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THE ENOCHIC PENTATEUCH.

THE Ethiopic Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) has been used by scholars mainly for the purpose of illustrating and explaining the apocalyptic and eschatological passages in the New Testament, though it is generally recognized as the most important of the pseudepigraphs for determining the Jewish background against which the mission of Christ ought to be viewed, since it exemplifies that remarkable phase of Jewish thought which had the closest affinities with the religion which enriched the world with a new view of human life and its purpose. The lofty Messianic teaching of this book, its use of the Messianic titles 'Son of Man' and 'Elect One' which are found in the Gospels, and its descriptions of the person and work of the Messiah who should come from heaven to inaugurate the Kingdom of God, in which righteousness should triumph and sin be cast down, caused it to be regarded as an inspired writing by the Jewish apocalyptic circles for which it was composed, and by the Christian church of the first three centuries.

What then was the purpose of this work? What were the ideas which gave rise to it? Did the authors of it simply wish to record the doctrines of their Messianic circle, or had they a larger aim than this? The work is a pentateuch, and its earliest title was probably 'The Books of Enoch',¹ as the earliest title of the Mosaic Pentateuch was probably 'The Books of Moses'. Without doubt there was a convention among Jewish writers that pentateuchs were desirable, for there are other notable examples in the Psalms, Proverbs, &c. But we may go much further than this in the case of the Enochic Pentateuch, since its title and its contents suggest that it bears likenesses to the Mosaic Pentateuch closer than those which other pentateuchs bear.

Book 1 opens with Enoch's vision of God, and describes the diverse fates which await the righteous and the wicked in the Day of the Lord. This Day will mark the end of the present world-order, and the beginning of the New Creation. It is therefore comparable with 'the beginning' in which 'God made the heavens and the earth'. The following chapters give an account of the origin of sin, and the discordance which it introduced into the state of 'goodness' which God ordained for all things that He created. The origin of evil is attributed to the fallen angels whose story is told in Genesis vi: they revealed knowledge to men, brought forth the giants whose disembodied spirits are demons, and led human beings into sinful courses of life whereby the order of

¹ Charles *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* ii 164.

nature was corrupted. The wanderings of the patriarchs in Genesis are matched with the journeys of Enoch through the other world. Abraham journeys from Chaldea to the Land of Promise, thence to Egypt, and afterwards returns to Canaan; Enoch journeys to Paradise to behold the place of bliss promised to his spiritual children, thence to Sheol to the places of torment reserved for the wicked, and again returns to the garden of God. In that garden he beholds the Tree of Wisdom and the Tree of Life which, according to Genesis, were growing there; for it was the belief of Jewish eschatologists that in the New Creation the bliss of the primeval Paradise would be renewed. Enoch's journeys are mystical interpretations of Abraham's: the latter prelude the bliss of the earthly Canaan for his descendants after the flesh; Enoch's prelude the rest of the heavenly Promised Land for his descendants after the Spirit. The first book of Enoch may therefore well be called the Enochic Genesis.

Book ii describes the person and future mission of the Messiah, the heavenly Son of Man whose dwelling-place is 'beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits'. He has been existent from eternity, for before the world was made he was named, i. e. he was known as the King to Come. He is described in three 'Similitudes', or 'Parables', which are really three 'showings' or 'appearances' to Enoch. His function in the Messianic Age will be to lead the righteous into everlasting bliss, to cast out from his kingdom all things that offend, and to put all enemies beneath his feet. His prototype in Hebrew history was Moses, who led the chosen people into the Promised Land. The Son of Man is the second and greater Moses who shall deliver 'the elect' from their oppressors, and bring them into the paradisaal bliss of promised sinlessness and peace. As we shall have to consider the 'Similitudes' at greater length, it is sufficient at this stage to notice that they form the apocalyptic counterpart of the Book of Exodus.

Book iii, the book of astronomical secrets, tells the laws which God ordained that the heavenly bodies should obey. According to the author, who evidently has in mind Gen. i 14, 'let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years', the year is to be divided exactly into fifty-two weeks of three hundred and sixty-four days. Irregularities in the ordained order of the seasons, and of the courses of the moon and planets, are due to the sins of men who take the 'chiefs of the stars' to be gods. The idea of the book was unquestionably influenced by the Mosaic Leviticus: it sets forth an ideal law and an ideal observance of its decrees as an example for 'the righteous' to imitate. The obedience of men to the law of righteousness of life ought to be as steadfast as is the obedience of the heavenly bodies to the Divine laws which govern them. Here then is the Enochic Leviticus.

