left for him to do (4 Esdras, E; 2 Baruch, A<sup>1</sup>; Enoch 83—90). He is 2) assigned an important rôle in the fulfillment of God's will for a regenerated world: a) he will be the destroyer of the wicked (Testaments); he will overthrow the Roman Empire (4 Esdras, A); he will destroy by supernatural power his assailants (4 Esdras, M; 2 Baruch, A<sup>2</sup>; Ps. Sol.). b) He will be the judge of mankind (2 Baruch, A<sup>3</sup>, Enoch 37—71). c) In spite of a Messiah pictured by some books as the unmerciful judge of nations or as the Patron of Israel only, we have a figure of a Savior of mankind (Testaments), full of graciousness towards all men (Enoch 37—71), light and salvation of all peoples (Ps. Sol.).

This last figure is evidently the most advanced conception of a spiritual Messiah, gradually developing in the three books referred to, and fulfilling the climax in the Psalms of Solomon: perfect in holiness and taught of God, free from sin and wielding only the weapons of spiritual power. Such a figure of the Messiah introduces us to the fulfillment of the Old Testament hopes and prophecies in Jesus «the Christ», born not a half century later than the time at which the Psalms of Solomon were written.