Book iv, after giving a first 'dream-vision' of the Divine purpose to destroy the world, and Enoch's petition that a remnant of his posterity may be saved, recounts in a second 'dream-vision' the vicissitudes of the righteous seed from the beginning of the world until the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom, which appears to follow the Maccabaeen revolt. Thereafter the Heavenly Jerusalem takes the place of the earthly, and the righteous in Israel are first gathered into it. The Messiah then appears to rule over his Kingdom which will be composed of converted Gentiles as well as Jews. The author had in mind the Mosaic Book of Numbers, which gives 'the sum of all the congregation of Israel', tells of the preservation of all the righteous among them as they journeyed to the Holy Land, their settlement there under Joshua, and ends with the appointment of the Cities of Refuge. Hence Book iv is the Enochic Numbers.

Book v is a book of admonition to his children, spoken by Enoch before his departure from the world. The patriarch exhorts them to obedience by promises of blessings to come, contrasting their future lot with that of the ungodly. We have here, therefore, an Enochic sermon upon obedience to the law of righteousness after the manner of the Mosaic Deuteronomy.

The similarity of idea between the Mosaic and Enochic Pentateuchs makes the latter an important work for the study of one of the latest phases of pre-Christian Judaism. It shews that the eschatological beliefs and Messianic expectations of the circles for which this apocalyptic pentateuch was written, were probably more widespread than has been so far recognized. The great religious parties of orthodox Jewry insisted upon the Law of Moses as the Torah to be observed; but here is another Torah, framed upon the model of the Mosaic Torah, which looks, however, for obedience not to the Law which Pharisee and Scribe had burdened with their traditions, but to a Law with a quite different provenance and purpose, 'the Law of Righteousness', a Law which simplified and smoothed out the complex enactments of the Mosaic Pentateuch.

What then was the conception of this 'Law of Righteousness' which the Enochic Pentateuch speaks of? It depended upon the account of Enoch which was given in Gen. v 24: 'he walked with God' in simplicity of faith and obedience long before Moses delivered the Law to Israel. He knew not therefore the Mosaic Law's ritual and ceremonial enactments, he knew nothing of sacrifice, and still less could he have known of the developments in minutiae which it had undergone in later Judaism. He was no priest of Levi's house, but a layman who yet was so exemplary in his righteousness that 'God took him'. The Enochic pentateuch, therefore, seems to have been composed by a body

of laity who, holding themselves aloof from the official religion of Judaism, set themselves to observe the great moral and spiritual principles for which the prophets contended, and made little of the demands of the Mosaic Torah. They were the non-conformists of their day. Probably they were largely of 'the common people' who, according to the Pharisees, 'knew not the Law and were accursed'. An allusion to this state of things appears to be made in chapter xcv where woe is threatened against those 'who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed'. The few commands enjoined upon the righteous are found in the last book of admonition: they reflect the spirit of Deuteronomy—that great prophetic sermon on the Law—and shew wherein sin consists. Evidently this sect paid greater attention to morality and spirituality of life than to the requirements of Levitical ordinances.

The Enochites were manifestly religious rebels. They found no hope of salvation for themselves in orthodox Judaism and so sought it elsewhere. They considered that their type of religion was older far than Mosaism, that it was the religion which Enoch followed when he 'walked with God'—the primary revelation given by God to man; that it was intended not for the Jew only but for the penitent Gentile also; and that it afforded hope of salvation to all who 'were troubled of heart'. We may understand how it would appeal to 'the common people who knew not the Law', and were hopeless of ever observing its details—like St Paul at a later day. These spiritual revolutionaries—who were yet in the true order of succession from the great prophets—bade their disciples be of good cheer, though self-righteous Pharisaism and scholastic Sadduceeism held them 'accursed', and look to the issue of their faith and hope in the certain fulfilment of the promises of God that all should yet be well for His 'elect ones of righteousness and faith'. Hence they constructed this new-old Enochic Pentateuch to teach that the kingdom of bliss which should recompense them for all their faithfulness was nigh at hand.

But if the writers of this apocalyptic pentateuch were such as we suggest, where did they live, and who formed their hearers? The book gives the clue which we seek, for it was written 'at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon' (xiii 7), i. e. in the northern part of Palestine, whence its teaching must have been carried over Galilee and still farther afield. The only complete copies of the book are in Ethiopic, which shews that it must have been known in Africa: fragments of it are preserved in Greek, and as the Ethiopic versions were translated from the Greek, it must also have been known among the Diaspora.

It may have been then that the Enochic authors and their immediate circles, being remote from Jerusalem, found ready disciples among those

who, being likewise remote from official Judaism, could not possibly have observed the details of the Mosaic Torah, and so were alienated from the great religious parties. They were thus open to the charge of desiring 'to destroy the Law', and probably the Temple also—a charge from which Jesus had to defend Himself in later days.¹ Inspired by the spirit of a large religious liberty, they made their disciples ready to welcome the Gospel which proclaimed liberty to the captives, and opened the doors of the kingdom of heaven that the poor in Spirit might enter thereinto. They promised the blessings of this kingdom to those who were sad at heart, and to the meek they foretold possession of the new earth; satisfaction should be theirs who hungered and thirsted after righteousness; the vision of God was reserved for the pure in heart; and everlasting joy should be the reward of those who were persecuted for righteousness' sake. The Sermon on the Mount was spoken to 'the multitudes' who, because they had no hope of attaining to the righteousness of the Mosaic Law, had accepted the hope held out to them by the Enochic Pentateuch of gaining a new heaven and a new earth in the Day of the Son of Man: this Pentateuch prepared them for the coming of Him who would reconcile legalism with apocalyptic, Moses with Enoch, the Torah of the priesthood with the Torah of the laity, in an all-embracing synthesis of the truth.

It is perhaps worth while to notice that the Enochic Pentateuch is probably referred to in Jn. xii 34: 'We have heard out of *the Law* that the Christ abideth for ever'. The Mosaic Law certainly makes no such assertion; the Book of Enoch asserts it often. The multitude cannot reconcile the saying of Jesus that He must be 'lifted up' with the teaching of 'the Law' that the Christ must abide for ever. Death seemed inconsistent with the claim to be the Messiah spoken of in their 'Law'. Hence they asked, 'Who is *this (oûros, emphatic)* Son of Man', i. e. the Son of Man of whom you speak as about to die?

Again, we may ask whether there is any connexion between the Ethiopic version of this book and the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii). It is true that the incident depends upon Isa. liii and its interpretation by Philip, but the preceding preparation may have been through the Messianism of the apocalyptic pentateuch; while the rapidity of the event, and the subsequent departure of the eunuch to his own home, suggests that it was not for the first time that the new convert had heard of the Messiah even in his African home.

The Christian church of to-day may yet preserve one or two reminiscences of the book in her worship, for she still sings the Songs of those expectants, Zacharias and Simeon, who sang of the fulfilment of the promises which God 'spake by the mouth of His holy prophets *which*

¹ Mat. v 17: Mk. xiv 58.

have been since the world began', that His salvation should be 'a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel'.

Of the influence of the book upon New Testament thought this is not the place to speak at length. We would only call attention to the likeness of many of its ideas to those in the Gospels and in the Christian Apocalypse. It gave a preparation for the teaching of Jesus, it furnished Him with the Messianic title 'Son of Man' which His hearers well understood, and it helped in the development of the Christologies of the New Testament.

So we pass to the teaching which the book gives concerning the person and mission of the Expected Messiah, who is called Son of Man, Elect One, Righteous One, Anointed, and the Son of God. The first four titles are found in the 'Similitudes', the last in chapter cv. The advent of the Messiah is the dominating interest of the whole work, since it is for this event that 'the elect' are bidden to watch and wait.

Among the first four titles we have to distinguish carefully between those which imply that he is endowed for his mission by the Spirit of God (viz. Elect One, Righteous One, Anointed), and that which makes no reference thereto (Son of Man), because upon this distinction we shall analyse the 'sources' of the 'Similitudes'. It is necessary, however, to trace the genesis and development of the two ideas in the earlier Messianic thought of the Hebrew prophets.

The conception of the Spirit-endowed Messiah had its origin in the belief that the Spirit of the Lord came upon the early rulers of Israel to equip them for their tasks of rulership. Thus the Judges were Spirit-endowed, and their successors, the Kings, were similarly spoken of. Even after the Davidic monarchs had proved themselves failures there were yet prophets and psalmists who believed that the covenant given to David through Nathan was inviolable, and that some one of David's house, fully endowed with the Spirit, should be Israel's deliverer from its foes. We can trace the course of this belief through the books of the Old Testament from Jeremiah (xxx 9), Ezekiel (xxxvii 26), Ps. cxxxii 17, and Zechariah (iv 6), into the Psalms of Solomon, and so to the Pharisees of our Lord's day. The belief persists that this new 'David' shall yet come to inaugurate the Messianic kingdom through the Spirit with which he is endowed. The characteristics of this Messiah, his righteousness of life, his just rule, his cleansing of the kingdom from sin, are most strongly expressed in Isa. xi 1-6, xlii 1-4, and lxi 1-3, and these three passages, which indicate the Spirit's activities through him, are the sources from which the three titles, Elect One, Righteous One, and Anointed are undoubtedly derived by the Enochic writers. In particular the title, God's Elect One, is a literal translation of the Hebrew of Isa. xlii 1.

Now in none of these passages is there a single mention of angels as the intermediaries between God and the world, and in this respect they resemble the Priestly document of the Hexateuch, which likewise avoids all mention of angels. The writers of this school preferred to think of God as His own Agent, and apparently objected to the idea of any other agency than His Spirit, invisible, incorporeal, and known only by the effects produced by His indwelling. Possibly they were afraid of making angelology a rival to their monotheistic beliefs, especially in the later phases of Judaism when much was made of the heavenly hierarchy. They therefore developed the doctrine of the Spirit, as against the doctrine of the Angel of the Lord; and later still the doctrine of the sevenfold activity of the Spirit, as against the doctrine of the seven archangels. This sevenfold Spirit is the endowment of the Messiah in Isa. xi 1, 2, i. e. of the 'Elect One'.

Accordingly we should expect that an apocalypse of the Spirit-endowed Messiah, whatever title may be given to him, will make considerable use of this doctrine of the Sevenfold Spirit, but will reject the doctrine of angels and archangels. It would view the Gentiles with a compassionate eye, in accordance with the teaching given in Isa. xlii 4: 'He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles'; its title for God would be 'the Lord of Spirits'; and probably it would teach that bliss would come to the righteous in this world.

In contrast with the theme of the Spirit-endowed Messiah, there was a parallel development in another school of thought of the theme of the Messianic Angel of the Lord. This Angel was the visible manifestation of God to men. Without now considering the origin of this idea, it may be noticed that David was compared with him¹; and when the descendants of David proved failures, certain prophets bade people expect the coming of the Angel Himself in the Messianic office, e. g. Isa. vii 14, ix 6, and Mal. iii 1, 2.

A reconciliation between the two themes of the Spirit-endowed Messianic Man, and the Angel-Messiah, was made in the 'Songs of the Suffering Servant', where the 'Elect One' of Isa. xlii 1 is identified with 'the Arm of the Lord' of liii 1: but as this prophecy of a Suffering Messiah was rejected by most Jews, in part if not as a whole, it remained for later apocalyptic to develop the two themes separately.

In Dan. vii the 'one like unto a Son of Man' is the apocalyptic development of the Messianic Angel, whose full-length figure is drawn in chapters x and xii. A 'Son of Man' apocalypse based upon Daniel will therefore be marked by Danielic characteristics. An angel-interpreter, such as Daniel's archangel Gabriel, will certainly interpret the visions narrated; the Son of Man will be a Warrior-Messiah making

¹ 1 Sam. xxix 9: 2 Sam. xiv 17, 20: xix 27. Cf. Zech. xii 8.

war against Israel's foes and destroying them ruthlessly ; great use would be made of angelology in connexion with the Son of Man's victory and the glory bestowed upon him by God, Whose titles will reflect the Danielic titles 'Ancient of Days' and 'Most High'; and finally, the place of bliss will probably be the next world where the 'righteous' will shine as the stars.

We think, therefore, that the two titles of the Angel-interpreter in the 'Similitudes'—'the angel of peace' and 'the angel who went with me'—are not indicative of one 'Son of Man source' and one 'Elect One source', as Dr Charles suggests, but that they belong to *two* 'Son of Man sources' which the editor used for compiling his work. The fact that the two titles are blended into 'the angel of peace who went with me' is sufficient to shew that they are insufficient to provide a basis for documentary analysis ; and further, they suggest that the problem of analysis is exceedingly complex since the editor was at such pains to compound even an angel's title.

But assuming that the two themes of the Spirit-endowed Messiah and the Angel-Messiah underwent such developments as we have indicated, we have the following components of the Similitudes :—

1. An 'Elect One' source, teaching the doctrine of the Spirit-Endowed Messiah.

2. Two 'Son of Man' sources, teaching the doctrine of the Angel-Messiah.

3. A 'Wisdom' source, allied to the 'Elect One' source in rejecting the doctrine of angels, and probably teaching the doctrine of the Warrior-Logos.

4. A 'Noah' source, allied to the 'Son of Man' sources in accepting an advanced angelology, and probably teaching the doctrine of the Creative-Logos.

5. An 'Enoch' source, which forms the framework into which the other sources are fitted.

The following analysis of these documents ignores the 'blending' of one with another, to which reference is made subsequently.

I. *Elect One Source* : 38, 39²⁶⁻²⁸, 45²⁻⁶, 46⁸ ef, 47^{1, 2, 4}, 48^{4-6, 8-51}, 56⁵⁻⁵⁸, 61⁴⁻¹³, 62^{1, 2}, 63^{1-10, 12}.

II (a). *Son of Man Source A* : 46^{1-3d, 4-8}, 47³, 48^{2, 3}, 62³⁻¹⁶, 63¹¹, 69²⁶⁻²⁹.

(b). *Son of Man Source B* : 40-41, 71¹⁴⁻¹⁷ (= 46^{1-3d, 4-8} in A), 52-54³, 71¹⁻¹³.

III. *Wisdom Source* : 42, 48^{1, 7}, 49¹.

IV. *Noah Source* : 54^{4-56⁴}, 60-61³, 64-69^{21, 25}.

V. *Enoch Source* : 39^{1, 2a}, 43-44, 45¹, 59, 69²²⁻²⁴, 70.

The editor was a thorough-going apocalypticist, and his school

evidently had made a collection of such documents. The final draft of the 'Similitudes' is, however, no book of mere scissors and paste, but a real attempt to mingle the many elements contained in the sources, and to compound from them a work of some literary merit. The beautiful little passage from the 'Wisdom' source, and certain parts of the 'Son of Man' sources, shew that the editor had a feeling for the literary merits of his various documents. He also had certain prejudices of his own, for this is the only Messianic work, outside the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, which contains no reference to Babylonian mythology, though his predecessors among the prophets and apocalyptists of Jewry had lent the weight of their authority to its use in Messianic predictions.¹ Even in this respect, therefore, his work may be looked upon as preparatory for the coming of Christ who declared that His mission was to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel', i. e. to such as had lost hope of any such 'righteousness' as belonged to those who observed the Mosaic Torah, and were therefore ready to welcome the freedom of His Gospel.

That Gospel contained many reflexions of Enochite doctrine. How could it be otherwise? Its ideas of the Messiah had been strongly implanted for at least half a century in the minds and hearts of those who 'heard him gladly'. As a teacher he was bound to make use of these ideas in His teaching, and in the short time at His disposal He could but lay down general principles of interpretation for His Church to work out. The essentially Jewish and Palestinian elements therein, while necessary, were but temporary: the permanent element was that He was the Divine Messiah, less than the Father, but the Father's Son, Who came to bring deliverance from sin to Jew and Gentile alike; and this element the Church made the centre of her faith, as it was the centre of the faith of apocalyptic Judaism.

The editor of the 'Similitudes' had one main interest: he wished to reconcile all the Messianic schools of apocalyptic, to make a synthesis of the whole Messianic expectation in its varying forms, round the person of the Messiah, heavenly and pre-existent, whom each apocalyptic document had described. For it must be noted that the Spirit-endowed 'Elect One' is no mere human Messiah such as Jeremiah's new David, or Ezekiel's prince; he has become a pre-existent heavenly Man, whose dwelling is 'beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits'.² Similarly, the 'Son of Man', who from the beginning was hidden and preserved in the presence of the Most High,³ is the same King under another aspect. It was the editor's merit to have perceived this fact, and to make the attempt of framing a single and unified apocalypse of the coming Messiah out of documents which differed widely upon less

¹ *J. T. S.* April, 1925.

² *1 En.* xxxix 7.

³ *1 En.* lxii 7.

important matters of faith. He puts aside these differences, or rather includes the differing ideas about 'angels' and 'spirits' in his glorification of God and the Son of Man. To him the differences are unimportant—a matter of words largely—but they express the truth that the universe is peopled by spiritual beings and mysterious powers whose origin is God, and whose purpose is to fulfil His Will. They are for His glory, and the names by which men call them are indifferent to this mystical visionary. It is God and His Messiah who are important; and in them he would fain have all the righteous put their trust.

So he sets forth his theme of the Messiah to come in the form of three 'Similitudes'. Perhaps the best translation of this word would be 'showings', after the use of this word by Julian of Norwich. He would, perhaps, have it understood that he speaks after the manner of his predecessors in apocalyptic, Ezekiel and Daniel: the former speaks of the 'similitude' of a throne, and the 'similitude' of the appearance of a man: the latter speaks of 'one like unto a son of man', or better still, 'as it were' a son of man. The visions of the mystics, he would say, are true, but they are only expressions of the realities which they half reveal and half conceal: they are 'similitudes' only, not the very realities themselves; mystics tell their personal experiences of the actualities, rather than the actualities themselves.

The division into *three* Similitudes is a mechanical device which approved itself to our editor because of its apparent simplicity; but his documentary sources did not readily lend themselves to this treatment. They were apparently straightforward writings, without divisions into scenes, continuous, and treating of one theme instead of several. Thus, for example, the 'Wisdom' source by its title suggests that it was a vision of this Heavenly Mother and of her son the Divine Logos, probably portraying his birth and his conquest of Israel's foes, as in Rev. xii and xix; the 'Son of Man' source would picture his heavenly abode, his revelation as Messiah, his judgement of the kings and mighty, and his establishment of the Messianic kingdom; the 'Elect One' source would probably speak of the revelation of this Messiah, his judgement of the Gentiles, and his establishment of the kingdom of 'the elect'; the 'Noah' source would deal rather with the judgement upon the fallen angels and the wicked. From this very complex material the editor planned to make his three 'Similitudes', and it is scarcely to be wondered at that he was not very successful in his presentation of his theme. Nevertheless he was inspired by a great purpose, which was to reconcile the differing schools of apocalyptic in a vision of faith, and to shew them the Messiah for whom they yearned as the central figure of their eschatological hope.

Having thus given the constituent documents of the 'Similitudes',

we might go further and see how far these are employed in the other four books. This task, however, we must leave, though probably it will be found that, with the addition of other sources, such as the 'Apocalypse of Weeks', they run in varying proportions throughout the whole work. It is more to the point to notice the editor's method of work when composing the 'Similitudes', which closely resembles that of the priestly editors of the Mosaic Pentateuch.

His basis is the 'Elect One' document which he combines with the two 'Son of Man' sources. A passage from one of the latter he cannot incorporate into his resultant text; he will not omit it entirely, so he gives it a place at the close of this book.¹ It is parallel to chapter xlvi, which is taken from his other 'Son of Man' source. But he interweaves his sources inextricably as may be seen from his combination of the two titles of the angel-interpreter, still more from his mingling of the titles for God and His Messiah, the terms 'elect, righteous, holy', and his dispassionate use of 'angels' and 'spirits'.

Into this blended text he incorporated fragments from his 'Wisdom' source—fragments only, since this source as a whole was distasteful to him on account of the large amount of heathen mythology which it employed in describing the Heavenly Wisdom and her Son, the Divine Logos. Similarly he had rejected the heathen mythology which he found in his 'Son of Man' sources; for these undoubtedly contained such mythology since they were based upon the Danielic vision. For the same reason also he rejected the term Logos from the Noah apocalypse (chapter lxix),² because it was associated in his mind with the Babylonian mythological term, though he employed large sections of this source because it dealt with judgement upon the evil angels, who were the cause of sin, and also with the destruction of the wicked. Finally, he enclosed his composite text within the 'Enoch' document, modifying that source here and there by his own additions, as, for example, in chapter xxxvii 1, 2.

How closely this method of work resembles that which the priestly editors of the Mosaic pentateuch followed is evident. It may be that some members of the Enochite sect were priests—the spiritual descendants of those who in an earlier day had joined the Chasidim, and the spiritual progenitors of that 'great company of the priests' who became obedient to the Christian faith.³ Possibly, too, there were Scribes among them—the 'Wisdom' apocalypse suggests as much. If so, the knowledge of the method by which the Mosaic pentateuch was fashioned may have been traditional among them, and they could easily have lent their knowledge towards the construction of an Enochic pentateuch upon similar lines. But however this may be, the Enochic pentateuch, both

¹ 1 En. lxxi.

² *J. T. S.* Oct. 1924.

³ Acts vi 7.

by its general resemblance to the Mosaic pentateuch and by its mode of structure, helps to confirm the conclusions of scholarship concerning the 'documentary theory' of the latter. The authors of the Enochic pentateuch were the first 'higher critics': they knew full well what modern scholars have worked to discover in the field of pentateuchal criticism, and they used their knowledge for their own purposes of drawing up the beginnings of an Enochic, as against a Mosaic, literature.

This attempt to unify the different opinions and beliefs of the apocalyptic writers, by presenting a synthesis of their teaching in the form of a pentateuch which, by its title, claimed an authority more ancient than the Mosaic Law, was a great idea, and expressed a great purpose. It centralized the faith of Jewish apocalypticism in the person of the Messiah who should deliver the righteous from all their troubles. That such a pentateuch, bringing together as it did many discordant opinions, should have found acceptance as 'the Law' among the multitudes of Galilee in the time of Christ, is at once a testimony to the missionary activities of the circles for whom it was written, and to the freedom which it brought to their disciples when they learnt to accept this Messianic faith. It was, therefore, an important factor in the preparation of the Galileans, and perhaps of others far beyond the bounds of Palestine, for the mission of Christ; and it contributed to Palestinian Christianity the terms and the ideas of the Christologies of the New Testament. When it was no longer needed by the Church which had gone forth to conquer the western world, it fell into oblivion. After the lapse of centuries it has been recovered that we may see the background of the pictures of the first days of Christianity, and also perhaps may verify the findings of modern scholarship concerning the structure of that Pentateuch whose canonicity both Jew and Christian have always acknowledged.

Note: The Hebrew and Greek equivalents of the title Son of Man.

Ezekiel's description of the Glory of Yahweh as 'a likeness (similitude) as the appearance of a man', is in Hebrew *כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם*, which the Septuagint translates by *ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου*. Daniel gives two phrases to describe his Messianic figure, *כְּבַר אֱנִשׁ*, in Aramaic, which the Septuagint translates by *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* (vii 13); and *כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם*, in Hebrew, for which the Septuagint gives *ὡς ὄρασις ἀνθρώπου* (x 18). The latter phrase in the Hebrew reverts therefore to the exact words used by Ezekiel in describing the 'Glory', and accordingly warrants the identification of the 'great Angel' of Dan. x with the ancient Angel of Yahweh, whom Ezekiel names 'the Glory of Yahweh'.

The book of Revelation gives *ὁμοιος υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* as the Greek form; but that the writer identified his 'one like unto a son of man', i. e. the

Christ, with the figure in Dan. x is witnessed by comparing Rev. i 13-15 with Dan. x 6, and Rev. i 17 with Dan. x 8, 10.

The Gospels use the Greek phrase with the double article, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, which we believe was suggested by the Septuagint of Isa. liii 3 *ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον καὶ ἐκλείπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.¹ We need, therefore, consider only the forms in apocalyptic.

Dr Charles has shewn that the use of *ὁμοιος* in Revelation makes it equivalent in meaning to *ὡς*, so that we may confine our attention to the meaning of *ὡς* in the Septuagint phrases. Now in Ezek. i 26 the Septuagint describes 'the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone' in the words *ὁμοίωμα θρόνου, ὡς ὄρασις λίθου σαπφείρου*. Both the Hebrew and Greek therefore record a 'visionary' throne only, the image, or similitude, or form of a throne. Similarly *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* means a similar semblance or similitude of a man—a 'something' which appeared to wear a human form; and this is also the meaning of *ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου*.

The Hebrew of Ezekiel and of Dan. x 18, and the Aramaic of Dan. vii 13, must therefore also be identical in meaning. The English translation, 'one like unto a son of man', of the last phrase would therefore appear to give a far more definite meaning to Daniel's Aramaic than he intended. The nearest English translation of both the Aramaic and its Greek equivalent would be 'a similitude as the appearance of a son of man' (= man), as in Ezekiel, or 'as it were a son of man'.

The Greek of Isa. liii 2, *ὡς παιδίον*, 'as it were a little child', 'the similitude of a child', warrants such an English rendering. The prophet saw a visionary appearance wearing a child's form; the apocalyptists saw a similar visionary appearance wearing a man's form.

The author of the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch was well aware that Ezekiel and Daniel, his predecessors in the apocalyptic school, intended to indicate such a visionary form, for he labelled his Messianic visions 'Similitudes', using this word in Ezekiel's sense of *מְשִׁימִיּוֹת*. 'The Son of Man' of the 'Similitudes' undoubtedly indicates the future Messiah; but the author of 1 Enoch means to say that up to the time his book was written only his 'similitude' has been seen in vision, not the actual Messiah who was 'hidden beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits'. This 'similitude' was therefore conceived as the Son of Man's 'angel', just as more ancient thought believed that the Angel of Yahweh was Yahweh's 'similitude'. The fact that Jewish apocalyptic thus gave an angel to the Son of Man was transmitted into Christian apocalyptic

¹ This seems to be the only passage in the Septuagint to make use of the double article in translating the phrase (cf. e. g. Isa. lii 14): the usage in the Gospels bears witness therefore to the close study of this chapter by early Christians.

circles, as the book of Revelation bears witness: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave Him to shew unto His servants . . . and He sent and signified it by His "angel" unto His servant John' (i 1). Thus John did not claim to see the heavenly Christ, any more than did his predecessors in Jewish apocalyptic; he saw the 'similitude', the 'angel' of Christ, as did Ezekiel, Daniel, and the author of the Enochic visions. The same is true of the author of 4 Ezra, the very late Jewish apocalypse, the Latin of which gives *quasi similitudinem hominis* (xiii 2): this not only permits us to 'determine the Hebrew behind' the phrase (as Dr Charles rightly states), but through the Hebrew enables us to verify the continuity of the Figure in the visions of all the apocalyptists. That Figure is Ezekiel's 'Glory of Yahweh' who wears 'a similitude as the appearance of a man', and is the human form of the ancient Angel of the Lord, i.e. he is God in self-manifestation.

G. H. DIX.

ST SAMSON OF DOL.

THE name of Saint Samson of Dol is now little known in this island, even in South Wales from whence he came. He was no doubt the Samson who signed his name (in a Hexameter line) at the Council of Paris about 560 (Maassen *Mon. Germ. hist.* 'Concilia' vol. i, p. 146), and the founder of the Monastery at Dol, a little Breton town half-way between St Malo and Mont St Michel. He also founded another Monastery at Pental on the Lower Seine, which is believed to have perished in the Norman invasions.

St Samson's *Vita*, first printed by Mabillon, was very well edited from all the available MSS by M. Robert Fawtier in 1912. This text has now been translated into English, with an Introduction, by Mr Thomas Taylor, of St Just, a known writer on mediaeval Cornwall.¹ Mr Taylor's book will serve to introduce the reader to the curious subject with which it deals: the account of Brittany in early times (pp. xxiii-xxxv), with the two instructive maps of the country in the 4th and 6th centuries respectively, may be specially commended. We must, however, know the position that the *Vita Samsonis* holds in Breton historical study, in order to understand the scope of Mr Taylor's work and also its very serious defects.

Writing the early history of Brittany is like making bricks without clay and with nothing but an intolerable deal of straw. There is no Breton chronicle of early date and Gregory of Tours tells us little, but

¹ *The Life of St Samson of Dol*, by Thomas Taylor, B.D.: London, S.P.C.K., 1925.